AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRESERVATION PLAN
FOR
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

by

Martha Zierden and Jeanne Calhoun

The Charleston Museum Archaeological Contributions 8

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Prepared for the City of Charleston

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Frontspiece: "Low Tide" from an original lithograph by Alfred Hutty.
      Courtesy of Carolina Print and Frame.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CHAPTER I

Introduction

The city of Charleston is one of the most historically significant cities in the eastern United States. From the founding of the Carolina colony in 1670 through the Civil War years of the 1860s, Charleston played a central role in the political, social and economic development of the United States (Figures 1 & 2). Charleston's economic stagnation in the late nineteenth century led to a decline in new construction and continued development, preventing the razing of older structures that usually accompanies such activities. With the economic resurgence following World War II, Charlestonians realized the historical value of the city's existing architecture and worked to integrate preservation with development. Charleston attracted national attention in 1931 when the city adopted a zoning ordinance which established and protected an Old and Historic District (Stoney 1976). Although many cities have followed her example, Charleston remains a leader in preservation law and practice. The progress of the past few years is a tribute to the progress of the preservation movement in Charleston.

With such enthusiasm for, and attention to, architectural preservation, it is not surprising that the City of Charleston has begun to embrace research on and preservation of the city's archaeological resources with equal enthusiasm. Archaeological investigations are now routinely conducted as part of any development project involving the City, and private developers have begun to contract for archaeological investigations and to utilize the resulting information in the interpretation of their properties. Archaeological research is now viewed as an important tool for providing an alternate interpretation of Charleston's past.

As archaeological investigations began in Charleston, and in other cities, it became apparent that special methodologies were needed to explore the archaeological resources of the urban center. In order to more efficiently integrate archaeological research with the development plans of the city, the City of Charleston contracted the Charleston Museum to study the documentary record pertaining to the development of Charleston and to prepare an archaeological preservation plan to guide future investigations in the city. The following report is the result of two years of research, funded by two Community Development Grants for the City of Charleston and two matching Historic Preservation Grants from the Department of the Interior, administered by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. The preparation of this research plan represents a major step in the endeavor to identify, preserve, and protect Charleston's archaeological resources.

Carolina

CHARLESTON

SAVANNAH

Georgia

BRUNSWICK

Spanish

ST. AUGUSTINE

Florida
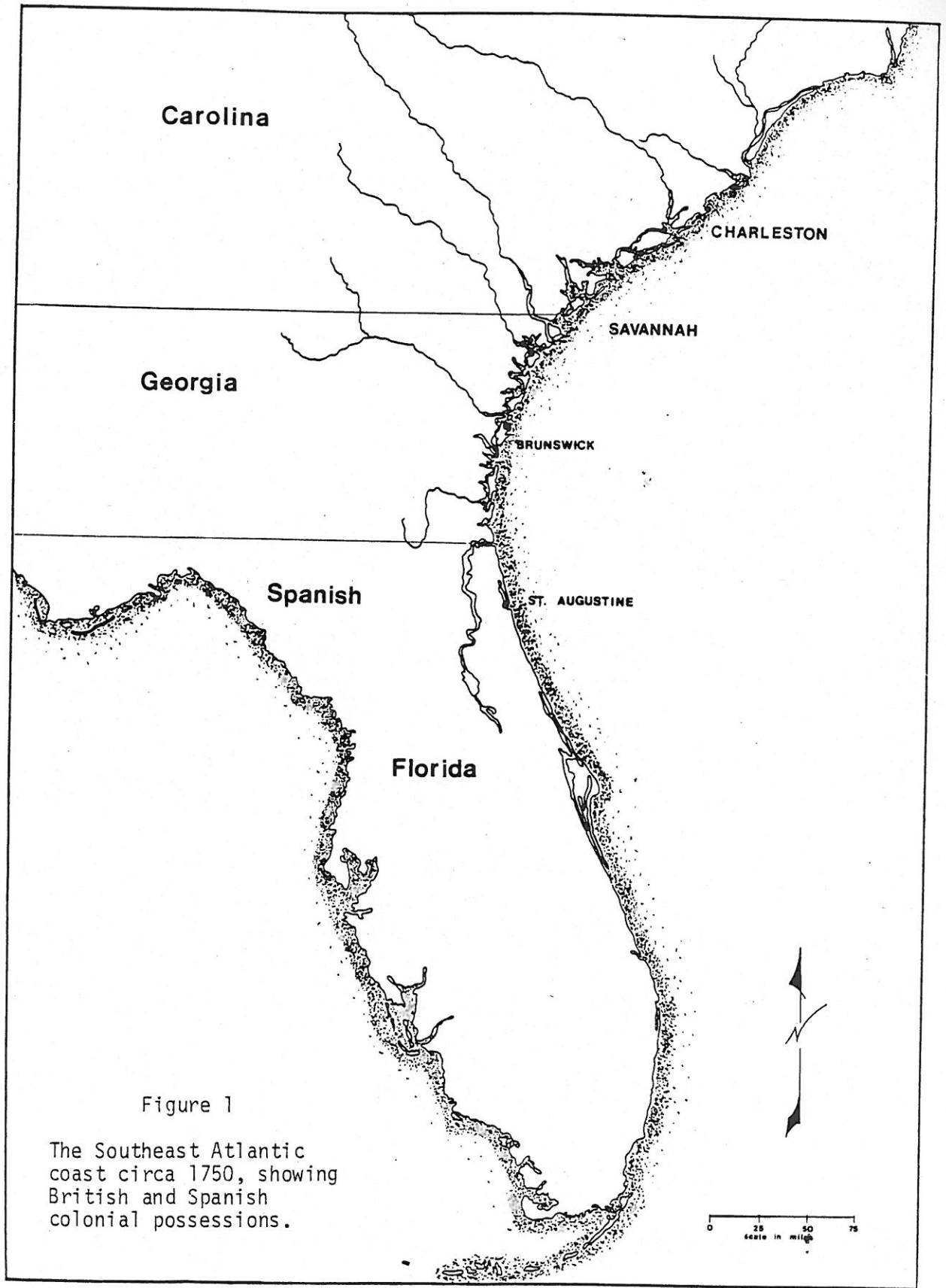
Figure 1

The Southeast Atlantic
coast circa 1750, showing
British and Spanish
colonial possessions.

N

0   25   50   75
scale in miles

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CHARLESTON DISTRICT,
SOUTH CAROLINA.

SURVEYED BY CHARLES VIGNOLES & HENRY RAVENEL.

1820.

IMPROVED FOR MILL'S ATLAS.

1825.

Figure 2

Portion of Mill's Altas, 1825,
showing the Charleston Harbor

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Project Methods and Goals

Based on the length and density of human occupation of the urban center, the entire peninsular city may be considered a vast, contiguous archaeological site. Yet, different areas of the city will vary in the length and type of occupation and the nature of subsequent ground disturbance. The purpose of this project is to better define the length, density, and nature of occupation of all areas of the peninsular city.

For an urban area, archival research is considered the most efficient manner in which to approach the archaeological survey (Dickens 1982; Staski 1982). By their very nature, archaeological excavations destroy the resource; vertical and horizontal relationships of the materials in the ground are more important than the materials themselves, and such relationships are destroyed by any ground disturbing activities, including archaeological excavation. Excavation projects are also expensive and time consuming. The documentary survey methodology is not without drawbacks; it is impossible to determine the condition of the archaeological record from the documentary record. Such determination is possible only through some form of subsurface investigation. In addition, the documentary record is often fragmentary and rarely reflects the entire range of activity at a given site. Despite these shortcomings, a documentary survey was deemed the best method of determining historic site location for a large, urban area such as Charleston. Further, a thorough knowledge of the historical record is essential to sound historical archaeological research, and thus a documentary study such as the present report forms an essential base for long term archaeological research.

The problems in making archaeological inferences from purely documentary sources has been partially alleviated by incorporating information from the many recent excavation projects. From these projects, we have utilized information about stratigraphic depth and integrity, feature presence and clarity, and general site conditions to suggest possible site conditions in various parts of the city. However, these archaeological interpretations must be approached with caution; excavations have demonstrated that the urban archaeological record is highly variable, not only from site to site, but within a a highly circumscribed area of a single site as well. Therefore, the suggestions on site depth, etc., made in this report are meant to serve only as a general guide. The archaeological inferences are used primarily to expand the inferences made about the site from the documentary record.

The present approach to historical research diverges somewhat from the traditional approach to Charleston's history and is, admittedly, selective. The main reason for this is that, as anthropologists, we are interested in issues not traditionally treated in historical sources, such as population demography, subsistence strategies, and adaptation to the lowcountry environment. Further, documents with the greatest relevance are those that give insights into the formation of adaptive

patterns, the ways in which they are manifested in the community, and the ways in which they are reflected in the ground (see Deagan 1983:13-14). More specifically, the examination of the history of Charleston concentrated on those aspects which have particular relevance to the archaeological research program. These included:

1. Information relevant to an understanding of social variability in the city. This includes population demography, occupation, income ranges, social, and ethnic classes.

2. Information relevant to the material world and economy of Charleston. This includes studies of Charleston's economic system, her position in the world economy, range of activities of the commercial sector of Charleston's population, descriptions of the range of imports available to Charleston's citizens, local production of goods, and the mechanisms and manifestations of distribution and exchange in the city.

3. Information relevant to the physical formation of the archaeological record. This includes information on the physical landscape of Charleston, such as patterns of growth and development in the city, location of different activity areas in the city, and the nature of the physical environment prior to intensive utilization. This also includes such physical contributions to the record as architectural and building construction methods, cultural and natural disasters, disposal and sanitation practices, and public works.

A variety of primary sources were utilized to achieve these research goals. Historic maps and plats provided important information on the growth and development of the city; maps of the city were used to postulate general patterns of growth (Akin 1809; Roberts & Toms 1739; Petrie 1788; Bonner 1802; Bridgens & Allen 1852; Sanborn 1884, 1902) and individual plats on file at the CCRMCO and South Carolina Historical Society were used to pinpoint the location of sites of special interest and to determine a range of lot element patternings. City ordinances, Grand Jury Presentments, and records at the City Engineer's office were used to determine sanitation practices and public works development. Charleston City Directories, censuses, family paper collections, Records of the Secretary of the Province, Shaftsbury Papers, and others were used to examine spatial patterning on a macro- level, ethnic and occupational diversity, differential land use, and changes in these patterns. An invaluable source for this research was the Charleston newspapers. The entire second year of the project was spent scouring these sources and recording advertisements by merchants, craftsmen, retailers, and others, as well as a volume of miscellaneous information.

The primary sources utilized in this study are housed at the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Library Society, the Charleston County Library, the Robert Scott Small Library, the Citadel Library, the Charleston Museum Library, Charleston City Archives, the Charleston County Register Mesne Conveyance Office, the South Caroliniana Library, and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Although primary sources were the focus of research, numerous secondary sources on Charleston in particular and the southeastern United States in general

were consulted. This was done to place Charleston's history in a national, and even international, perspective and to avoid repetition of data already compiled. All notes, maps, and documents collected are on file at The Charleston Museum.

The two year research project was divided into four phases, based on both funding sources and project goals. Phase I, from August 1981 to July 1982, was funded by a Community Development grant from the City of Charleston. The goals of this phase were to provide a skeletal outline of the development of Charleston and to pinpoint the location of sites of special interest. The results of this phase are summarized in a preliminary report (Zierden and Calhoun 1982).   Phase II was funded by a portion of the same Community Development Grant and a matching Historic Preservation grant for the Department of the Interior, and continued from August to October of 1982. This phase focused on a systematic examination of colonial newspaper resources and is summarized in a separate report (Calhoun et al. 1982). Phase III, from November 1982 to May 1983, focused on an examination of Revolutionary period newspapers and on City Directories. This was funded by a second Community Development grant. Phase IV, from July 1983 to September 1984, was funded by a portion of this Community Development grant and a matching Historic Preservation grant. This phase was used to examine the newspaper sources of the antebellum period, and is discussed in a third report (Calhoun and Zierden 1984). The goal of phases II - IV was to greatly expand the skeletal outline presented in Phase I to include a summary of the growth, development, function, economic and ethnic residential composition, and changing use of all areas of the city.

The following is the fourth and final report on the research for this project. Although this report incorporates and synthesizes the data presented in the three previous reports, it is meant to complement, rather than replace, those volumes. Because of the voluminous nature of the documentary record, this final report does not present many of the details presented in the previous reports. Nor do we presume the four reports to be the "final word" on the history of Charleston. Research on the subjects presented could occupy several lifetimes, and we expect that many of the ideas presented herein will be changed or discarded after further research. Nonetheless, we feel that the information contained herein will serve as a useful guide for locating, protecting, and studying the archaeological record of Charleston.

Organizing such a voluminous amount of data presents certain problems. The first volume in this series was organized topically, reflecting the effort made to pinpoint special sites in the city. Volumes 2 and 3 were based on the information from a single resource. These approaches, plus a chronological approach, were considered for this volume and discarded. It was finally decided to organize the information spatially. It was felt that a developer or city employee would most often use the document to learn the history and archaeological potential of a particular site in Charleston; therefore by organizing the report spatially, all of the information for a given area would be contained in a single section of the document. Some repetition of data is unavoidable using this approach, but it is felt that the minimal amount of repetition should serve to strengthen, rather than weaken, the history of Charleston presented here.

This report is intended to reach primarily two audiences; the developers and city officials of Charleston who commissioned the study, and members of the professional archaeological community interested in historical archaeology in general and urban studies in particular. Because the primary purpose of the study is to provide guidance to city planners and municipal authorities, information is included on the theoretical base and goals of urban archaeological research, the cultural and natural forces responsible for the formation of the archaeological record, and on field and laboratory methods proper to archaeological research; professional archaeologists using this document may wish to skip Chapter II. Chapter III contains a general outline of the history of Charleston, and is intended to provide the political, social and economic background necessary to place the more specific aspects of development in proper perspective, and to support the suggested research emphases. Details of growth, development, and land use of Charleston's spatial divisions are contained in Chapter IV, along with a description of the archaeological potential. Chapter V, of particular interest to professional archaeologists, contains a number of hypotheses and topics suggested to guide future, long term archaeological research in the city. Chapter VI contains a summary, and procedural and management recommendations for the City of Charleston. This chapter includes some general guidelines for recognition and protection of Charleston's archaeological resources.

CHAPTER II

The Development of

Archaeological Research

Historical archaeology developed as a field of research distinct from other areas of North American archaeology because, unlike prehistoric research, written records are available for the populations being studied. These documents, in turn, are capable of altering our methods of studying past cultures. Although there are earlier, isolated examples of historical excavations, historical archaeology is a fairly new discipline, and was not formally organized until the 1960s.

At the time of formal organization, there was little consensus among historical archaeologists as to the goals and theoretical orientation of the new discipline. The ensuing conflict has been termed the "crisis of identity" (Deagan 1982:152; Schuyler 1978; Cleland and Fitting 1968) and revolved around the question of the definition, orientation, and parent discipline of the field. Many of the early projects had been initiated to provide details on architecture and material culture prior to reconstruction or restoration of historic properties. Many professionals thus felt that historical archaeology was merely a specialized technique used to enhance historical studies. Other archaeologists, trained as anthropologists, felt that there was little difference in the goals and techniques of prehistoric and historical archaeology, and that historical archaeology could and should address questions of human cultural adaptation and evolution. Today it is generally recognized that historical archaeology is a subfield of anthropology, generally aimed at exploring man's adaptation to the historic environment. The discipline continues to contribute to a variety of problems and disciplines, including history. Many of the current research programs, including the Museum's program in Charleston, are not restricted to a single orientation, but rather are structured to address several issues simultaneously.

An important goal of archaeological research is to augment the historical record. By comparing the historical record - what people say they did - with the archaeological record - what people actually did - inconsistencies and inaccuracies can be recognized. Archaeological research thus provides a more accurate version of the past. In addition to being occasionally inaccurate, the documentary record is often incomplete, lacking for example, details of daily life and activities. Archaeological research is an important source of information for the reconstruction of daily life and for the presentation of this lifestyle to the general public. Information from excavations have been utilized for public interpretation in a variety of historic settings, including Williamsburg (Noel Hume 1963), St. Mary's City (Miller 1983), St. Augustine (Deagan 1978; 1983), Plimoth Plantation (Deetz 1977), and Frederica, Georgia (Honerkamp 1977). Perhaps most importantly, the

historical record is biased towards the upper class, those with the
time and ability to leave written records. One of the most significant
contributions of recent archaeological studies has been the documentation
of disenfranchised groups in American culture (Deagan 1982:161), who
do not have a history written from their point of view (Glassie 1977:29).
These have included studies of Asian-Americans (Schuyler 1980), Afro-
Americans (Otto 1975; Singleton 1980; Ascher and Fairbanks 1974; Wheaton
et al. 1983; Schuyler 1980) and poor Southern whites (Trinkley 1983;
Trinkley and Caballero 1983).

   In addition to augmenting and altering the historical record,
recent historical archaeological investigations have addressed questions
of anthropological interest. Of great interest to anthropological
archaeologists has been the investigation of the processes of
acculturation of native and European Americans through trade relations
(Brown 1978; Deetz 1965), religious conversion (Loucks 1979) and
racial intermarriage (Deagan 1974). Other researchers have focused
on the adaptive patterns of Europeans and Africans to the new world
environment (Cumbaa 1975; Lewis 1977; Honerkamp 1980; Deagan 1983;
Wheaton et al. 1983). A methodology embraced by many such researchers
is the quantification and pattern recognition approach suggested by
Stanley South (1977). The premise underlying this approach is that
human behavior is patterned, not random, and that this patterned human
behavior will be reflected in archaeological patterning. An advantage
of this approach is that each artifact recovered from a site can be
quantified, and the results of this quantification are directly
comparable to those from other studies. This methodology has been
used by researchers to study the reflection of ethnicity (Schuyler 1980)
and social status in the archaeological remains (Deagan 1983; Poe 1979;
Otto 1975). Finally, archaeologists have begun to address the world
view and mental systems of past cultures as they are reflected in
material culture (Deetz 1977; Glassie 1975; Leone 1977).

   The archaeological research program in Charleston is oriented
to meet several goals simultaneously. An important aspect of the
program is providing new and different information on the history
of Charleston to the general public. For this reason, research is
focused on all of the groups comprising Charleston's population,
including wealthy planters and merchants as well as free blacks,
slaves and poor laborers. Research is oriented towards the recovery
of information on the range of daily affairs in the city, including
domestic, commercial and industrial activities. In addition to this
historical approach, archaeological research in Charleston is aimed
at examining such anthropological issues as ethnic affiliation,
status variability, and adaption to first frontier and then changing
urban conditions. Proposed anthropological research for Charleston
is discussed in Chapter V.

   Urban archaeology is one of the most recent developments in
historical archaeology, recognized as a special area for less than
ten years. Although the definitions of urban and urban archaeology
are as diverse as the practicioners of the discipline, the definitions

proposed by Staski (1982:97) will be used here. Urban archaeology is defined as the study of relationships between material culture, human behavior, and cognition in an urban setting. An urban setting is defined as a permanent location in which the density of settlement and the amount of human energy expended per unit of land are greater than in the surrounding region. An urban center, or city, is a sociopolitical entity that exhibits the characteristics of an urban setting. In other words, the urban archaeologist studies societies from any time and located at any place where concentrations of people and energy are or were present.

When the United States was first being peopled by immigrants from Europe in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, these people brought with them the tradition of an urban-based society. Colonial proprietors encouraged the development of urban centers for protection, community and commerce (Brownell and Goldfield 1977; Mohl and Betten 1970). Although the efforts of the proprietors met with mixed success, with commercially profitable towns and cities more prevalent in northern colonies than in southern, urban centers played an important role in the development of American life. It is for this reason that the archaeological study of cities is important. As the largest, and one of the few, colonial urban centers in the southeast, exploration of urban life in Charleston is essential to a greater understanding of the development of the southeastern United States.

Many of the colonial towns served as important social, political, and commercial centers for abbreviated hinterlands, but are not, or were not, large enough to be considered cities. Nonetheless, it was in the studies of such settlements as Williamsburg, Virginia (Noel Hume 1963), St. Mary's City (Miller 1983), and St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 1983) that the theory and techniques of urban archaeology developed. It was also through these programs that the discipline began to be "archaeology of the city" instead of "archaeology in the city" (Staski 1982). Researchers in these areas began to address such problems of urban development as social stratification and specialization (Deagan 1974, 1983; Miller 1983; Outlaw et al. 1977) and urban spatial patterning (Outlaw 1975; Miller 1983). These projects were also the origin of many techniques for dealing with the practical and logistical problems of studying the urban site (Deagan 1981; Deagan et al. 1976).

The decade of the 1970s saw an increase in the number of archaeological studies in large urban centers as a result of the mandates of federal regulations, but also reflecting the trend of federal involvement in urban renewal, a trend that has certainly brought changes to downtown Charleston. Such large scale construction projects as block large, multi story buildings (Rothschild and Rockman 1983; Honerkamp et al. 1982, 1983) or entire subway systems (Dickens and Bowen 1980) entailed the destruction of major portions of sites in the city. Because urban archaeological research was new to most of these cities, there was little time for total mitigation, much less completion of city-wide historical research.

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As a result, sites were studied in isolation; the individual site was treated as the unit of study, rather than the urban center of which the site in question was merely a part (Zierden 1984b).

Researchers in Alexandria, Virginia, were the first to recognize the city as a whole as the logical unit of research, and to implement a long term research program of the city. Dubbed the city-site approach by Cressey and Stephens (1982), the program involves long term historical research, archaeological testing, and data recovery. In the Alexandria program, as here in Charleston, the foundation of the research was an extensive, though selective, study of the documentary record (Cressey et al. 1982).

Human adaptation to the urban environment is an emerging concern in the recently developed subfield of urban archaeology. The earliest examples of urban excavation projects reflected archaeologists attempting to overcome the often overwhelming logistical problems of excavations in the city while applying theoretical orientations and methodologies developed for other types of sites. As archaeologists have become more familiar with urban sites, their limitations, and their research potential, they have begun to address research questions appropriate to the urban site, resulting in a shift from archaeology in the city to archaeology of the city. The current focus, then, is the examination of the processes of urban development and urban adaptation (Honerkamp and Council 1984; Wise 1984; Thompson and Beidleman 1984; Rietz 1984; Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Zierden 1984a). Because the city is a living site, with continuous occupation, research under this approach can help elucidate the processes of cultural evolution, thereby making archaeology relevant to the study of present behaviors (Fairbanks 1968). The validity of this approach has been amply demonstrated in studies of recent (Dickens and Bowen 1980;51) and modern refuse deposits (Rathje 1977; Rathje and McCarthy 1977).

Archaeologists have noted tha a major tool in urban archaeological studiles is the wealth of documentary evidence available for such sites; in fact, the sheer volume of archival data available for the urban site can be a problem as well as an advantage (Cressey and Stephens 1982). A well planned, thorough study of these materials requires the aid of an historian (Deagan and Scardaville 1983; Calhoun et al. 1982), and is essential in order to interpret the complex archaeological record found at an urban site, and to place events within a larger perspective (Cressey et al. 1983; see Deagan 1983, 1984). Still others have called for a more explicit and sophisticated use of the documentary record (Dickens 1984; Zierden 1984a; Wise 1984). Dickens suggests that a better knowledge of the range of existing documents, both primary and secondary, a more critical evaluation of these documents, and a more creative approach to integrating them into our archaeological work will aid in correcting naive assumptions about material-behavioral relationships in the urban area. The newspaper studies are part of The Charleston Museum's attempt to utilize the documentary record in an innovative and more thorough manner.

Urban archaeology poses its own particular set of problems and advantages, in terms of methodology and research orientation. Unlike the surrounding countryside, the city is the scene of major and numerous land alterations. Because of this, the archaeological record is often deep and well preserved, but the earlier deposits are often disturbed by, and mixed with, subsequent activities and deposits. These deep, mixed deposits, plus the relative scarcity of contiguous areas of open space pose special methodological problems that archaeologists have only begun to address (Deagan et al. 1976; Deagan 1981,1984; Honerkamp et al. 1982; Dickens and Bowen 1980; Dickens 1982). Studying the nature of this disturbance, though, can significantly contribute to an understanding of urban processes, and to an appreciation of the particular potential of urban archaeology to recover information (Staski 1982; Honerkamp and Fairbanks 1984).

The timely development of the Museum's program in urban archaeology at the same time as the emergence of sound archaeological research from other cities suggests that research in Charleston is capable of making important contributions to the continued development of urban archaeology. Research in Charleston is aimed at an examination of the processes of urban development and a refinement of the archaeological techniques for studying these processes. In order to successfully examine the processes responsible for urban development, it is first necessary to understand the processes responsible for the formation of the urban archaeological record.

Formation of the Archaeological Record

An archaeological site is basically a natural setting modified to a greater or lesser degree by the humans who occupied it. A variety of the activities of daily life will result in disturbance of the ground surface, and leave evidence that is discernable through careful archaeological excavation. Examples of such activities include the construction and destruction of houses and other structures, the digging of deep holes to construct a well or privy, the placement of posts in the ground to construct a fence, or the deposition of refuse in a pit or on the ground surface. Different activities at a site are discernable in the archaeological record as soils of different color and texture.

Although a range of archaeological deposits are present at a site as a result of the range of human activities, they may generally be classified into two major types; features and sheet deposits. Generally, features are deposits that are the result of a single event, such as removal of a fence post, while sheet deposits represent a gradual accumulation of soil and artifacts over a longer period of time. According to the geological principal of superimposition, soils gradually build up over time; therefore it usually follows that the deepest deposit is the earliest. Figure 3 shows a sample profile of an excavation unit, which shows that the gradual accumulation of soils in sheet deposits and the presence of discrete features within sheet deposits (Figure 4).

Figure 3

Examples of urban stratigraphy:

Note the numerous, superimposed sheet
deposits typical of Charleston sites.

Figure 4

Examples of archaeological features. This
includes both the brick wall foundation and
the more ephemeral post hole stains in the
foreground.

Figure 4b shows a more ephemeral circular
trash pit intruding into a zone of rubble
and other cultural debris.
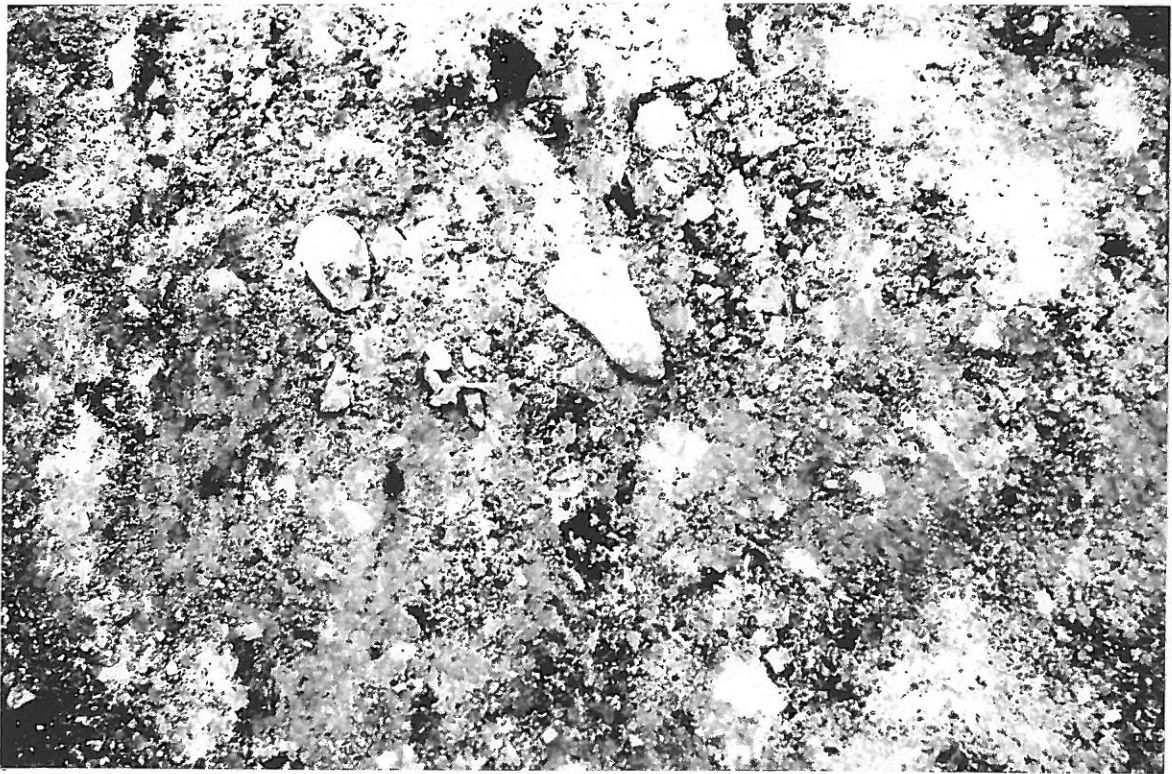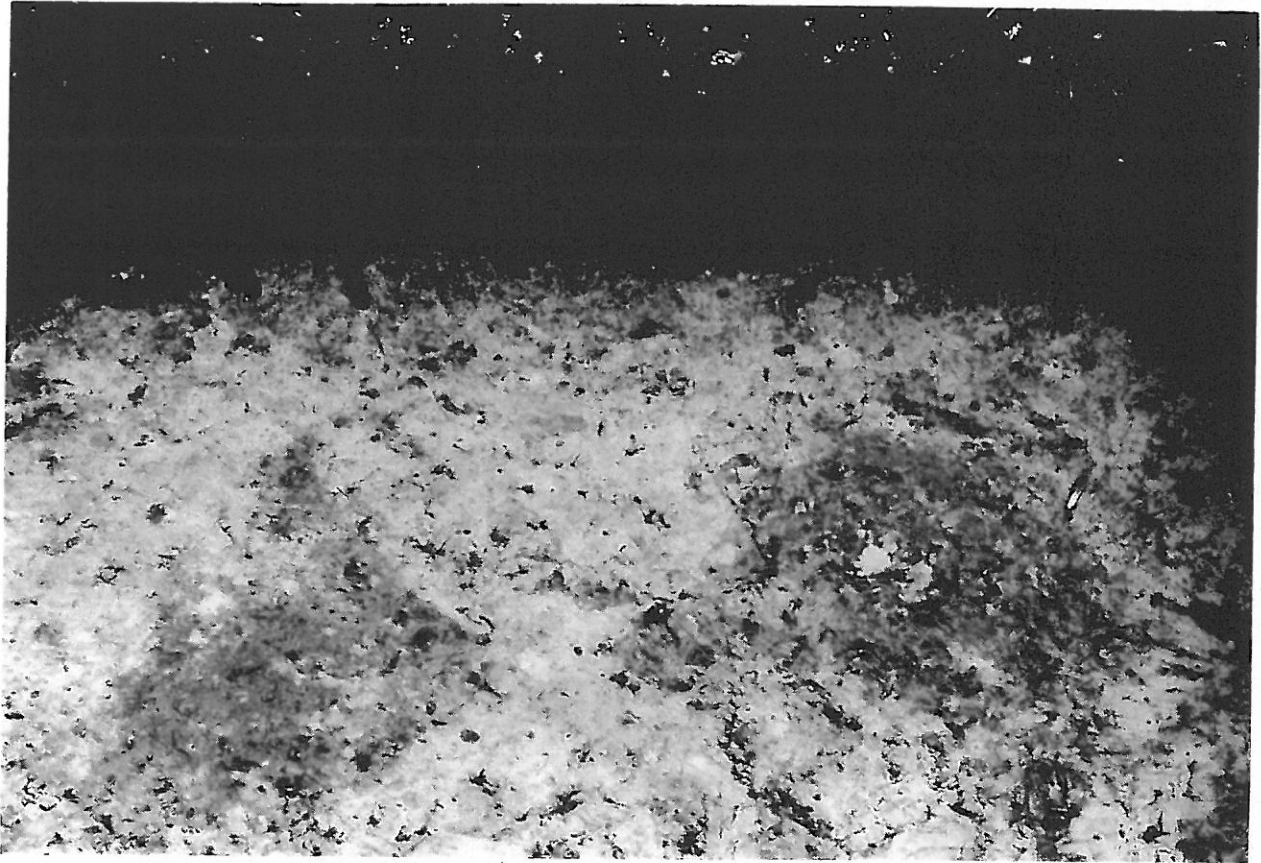
Careful, scientific archaeology requires tha a site be excavated just as it was made, except in reverse order. Each separate deposit must be excavated separately and the archaeological materials recovered from them be kept separate. In order to accurately interpret an archaeological site it is important to understand the association of the proveniences; the archaeologist must understand the temporal ordering of the deposits, determine which proveniences are associated with the same activity or occupation, and which proveniences are not. For example, an archaeologist may excavate features and sheet deposits from a site that was occupied from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. In order to study the eighteenth century occupation of the site, they would only utilize those proveniences which were deposited in the eighteenth century.

In order to date the archaeological deposits recovered from the site, the archaeologist employs two basic dating methods; relative and absolute. Relative dating is based on the principal of superimposition, that an underlying deposit will predate that immediately above it. Absolute dating is based on the age of the artifacts contained within the deposit. An additional dating principal used in historical archaeology is terminus post quem, which basically states tha a provenience must have been deposited after the initial manufacture date of the latest dating item in the deposit: if a trash pit contains primarily eighteenth and nineteenth century material, but also contains a rubber band and the screw-off top from a beer bottle, then the feature must have been deposited after screw-off beer tops were developed in the 1970s.

Archaeologists use a specialized set of field techniques to conduct scientific excavations at a site. It is important to maintain horizontal and vertical control, that is, to know the exact horizontal and vertical position of each provenience. To maintain horizontal control, a measured grid is established over the site, and proveniences and excavation units are located in relation to existing landmarks. Vertical control is maintained with the use of a transit, and elevations are taken in relation to mean sea level. Maps and photographs are used to record the information during the process of excavation. The recovery of small, fragmentary objects is as important as the recovery of large, whole objects. For this purpose, excavated soils are sifted through screen, usually ¼ inch mesh, to recover small objects.

Thorough archaeological research usually requires the expertise of more than one individual. In addition to the project archaeologist, the Charleston program traditionally employs an historian familiar with the documentary resources, a zooarchaeologist to study the excavated faunal remains and an ethnobotanist to study the excavated plant remains. From time to time, the expertise of a physical anthropologist, architect, computer programmer, conservator, geologist, chemist, or surveyor may be used. Consulting specialists are chosen for their particular expertise and because the data from Charleston excavations can contribute to their own research goals.

From the above discussion, it should be obvious that archaeology is an exacting science, requiring careful analysis of the soils encountered during excavation. It should also be obvious that it is not the artifacts themselves, but the association of the artifacts in the ground that is important to archaeological research. If the features and the artifacts in the ground are moved or disturbed by earth moving activities such as bulldozing (Figure 5), the excavation of a trench for laying pipe, etc., then that portion of the site is destroyed, and the scientific value is lost. Even the controlled archaeological excavation of a site in essence destroys the archaeological record. Artifacts recovered from a site for which there is no information of the exact location or association are also of limited scientific value. It is for this reason that it is essential that controlled archaeological excavations be conducted at a site prior to any construction or other ground disturbing activity. This document is designed to streamline this activity (Figure 6).

Figure 5

Grading the Charleston Center site. Such
activity destroys the stratigraphy and
association of materials. Archaeological
excavations must take place prior to such
activities.
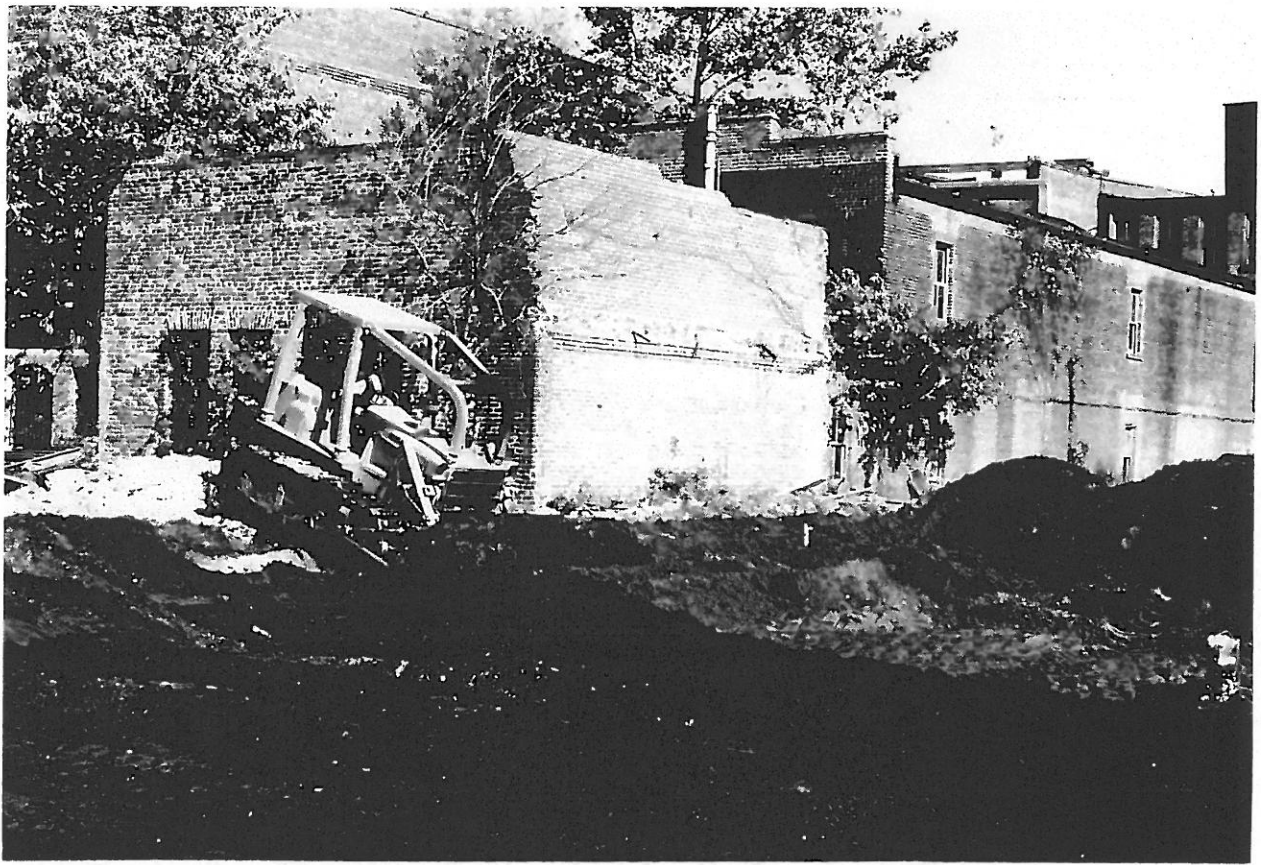
Figure 6

Sites excavated in Charleston:

1) McCrady's Longroom (Zierden et al. 1983a)

2) Lodge Alley (Zierden et al. 1983b)

3) Atlantic Wharf (Zierden et al. n.d.)

4) First Trident (Zierden et al. 1983c)

5) Beef Market (Reitz et al. n.d.)

6) Concord Street (Zierden et al. n.d.)

7) Charleston Center (Honerkamp et al. 1982;
                       Zierden and Paysinger n.d.)

8) Exchange Building (Herold 1981b)

9) Meeting Street Office Building (Herold 1981a)

10) Heyward Washington House (Herold 1978)
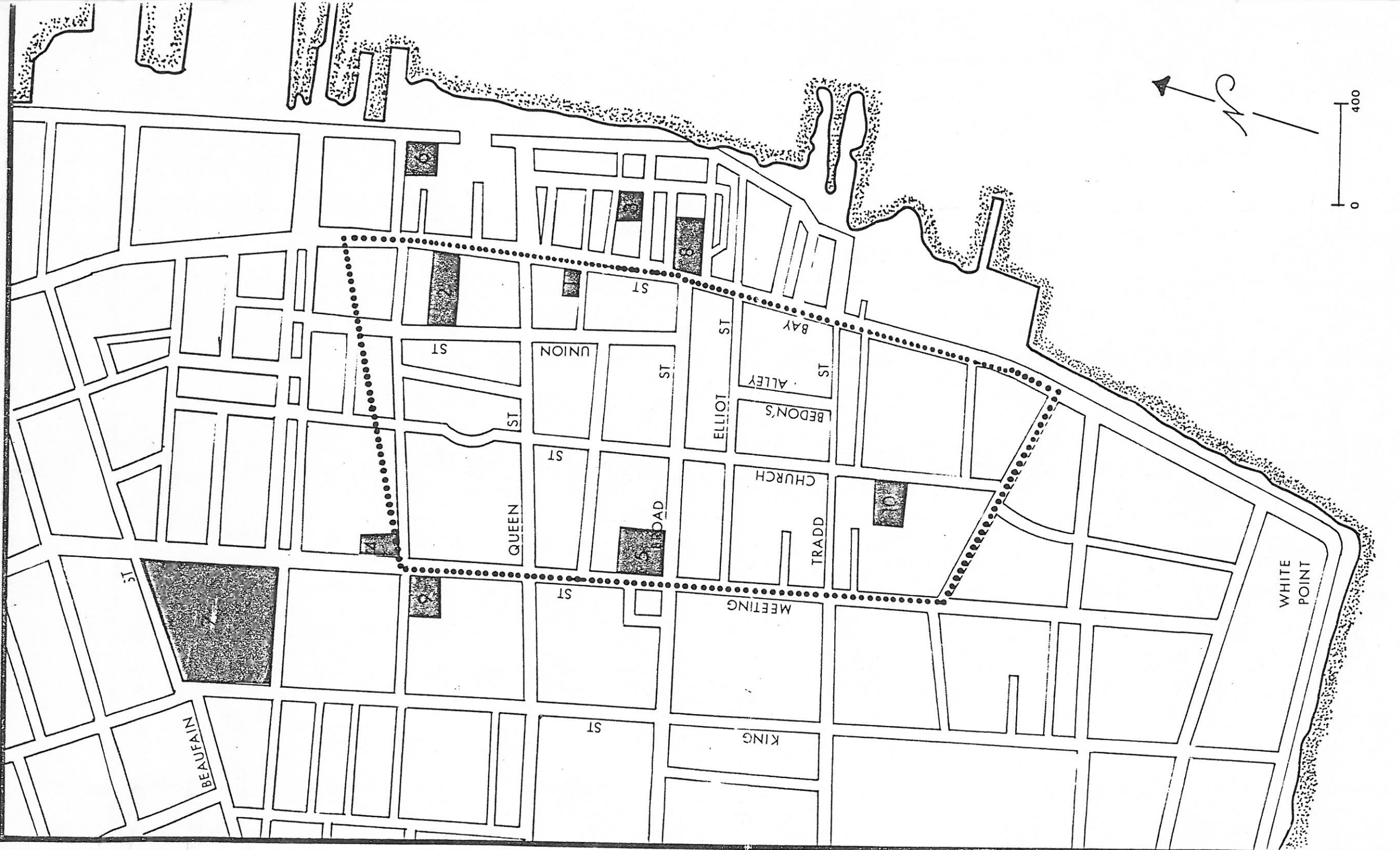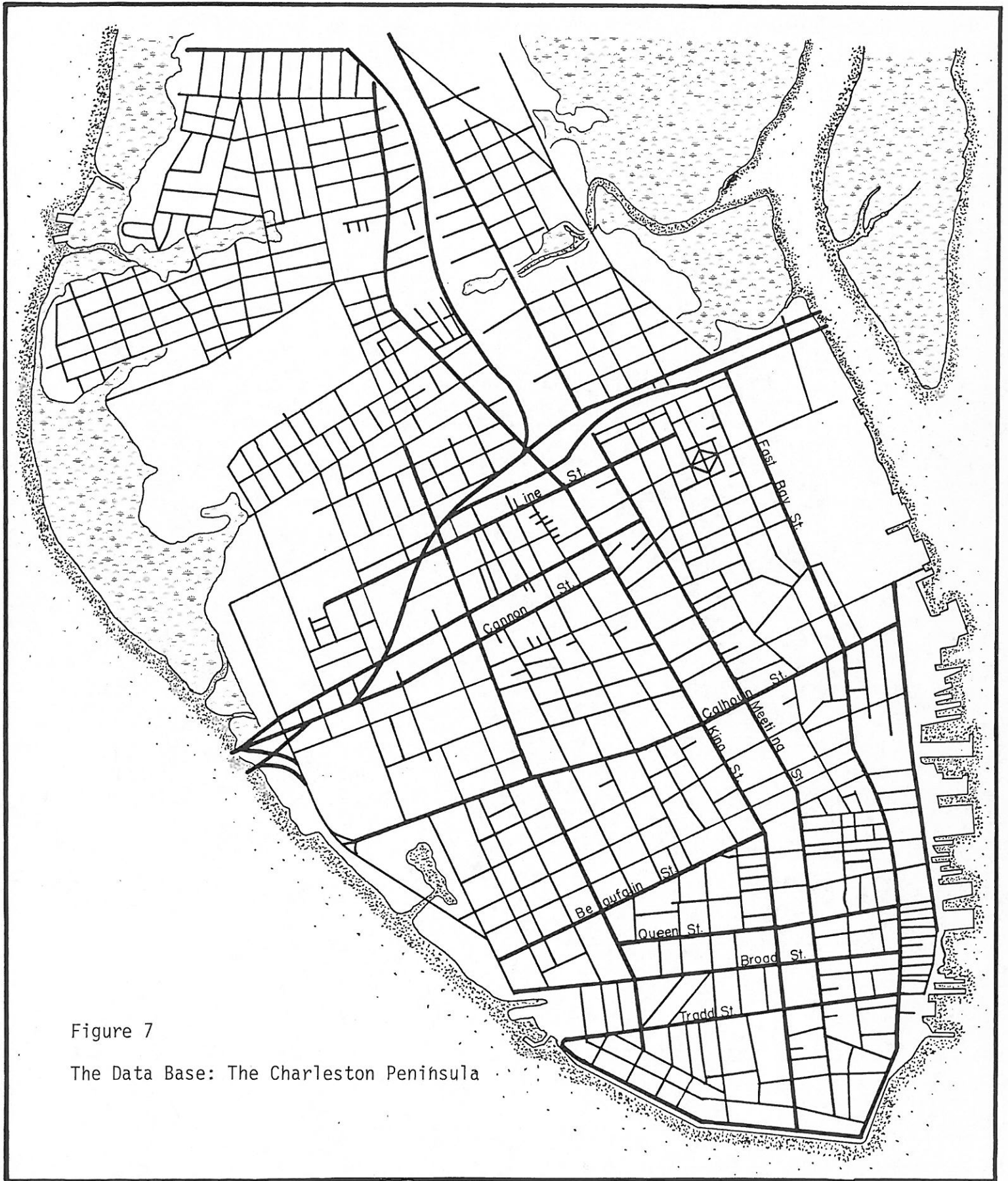
Figure 7

The Data Base: The Charleston Peninsula
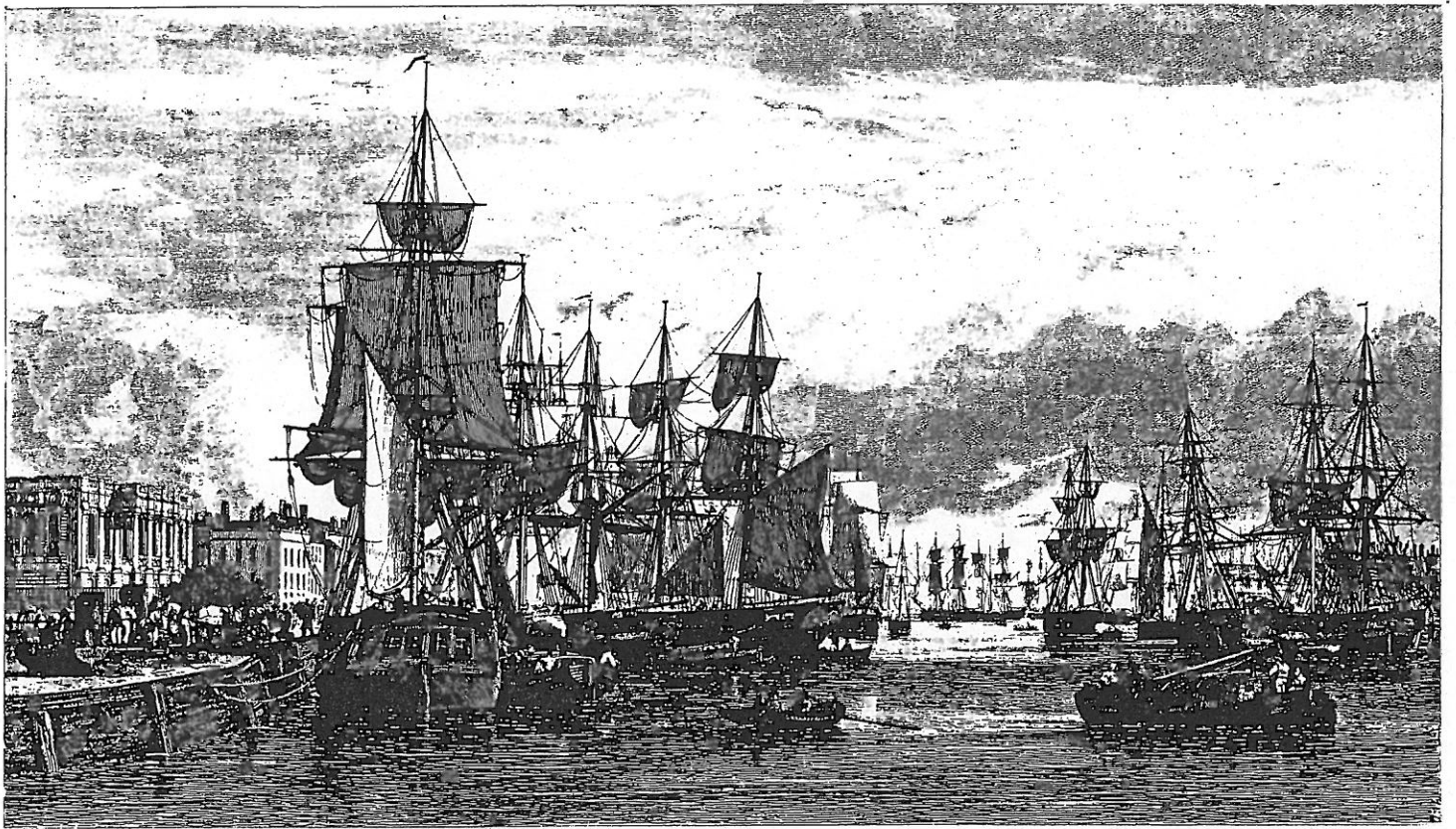
CHAPTER III

The Development of

Charleston

In the 17th century, the European powers were busily competing for the possession of colonies in the New World. The province of Carolina was alternately claimed by the French, Spanish and English. Spain considered the vast tract of uncharted wilderness merely the logical extension of her colony of La Florida and self-righteously destroyed a French settlement in the region. The English, with a similar perspective, viewed Carolina as the southern branch of Virginia. They proceeded to establish the first permanent colony in 1670 and thereafter also claimed the area by right of occupation.

None of the European powers was particularly interested in the acquisition of land. Their fascination in the New World was formed by a lust for riches. Gold, silver and jewels were some of the more obvious lures but, for the English nation, silk, wine, hemp and naval stores were equally attractive. The English government developed an economic policy of mercantilism in order to ensure that they were the ones to benefit from their colonies. The two basic principles of mercantilism, the importance of commerce to the British Empire and the necessity to secure a favorable balance of trade, were enforced by a series of acts which culminated in the rebellion of the American colonies in 1775.

Agriculture and commercial prosperity demanded security, however, and this proved to be the first concern of the Carolina colonists. Although the English had laid a firm grip on the province, the colonists were still in an exposed position vulnerable to the attacks of the traditional enemies of the mother country (Figure 1). The Spanish, concerned for souls and territory, had established a chain of missions. These fortified settlements stretched from St. Helena, or Port Royal, to St. Augustine and westward through northern Florida to the Apalachicola River. Until the Spanish missionaries abandoned their most northern outposts in 1702, the coastal area from St. Helena to St. Augustine was the scene of intermittent warfare between the Spanish and the English (Andrews 1937). The French were spread all along the Mississippii and were a source of constant suspicion. Pirates, the scourge of the Carribbean and Atlantic seas, were another serious irritant. Neighboring tribes of the Kiawha, Etiwan, Wando, Sampa and Sewee Indians further added to the colonists' anxiety while the constant increase of a potentially rebellious slave population created fears which died only with the demise of slavery.

In 1670, the colonists, only too aware of their precarious situation, chose for their settlement,

> a point (Albemarle) defended by the main river (the Ashley) with
> a brooke on one side and inaccessible marsh on the other wch
> all at high tides is ever overflown: joyning itself to the mainland
> in a small neck not exceeding fiftie yards (Cheves 1897: 156-157).

Figure 8

Charleston in 1704: A walled city facing
the Cooper River. Land is set aside for
public structures. Creeks that transverse
the peninsula form natural boundaries. The
most intensive occupation is south of Broad
Street.

A PLAN of CHARLES TOWN

ASHLEY RIVER

COOPER RIVER

By 1762, the settlement was protected by a palisade and four pieces of artillery aimed upon the Ashley River. Indians reported to their Spanish allies that the colonists had built thirty small houses on the west bank of the Ashley and four on the east bank of Oyster Point (Andrews 1937: 203n).

Oyster Point proved attractive to the colonists and, after some exploration of the surrounding area, increasing numbers of them left Albemarle for this new location, approximately four miles away. The leaders of the settlement not only recognized but sanctioned this trend. In December of 1679, the Lord Proprietors sent word to the governing body of the colony that,

> We are informed that the Oyster Point is not only a more con-
> venient place to build a towne on then that formerly pitched on
> by the first settlers but that also the peoples Inclinations
> tend thither. Wherefore wee think fitt to let you know that the
> oyster point is the place wee doe appoint for the port towne of
> which you are to take notice and call it Charles towne, and order
> the meetings of the Council to be there held and the Secretarys
> Registers & Surveyors offices to be kept within that town....

They further instructed the Governor and council of the settlement,

> to take care to lay out the Streets broad and in straight lines
> and that in your Grant of the Towne lotts you doe bound every
> ones Land towards the Streets in an even line and to suffer no
> one to incroach with his buildings upon the streets whereby to
> make them narrower then they were first designed (Salley 1928:
> 95-96).

To prevent complications, acreage on the peninsula which had already been claimed by settlers reverted to the colony. Those who lost land by this maneuver were compensated with grants in other areas. The three hundred acres extending from Oyster Point to what is now Beaufain Street were then surveyed and mapped out in a Grand Model. Utilizing the central square commonly identified with Philadelphia, this plan divided the peninsula into the deep, narrow lots characteristic of 17th century British colonial towns (Reps 1965: 177). In a rare moment of foresight, the Lord Proprietors wrote,

> We hope you give all possible incouragement to ye building of
> Charles Towne at the Oyster point as we formerly directed. Which
> if it once arrive to any considerable number of Inhabitants will
> draw a plentifull Trade and be a great security to ye whole
> settlement (Salley 1928: 105) (Figures 8 & 9).

Others readily agreed with this judgement. In 1680 an enthusiastic observer marvelled,

> The cituation of this Town is so convenient for public Commerce
> that it rather seems to be the design of some skilfull Artist
> than the accidentall position of nature (Mathews 1954: 153).

Nature had certainly provided the founders of Charleston with an

Figure 9

Charleston in 1739: The city has expanded
beyond the city walls, west to the banks of
the Ashley River and south to White Point.
Lots are the long, narrow lots characteristic
of seventeenth century colonial Irish towns.

The ICHNOGRAPHY of CHARLES-TOWN at High Water.

HONORABILI
Carolo Pinckney Armigero,
Presidi caeterisque istius CAROLINÆ Plagæ Meridiem spectantis SENATORIBUS, quorum bonis Auspiciis, Diis Adjuvantibus, quorum Consiliis, Ingenio prepollentibus, quorum Sub Armis strenue et assidue cultis, INDORUM, GALLORUM, et HISPANORUM Urbes in fugam conversæ, Stratagemata in fumum et auras redacta sunt. Plurimas Vobis debentur Palmas, Vestrorum bonis avibus, Hæc inter alias, sese exulit Colonias quanquam Novissima, exhibet que Urbem preclaram Imperium Insigne, Cujus hanc TABULAM ICHNOGRAPHICAM humillime
D.D. Servus Devotissimus G. H.
A SKETCH of the HARBOUR
A Scale of Four Miles
JAMES ISLAND
Johnsons Fort
Charles-Town Neck
Road
Ashley Dorchester & Georgia
Hog Island
Habkaw
Sullivants Island
River
Ashley River
Cooper River
White Point
Old Burying Ground
Old Church Yard
Parsonage House
The High Way
Bowling Green
Free School
Coll. Rhetts
Charles Town Line
A Scale of 1320 Feet, or ¼ of a Mile.
Brewtons Bridge
Lloyds Bridge
Pinckneys Bridge
Motes Bridge
Elliots Bridge
Mills Bridge
Rhetts Bridge
Crockatts Bridge
A
B
C
D
F
G
H
K
L
M
N
P
Q
R
S
T
U
V
W
X
Z
G. H. Delin. W. H. Toms, Sculp.

enviable location. Situated at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers and the Atlantic Ocean, the town possessed a good, although somewhat shallow, harbor. Large ships were able to sail up the Cooper River for twenty miles while smaller vessels could roam up to forty miles inland from the bay. A network of rivers provided easy access to the backcountry.

The early colonists had some trouble in determining what staple crop could best prosper the province of Carolina. Early experiments in the cultivation of such valuable commodities as wine, silk and oranges proved disappointing. While experiments in husbandry continued, many of the settlers decided to take advantage of the abundance of deer in the Carolina forests.

The main game animal of the Indian tribes which populated Carolina was the white-tailed deer. The Indians depended on these animals for 50 % of the animal protein in their diet. They artificially increased the number of deer in the area by firing the woods, a procedure which cuts down on the amount of underbrush and promotes the growth of grass. As a result, deer sometimes ranged throughout these man-made savannahs in herds of up to 200 head (Weir 1983: 16-17).

The colonists readily appreciated the value of this multitude of deer. The earliest trade in skins was a secondary, small-scale pursuit of individual planters. Some of these aspiring entrepeneurs hired an Indian hunter to supply them with skins while others traded with whomever wandered by (Crane 1981: 118). In a promotional pamphlet written in 1682 by Thomas Ashe, the author marvelled,

> Deer, of which there is such infinite Herds, that the whole Country seems but one continued Park, insomuch, that I have often heard Captain Matthews, an ingenious Gentleman, and Agent to Sir Peter Colleton for his Affairs in Carolina, (tell) that one hunting Indian has yearly kill'd and brought to his Plantation more than a 100, sometimes 200 head of Deer (Salley 1939: 149-150).

There was probably a great deal of validity to this statement. Between 1699 and 1715, approximately 200 traders sent, on the average, more than 53,000 skins a year to England (Weir 1983: 143). Most of the skins exported were heavy buckskins which weighed, on the average, almost two pounds when "half dressed" or cured by the Indian method of smoking. The lighter skins, suited for neither the English domestic market nor re-export to Germany, were used in the province itself or sold in the northern colonies (Crane 1981: 111-112). By the mid 18th century, dressed deer skins accounted for 16 % of the colony's exports to the mother country and, prior to 1760, tanning was the only important industry in Charleston (Bridenbaugh 1955: 76).

Although the success of the colonists in the Yamassee War (1715 - 1716) resulted in increased safety for all, it jeapordized the prosperity of some. The defeat of the Indians caused the tribes to retreat inland. Those settlers involved in the fur trade found it more difficult to obtain skins and were forced to invest in extensive storage facilities. Soon the trade was transformed from one operated by a number of individuals on a small scale to a capital intensive industry controlled and

dominated by the mercantile community of Charleston. These merchants established credit relations with British businessmen which enabled them to procure and finance the trading goods necessary for the primarily barter exchange carried on with the Indian hunters. The recognition, respect and wealth which many of these merchants achieved made it possible for them to become involved in other branches of trade, such as slaves, naval stores, provisions and rice (Earle and Hoffman 1977: 37; Calhoun et al 1983: 2).

The cultivation of rice had been difficult for the colonists to master. One Englishman recalled,

> The people being unacquainted with the manner of cultivating rice, many difficulties attend the first planting and preparing it, as a vendable commodity, so that little progress was made for the first nine or ten years, when the quantity produced was not sufficient for home consumption (Wood 1975: 58).

By 1761, however, Governor James Glen could assert with confidence,

> The only commodity of Consequence produced in South Carolina is Rice and they reckon it as much their staple Commodity, as Sugar is to Barbadoes and Jamaica, or Tobacco to Virginia and Maryland (Wood 1975: 34).

The increased cultivation of rice throughout South Carolina created a voracious demand for slave labor. Although the Carolina colonists had been unfamiliar with this crop, many of the Africans brought to the low-country came from rice producing areas of Africa. Rice itself was introduced to South Carolina from Madagascar. In fact, it appears that the Africans provided the early technological knowledge needed by the colonists. The retention of African traditions further supports this assumption. Significant continuities between African and Afro-Carolinian methods of planting, hoeing, winnowing and pounding the rice persisted until these techniques were no longer economically feasible (Joyner 1984: 13-14).

Many of the immigrants who came to South Carolina were already familiar with slave labor and brought bondsmen with them. In the English West Indies, large sugar planters were enlarging their holdings and squeezing out those of lesser wealth, often younger sons of established families. Forced to seek their fortunes elsewhere, these Barbadians were attracted by the familiar climate and cheap, abundant land available in Carolina. In 1670, approximately twenty Barbadians came to the fledgling colony and, from 1670 to 1680, a total of 175 of these transplanted Englishmen, accompanied by at least 150 servants and slaves, immigrated to Carolina. The majority of these Barbadians came equipped with money and slaves (Dunn 1972: 112). These men also brought with them the traditions of an older colonial society accustomed to plantations and slavery.

By the 1730s, the planters of South Carolina had made rice the major export of their province. From 1724 to 1774, the rice shipped from the colony accounted for from 1/2 to 2/3 of the total value of the exports of South Carolina. Indigo, following a late start in the 1740s, was

second, and the products of the backcountry - provisions, lumber and naval stores - were third (Earle and Hoffman 1977: 38).

England had long coveted a colonial source of naval stores. Unable to herself produce a sufficient amount, she was forced to rely upon Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia for hemp, tar, pitch and masts. This trade created an unfavorable balance of trade for England as these countries refused to be paid in English manufactures and insisted upon monetary reimbursement (Beer 1948: 55-56). English economists frowned upon this outward flow of specie (in 1703 England's over-balance of trade in this area was 350,000 pounds) while her statesmen shuddered at the dependence of England on European rivals for materials vital for her naval power (Andrews 1938: 103: Calhoun et al 1982: 12).

In an effort to encourage the production of naval stores in the American colonies, the English government granted a bounty on these goods. As the great pine forests were located primarily in the Carolinas, the colonists hastened to add tar, pitch, rosin, turpentine, hemp, masts and bowsprits to their exports. The tar made in South Carolina generally came from dead wood in contrast to Baltic tar, which was made from green trees. As the British Navy, the largest consumer of exported tar, preferred that produced by the Baltic method, there was a reduced demand for Carolina tar in the second decade of the 18th century. To compensate for the declining market, Carolinians began to concentrate on the manufacture of pitch. Shipbuilders, however, needed pitch less than tar and the market was quickly glutted.

The act legislating the system of bounties expired in 1724. The withdrawal of the subsidies for the years 1725 to 1729 resulted in a significant decrease in the manufacture of tar and pitch. The reduced bounties re-established in 1729 failed to stimulate production. During an average year between 1734 and 1737, South Carolina's exports of tar and pitch were only slightly over half of what they had been in an average year between 1717 and 1720. Many colonists turned from the manufacture of tar and pitch to the production of turpentine and rosin. Larger planters devoted themselves increasingly to the cultivation of rice and, from 1725 to 1731, the annual volume of rice exported from Charleston tripled (Waterhouse 1973: 123-125; Calhoun et al 1982: 19-20).

Rice had become a mainstay of the South Carolina economy. In December of 1744, however, a committee was appointed in Charleston to investigate the causes of the decline of the rice trade. They concluded that it was,

> chiefly owing to the great Freights, high Insurance, Scarcity of Shipping, and other extraordinary Charges on Trade, occasioned by the present War (War of the Austrian Succession), which has reduced the Price of Rice so low, that it will not pay the Expence of raising and manufacturing it (South Carolina Gazette December 10, 1744).

This situation persisted and, in November of 1745, a letter to the editor published in the South Carolina Gazette referred to the low price of rice and, mentioning how people were beginning to try the cultivation

of other crops, suggested wine, silk, oyl, and indigo as viable alternatives (South Carolina Gazette November 4, 1745).

The colonists had experimented with indigo throughout the early years of the province. Eliza Lucas Pinckney first planted indigo in 1741 and succeeded in producing seventeen pounds. Initially, the Assembly of South Carolina granted a bounty on indigo to encourage its production. As more and more planters successfully cultivated the crop, the subsidy became too expensive to maintain. It was finally dropped in 1746 when the production of indigo in South Carolina reached 5,000 pounds (Bentley 1977: 60).

The mother country was also interested in the development of indigo. England annually imported over 600,000 pounds of French indigo. The possibility of weaning their country from dependence on their archrival for its supply of this dye induced English legislators in 1748 to grant a bounty on all indigo exported to England from her American colonies (Gipson 1960: 135). The promised bounty and rumors of high prices persuaded many planters to concentrate on this new crop. The terms of the act establishing the bounty, however, specified that the subsidy would be paid to the importer, not the exporter. It was expected that this would in turn be passed on to the planters in the form of higher prices paid for their product. Such was not the case, perhaps because of the often poor quality of the Carolina indigo offered for sale. Consequently, although many Carolinians continued to grow indigo, the amount exported remained relatively small throughout the late 1740s and early 1750s.

Indigo production was finally stimulated by the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756. The alliances of this war naturally excluded French and Spanish indigo from the English market, thus raising the demand for Carolina indigo. In addition, the increased insurance rates imposed on rice shipped from Charleston raised its price in Europe and resulted in a decrease in demand. The lowered prices subsequently paid for rice in Charleston provided an added inducement for planters to diversify their crops (Waterhouse 1973: 130-131).

As the planters and merchants, often dual occupations in colonial Charleston, gained in prosperity, they began to demand goods more appropriate to their elevated station in life. The clink of silver reverberated throughout Britain and the colonies, attracting factors, merchants and craftsmen. Charleston was the economic, institutional and social center of the surrounding region. The necessity of transacting business in Charleston drew planters eager to transform their crops into cash or goods. The government of Carolina was also centered in Charleston until 1788, making it imperative for those involved in any sort of legal transaction or position in government to come to the city. Poor inland communications, lonely stretches between plantations and bad roads made it virtually imperative for a planter interested in society to reside in Charleston at least occasionally, while the danger of fevers made it desirable during the summer months for even the most resolute recluse. Some planters were only able to rent quarters. Others indulged their taste for the grandiose and built large, striking residences for their families. Although these planters generally chose lots near the rivers for the reputed health benefits, they were also

influenced by wealth and taste in their decisions. Some, particularly the rice planters in the mid 1700s, situated themselves along the Battery while others, preferring more spacious lots on which gardens and pleasure pavilions were possible, spread along the banks of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers (Zierden and Calhoun 1982: 16).

Factors appeared to handle the problem of customers whose actual wealth was determined by the seasons. To enable the planters to maintain their high standard of living throughout the year, a factor issued advances based upon the estimated value of the planter's crops at relatively high rates of interest. These loans were granted with the understanding that the factor thus purchased the exclusive right to receive and sell that planter's crop. Goods bought on credit by the planter also bore significantly higher prices than those commanded by cash (Nevins 1947: 474-475).

Factors, merchants and some craftsmen found proximity to the waterfront, the receiving point for both imports and exports, highly desirable. During the first decade of Charleston's existence, the captains of ocean-going vessels had to use lighters to carry their goods to the docks of the town. In the 1690s, however, those areas deep enough for large ships were converted into wharves (Green 1965: 12) while the other areas along the Bay became fashionable residential quarters. The development of wharves and streets significantly lowered lightering and hauling charges for the merchants. Buildings were erected upon the wharves and proved to be ideal locations for both the storehouses needed for the colony's exports and outlets for the sale of imports. The Charleston merchants, a rather generic term which includes such professions as factors, clustered on major east-west thoroughfares adjacent to the wharves. East Bay and Broad Street, two of the principal streets delineated in the Grand Model, were highly valued for their proximity to the waterfront. For the period 1732 to 1737, of the eighty six merchants who gave specific street addresses in their newspaper advertisements, 36.0% were located on the Bay, 20.0% on Broad and 14.1% on the various wharves. Elliott Street was the site of 9.4%, while 8.24% listed Church and 4.71% Tradd Street. This pattern holds true, with slight variations, for the entire colonial period (Calhoun et al 1983: 4-5) (Table I) (Figures 10 & 11; See Figure 13).

Local competition and the large scale of the merchants' operations made it essential that overhead expenses be kept as low as possible; easy access to both imported goods and those intended for export as well as the cost of transportation within the city itself were necessary considerations. A notice published in an issue of the South Carolina Gazette in 1750 stated the rates for carriage of all goods from the wharfs or bridges before the Bay of Charleston:

Rates for carriage of all goods from wharves or bridges before the Bay of Charleston:

To any part of Church Street and other places leading thereto between the bridge that leads to Colleton's Square, for every cord of wood, load of boards, plank, timber and bricks, computing 500 feet of inch or other boards, plank and timber in proportion, and 500 bricks, to a load, 5 shillings currency.

Figures 10 & 11

Charleston in 1788 and 1802: There is little
physical expansion throughout the eighteenth
century, with only slight growth to the north.
Instead, there is more intensive utilization
and subdivision of lots in the center of town.
Expansion is vertical, and into the interior
of blocks.

ICHNOGRAPHY of CHARLESTON,

South Carolina

At the Request of Adam Tunno Esqr. for the use of the

PHŒNIX FIRE-COMPANY of LONDON,

Taken from Actual Survey, 2d August 1788 by

Edmund Petrie

SCALE

PROTECTION

C O O P E R   R I V E R

A S H L Y   R I V E R

CHARLESTON

PLAN of the CITY of CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA.

Engraved by C.Braun.

ENGRAVED for the PATRONS of J.J. NEGRIN'S DIRECTORIAL REGISTER & ALMANAC.

CANNON'S BOROUGH

S.t BOROUGH

CHARLESTON

FEDERAL GREEN

ASHLEY R.

COOPER RIVER

If over the bridge and to White Point, or over the bridge
and to Colleton's Square on a parallel with Church Street,
7 shillings & 6 pence and for every load of lime 2 pence
per bushel.

To any part of Meeting Street, and other places leading
thereto, between the bridge that leads to Mr. Hopton's and
the bridge near Captain Simmons, 7 shillings & 6 pence.

And lime 3 pence per bushel.

To King Street and all other parts of town not hearin
before mentioned, 10 shillings.

And lime for 4 pence per bushel.

To the barracks, 12 shillings & 6 pence.

For every load of gunpowder to and from the magazine 15
shillings.

For a full load of any other kind of goods (if a full load
is required) at the like rates as for wood.

And for shingles to any part of the town 5 shillings per
thousand (South Carolina Gazette July 9 - 16, 1750).

In a similar list given in 1755, the rates are proportionately
the same (South Carolina Gazette May 19, 1755). The publication of these
schedules indicates the interest which the community had in transportation
expenses within the town itself. The lack of cost quotations for the
conveyance of goods to those streets, East Bay and Broad, which were most
utilized by merchants makes it evident that proximity to the waterfront
was valued not merely for convenience but also economy.

The expanded economic base of the town permitted growth in population
and a corresponding increase in the demand for service industries.
Artisans had a different criteria than that of merchants for their
choices of locations. Although access to raw materials was important,
a more serious consideration was proximity to customers. There were some,
such as coopers and sail makers, who preferred sites on or as close to
the waterfront as possible. Others spread throughout the city. Of
the forty seven craftsmen who gave their addresses in the advertisements
published in the South Carolina Gazette from 1732 to 1737, 18.7% were
on Church, 16.6% on Broad, 14.5% on Elliott and 12.5% on Tradd Street.
Only 8.3% were located on the Bay. 6.2% were situated each on Bedons'
Alley and the Green while the wharves, White Point and Union Street each
had 4.1%. This lack of clustering continues throughout the next
thirty years, with the addition of King Street as an important area for
artisans (Table II).

The development and increased prosperity of Charleston resulted in
a rise in the cost of renting and buying real estate within the commercial
core of the town. Significant portions of the artisan community dispersed
throughout Charleston as all but the more affluent craftsmen were forced

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from the highly desirable locations. Many small businessmen attempted to combat rising real estate prices by sharing buildings while artisans made increasing use through time of the more peripheral King and Meeting Streets, two thoroughfares largely ignored by merchants (Calhoun et al 1983: 5-7).

In 1773, Claudius Gaillard gave up his bakery and moved from King Street, complaining,

> the House Rent was too high for him, and his Profits would not allow him to pay 250 pounds per annum.

Other less prosperous craftsmen faced similar financial difficulties; certainly few of them in 1774 were able to pay 100 to 200 pounds a year in rent for one of the seven tenements belonging to real estate broker Jacob Valk, much less purchase one at prices ranging from 700 to a 1,000 pounds (Bridenbaugh 1955: 228).

Craftsmen who derived their livelihood from such trades as the slaughtering of livestock, soap making and tallow chandlery, needed space. The lack of sanitation and the danger of fire made these activities the subject of nuisance persecution. Artisans plagued by these complaints and worried about the increased cost of land within the commercial core tended to move from the economic center of the town to less congested areas on the periphery.

Due to the demands of trade, Charleston's mainstay, the locations of merchants and craftsmen are important indications of movement within a community. In Charleston during the years 1732 - 1767, both merchants and, to a lesser extent, artisans utilized more intensively those streets which ran east-west rather than those which were on a north-south axis, and physical growth during this period is primarily to the west, towards the Ashley River. There is, however, a substantial increase in the use of King Street by both these groups in the period 1738-1743. The subsequent decline in the years 1744 - 1749 for merchants (3.4% to 1.4%) and craftsmen (26.1% to 8.9%) is probably an indication of the overall economic stagnation of Charleston in the 1740s (Calhoun et al 1983: 7).

An international conflict, King George's War (1740 - 1748) severely disrupted the commerce of Charleston. Spanish and French privateers relentlessly preyed on British ships. As the prosperity of the town depended on the returns from the export of the heavy, bulky agricultural goods produced by the surrounding area, the impact was devastating. Insurance rates soared and many Charleston merchants suffered severe losses when their cargoes were captured. The increased freight rates cut into the merchants' profits to such a painful extent that, at several times during the conflict, Charleston merchants ignored the traditionally lucrative capture of enemy trade and instructed their privateers to concentrate on the destruction of their Spanish and French counterparts (Calhoun et al 1983: 7-8; Stumpf 1971: 216-217).

Throughout the period 1770 - 1795, these locational trends remained fairly constant. The only significant aberrations occurred during the years 1780 - 1782, the period of the British occupation of Charleston.

The American Revolution and its attendant chaos disrupted the commercial life of Charleston but did not halt the growth of the city. In 1783, the town was incorporated and divided into wards for better control. Peace and security stimulated a people tired of war. The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1795 resulted in twenty years of unbridled prosperity for Charleston.

As the people of South Carolina became increasingly wealthy, Charleston grew to keep pace with demands for services and luxury goods. In 1817 Ebenezer Kellogg, a visitor to Charleston, wrote in his description of the city,

> The wharves are all on the east side of the town, and do not indeed reach quite to the southern end, so that in coming into the harbour you see all the shipping at once. The town is laid out very regularly and the principal streets are Eastbay street running parrallel and next to the east river, in which you find most of the ship chandlers, many of the great grocers, and in the stores between this and the docks, all the cotton and rice trade, the auction sales, and generally the shipping business. Parallel to Eastbay going to the west you find Church, Meeting, and King streets; the two last of which with Broad street that crosses them at right angles a little below the middle of the town, are the principal streets for elegant shops. West of King street, the town is less regular, the streets being mostly short. The streets running east and west commonly run quite across the town (Figure 11) (Martin 1948: 4).

Most members of the mercantile community still found the waterfront irresistable. Throughout the years 1803 - 1860, Charleston was a city of pedestrians. Dealers in virtually every sort of merchandise profitted from both the convenience of being at least near the commercial core of the town, Broad and East Bay, and the avoidance of ruinous cartage costs. Items were often advertised at discount prices for those who would pick up their purchases directly from the wharf and demand neither delivery nor the elegance of a store.

Actually, expense was not the only objection to securing transport for goods. In the low-lying, boggy city of Charleston, merely getting from one place to another was often a difficulty for any one not prepared to walk. Flooding and bad roads were facts of life in Charleston. In 1818, an article in the Charleston Courier lamented,

> DRY GOODS - But few sales have been made the past week, owing in part to the heavy rains, which has made it almost impossible for the transportation of goods even from one part of the city to another, and for country traders to come to market....

The article, concluding on an optimistic note, cheerily reported,

> the article is improving, and many sales would probably have been effected had it not been for the inclemency of the weather (Charleston Courier February 2, 1818).

Two technological innovations, the steam ship (1819) and the

railroad ("Best Friend" - 1830) failed to remedy the situation. The steam ship merely increased the importance of transporting goods to the wharves; the railroad, due to internecine competition among the more powerful factions of the business community, terminated on the Neck, between King and Meeting Streets, and was not extended into the built-up area of the city (Calhoun et al 1984: 29-30) (Figure 12).

The individual, however, experienced few problems. The outer edges of the antebellum town were never, in any direction, more than one and a fourth miles from the commercial center. A stroll down the entire length of Meeting or King Street in the built-up section would have entailed only one and a half miles (Figures 13 & 14). This made it entirely feasible to live within any part of the city and still be within walking distance of all the major business districts (Figure 14) (Radford 1974: 177). In 1859, William Calder of Calder House, formerly the well-known Planters' Hotel, on the corner of Queen and Church, gave notice that his building was for rent. In his advertisement, he emphasized,

> The location is one of the most desirable in the City, being within five minutes' walk of the Wholesale Houses, the Wharves, Banks and Postoffices, and is, on this account, convenient for the Country Merchant, the Planter and the Stranger on a visit of pleasure (Charleston Courier May 2, 1859).

Country merchants, planters, and strangers "on a visit of pleasure" flocked to Charleston. Planters continued to establish residences in Charleston throughout the antebellum era and "great" planters began to spend increasing amounts of time in Charleston. The residences of planters in antebellum Charleston formed three major clusters. These were, in order of importance, south of Broad, including most of the southern tip of the peninsula; the northwest section of the city, in Harleston and Cannonsborough; scattered along the east of the city, from Hampstead to Rhettsburg (Figure 27) (Radford 1974: 155).

The upper class, made up primarily of planters, successful professionals and wealthy merchants, largely preferred residences within sight and sound of St. Michaels Episcopal Church, on the southeast corner of Broad and Meeting Streets. There were several legitimate reasons for this choice. St. Michaels was a prestigous church; a large number of Charleston's wealthiest citizens worshipped there every Sunday. The bells of St. Michaels tolled the hour and were used to alert the town in case of fire or disaster. A sentry stationed in the steeple called out the quarter hours as they struck, maintained a fire watch and, if a fire was seen, not only made sure the bells were rung but also would hang a warning light on the side of the spire nearest to the fire. In a city frequently assaulted by fire and terrified of arson by slaves, the ability to hear the bells and see the warning light was a great comfort. The other three corners of the intersection of Broad and Meeting were occupied by the Guard House, Court House and City Hall. These four corners were the physical embodiment of social control in Charleston (Radford 1974: 194-195).

The residents of the area surrounding St. Michaels were intent on maintaining the health and safety of their district. Charlestonians

44

Figure 12

Charleston in 1852: As inland road and
rail transportation increased in importance,
Charleston expanded northward up the
peninsula. Plantation and farm lands were
subdivided and sold as lots. A considerable
amount of the peninsular lowland had been
filled.

An Original Map
OF THE

CITY OF CHARLESTON
SOUTH CAROLINA.

Surveyed by H.P. Bridgens Pub. Adm.
Published by Houston, Member & Co.
1852

List of Public Buildings.

Figure 13

The commercial core of Charleston, eighteenth
century: Major commercial activity was
concentrated on East Bay Street and the water-
front, and west into town along Broad, Tradd,
and Elliot Streets. North-south streets were
of secondary importance. Dotted line shows the
city limits until 1782.

Line St.

Cannon St.

East Bay St.

Calhoun St.

Meeting St.

King St.

Beaufain St.

Queen St.

Broad St.

Tradd St.
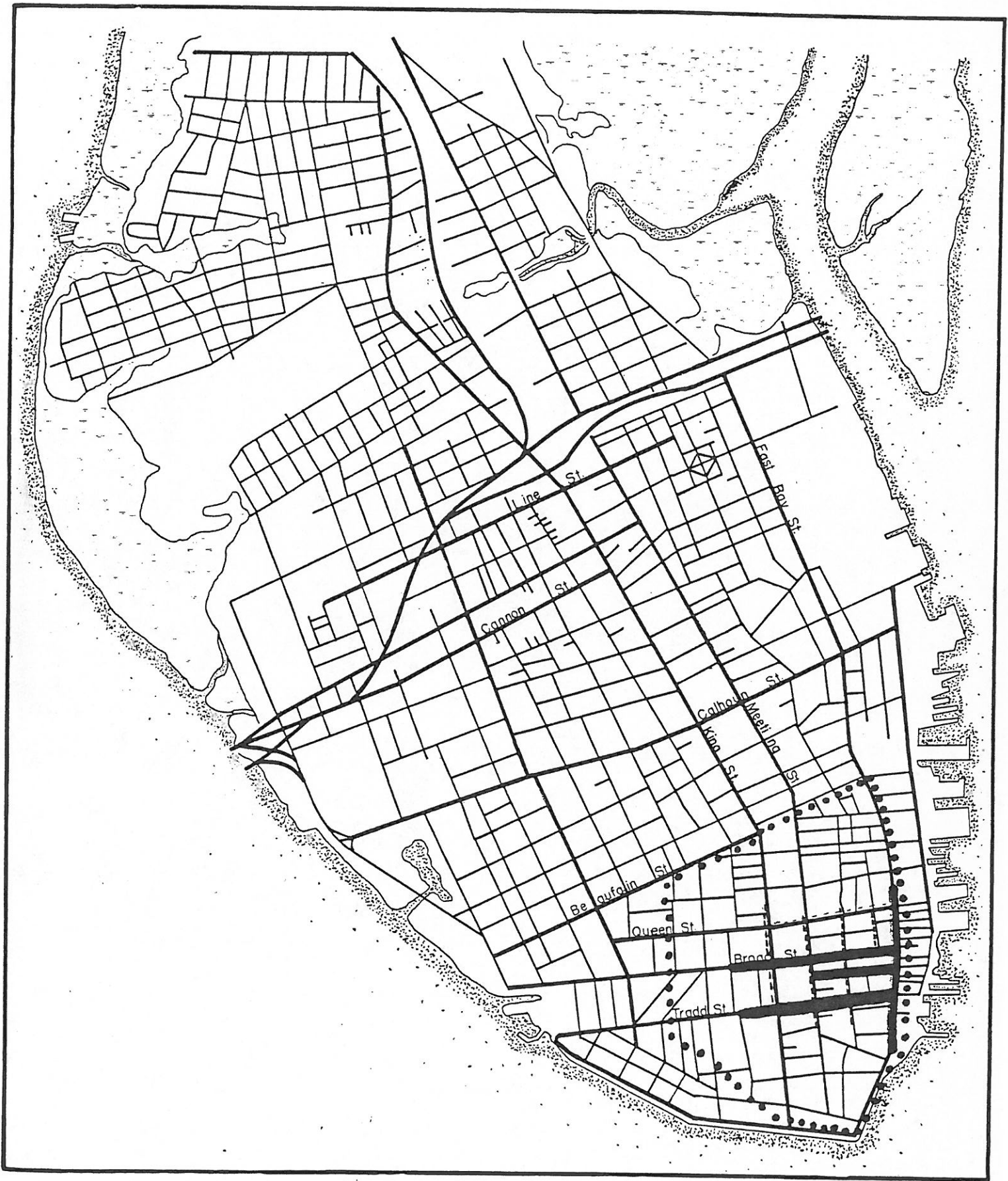
Figure 14

Commercial core of Charleston, antebellum
period: The shift in the location of the
commercial core of the city reflects the
northward expansion of the city and the
increasing specialization of the merchant
class. Major commercial retail areas
include King Street and East Bay Street;
minor clusters are found around the
markets at Market Street and Vendue
Range.

Map labels: East Bay St., Line St., Cannon St., Calhoun St., Meeting St., Beaufain St., Queen St., Broad St., Tradd St.
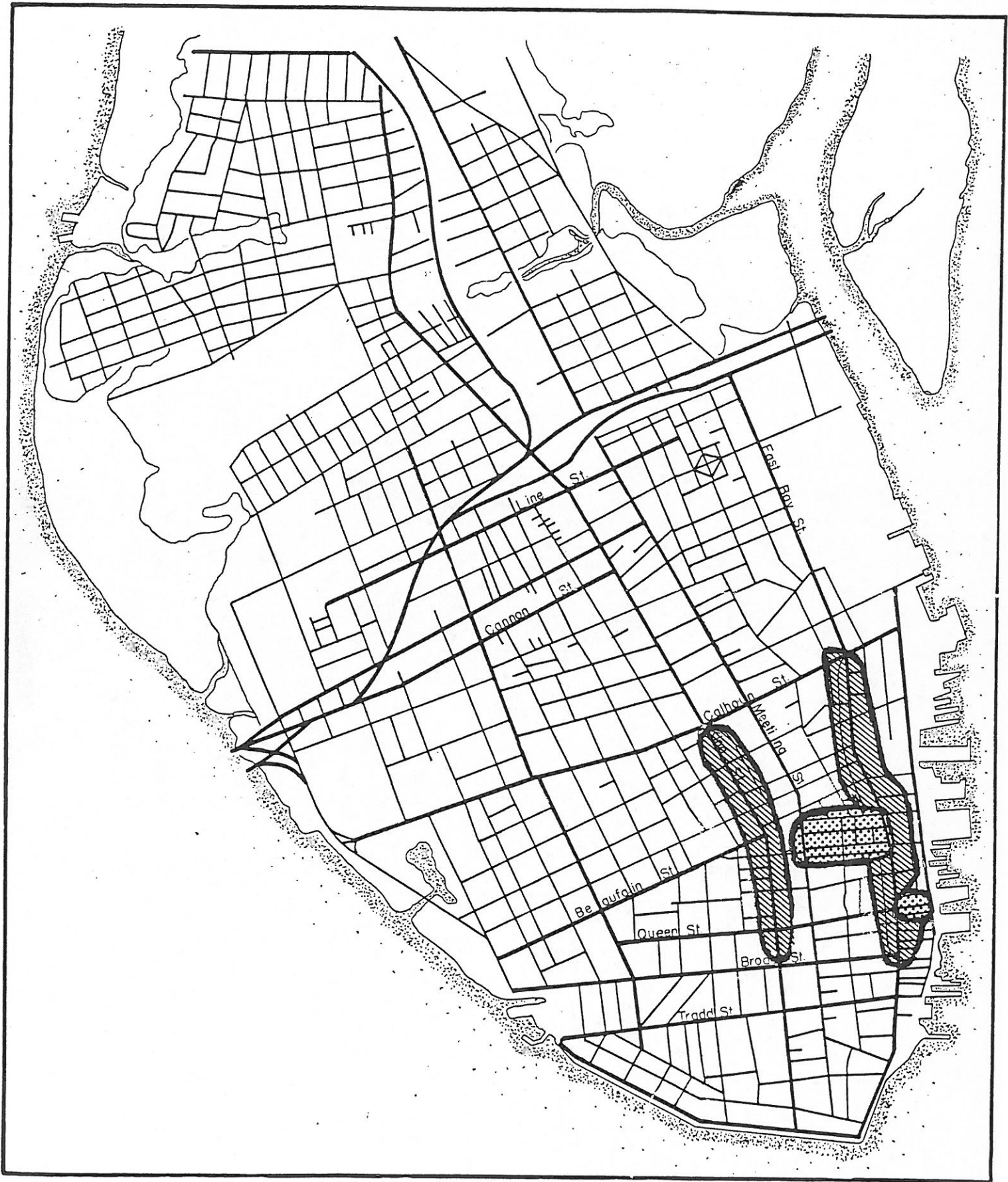
had a morbid fear of fire and disease. Following the disasterous fire
of 1838, the city council passed and enforced an ordinance requiring
all buildings constructed south of Calhoun Street, at this time the
northern boundary of the peninsular city, to be of brick (Radford
1974: 197-199). Charlestonians also embarked on a crusade to clean up
the alleys in the central area. In this period, it was still believed
that bad air caused disease, while sea breezes were considered a helpful,
if not always completely effective, tonic. As alleys packed with the
shacks of lower class whites, mulattoes, and blacks - both slave and
free - were believed to be an impediment to the cleansing sweep of sea
breezes, cesspools of disease, fire hazards, and general nuisances, it
is not surprising that, time after time in the antebellum era, the
"better class" petitioned to have these alleys cleaned, widened and,
in terms of both filth and people, cleared out (Radford 1974: 201-202).

Upper class citizens of antebellum Charleston took further precautions
to protect their favorite residential section. Those who lived in the
area were largely in control of the property market. There was a
further constraint on the introduction of foreign of undesirable elements
into this district; most of the homes within sight and sound of St.
Michaels remained within the family and were seldom offered for sale to
outsiders (Radford 1974: 192-196; Calhoun et al 1984: 50-51).

The prosperity of the planters was based upon slavery. Slaves
served not only as field hands but also did virtually every service
necessitated by the management of a household and family. Wealthy
planters were not the only ones who owned slaves in Charleston. Merchants,
hotel owners, artisans and tavern keepers - many of these and more had
at least one bondsman to help, or actually perform, whatever labor was
required.

The demand for slave labor for a wide variety of work encouraged
the practice of hiring out. Under this system, the bondsman would either
be hired out for a pre-determined amount of money or would secure his
own employment and return to his owner an agreed upon sum. As this
preactice became increasingly prevalent, more and more slaves began
"living out."

Urban slaves can be roughly divided into two groups, those who lived
with their master and those who "lived out." Bondsmen who "lived in"
were confined in close quarters with their master and his family. The
urban residential lot of the slave owner assumed the character of a
compound. Surrounded by high walls, the lot would generally contain
a single dwelling unit for the master and quarters for the slaves.
These quarters, long, narrow and usually two stories high, either joined
the main house at right angles or were located at the back of the lot
overlooking a small open area. The second floor had sleeping areas
while the first generally housed the kitchen, store rooms, and, sometimes,
a stable. Most of these structures were wooden with a balcony along
one side, at the outer end of which was a privy for the use of the
bondsmen (Wade 1964: 114). Those slaves who "lived out" made their
homes in any available space - a floor, room, shack, crowded tenement,
or house. Some attained a certain degree of affluence and rented relatively
spacious quarters, generally on the Neck (Zierden and Calhoun 1982: 22-
23).

Not all bondsmen were owned by whites. Free blacks also had the right to own slaves. This privilege was recognized as early as 1654 but, until the early 19th century when manumission laws became prohibitively strict, most bondsmen owned by blacks were quickly released. By the 1830s, the restrictions which had been placed by southern legislatures on manumission made it virtually impossible for owners to free their property unless they moved to a free state. Thus, by 1830, there were approximately 3,775 free black slaveholders throughout the South with 80% in the four oldest slaveholding states - Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia and Maryland. Of this number, nearly half lived in cities, primarily Charleston and New Orleans (Oakes 1982: 47).

Most free black owners of slaves either purchased members of their family or were motivated by humanitarian impulses. James Harrison Holloway (1849 - 1913), a member of a free black family in Charleston, cited three instances in which his family acted out of benevolence. Mrs. Mary Jane Benford, daughter-in-law of Charles Benford, a slave who had belonged to Richard Holloway, James' father, gave the following account of how her father-in-law gained his freedom.

In 1832, his owner, Mary Shubrick died and her children, Mrs. Sarah A. Trapier and Edward Shubrich as Administratix and Administrator gave him Charles Benford, the privilege of purchasing himself for the nominal sum of 300 (dollars) and gave him three years to pay the money without interest.

But it was necessary for him to get someone to hold him as his property, as the law would not recognize him as free and so he having confidence in Mr. Richard Holloway, got him to assume the obligations while he, Charles Benford, paid the money.

The transaction was not of any financial benefit to Mr. Holloway, he being actuated only by brotherly love in the matter they both being Leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

My Father-in-law delighted to tell this as evidence of the Christian character of Mr. Richard Holloway (Holloway Papers).

It is as difficult, however, to generalize about black slaveholders as it is for those who were white. The few free blacks who owned large numbers of slaves were generally at least half white and were treated with hostility by both black and white. As secession and battle loomed near, whites, nervous as to how far free blacks could be trusted, intensified their efforts to restrict black ownership of slaves. Slaves were equally disturbed, although for different reasons. A Texas slave complained,

One nigger's no business to sarve another. It's bad enough to have to sarve a white man without being paid for it, without having to sarve a black man (Oakes 1982: 48-49).

There was a distinct tendency for Charleston's free blacks to live at more of a distance from whites than did slaves. In 1861, the index of dissimilarity between whites and free blacks was more than twice that between whites and slaves (Berlin 1974: 257). Several factors

account for this variation. Many free blacks undoubtedly preferred to maintain a discrete distance from whites, while slaves frequently had no choice. Wealth and position were no guarantee of immunity from harassment by any white, regardless of age, sex, influence, or affluence. A letter informing a friend or relative of a family's intended emigration to Liberia declared that,

> we have a fine country where we may better ourselves & call it our own there...according to the dictates of our own conscience under our own Vine and Fig tree and none to molest us or make us affraid (Holloway Papers).

Other free blacks, thrust into competition with their enslaved brethern, were forced to accept equally low wages and found it exceedingly idfficult to allow any consideration other than financial to determine their place of residence (Zierden and Calhoun 1982: 22-25).

Free blacks were an anomaly in society which many whites felt should not exist. In 1783, a city ordinance was passed which required every free black over fifteen years of age to obtain, for a fee of five shillings, a badge from the city treasurer which was to be worn "suspended by a string or rabband, and exposed to view on his breast" (Sellers 1970: 102). In the judicial system, the free black was an undesired nuisance. Although blacks were unable to prosecute or testify against a white, in matters of property free blacks dealt with whites on terms of relative equality. This opportunity was thoroughly understood and some free blacks came to own considerable amounts of real estate. By the 1850s, approximately seventy five whites in Charleston rented their homes from free blacks and one street, Dereef's Court, was named for the wealthy freeman who owned the houses that lined both sides of the block (Berlin 1974: 344; City of Charleston Census 1861).

In Charleston, slavery was synonymous with labor. The widespread employment of slaves in a variety of services for his master and others prevented any real development of the mechanic arts among whites. The psychological conflict in white and black artisans competing for, and performing, identical tasks often led to a deep aversion between the two groups. Frederick Douglass, himself a participant at one time in this economic and, on occasion, physical warfare, declared,

> The slaveholders...by encouraging the enmity of the poor, laboring white man against the blacks, succeeds in making the said white man almost as much of a slave as the black man himself.... The slave is robbed, by his master, of all his earnings, above what is required for his bare physical necessities; and the white man is robbed by the slave system, of the just results of his labor, because he is flung into competition with a class of laborers who work without wages.... The impression is ω...made, that slavery is the only power that can prevent the laboring white man from falling to the level of the slave's poverty and degradation (Douglass 1969: 309-311).

Many artisans came to scorn their work and hired or bought slaves to carry on their business (Nevins 1947: 491). Others migrated to the northern colonies where wages were lower but their social status higher

(Sellers 1970: 103). This led to a dependence on slave labor which proved detrimental to the technological and industrial development of Carolina. In a situation where labor intensive methods were often not merely feasible but actually desirable, there was a disincentive to modernize the agricultural sector. Industry suffered from the same handicap with the result that the South in general lagged significantly behind other areas in manufacturing techniques and results. Thus the withdrawal of mercantilist laws following the Revolution, which had governed the productive capabilities of the colonies, had little effect on the economy of Charleston. Instead, the city continued to rely heavily on raw materials, at this point primarily agricultural, for its prosperity. The development of Charleston as a social center had stabilized its urban economy but offered few opportunities for expansion. The economic well-being of the town depended on the monetary success of the country society for which it was the center (Powers 1972: 15).

The boom years of cotton, 1795 - 1819, could not last. The national depression which began in 1819 (Greb 1978: 18) brought to an abrupt halt the commercial expansion of Charleston. Few merchants survived the 1820s (Greb 1978: 27) and, although the economy soon stabilized, the city had begun a steady decline from which the "golden" antebellum years could not save it. The cotton planters and business community of Charleston learned to their horror that dependence upon cotton and its international market made the local economy vulnerable to fluctuations over which they could exercise no control. They also faced debilitating competition from newer cotton producing areas in the southwest.

Although antebellum Charleston remained the most important port in the southeast, the success of railroads and steam exacerbated her economic recession. The economic decline of Charleston occurred as the city was growing increasingly defensive of its "peculiar institution." The city sullenly withdrew into itself, eschewing the present and glorifying its past. The great fire of 1861 devestated much of downtown Charleston. The War Between the States, although sparing Charleston the ravages perpetrated upon Atlanta, Columbia, and many other cities in the South, set the seal on a social and economic era.
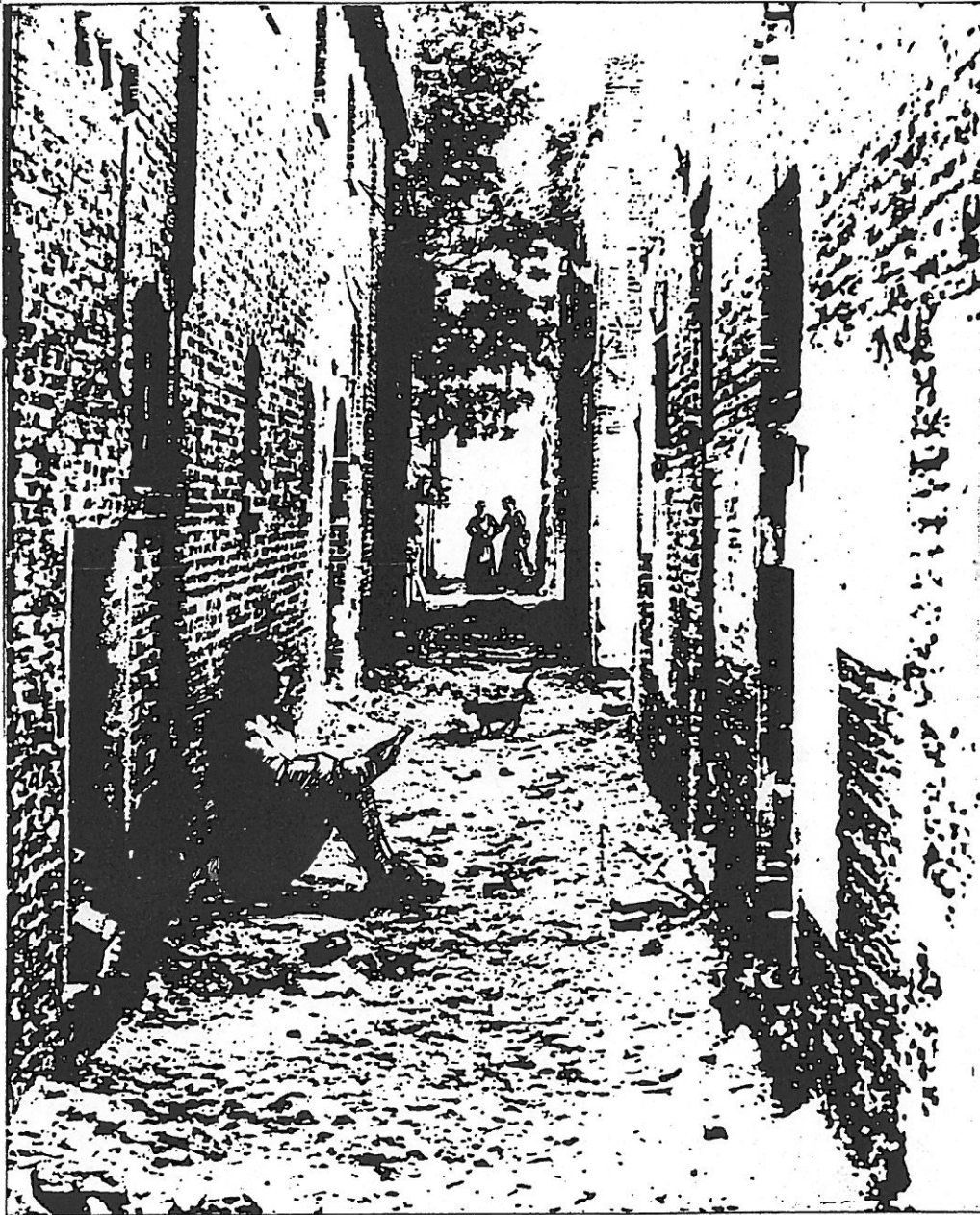
CHAPTER IV

Patterns in the Growth

of Charleston

The Fortified City

Prior to the founding of Georgia in 1733, Charleston was the southernmost outpost of the British empire. This exposed position made the town particularly vulnerable not only to the fears of pirates, Spanish, French and Indians, but also the realities. The eighteenth century was a time of conflict. The War of the League of Augsberg (1688-1697), the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), and the French and Indian War (1754-1763) - as the colony of a major European power, all of these conflagrations affected Charleston.

Defense was seen as a priority and the colonists undertook to fortify their city. Soon after the town was moved from Albemarle Point to Oyster Point, a more defensible position, a wall was built around the town (Figure 15). This was a common European practice and undoubtedly seemed the first rational step in any scheme for long-term protection. The eastern wall against the Cooper River was a substantial brick structure which sloped outward to meet the waters of the harbor. As the colonial city was constantly in the throes of expansion, those walls on the west, south and north were soon destroyed. The eastern wall was maintained as a seawall until late in the 18th century.

Although the townspeople appeared to neglect these fortifications, this was far from true. In "THE PETITION OF THE MERCHANTS, TRADERS, PLANTERS AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN THE TRADE AND PROSPERITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA" dated London, December 21, 1756, the citizens of Charleston, terrified by the possibility of invasion by the King's enemies during the French and Indian War (1754 - 1763) declared,

That by a Violent Hurricane in September 1752 the fortifications guarding the Entrance into the Harbor and all those about Charles Town were entirely destroy'd, which the province at a great expence have been rebuilding ever since....

They went on to state,

these provinces are by their situation more exposed to the incursions of the Enemy and of the Indians depending on them and in their Interest than any of Your Majestys dominions in North America, as by their great Distance from New York and the Northern Colonies they can expect no relief from forces Sent on that Service.

Confronted with these difficulties, the colonists proceeded to plead for aid from the royal government (Hamer 1970: 379; Calhoun 1983: 9).

When constructed, the four walls surrounding the city had several
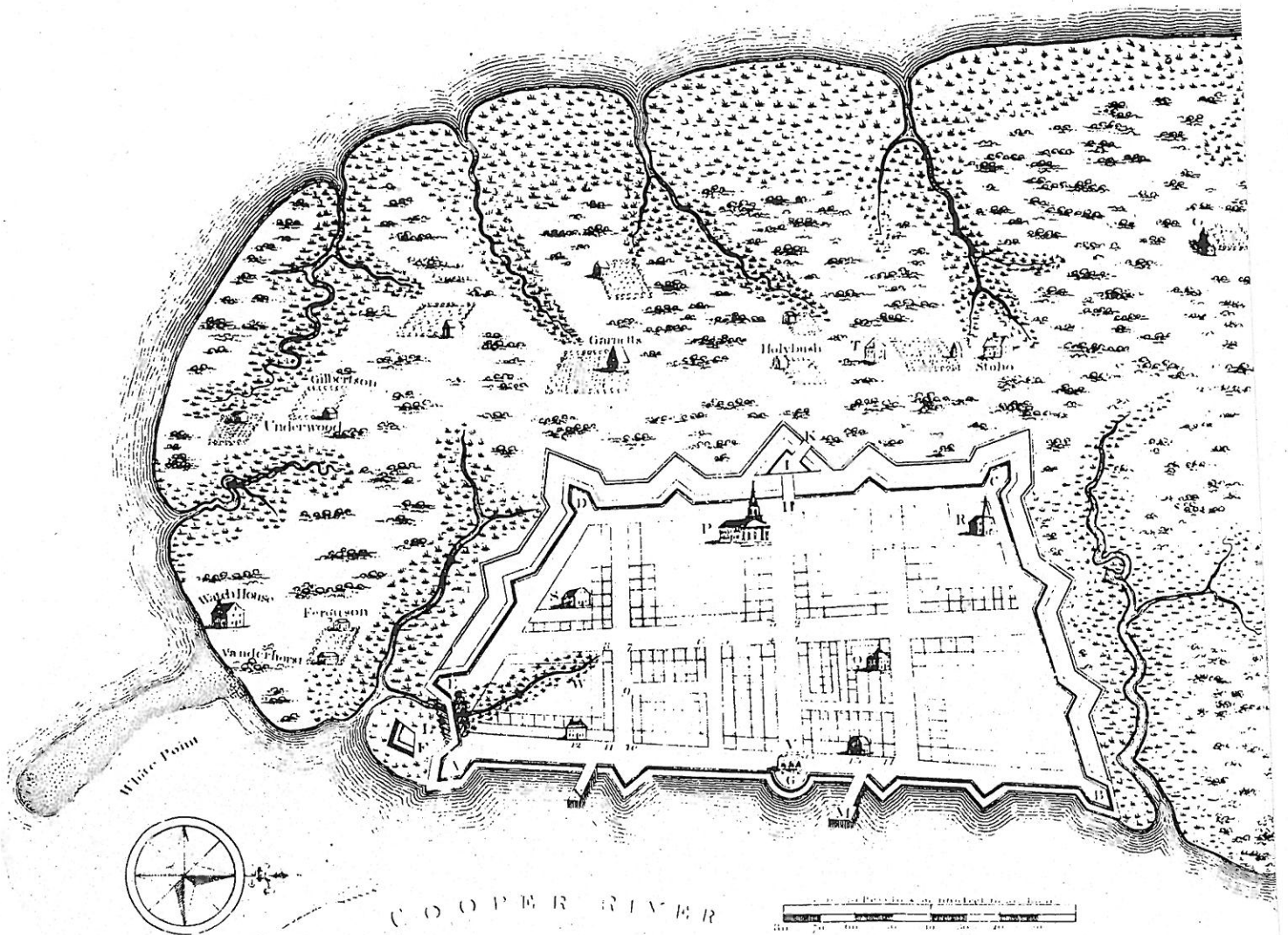
Figure 15

The 1700 fortifications, showing
the bastions and city gate.

A - Granville's Bastion
B - Craven's Bastion
C - Carteret's Bastion
D - Colleton's Bastion
E - Ashley Bastion
F - Blake's Bastion
G - Half Moon Battery
H - Draw Bridge
I - Johnson's Bastion
K - Draw Bridge

breastworks to protect soldiers defending the walls. There were also three bastions, works projecting outward from the main enclosure with two flanks, on the corners of the walls. Craven's Bastion, on the northeastern corner, is located beneath the steps of the present-day United States Customs House. The southeastern corner had Granville's Bastion, which is currently under the Masonic building.

Considerable information on Granville's Bastion was recorded in 1925 when the Masonic building was enlarged. Excavations for this construction revealed a considerable portion of Granville's Bastion. The excavations were reported by Samuel Lapham in the South Carolina Genealogical and Historical Magazine (Lapham 1925: 221-227). The excavations revealed portions of the original bastion, some 1752 additions, and a number of associated features, including a well and possible powder magazine. A cross-section of the bastion suggests a construction similar to that recorded at the Half Moon Battery (see below). The brick sloped outward on the east side, and was constructed on a platform of cypress planks and palmetto logs (Figure 19).

A semi-circular bastion known as the Half Moon Battery was revealed by excavations conducted under the Exchange building by John Miller of The Charleston Musem in 1965. The Half Moon Battery, located at the foot of Broad Street, is the only visible remnant of these original fortifications and has been left exposed in the basement of the Exchange building. (Figure 16). During John Miller's excavations (Herold 1981b), the Half Moon Battery was exposed and the fill between the battery and the east wall of the Exchange was excavated (Figure 17). The excavations indicate that the wall was a massive brick structure seven feet high, sloping outward. The brick structure rested on a foundation of planks. The presence of a coffer dam on the east side of the sea wall, and analysis of the fill inside this coffer dam, suggests that extensive repairs were necessary following the hurricane of 1752 (Herold 1981b).

The eastern wall, last to be destroyed, is apparently located under East Bay Street. During most of the 18th century, this street was bordered by the eastern wall. In 1787, however, East Bay Street was widened (Beckman 1789) to sixty six feet. Measurements taken from 18th century maps and etchings indicate that the widening of the street necessitated the destruction of the eastern city wall. This hypothesis is further supported by the lack of an eastern wall on the city map of 1788 (Petrie 1788).

Finally, there is also archaeological data for the northwest bastion, Carteret's Bastion. Cartographic sources indicate that this bastion was located somewhere in the vicinity of the intersection of Meeting and Cumberland Streets. In recent years there have been several construction projects in the vicinity and they have been monitored for evidence of the city wall. In 1980, Stanley South monitored some of the construction of the Cumberland Street parking garage, but failed to note any evidence of the wall. A major goal of archaeological invest-igations at the Liberty National Bank building (Herold 1981a), on the west corner of the intersection, was to locate evidence of Carteret's Bastion. A ninety five foot trench was excavated along the eastern edge of the property in an attempt to intersect the bastion; this was also unsuccessful.

Building to east

Tower   Area

Powder
Magazine

0 ___ 10 Ft.

Z ←——

- ▨ Service trenches outside building
- ▨ Service trenches inside building
- ▩ Half Moon Battery
- ▧ Miller's excavated area
- ◺ Other excavated area
- ▦ Recent wall
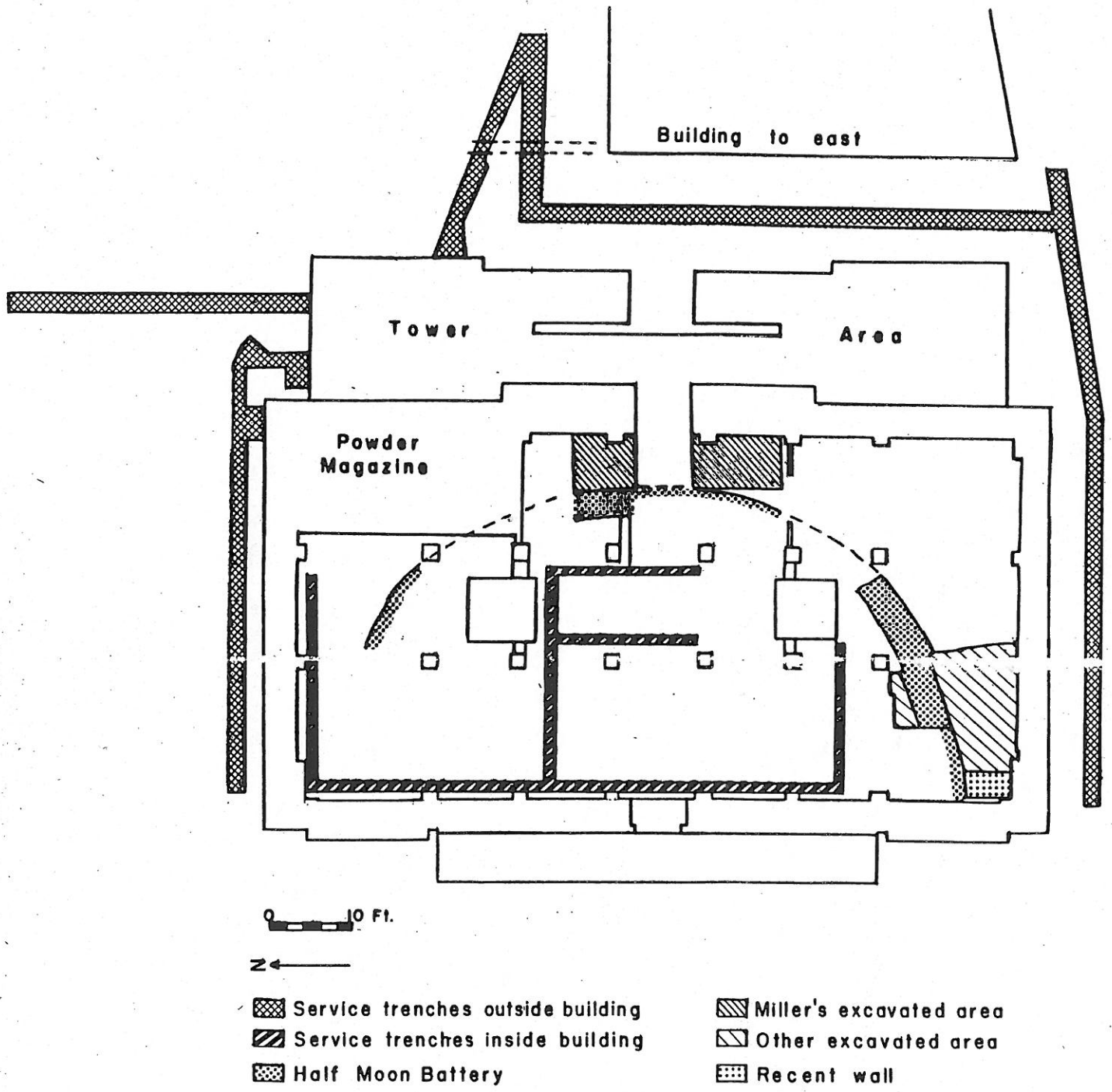
Figure 16

Plan view of the archaeological remains of
the Half Moon battery in relation to the
Exchange building. The Half Moon battery
is visible in the basement of the Exchange
(from Herold 1981b).
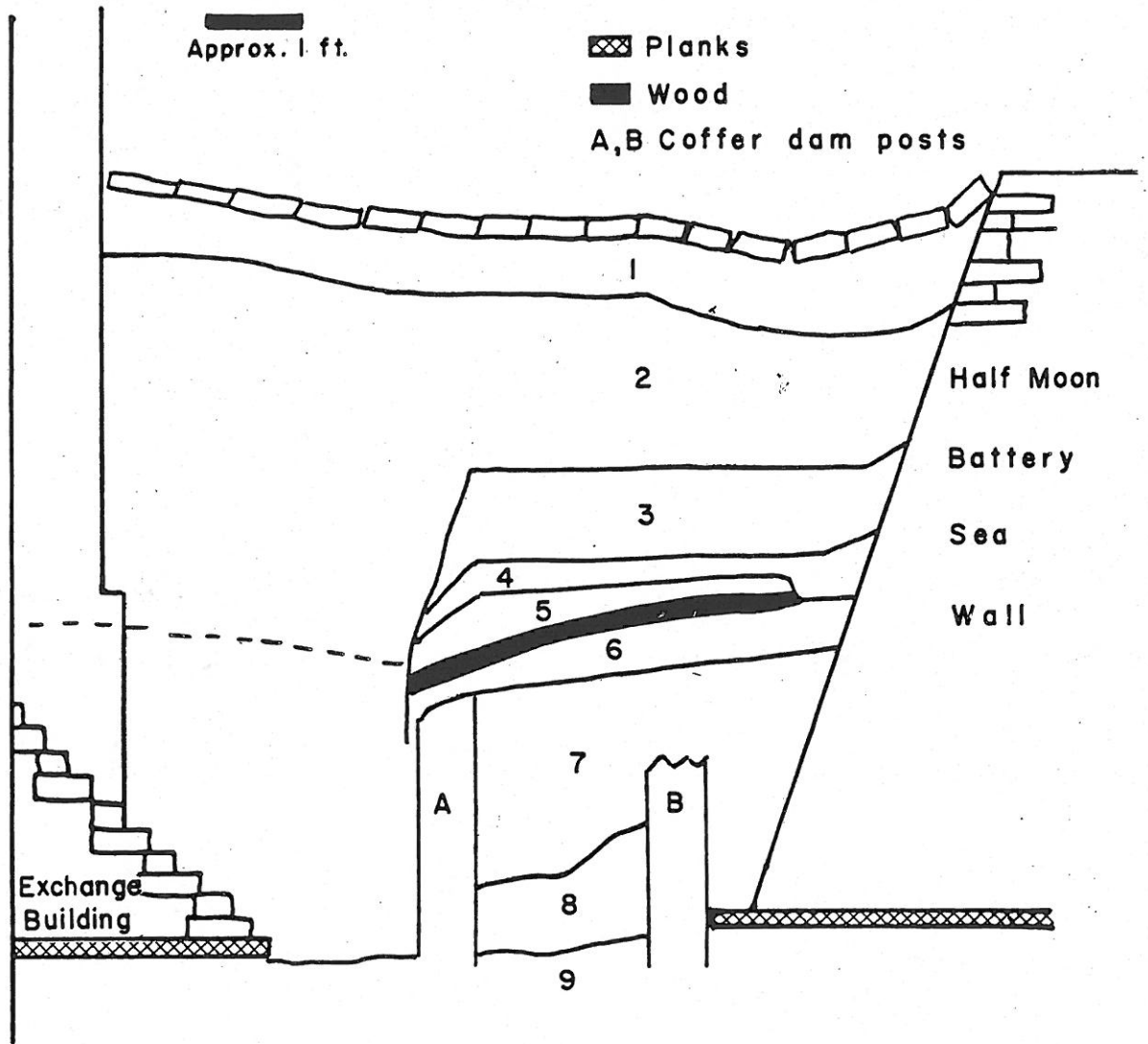
Figure 17

Profile of the Half Moon battery, showing
the outsloping wall, the coffer dam used
to repair the wall after the 1752 hurricane,
and the subsequent layers of fill (from
Herold 1981b).

Figure 18

Location of portions of the 1700 fortifications
near the Carteret Bastion, as reported to The
Charleston Museum by the construction crew.

MEETING STREET

CUMBERLAND STREET

Datum

TP1

TP 2

CUMBERLAND
STREET
GARAGE

0

25
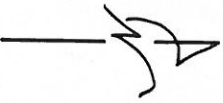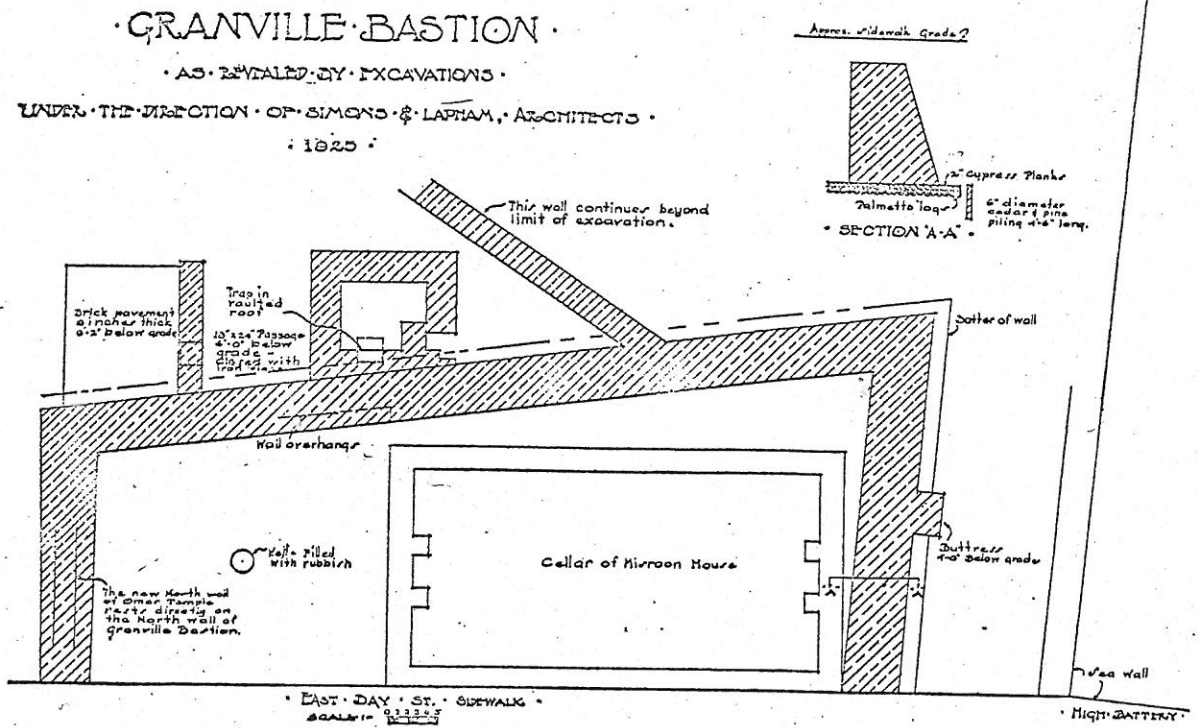
Figure 19

Plan view of the archaeological remains of
Granville's Bastion (from Lapham 1925).

In 1983, excavations were conducted at the site of the First Trident Savings and Loan building, in front of the Cumberland Street parking garage (Zierden et al 1983c). Two units were excavated in the lot without encountering evidence of the wall. However, during subsequent construction, a substantial wall was encountered and was described to the authors. The wall ran parallel to Cumberland Street, roughly seventy four feet north of the street. At a point six feet east of Meeting Street it turned south at a ten to twelve degree angle (Figure 18). The wall was described as "incredibly strong" and was four feet across the top. The exterior was laid brick, while the central portion was filled with a mixture of crushed brick and mortar. Both sides of the wall tapered out from top to bottom, but the northern, or exterior, side tapered at a greater angle. This most certainly represents a portion of the city wall and the description corresponds to that of the Half Moon Battery and Granville's Bastion.

Charleston continued to fortify the borders of the city throughout the 18th century. The location of these fortifications reflect the growth of the city and the continuing threat of rival European powers.

1740: Charleston soon expanded beyond the original boundaries. In 1717 all but the eastern wall of the original fortification was destroyed, and the city moved westward across the peninsula. Secondary sources indicate that a fortification, probably of earth and wood, was constructed in 1740 along the western and northern boundary of the city. This fortification ran from a bastion at the corner of Market Street and Meeting Street, west along Market Street to Archdale Street, southwest to the intersection of Franklin and Magazine (no doubt enclosing the powder magazine discussed on page 34), and then south along Franklin Street to Broad Street (Charleston City Yearbook 1884). To date, the cartographic evidence of this fortification includes only the eastern portion from Archdale Street to Meeting Street. Plats indicate that the easternmost bastion lies directly beneath the present United Daughters of the Confederacy Museum and market stalls, while the fortification line lies below Market Street between Meeting and Archdale Streets (McCrady Plats 465: 195). No description of the construction method, size, and shape of these fortifications was found; it is assumed they were earthen. During excavations in the Charleston Center block, immediately north of Market Street, no evidence of these fortifications was encountered (Honerkamp, Council and Will 1982; Zierden and Paysinger n.d.).

1752: In the 1750s, William de Brahm was hired by the Commissioners of Fortifications to repair and expand the fortifications of Charleston. De Brahm's plans included surrounding the town with walls and bastions, and a fortified canal across the Neck several miles north of the town. Within ten months, De Brahm reported that the ramparts on the south and east were raised. It is doubtful that the remainder of the fortifications, much less the fortified canal, were ever begun (Charleston City Yearbook 1944). Those constructed included repair of the existing seawall, and construction of a seawall along East Battery, around White Point, and along South Battery to Legare Street.

1780: As the Revolutionary War approached, Charlestonians began to fortify their city once again. The major feature of these fortifications was a wall above Calhoun Street. The city gate was moved from Meeting

and Broad to what is now King and Calhoun. A remnant of the Hornwork which enclosed the gate is still visible in Marion Square (McCrady Plat 600). The fortifications extended from East Bay Street to approximately Smith Street. Other bastions were located on high land adjacent to the marsh along the Ashley River.

Very little primary documentation could be located for the 1780 fortifications. No portions of the hornwork could be pinpointed, except for those between Coming and Smith streets (McCrady Plat 490). The 1796 plat describes these features as "old fortifications" and suggests that they were earthen. This, plus the feature in Marion Square, usggests that the major fortification runs through the blocks north of Calhoun Street.

While Charleston was under seige, a series of fortifications were constructed by the British as they approached the city. These are shown in Figure 20 and show the approximate location of these fortifications, as sketched at the time.

1812: Charleston was once again fortified prior to the War of 1812. A series of fortifications was constructed along present-day Line Street, just below Highway 17. Several plats show portions of this fortification (McCrady Plats 6949; 6957; 7634; 7567; 8123; 4160; 7673; Bridgens and Allen 1852). Plats of the entire fortification were located and are on file at The Charleston Museum.

The major portions of the fortification were between Rutledge Avenue and America Street, with the major bastion between St. Phillips and King Streets. Despite the pleas of its citizenry, this portion of the fortification seems to have been removed shortly after the threat of war had passed (South Carolina Historical Society 33-46-3). Small bastions and fortifications on either riverfront remained, however, and were present as late as 1852 (Bridgens and Allen 1852). Fort Washington was located within the block of Cooper Street, America Street, Drake Street and Blake Street. A similar bastion was located at the southwest corner of Ashley Avenue and Fishburn Street. A final bastion remained on the high land just south of Line Street and west of Ashley Avenue (Figure 21).

Except for portions impacted by construction of Highway 17, much of the 1812 fortifications should be intact. Any construction activity in the vicinity of Line Street should be monitored for evidence of these fortifications.

Although locating and excavating the fortifications of Charleston is expected to provide little information on the anthropological research questions, it would be of considerable historical interest. When construction is imminent, further attempts should be made to locate and observe these fortifications.

Figure 20

1780 map of Charleston's Revolutionary
War fortifications (Clinton 1780).

Cooper River

Ashly River

References

A — Governor's Fort — 22 gun
B — Barrville Do — 13
C — William Do —
D — Gibbons' Battery — 7
E — Exchange Do — 6
F — Do —
G — Laurens Do — 4
H — Laurens Do — 7
I — Line of Redoubts
I — Abbalis
K — Gate Battery G
L — Barracks
M.M — Powder Magazine
N — Battery — 3
O — Prison & Hospital
P — Battery — 3
Q — Do — 4
R.R.R — Platform at the angle of Breastwork — 75
S.S.S.S — a Breastwork of Palmetto
T — Platform
V — Breastwork
W — Flesh Pond
X — Watch House & Round
Y — a line of the approaches
Z — the River's present Bank
ZZZZ — Impassable Swamp
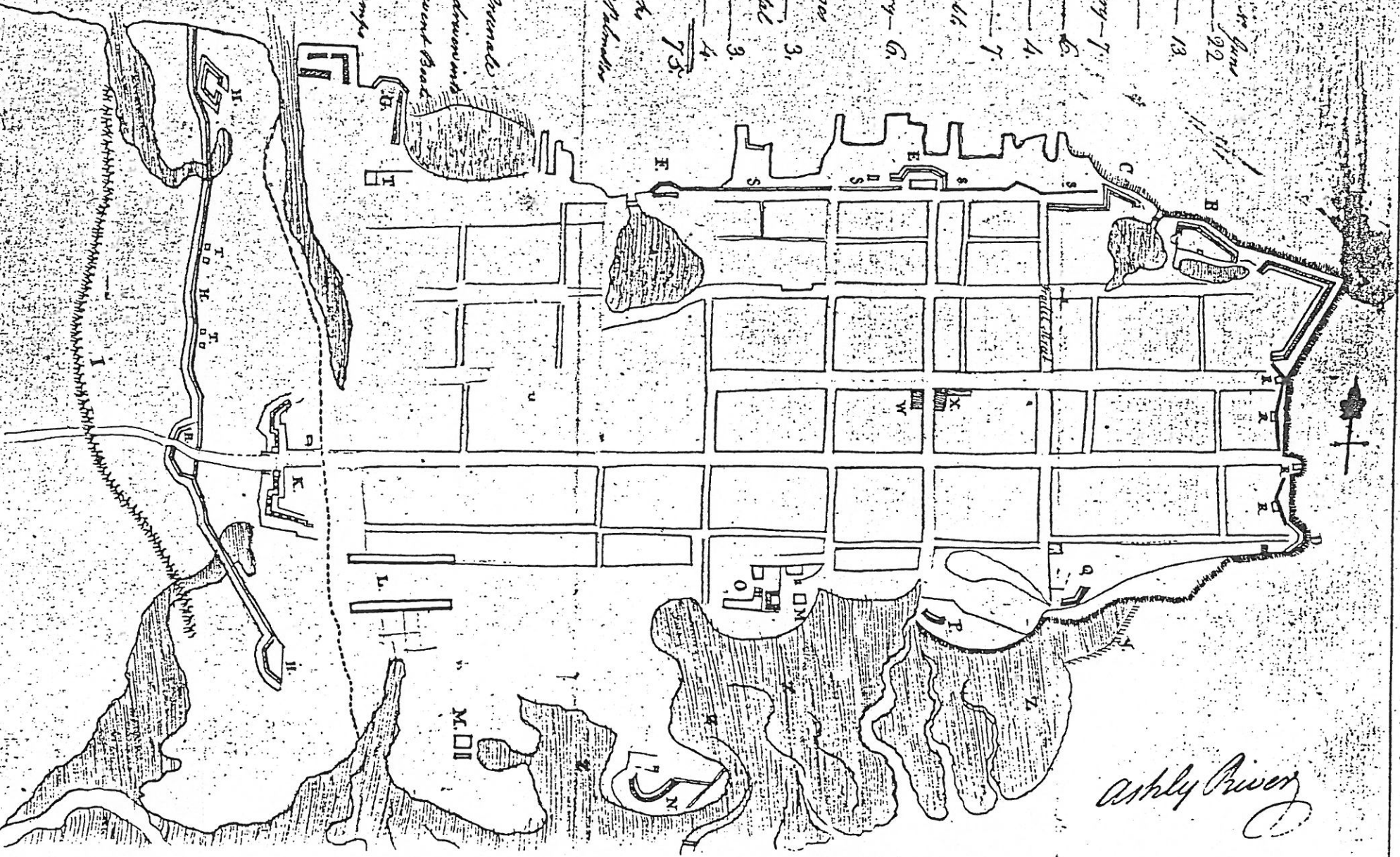
Figure 21

Approximate location of 1812 fortifications

The Charleston Waterfront

Charleston was founded on its present location in 1680. By this time, several people had already established themselves in this area but no organized building had occurred. During the first decade of the existence of Charleston, the captains of ocean-going vessels had to use lighters to carry their goods to the town's docks. In the 1690s, however, those areas deep enough for large ships were converted into wharves (Green 1965: 12) while the other areas along the Bay became fashionable residential districts (Calhoun et al 1984: 4). A map drawn by Edward Crisp in 1704 indicates the presence of two wharves roughly opposite Tradd and Queen Streets (Figure 8). Although these wharves might have begun as mere docking facilities, their roles were rapidly expanded. Shops, storage, and counting houses were just some of the various uses to which structures on the wharves became accustomed.

In 1739, a Robert and Toms map showed eight wharves extending east from the curtain tide (Figure 9). The western half of these areas was apparently dry at low tide. These wharves were located between Broad Street and Granville's Bastion.

In the 18th century a commercial core, focusing on the wharves, developed (Calhoun et al 1982). As Charleston gained importance as a distribution point for the surrounding region, more and more wharves were built. The growth of the town resulted in the filling of marsh and creeks. Some were filled casually with trash and debris; others were filled deliberately, as when Christopher Gadsden advertised for ships' ballast to provide solid ground for the wharf which he planned to build. Christopher Gadsden completed the construction of his massive wharf in 1768. His "stupendous work" inspired other merchants and factors to invest in similar construction ventures (Bridenbaugh 1955: 138).

By the Revolutionary period, a series of substantial brick and wooden structures were on the western portion of the waterfront. Cartographic sources reveal that approximately 150 feet of marsh had been filled in and docks extended an additional 250 feet into the Cooper River. Wharves also extended northward. A line of substantial wharves stretched from Water Street to Craven's Bastion and a series of three wharves was built just north of the market, opposite Guignard and Pinckney Streets (Figures 10).

The encroachment on the Cooper River by fill and wharves continued throughout the antebellum period. By 1852 a solid line of wharves extended from Water Street to Society Street. The filled land now appears to have extended 400 feet with wharves continuing to a distance of 900 feet (Figure 12). The construction of portions of Concord Street in the 1860s indicates that the first 400 feet were indeed solid land by this time. A strip of marsh separated Bennet's Wharf at Society Street from the enlarged and subdivided Gadsden's Wharf between Laruens and Calhoun Streets. Sporadic wharves were also located as far north as Chapel Street. Today, most of the wooden wharves extending into the Cooper River are gone; the made land between East Bay and Concord Street was the site of continuous occupation and filling up to the present time (Figure 22).

Figure 22

Approximate location of the wharves in
relation to the present landscape. Outlines
of the wharves are excerpted from carto-
graphic sources and placed on modern aerial
photographs. East Bay Street and the Exchange
building were used as reference points.
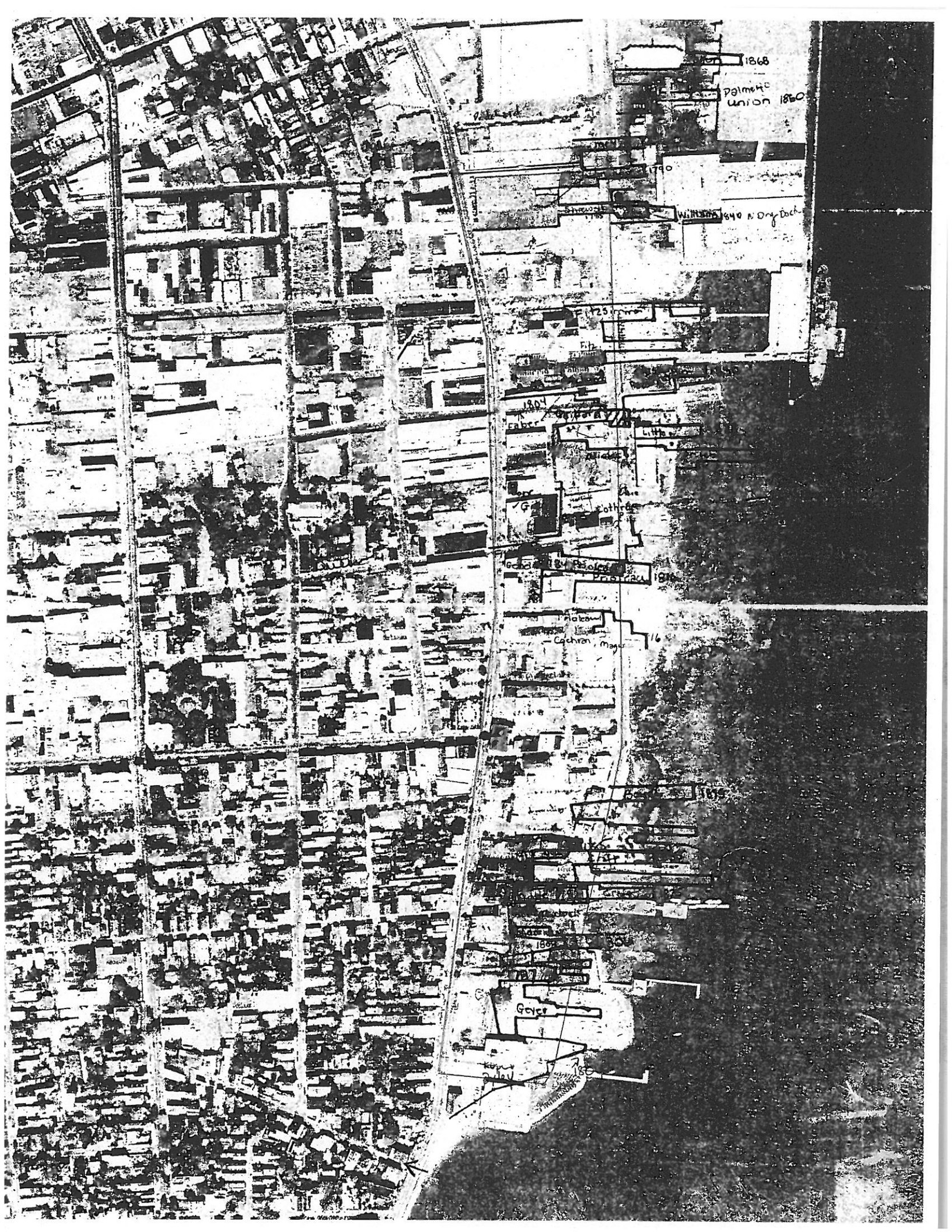
The land between East Bay and Concord was the site of a concentration of commercial activities throughout the 18th and 19th centuries (Figure 23). This area contained a complex of structures, including storehouses, counting houses, factors' offices and occasional retail shops and homes. The domestic occupation of the area was concentrated along the East Bay Street frontage, with the western portion of the area serving primarily a commercial function.

The waterfront area is extremely important for the study of commercial activity in Charleston. The area between Concord and East Bay may contain extensive evidence of commercial activity of the 19th century. Evidence of 18th century occupation may also be present in deeper deposits. The excavations east of Bay Street and in other areas suggest that archaeological deposits in the waterfront area may be extensive and deep, and preservation may, at times, be excellent (Herold 1981b; Zierden et al n.d.; Faulkner et al 1978) (Figure 24). Dr. Elaine Herold monitored earth-moving activities at the Exchange building (Herold 1981b) and recovered quantities of material dating to the 18th century, to a depth of sixteen feet below the surface. Included in this collection were both domestically and commercially related materials. The deepest deposit contained wood, textile, and botanical materials preserved in pine pitch. Herold interpreted this deposit as the result of the destructive forces of the 1752 hurricane which devastated Charleston's waterfront (Herold 1981b; Calhoun 1983) (Figure 17).

Excavations at the Atlantic Wharf and Cumberland Street parking garage provided further information on the archaeological record of the waterfront of Charleston (Zierden et al: n.d.). Excavations at the Atlantic Wharf site revealed deposits to a depth of ten feet below the surface (Figure 25). These deposits ranged in date from the late 18th through the late 19th century. Cultural deposits continued below this depth, but were not retrievable using traditional methods. Preservation below the water table was excellent. Deposits at Atlantic Wharf contained materials not usually recovered at sites in Charleston, including a number of Caribbean ceramics. A single unit was excavated with a backhoe at the Concord Street site, which is further east than either the Atlantic Wharf or Exchange sites (Figure 24). No recoverable archaeological deposits were noted above the water table.

Archaeological and historical data suggest that the man-made land east of East Bay was gradually created and contains extensive evidence of the commercial activities along the waterfront. In addition, deposits may contain domestic refuse, both from nearby households and residences on the wharves themselves. Archaeological data from the waterfront is likely to be somewhat different from other sites in Charleston, based on the different activities in the area, and is important to an overall understanding of the city. Deposits are likely to be much deeper than in other parts of the city, which average five feet below the surface. Preservation below the water table, however, is likely to be excellent. The potential for successful recovery of archaeological deposits diminishes, however, as one moves west to east. The first block (ca. 300 feet) east from East Bay Street, and the lots fronting the east side of East Bay are considered to be the most archaeologically significant.

Figure 23

Typical configuration of late eighteenth
century wharves. Such wharves included
the wharf, dock, and numerous structures
fronting East Bay Street; these included
stores, warehouses, counting houses, and
other special use structures.

1787

EAST BAY STREET

Lot and WHARF belonging to Arnoldus Vanderhorst Esquire

N. 00:00 E.

1

STREET

Cooper Shop

WHARF

2

3

4

5

PASSAGE 5 Feet

ALLEY 15 Feet

PASSAGE 5 Feet

Swash dry at Low water

DOCK

N. 00:00 E.
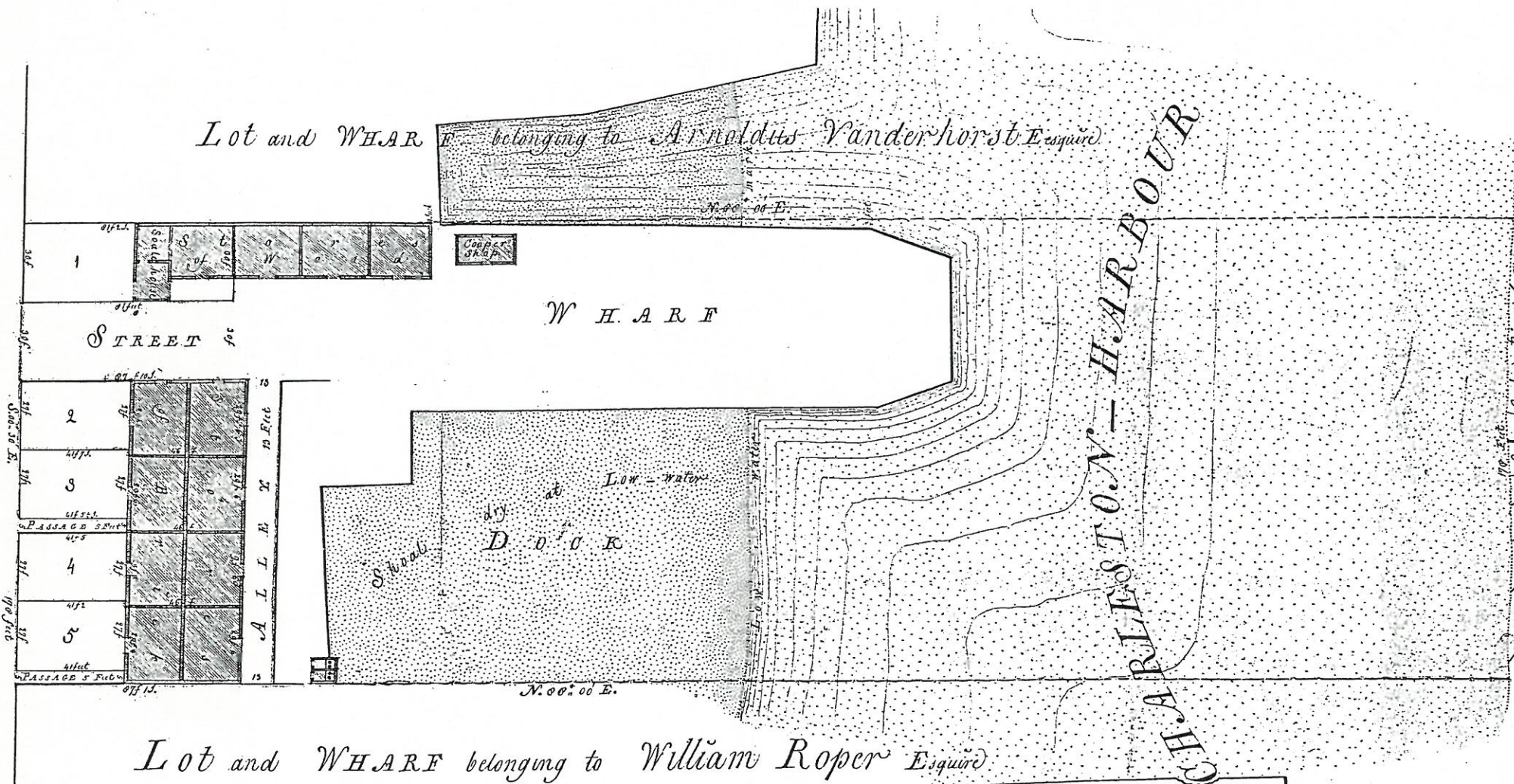
Lot and WHARF belonging to William Roper Esquire

CHARLESTON-HARBOUR.

COOPER RIVER

CHANNEL

Cooper River Channel

EBB

A PLAN of a Wharf and Lots belonging to Thomas Eveleigh Esqr. Exhibiting
Situated on East Bay, in Ward No. 1, in the City of Charleston and State of South-Carolina.
its shape and form and having such Courses, distances, bounds and marks as expressed in this Plan.
From a Survey taken in May 1787 ——————

By Joseph Purcell Surveyor

Note The bounds of each Lot are expressed by being coloured Yellow. ——————

Scale of Feet   30 to an Inch
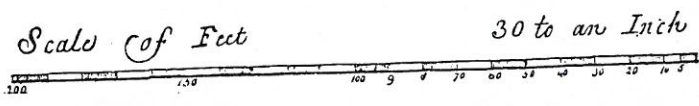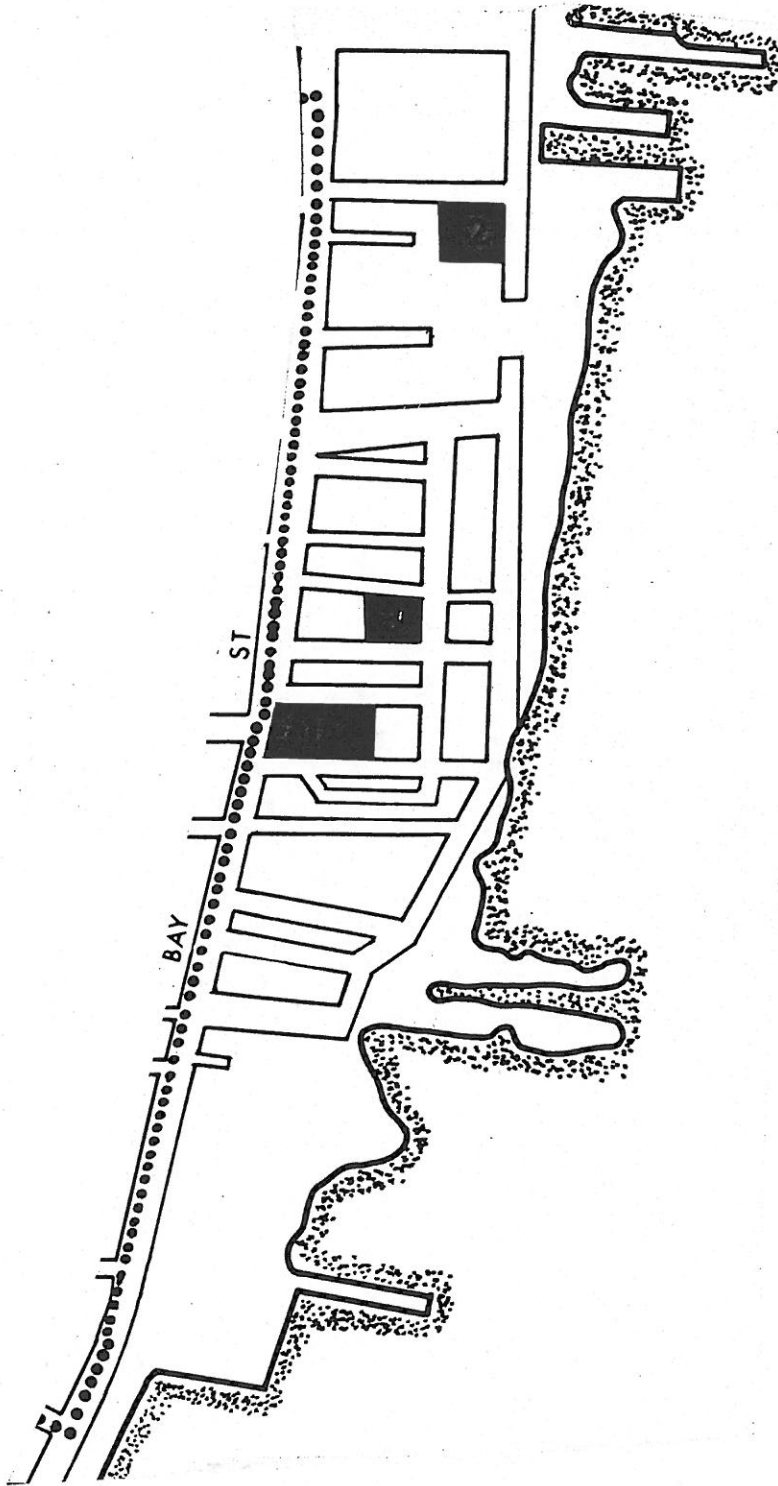
Figure 24

Sites excavated on Charleston's waterfront:

1) Exchange Building

2) Concord Street Parking Garage

3) Atlantic Wharf Parking Garage

Figure 25

Examples of the stratigraphy of Charleston's
waterfront; a) Exchange building, b) Atlantic
Wharf. Characteristics include numerous fill
deposits reflected as zpnes, demolition rubble
which served as fill, and excessive depth.
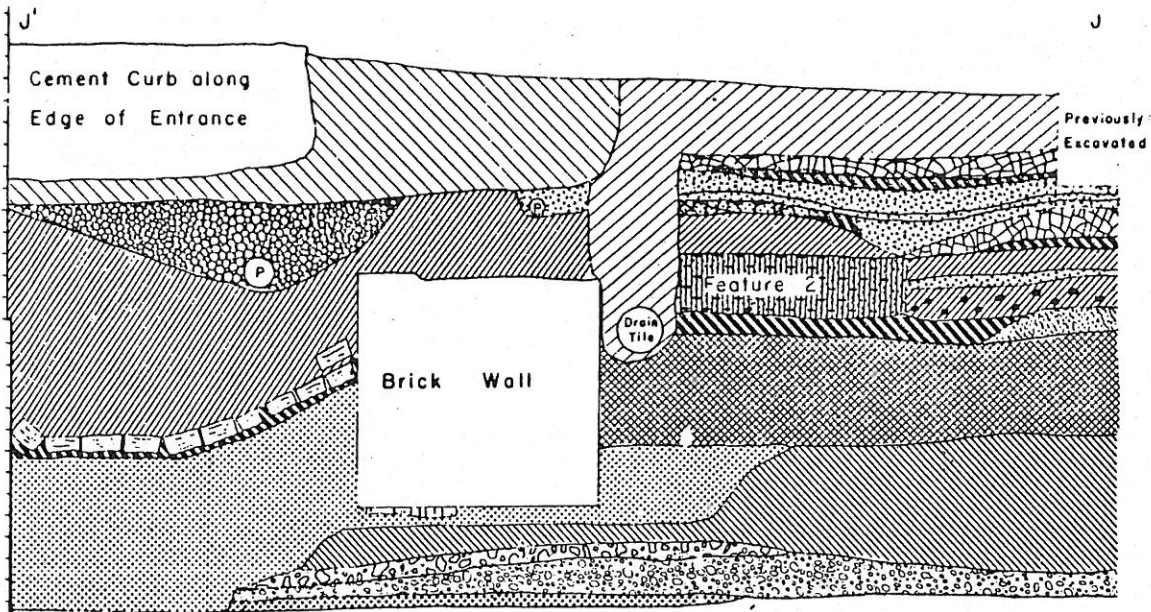
J'   J

Cement Curb along
Edge of Entrance

Previously
Excavated

P

Feature 2

Drain
Tile

Brick   Wall

Feet   5
Meter   1

⬟ Recent black topsoil

⬟ Recent gray humus

⬟ Reddish-brown refuse bearing fill with charcoal

⬟ Brown-grey refuse bearing layer, fill of builder's trench

⬟ Dark grey refuse bearing layer, predates building

⬟ Very dark grey refuse bearing layer, cemented with pine pitch, contains wood, cloth and leather

⬟ Dark grey gritty layer, contains flint

⬟ Lighter grey gritty layer, contains flint

⬟ Reddish-brown refuse bearing fill

⬟ Grey-brown refuse bearing layer

⬟ Tan or brown sand

⬟ Grey sand

⬟ Brick rubble

⬟ Mortar

⬟ Brick dust

⬟ Iron-stained sand

⬟ Ash

⬟ Brick

⬟ Wood

P Pipe

77

The Grand Modell - South of Broad Street

The area south of Broad Street was the scene of early and intensive occupation. The area encompassed by the 17th century walled city included the area bounded by Water Street, Meeting Street, and East Bay Street. The city wall ran roughly along these streets, although the exact locations could not be determined. Two bastions were also located in this area; Colleton's Bastion was located roughly at the corner of Water Street and Meeting Street and Ashley's Bastion was located along the eastern end of Water Street.

The area enclosed within this wall was the scene of the earliest settlement. The Crisp map of 1704 indicates that while the original walled city spread north to the area around Cumberland Street, the southern portion of this area was more intensively occupied than that north of Broad Street (Figure 8). Broad, Elliott, Tradd, East Bay and Church Streets were all intensively occupied by this time in contrast to the northern half of the frontier settlement, where improvement between Queen Street and the northern wall is sporadic. Occupation in the area of Meeting Street adjacent to the western wall of the town was also sporadic. This map suggests an early, intensive use of the area between Meeting, Broad and Water Streets.

The 1704 map also indicates several farmsteads and public structures to the south and west outside of the walled town. The approximate location of these sites is discussed in the preliminary report (Zierden and Calhoun 1982: 38-45) (See Figure 26). These sites are concentrated in a corridor in the blocks immediately west of King Street, extending to South Battery. A second locus is below Water Street, between Meeting and East Battery. The area south of Broad Street to White Point is probably the area of the city most likely to yield intact remains of the late 17th century occupation of the peninsula. In addition to the fact that this area was the most intensively utilized during this period, the subsequent use of this land for primarily residential purposes may have prevented large scale ground disturbances in later years. Archaeological investigations in the area of the walled city north of Broad Street have failed to yield intact deposits pre-dating the 1730s, even though 17th century occupation of the sites is documented (for example, see Zierden et al 1983a and b). This may be due to the continuously intensive use of the sites within this commercial area. The contrasting domestic use of the southern area may be more condusive to site preservation.

During the colonial period, the discussion area was the center of commercial activity for the growing port city. Commercial activity, especially mercantile activity, was concentrated in the same areas where the earlier occupation had been concentrated (Crisp 1704). During the colonial period (1732 - 1770), newspaper advertisements indicate merchants were concentrated in the area south of Broad Street, with East Bay, Broad, Tradd and Elliott containing 30% of the advertising merchants (Figure 13). The less intensive use of Queen Street reinforces this southern concentration of commercial activity (Calhoun et al 1982; 1983). These trends are supported by an examination of the 1739 map (Roberts and Toms 1739) which shows solid rows of structures along East Bay to Water Street, and along Broad, Elliott, Tradd, and portions of Church Street and Bedon's Alley. This is further reinforced by the concentration of wharves adjacent to these streets.
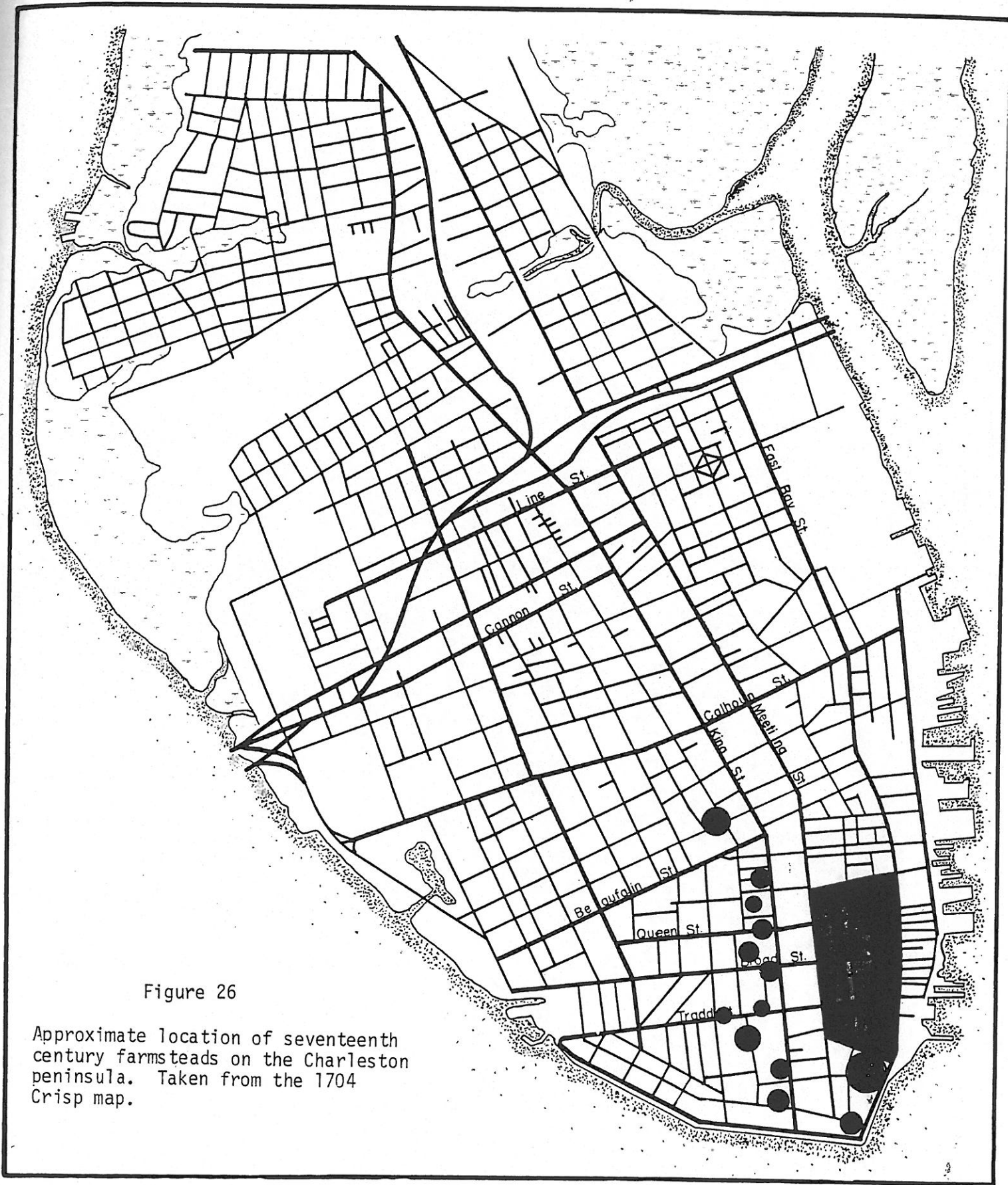
Figure 26

Approximate location of seventeenth
century farmsteads on the Charleston
peninsula. Taken from the 1704
Crisp map.

In addition to an increasingly intensive use of this core area,
by the 1740s occupation had spread west to the banks of the Ashley River,
decreasing in intensity as one moves west. Most of the new growth of the
period was located on Meeting, King and Archdale Streets, and along the
western continuation of Tradd and Broad Streets (Figure 9). The
burgeoning city had already expanded to the south; streets were extended
to White Point, although occupation was concentrated north of present-
day Lamboll and Atlantic Streets. These trends continued throughout the
colonial period. The commercial core, subject to increasingly intensive
utilization, was further subdivided, as building encroached on the
interior of blocks (Calhoun et al 1982). The creek was filled and Water
Street constructed; this facilitated the development of the area between
Tradd Street and White Point (Petrie 1788). Growth also continued west
as streets and lots were improved. Under the direction of William De
Brahm, a sea wall was constructed south from Granville's Bastion along
East Battery to White Point, and along South Battery to Legare Street
(see Zierden and Calhoun 1982: 62; Charleston City Yearbook 1944).
The construction of this sea wall, and this southwestern growth, provided
the incentive for merchants like William Gibbes to construct wharves
along the Ashley between King and Legare Streets (Petrie 1788). This
attempt at commercial expansion was only partially successful, however,
as the center of shipping activity continued to be on the Cooper River.

In addition to being the prime location for businesses, the
south of Broad area was favored for residences as well. Structures within
the commercial core were most often used for both businesses and
residences (Calhoun et al 1982). Areas peripheral to this commercial
core may have been primarily residential or may have housed practicing
artisans or petty businesses. The political and commercial center of
town shifted to the intersection of Meeting and Broad. Upper class
citizens tended to cluster around this center, while real estate
values forces less prosperous citizens to the periphery and onto secondary
thoroughfares. An exception to this trend was the location of wealthy
planters on "waterfront" lots along the Ashley River, especially in the
later, antebellum period (Radford 1974; Zierden and Calhoun 1982: 41,
46) (Figures 27 & 28).

By the antebellum period, the area south of Broad Street had become
the most exclusive residential district in Charleston. Property values
discouraged the incursion of undesirables while the tradition of keeping
the family home in the hands of relatives further restricted the market.
Commercial use of this area declines in the early 19th century and had
ceased entirely by the 1820s. The area has continued to be an exclusive resi-
dential area up to the present day.

A single site has been excavated in this area. The Heyward-
Washington house, owned by The Charleston Museum, was extensively
excavated by Dr. Elaine Herold. Although the results have not yet been
published (Herold 1978), a preliminary report indicates that intact
deposits were roughly three feet deep and ranged in date from the early
18th century through the present day. Excavations at the Heyward
house underscore the archaeological potential of the area. The area
is considered to have the greatest potential for recovery of discrete
deposits relating to the 17th century city. Also, the area was the site of
considerable commercial activity in the 18th century. Finally, the area
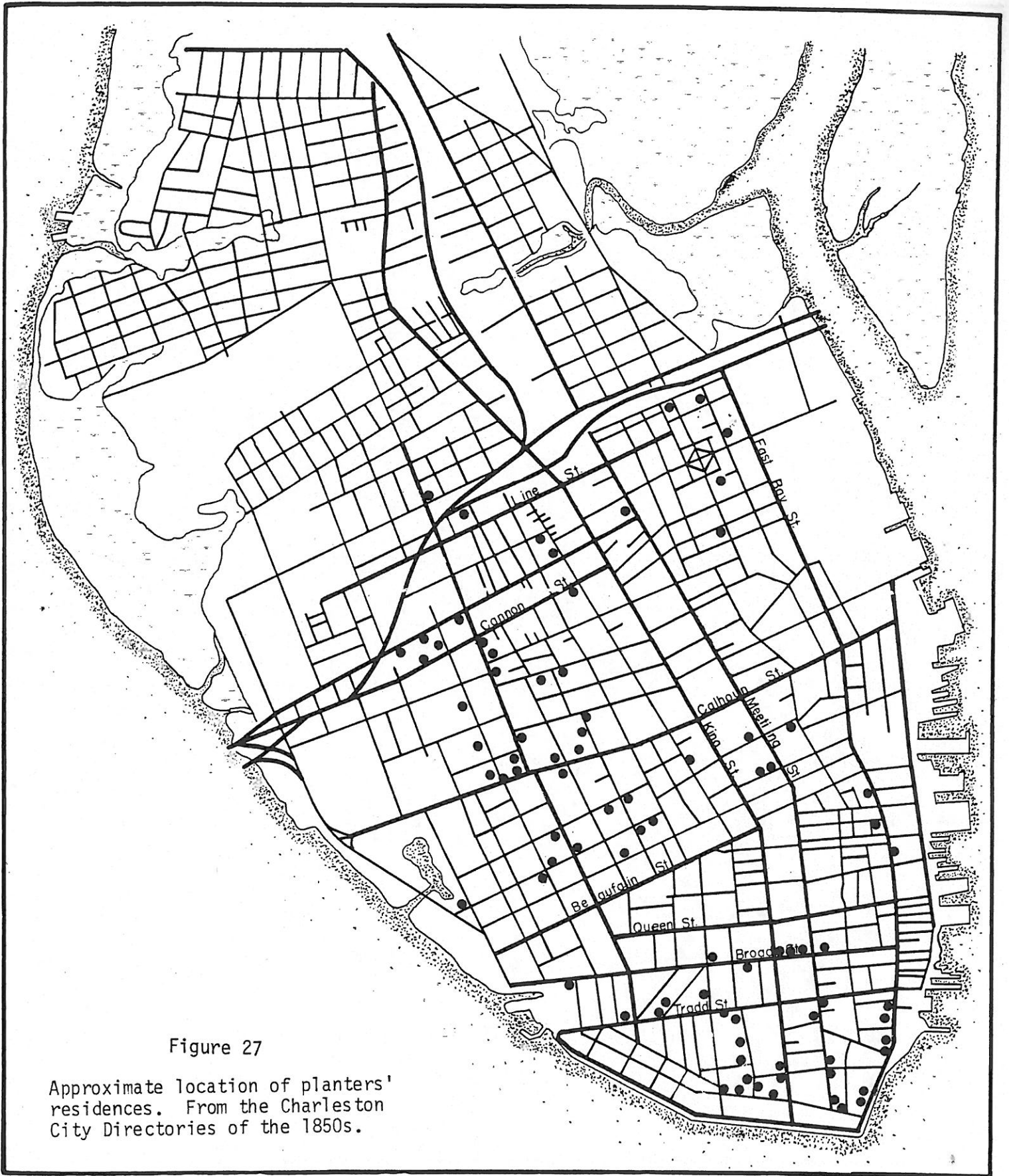
Figure 27

Approximate location of planters'
residences. From the Charleston
City Directories of the 1850s.
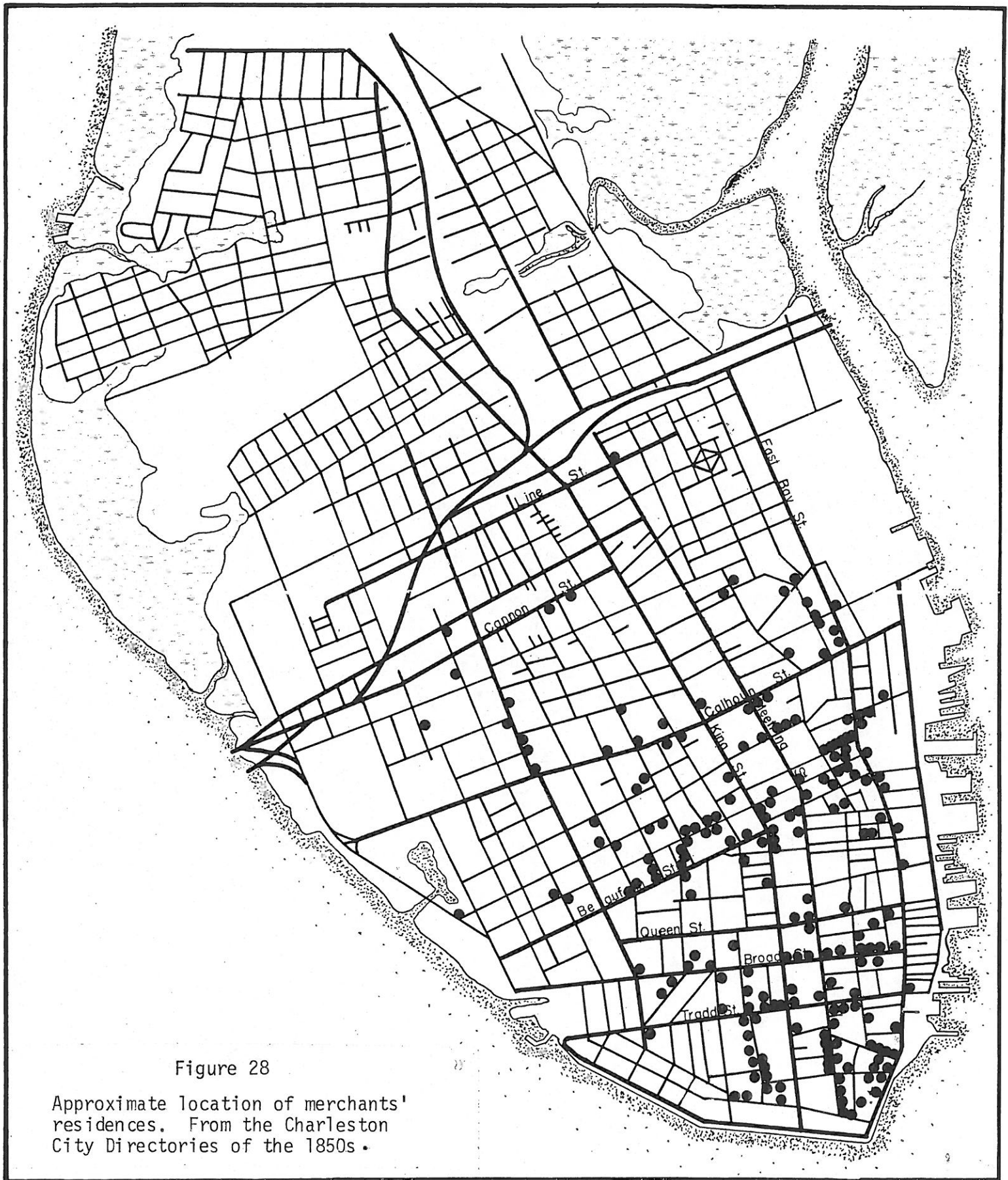
Figure 28

Approximate location of merchants'
residences. From the Charleston
City Directories of the 1850s.

is an excellent data base for the study of Charleston's upper class during the 18th and 19th centuries. Because this area is primarily residential, it is unlikely that large-scale construction will take place in this district in the near future and the city is unlikely to be involved in this area. Nonetheless, readers should be aware of the archaeological potential of the area.

Broad Street to Calhoun Street

The area north of Broad Street yet south of Calhoun developed differently than that to the south of Broad. Several small studies have been conducted in this area (Figure 29). The earliest occupation was most intensive in the area south of Broad and adjacent to the waterfront. In the colonial period, both merchants and craftsmen clustered in this area. As the town grew and property values increased, less prosperous artisans and merchants were forced onto what was then perceived as the periphery - the district north of Broad Street. In addition, those craftsmen involved in noxious or potentially hazardous activities, such as soap making and the slaughtering of livestock, were frequently the subject of nuisance complaints and sometimes, in a concession to popular demand, moved to less heavily populated areas on the outskirts of the town (Calhoun et al 1983; Calhoun and Zierden 1984).

An example of such a site, and the changing role of the area, is the First Trident site. The site was located outside the northwest corner of the original city walls and was peripheral to commercial development throughout the 18th century. During this period, the site consisted of a narrow strip of high land adjacent to an expanse of marsh. Archaeological evidence indicates that this strip was used for leather-working operations or, at least, refuse from a tannery was deposited here. Circumstantial evidence indicates that a wealthy tanner owned the lot across the street from the First Trident site during the 1740s and operated a tannery there. Such peripheral sites were often chosen by craftsmen, who found rent in more central locations prohibitive and who needed the larger lots found only on the edge of town (Zierden et al 1983c).

The marsh in the central portion of the block was gradually filled in during the 18th century as development moved north and real estate in the area of the site became more valuable. By the 19th century, this section of Meeting Street was centrally located in the retail business district and real estate values had increased accordingly. The lots of the newly filled block were now the long, narrow lots characteristic of the commercial core of Charleston.

Archaeological evidence from the site reflected the changing social status of the occupants of the area. Artifacts recovered from the 18th century proveniences reflect the poverty of the tannery laborers, while the 19th century assemblage suggests occupation by a merchant of sub-
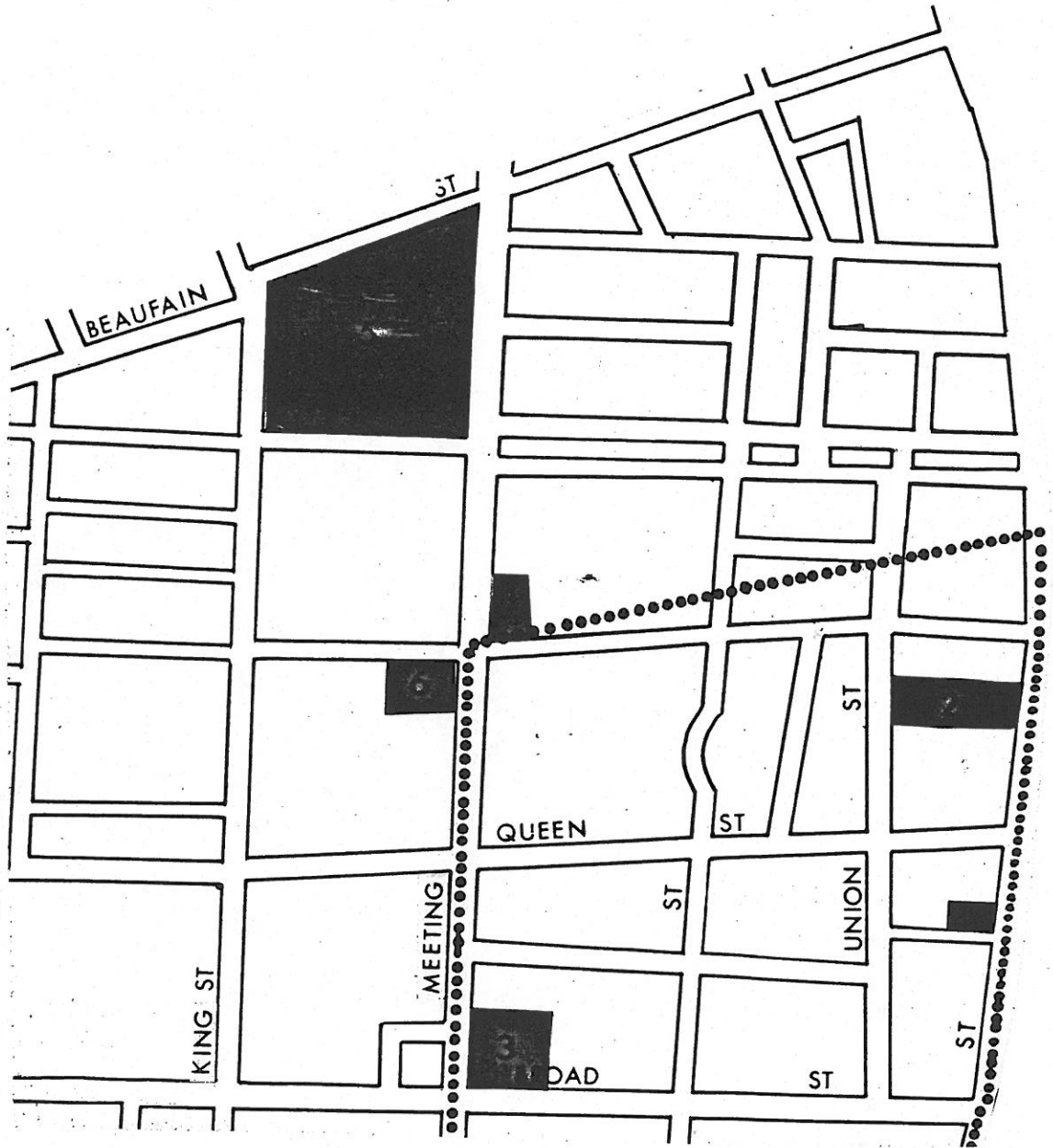
Figure 29

Archaeological sites excavated in the area
north of Broad:

1) McCrady's Longroom

2) Lodge Alley

3) Beef Market

4) First Trident

5) Charleston Center

6) Meeting Street Office Building

stantial means.

By the beginning of the 19th century, the area south of Broad Street had become primarily residential. Throughout the antebellum period, Broad Street had become increasingly marked by the professional character of its inhabitants. It had become virtually the Maginot line between the residential and commercial districts. As the land south of Broad became increasingly populated by wealthy Charlestonians, alleys in this section were more and more subject both to cleansing and obliteration. Alleys, however, retained their importance as enclaves for the lower classes in the areas directly to the north of Broad Street during the antebellum period.

Lodge Alley, small, dank and in close proximity to the fish market and waterfront, was undoubtedly seldom the choice of those who could afford to choose. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, this alley was occupied by members of the lower class - a former Harvard teacher who drank himself out of the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics, mariners and seamstresses were just a few of its denizens. Excavations in the alley in 1983 underscored the intensity of occupation of these alleys and their use by primarily lower status citizens (Zierden et al 1983b). A single excavation unit in the alley itself suggested that a considerable quantity of refuse was discarded directly into the alley. The artifact assemblage reflected the lower status of the alley inhabitants.

The generally integrated nature of Charleston neighborhoods and the use of alleys by the lower class is further strengthened by excavations in the back yard of an adjacent structure on State Street. Although adjacent to the alley, this property was the home of a more middle class craftsman. As with Lodge Alley, the socioeconomic status of the State Street occupants were reflected in the archaeological record. The Lodge Alley data are but examples of the general trends of the study area; intensive use of the available land for both residential and commercial purposes and integration of the social classes. Frontage on wide, major thorough-fares was preferred by those who could afford it; those who could not were crowded onto dank, narrow secondary passages and alleyways, often only a stone's throw from some opulent townhouse.

The area north of Broad Street was also noted for the multiple use of many of its districts and buildings. Although there were some primarily residential areas such as Ansonborough, Harleston Village and Rhettsburg, often a middle or lower class merchant or artisan would house both his family and business in the same building. The area bounded by Meeting, Hasell, King and Market was one such area.

Extensive excavations have been conducted on this lot in preparation for construction of Charleston Place (Honerkamp et al 1982; Zierden and Paysinger n.d.). As with the First Trident site, this area was peripheral to the commercial enterprises of the 18th century and was only sparsely occupied at this time. The long, narrow lots of the Grand Modell were further subdivided during the 19th century. It was during this period that King Street became the focus of retail commercial activity (Calhoun and Zierden 1984). Real estate was at a premium and the study area exhibited a land use pattern consisting of long, narrow lots fronting

major thoroughfares; multi-story structures fronting directly on the street, housing both business and residence; extensive reuse of the back-lot area for refuse disposal and other activities. Excavations at the Charleston Place block resulted in the recovery of overwhelmingly domestic materials, indicating that retail commercial activity may be poorly represented in discarded materials. Subsequent investigations at both the Charleston Place block (Zierden and Paysinger n.d.) and other sites within the area (Zierden et al 1983b; Herold 1981b) suggest that refuse resulting from other activities, such as abandonment, may contain extensive evidence of commercial activity, both craft and retail (Figure 30).

Throughout the colonial and antebellum periods, the commercial core - East Bay and Broad - expanded northward but otherwise remained relatively stationary as the city grew. Businesses and support services which catered to wealthy factors, merchants, artisans and planters appeared in this area. Such a business was the tavern, which served as an important social center for the colonial city. McCrady's Longroom and Tavern, located on East Bay and Unity Alley, just above Broad Street, is an example of such an establishment. Test excavations at the site in 1982 (Zierden et al 1982) suggested that the Longroom was supported by an elite clientele, which was served elaborate meals with elegant service. Excavations at this site provided the first samples from a public establishment whose function was primarily domestic. The project also provided a data base for future studies on social status, continued at Lodge Alley and First Trident, and indicated that social status could be recognized outside of exclusively domestic deposits.

More recent research on taverns underscores the importance of the tavern as an urban social institution (Rothschild and Rockman 1984). The longroom served as a meeting place and a banquet hall, as well as a center for many social and recreational activities. These, and other support services, were centered in the commercial core of the city.

In summary, the study area remained central to the economic acti-vities of the city throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Extensive use, reuse, and subdivision of property took place as property values escalated and the need for a central locatin continued. There was a general shift from south to north in the early 19th century as the city grew and merchants became more specialized. Retail businesses on Broad Street were replaced by professional services. King Street increased in commercial importance; the commercial use of East Bay was sustained.

Occupation of the area was characterized by a dual function of most lots for commercial and residential purposes. Only the newer subdivisions to the northeast and northwest (Ansonborough, Harleston Village, Rhettsburg) were characterized by primarily residential use. Sites within this area provide an excellent opportunity to study residential and commercial activities simultaneously.

This area is considered one of the most archaeologically sensitive because it is in this area that construction activity is centered. As Charleston continues to revitalize her "downtown" area, those areas of prior commercial activity will be the most affected. This is under-scored by the number of archaeological projects that have already been conducted in the area (Herold 1981a; Honerhamp et al 1982; Zierden and

Figure 30

Examples of property lines within the
nineteenth century commercial core in
Charleston. Characteristics include
extremely long, narrow lots and structures
to maximize frontage on the street, and
outbuildings and support activities in
the rear.

Paysinger n.d.; Zierden et al 1983a; Zierden 1983b; Zierden 1983c).
As a result of these projects, quite a bit more is known about the
archaeological potential of the area. Intact archaeological deposits
usually continue to a depth of five feet below ground surface, where
sterile yellow sand is encountered. This is in contrast to the area
below Broad, where deposits are 3.5 feet or less. Although occupation
prior to 1700 has been suggested, or at least suspected, for most of
the sites studied, closed contexts predating 1720 have yet to be
excavated, although both 17th century and prehistoric artifacts have
been recovered in small amounts. This suggests that the continuous,
intensive occupation of the area may have obliterated intact evidence
of early occupations in most areas. Therefore, the area north of
Broad may best serve as a data base for the period of Charleston's
commercial importance, ca. 1730 - 1850. Because construction is likely
to continue to be concentrated in this area in the future, continued
archaeological research in this area is essential.

The Charleston Neck

The peninsular city above Beaufain Street, the northern boundary of
the Grand Modell, was granted to various individuals in large tracts
(Figure 31). In 1783, the Charleston city limit was moved to Calhoun
Street and this section was quickly filled with homes and businesses.
The area above the city limit was still mostly undeveloped and remained
divided into large, individually owned tracts. As the 19th century
approached, these tracts were gradually subdivided and built upon
(Zierden 1982: 2).

The area north of Calhoun Street was commonly referred to as
the Charleston Neck and, until its annexation in 1849, remained outside
the city proper. In the colonial period, the northern section of King
Street served as the backcountry's artery to Charleston. Up until the
early 19th century, wagon yards were a common sight in this district.

As the city grew and prospered, property values in desirable
residential areas in the town proper rose. Fires resulted in frequent
rebuilding and encouraged land speculation. Subsequent ordinances for-
bade the construction of wooden buildings in the city (McCord 1848)
and dictated the use of brick. Although these rulings were frequent,
they were not stringently enforced until after the fire of 1838.
The obliteration of alley housing took place increasingly throughout time
as upper class residential districts became more differentiated. All
of these factors resulted in an outward push of lower class whites and
blacks (Calhoun and Zierden 1984).

Some of these blacks were urban slaves who were allowed to "live
out," away from their masters. They made their homes in any available
space - a floor, room, shack, crowded tenement, or house. Some attained
a certain degree of affluence and rented relatively spacious quarters,
generally on the Neck. The greater amount of freedom enjoyed by slaves
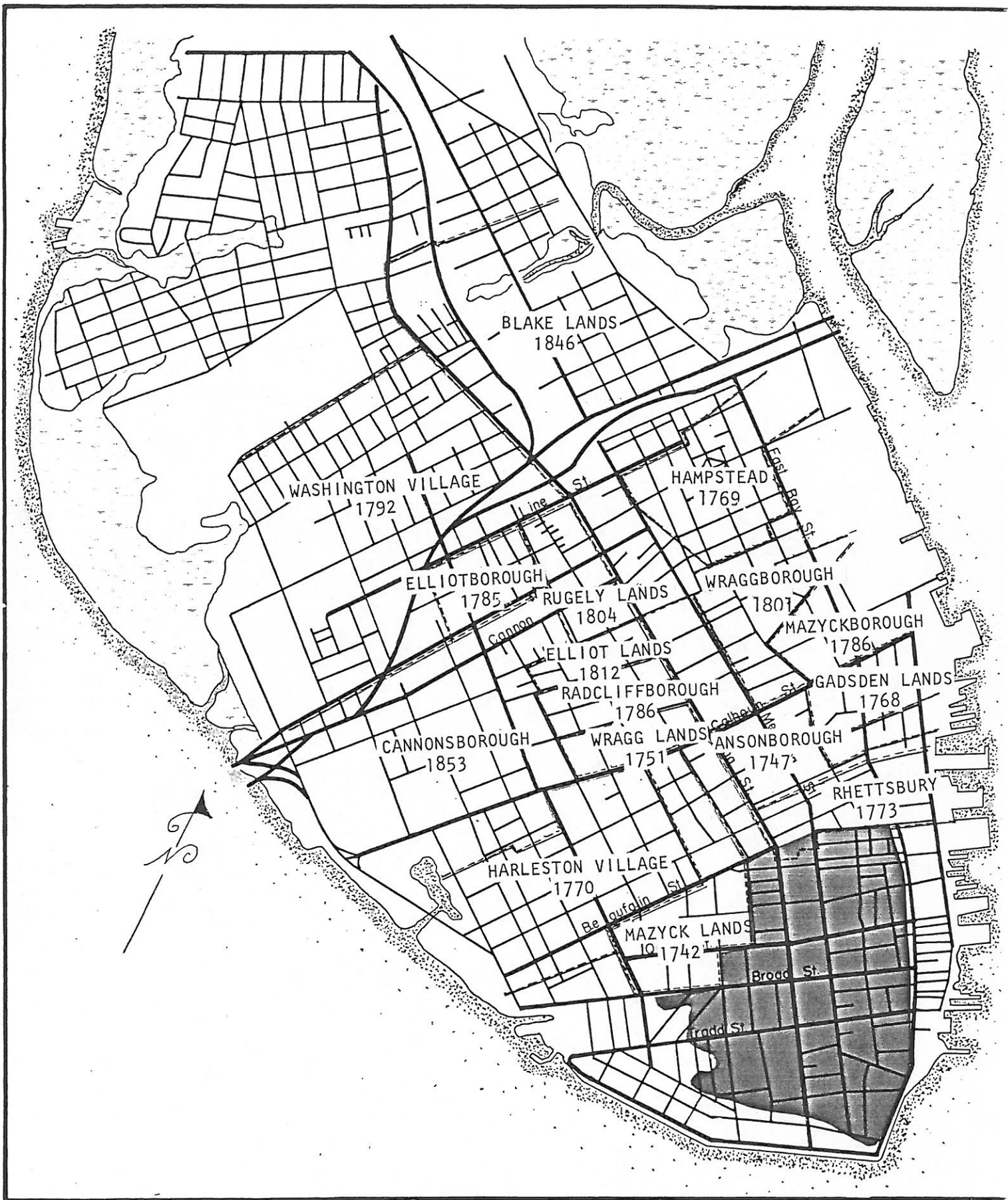
The Charleston peninsula, showing subdivisions above the Grand Model (shaded area).

"living out" encouraged economic initiative and the accumulation of
personal possessions. Plantation slaves were supplied with items selected
by their master or overseer (Otto 1977; Blassingame 1975); urban slaves,
due to their proximity to the commercial center, were more able to choose
articles for themselves. Pilfering acknowledged by owners as distinct
from robbery and other ventures, both legal and illegal, often provided
these slaves with the added income needed to accumulate personal possessions
such as clothing, an easily recognizable symbol of status.

Other slaves who lived on the Neck were housed by their employers.
In 1852, the South Carolina Railroad Company maintained a depot on Mary
Street, a Passengers' Depot on John Street and a Depository on Line
Street. In 1859, the railroad's Passenger Depot was at Line between
Meeting and King Streets. Apparently at this time the Freight Depot
was moved to the site of the old Passengers' Depot on John Street
(Zierden 1982: 4).

Approximately 4/5 of all industrial slaves were directly owned by
industrial entrepeneurs. The rest were rented by employers from their
masters by the month or year (Starobin 1970: 12). Urban industrial
slaves generally either lived in tenements attached to or near their
place of employment, or in the building itself (Starobin 1970: 59).
A confidential report submitted in 1849 by the chief engineer of the
South Carolina Railroad, which employed free labor at its Charleston
terminal but utilized slave labor for its upcountry stations, suggested,

> It is a subject well worthy of enquiry whether the labor at the
> Charleston Depot would not be performed by slaves more economically
> than Whites (Starobin 1970: 160-161).

During the years 1845 - 1860, the South Carolina Railroad purchased
eighty nine slaves and South Carolina's Northeastern Railroad hired
bondsmen extensively after white workers fled during the unhealthy
summer of 1855 (Starobin 1970: 123). In 1861, the South Carolina
Railroad owned a wooden building on the next block northward which
served as a slave dormitory (Zierden 1982: 5).

The Charleston Neck area continues to house a large percentage of
Charleston's black population and revitalization of this district has
been an emphasis of the City of Charleston in recent years. An
archaeological examination of Charleston's black population is a primary
goal of The Charleston Museum's research program. The Charleston
Neck, particularly the East Side, provides an excellent data base for
the studies outlined in Chapter V. Figure 32 shows the location of free
blacks according to the Charleston City Directories of the 1850s.
A study of these important groups is essential to a complete and balanced
picture of the development of Charleston.

Slaves, either living in or out, were not the only ones who resided
on the Neck. The 1848 Charleston Census commented,

> the slaves and free colored have removed to the Neck...where the
> class of houses suited to their condition are numerous, and
> obtained at moderate rents (1848 Charleston City Census).

This trend persisted. A Grand Jury Presentment of 1856 called for a
halt to the construction of what they contemptuously referred to as
"shacks" on the Neck. They called those tenements which had been built
"nuisances" and decried the "rows of buildings" which were constructed
"expressly for and rented to slaves and persons of color." They further
complained that, in these barracks,

> as many as 50 to 100 negroes or persons of color are sometimes
> residing shut out from the public street by a gate, all the buildings
> have but one common yard, and not a single white person on the
> premises (Wade 1964: 70).

Not all of the free blacks, however, who resided on the Neck were
poor. Many free blacks were not so much pushed from the town proper as
pulled by the attraction of living among fellow blacks (Berlin 1974:
257). The white man's superior legal and social position resulted in
attitudes, manners and even laws insulting to the free black. As John
C. Calhoun, spokesman for the South, explained in 1848,

> With us the two great divisions of society are not the rich and
> poor, but white and black; all the former, the poor as well as the
> rich, belong to the upper classes....and hence have a position
> and pride of character of which neither poverty nor misfortune
> can deprive them (Nevins 1947: 419).

The racial antagonism implied by this statement was not always evident,
although it undoubtedly lurked beneath the urbane manners of Charleston's
mixed population. Often whites, free blacks and slaves lived together
in at least apparent amity.

The inhabitants of Meeting Street in 1861 provide an interesting
example of segregation by class rather than race. By 1861, the Neck
had become a part of Charleston and Meeting Street, which began at the
Bay at the southern tip of the peninsula, ran through it. Near the Bay,
Meeting Street was the site of the homes of some of the most prominent
families in Charleston. Although a few free blacks did live in this area,
the overwhelming majority of them were women who worked for these families.
The next section of Meeting Street was part of the antebellum commercial
district. Midway through the city, Meeting Street was the home of success-
ful merchants, upwardly-mobile tradesmen, and white collar workers.
These businessmen occupied almost the entire two block strip between
John and Mary Streets. Some of the most prominent residents of this
section of Meeting Street were Albert Bischoff, a wealthy German grocer;
Otis Chaffee, a wine merchant; Allston Seabrook, a planter; and Francis
St. Marks, a prosperous free black barber who, in addition to owning
his own brick home, also possessed an enviable amount of real estate and
a small number of slaves (Berlin 1974: 255; City of Charleston 1861
Census).

The Charleston Neck was annexed in 1849 in order to better control
its potentially rebellious black residents. Fear of slave revolts was
always a motivating factor in the actions of Charlestonians and, in
this case, it persuaded them to add a district to their city which,
despite the presence of some middle and upper class homes, had a
decidedly unsavory reputation (Figure 33).

Approximate locations of free persons of color, based on the 1859 City Directory.
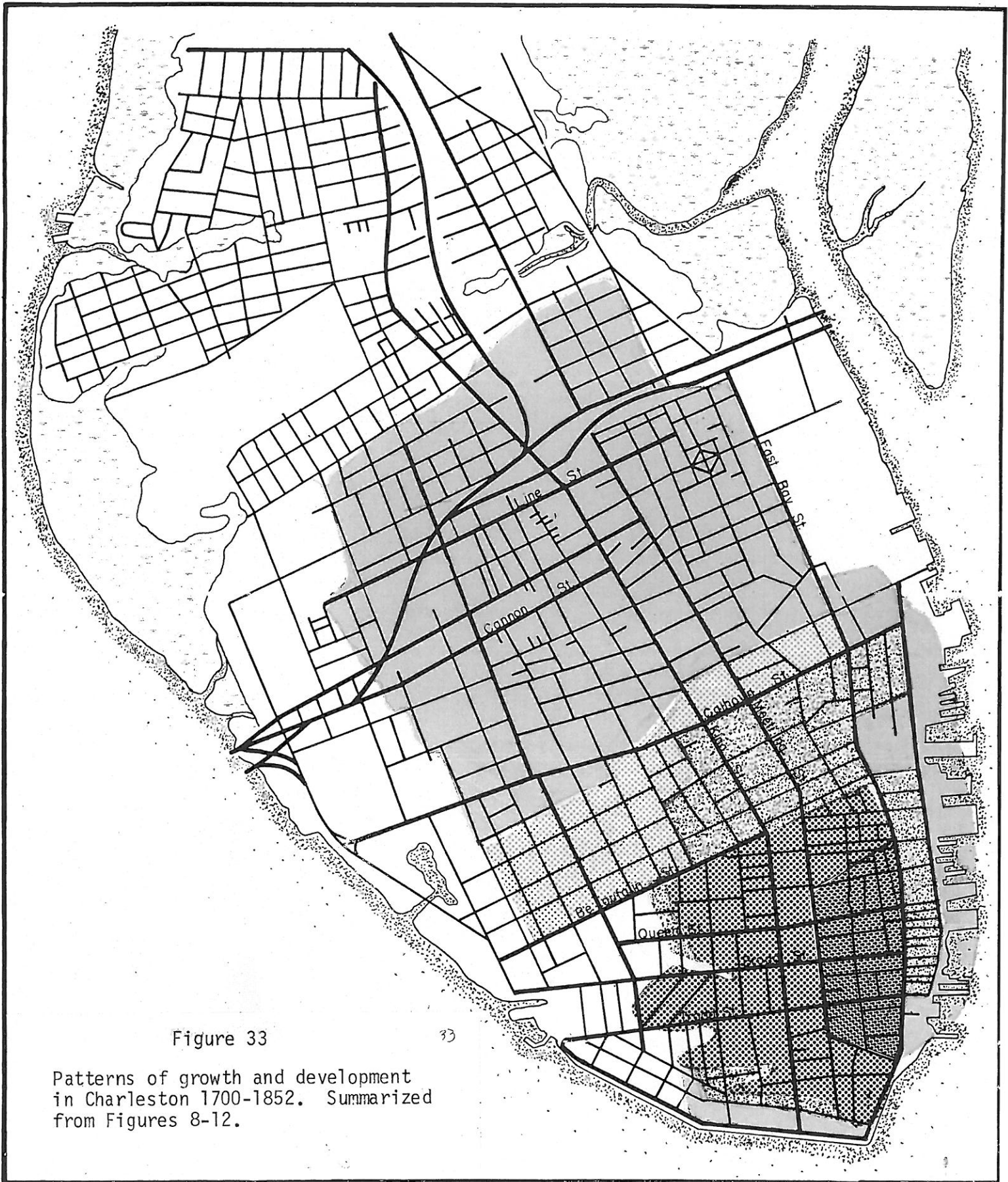
Figure 33

Patterns of growth and development
in Charleston 1700-1852. Summarized
from Figures 8-12.

The developmental and occupational history of the Neck is quite different from the more southerly areas of the city and, because of this, archaeological investigations in this area are both important and necessary. To date, no archaeological investigations have been conducted north of Calhoun Street, although several projects are in the planning stages. The Charleston Neck possesses the greatest potential for an examination of Charleston's black population, both slave and free. Any ground disturbing activities in the East Side should involve archaeological investigations.

Although black and poor citizens comprised the majority of the Neck residents, the area was not exclusively poor. Several planters and even some merchants built large townhouses along the shores of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers; these sites provide an excellent data base for comparison of urban and rural lifestyles, as discussed in Chapter V. Finally, Meeting Street was the home of middle class citizens as well.

Although the majority of the Neck was not occupied until well into the antebellum period, there are several sites which were settled at an earlier time. These have been discussed in the preliminary report (Zierden and Calhoun 1982). Prior to the intensive occupation of the Neck, much of the area was a series of small farms and plantations (See Figures 12 & 31). Clearly, the Neck comprises an important archaeological resource; investigations in this area are essential to a balanced view of antebellum Charleston.

CHAPTER V

Suggested Research

Goals

Based on the extensive documentary research conducted for this project, several areas were identified for which written data was lacking; these topics were considered condusive to archaeological research. The documentary data provided the economic, demographic, and social parameters that act as controls for the formulation of the hypotheses. Likewise, the documentary evidence, plus archaeological evidence from Charleston and other urban and rural areas provided the basis for the formulation of test implications. The research questions presented here, based on documentary and preliminary archaeological evidence, are intended for testing and will be refined considerably following archaeological investigation. Likewise, the archaeological data base of Charleston is condusive to research on a number of topics not covered here.

The research topics were formulated to act as a guide for future archaeological investigations in Charleston. The majority of the archaeological projects conducted in the past few years have been, and most likely many of the future projects will be, small in scale. Well formulated research questions facilitate a meaningful integration of the data from such small projects into a comparative framework. Thus, each individual project can contribute to a synthesis of information on these issues. Additionally, many of the research topics proposed here are central to current archaeological research; the data base from Charleston can be readily utilized in the examination of these issues on a regional, and even national, level. It is hoped that, through careful examination of the archaeological data, using the following research questions as a guide, archaeological research in Charleston will make a meaningful contribution to historical archaeology.

The proposed research questions approach archaeological research in Charleston on a variety of levels. Urban archaeology is a relatively new field of interest, and many of the processes responsible for the formation of the urban archaeological record are poorly understood. Further, special methodologies to explore and understand the urban site have just recently been developed, and will require further testing and refinement. For this reason, some of the research questions address such basic issues as site formation, clarity, and lot element patterning. Other questions, though, address the processual issues of human behavior and its reflection in archaeological patterning. Studies on a variety of levels are important to the development of urban archaeology.

Site Function

Many, indeed possibly a majority, of the structures in Charleston
served a dual function as residences and businesses. Artifactual
materials recovered from such sites have been overwhelmingly domestic
in function, and attempts to recognize the commercial function of the
site in the archaeological record have been only moderately successful.
It is expected that materials representing the commercial activities of
the site may be present in the archaeological record as a result of
site formation processes different from those resulting in the deposition
of domestic refuse.

As a response to the demands of Charleston's commercial system,
the restrictions of the Charleston landscape, and the lack of transportation,
the commercial core of Charleston was subject to intensive occupation
characterized by long, narrow lots, multi-storied buildings, and a dual
residential-commercial function for these buildings. This model
characterized the commercial core of the colonial period, centered
on East Bay Street and the waterfront, and westward into town along
Tradd, Elliot, and Broad Streets (Calhoun et al. 1982). This land
use pattern continued well into the nineteenth century, as the commercial
retail district shifted to the north-south corridor of East Bay and King
Streets.

Recognizing the dual, residential and commercial, function of
such sites in the archaeological record has been a problem in recent
urban investigations. Using the quantification and pattern recognition
methodology proposed by South (1977), researchers have grouped artifacts
from such sites by functional categories, and a high percentage of artifacts
reflecting special activities has been predicted for commercial sites.
This prediction has been supported by the artifactual assemblages from
sites characterized by a combined craft-domestic occupation (Honerkamp
1980; Zierden et al. 1983b, 1983c). The commercial activity of such
sites involves the production of goods, a process that would generate
at least some byproducts indicative of site function. In contrast,
retail commercial activity involves a lateral transfer, rather than
production of, goods, an activity unlikely to generate discarded byproducts
recognizable in the archaeological record; such sites are characterized
by an overwhelmingly domestic assemblage (Lewis 1977; Honerkamp et al. 1982).

Subsequent research in Charleston indicates that in certain cases,
commercially related materials may be present in the archaeological record
as a result of different types of site formation processes (see Schiffer
1977). Studies indicate that archaeological deposits that are the result
of abandonment activities may contain evidence of commercial activities.
Examples of such activities include the destruction of a structure
due to fires or storms and the major cleanup activities following these
destructive events, or following the transfer of ownership of the
property. These activities are reflected by such archaeological events
as a burned in-situ deposit (Zierden et al. 1983b; Herold 1981b)
or privy fill (Lewis and Haskell 1979; Zierden and Paysinger n.d.).
In contrast, deposits resulting from deliberate discard or loss at
dual function sites are likely to be overwhemingly representative of
the daily domestic activities at the site, but may also represent any
craft activities at the site.

Archaeological excavations in Charleston suggest that the presence of abandonment-related deposits in Charleston's archaeological record may be extensive, as Charleston was subjected to numerous destructive forces throughout its history. This research question, then, addresses the delineation of site function through the recognition of site formation processes and artifact patterning. Commercial craft enterprises may be reflected in a high percentage of materials in the Activities group. In addition, site function may be monitored by frequency relationships of domestic-related artifacts (Honerkamp et al. 1982) or by a high percentage of individual artifact types, rather than groups (Zierden et al. 1983b; Graffam 1982), depending on the nature of the commercial activity. The formulation of a predictive model of the cultural and natural forces responsible for the archaeological record in the commercial core of Charleston, and the recognition of archaeological patterns are expected to provide information on Charleston's commercial activity. Continued excavations within Charleston's historic commercial area should provide the data necessary to continue this study.

Status Variability

A recent focus of historical archaeology in general and urban studies in particular has been the delineation of socioeconomic status (Deagan 1983; Spencer-Wood and Riley 1981; Cressey et al. 1982; Otto 1975). Using the documentary record as a control, the socially stratified urban center can serve as an excellent data base for recognizing socioeconomic status in the archaeological record. The relative socioeconomic status of Charleston inhabitants should be reflected in the settlement pattern (location of site), housing, material items, and diet of the household (Otto 1975).

In stratified societies such as Charleston status positions associated with social roles are ranked in hierarchies. Upper status individuals enjoy greater prestige and have preferred access to the available cultural and natural resources. People occupying lower status positions have less prestige and suffer impaired access to resources. In addition, differences in social class are marked by status symbols recognized by the community as a whole and social class is delineated by specific behavior patterns (Warner et al. 1960). Socioeconomic status in Charleston was measured by occupation, income, and to a lesser extent ethnic and religious affiliation. Although the social structure was complex, the population of Charleston may generally be classified into three groups.

The feudalistic overtones of the early government and land grant system set the stage for an aristocratic society; the early development of rice agriculture insured its development. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Charleston was the focus of an increasingly rigid social hierarchy. The upper class was composed primarily of wealthy planters and merchants. This group dominated the political, social, and economic affairs of the city. During the

18th century the merchant and the planter played an equal, if not always harmonious, role in these affairs and shared an equal status. Indeed, it was often difficult to differentiate the two, for the merchant would often invest his earnings in plantations, becoming a member of the landed gentry. Moreover, the owner of an active plantation (s) was necessarily involved in the commercial world of Charleston (Stumpf 1978). As the 19th century progressed, however, the planter emerged as the dominant class. Reasons for the social decline of the wholesale merchant class are not entirely clear, though some researchers suggest that it may have stemmed from suspicions about their extensive British, and later northern, connections (Rogers 1980: 52; Wertenbaker 1949: 279; Taylor 1932: 44).

Charleston also supported a primarily white middle class of retail merchants and artisans. This group functioned to provide the goods and services necessary to maintain the urban center and included petty businessmen and professionals.

The third category consists of manual laborers, both skilled and unskilled. The overwhelming majority of this group consisted of black slaves; because this group represented a large, easily exploitable and inexpensive laboring force, there was little opportunity for the free laborer, either white or black, to earn a living. The slave labor force represented the lowest social class in Charleston.

Although Charleston's social groups were relatively well integrated, certain locational trends have been noted for these groups. The wealthier Charlestonians tended to locate towards the center of town, within earshot of St. Michaels (Radford 1974; Rogers 1980; Zierden and Calhoun 1982). Merchants tended to cluster in this area near their place of business along major thoroughfares (Calhoun et al 1982; Calhoun et al 1983; Calhoun and Zierden 1984); planters preferred a spacious lot to a central business location, and were located on the southern tip of the peninsula and up the Neck along the riverfronts (Radford 1974).

Middle class professionals located near their businesses on secondary streets, with the artisans exhibiting a more dispersed settlement pattern than the merchants. The laboring slave class was located in the rear of their master's compound, on back streets and alleys, and on the Neck. Chapter III contains a more thorough discussion of the location of socioeconomic groups in Charleston. Recent archaeological research indicates that while it is extremely difficult to correlate individual archaeological proveniences with specific site residents, an understanding of the general socioeconomic status of the neighborhood using documentary controls can be used to recognize status in the archaeological record (Zierden et al 1983a;1983b; Cressey et al 1982).

In addition to site location, socioeconomic status may be reflected in material items and diet. Status should be reflected in the material items functioning in a sociotechnic category (Binford 1972).Socioeconomic status may be reflected in personal, highly curated objects. These include items of clothing and personal possessions, and personal adornment. It is expected that these more visible objects would be more likely to reflect social status than those items used in the more mundane affirs of daily life (Zierden 1981).

In addition, items related to food consumption and preparation, specifically ceramic and glass items, have been related to socioeconomic status (Otto 1977; Miller 1980; Deagan 1983). Ceramic function, origin, and price have been related to social variability. Likewise, glass tableware items have been viewed as status indicators. Ceramic and glass containers, in turn, are reflective of dietary habits (Otto 1977). Although diet is dependent on the natural environment (Reitz 1979) studies have demonstrated that diet varies with social status (Reitz and Cumbaa 1983; Otto 1975; Schultz and Gust 1983; Honerkamp 1982); for example, high status may be reflected in a close adherence to traditional foodways in a new world setting, in a diet that is expensive to maintain, or in dietary diversity. Preliminary studies in Charleston (Reitz in Zierden et al 1983c) and other urban centers (Reitz in Honerkamp et al 1983; Schultz and Gust 1983) suggest that status may be reflected in cuts or types of meat.

Historical archaeological studies have provided a firm foundation for an examination of the factors reflecting social variability. A socially stratified urban center provides an excellent data base for examining this issue, using the documentary evidence as a control. Domestic sites throughout the peninsular city may be utilized for such studies; only sites lacking a domestic occupation, such as the Charleston waterfront area, are inappropriate for such studies.

Urban Subsistence Strategy

Increasing attention is being focused on the study of the subsistence strategies of historic populations, using faunal and floral remains recovered from the historic site. Faunal and floral remains have been used to address a variety of questions concerning historic subsistence strategies. These include studies of cultural conservatism, adaptation to local environments, ethnicity, and social variability. Recent urban investigations suggest a rural/urban dichotomy on historic sites in the southeast, based on the ratio of wild to domestic faunal (Reitz 1984). Urban subsistence strategies are expected to vary from those evidenced on rural sites, in response to the special conditions of the urban environment.

Recent research on subsistence practices on the southeastern coastal plain has been aimed at delineating a regional pattern of animal utilization, using the vertebrate remains from a variety of sites (Reitz 1979; Reitz and Honerkamp 1981; Reitz and Honerkamp 1983). This pattern is characterized by a heavy dependence on beef, and utilization of a variety of wild species indigenous to the local environment. In contrast, the use of domestic pig and caprines is quite limited. This archaeological model is in contrast to the documentary evidence, which suggests a heavy dependence on pork (Genovese 1974; Hilliard 1972; Gray 1933). Results of floral studies from comparable sites are very preliminary, and a synthetic model is not available. From the evidence available, it is expected that a similar dependence on both wild and domestic species

occurred. Ethnobotanical research on 16th century Spanish sites suggests a dependence on indigenous crops and wild plant foods, with minimal use of exotic species (Reitz and Scarry 1982).

Recent urban investigations suggest that the Charleston data generally conforms to the proposed model for the southeastern coastal plain (Reitz and Honerkamp 1984) with some differences. Urban sites in Charleston and Savannah show a much heavier dependence on domestic fauna, primarily cow, with a decreased reliance on fish. Small samples from a number of sites (Reitz in Zierden et al 1982; 1983; Reitz in Honerkamp et al 1982) support this pattern. Preliminary results from ethnobotanical analysis suggest that wild plant foods are also rare (Trinkley in Zierden et al 1983a; 1983b; Zierden and Trinkley 1984).

Charleston provides an excellent data base for an examination of historic urban foodways. Historical evidence should be utilized to examine urban marketing and processing procedures (see Reitz et al n.d.). Data from future excavations should be utilized to examine butchering practices and meat distribution procedures. Likewise, floral studies should be incorporated to examine the use of wild vs. domestic plants. Data from appropriate rural sites should be incorporated into comparative studies to further define the apparent rural/urban dichotomy in historic subsistence strategies (see Reitz et al 1984).

An examination of dietary patterns should also be incorporated into examinations of ethnicity and social variability. Research indicates that diet is a culturally conserve element in environmental adaptation; likewise, social variability is reflected in diet as a result of differential access to resources. Clearly, an archaeological examination of historic subsistence strategies can make a significant contribution to an examination of the cultural processes affecting the development of Charleston. In order to pursue such studies, investigations should be oriented towards excavation of the rear lot area of a site, aimed at the identification and recovery of primary and secondary deposits of domestic refuse, such as trash pits, organically-rich sheet midden deposits, in addition to such specialized features as hearths, privies, and wells.

Site Formation Processes

In order to interpret the remains of human activity present in the urban site, it is first necessary to understand the cultural and natural processes responsible for the formation of the archaeological record. The by-products of human activities undergo a number of cultural and natural transformations as a living site becomes an archaeological record. Although all archaeological sites result from similar processes, these processes are often amplified on the urban site, resulting in increasing complexity. An important part of interpreting the urban archaeological record is a more complete understanding of the processes

responsible for the formation of the site.

An archaeological site basically consists of a natural environmental setting modified by the activities of the humans who occupy the site. Specifically of interest to the archaeologist are activities which disturb the ground and introduce materials into the ground. Once introduced into the ground, materials can be redistributed in the ground, or they can be memoved from the ground (Honerkamp et al 1982: 102). At urban historical sites, the archaeological record is often a complex combination of all three events (Honerkamp and Fairbanks 1984).

Michael Schiffer was the first to address the issue of an understanding of these site formation processes (1976; 1977). Schiffer identified three major processes by which materials enter the archaeological record. These include discard, loss, and abandonment. Discard and loss are the most comon processes, whereby obsolete, broken, or otherwise useless materials are deliberately disposed of. Archaeological deposits resulting from these activities are often secondary refuse; that is, refuse discarded in a locus different from that where it was used. Abandonment is often the result of an accidental event, such as a fire, and often results in de facto refuse, cultural materials abandoned at the site of use. Materials may be deliberately deposited in a single event, resulting in a feature, or may be gradually and informally discarded on the ground surface, resulting in a sheet deposit (Schiffer 1977). The result of these depositional activities is a gradual aggradation of soils at a site (Honerkamp et al 1982: 102).

Once materials are placed in the ground as a result of these processes, it may be redistributed in the ground. Such redistribution activities appear to be common on urban sites, and have presented interpretive problems that archaeologists have just begun to address (See Honerkamp and Fairbanks 1984; Dickens 1982). Such redistribution activities range in scale from digging a shovel into an earlier deposit to place a fence post to the wholesale grading and bulldozing of a site in preparation for construction of a skyscraper. Archaeologists have recently warned that constant redistribution of materials is characteristic of the intensive occupation of the urban site and thus the development of the methodologies necessary to interpret these redeposited proveniences is essential to interpretation of the urban site (Honerkamp and Fairbanks 1984).

In addition to being redistributed, archaeological deposits may be removed from the site and redeposited elsewhere. A major portion of the archaeological record in Charleston, such as the waterfront east of East Bay Street, is the result of these activities. In order to avoid erroneous interpretation of the archaeological materials at a site, it is important for the archaeologist to recognize deposits that are the result of these activities.

A more detailed discussion of the daily activities that result in the formation of the archaeological record may be found in Chapter II and other sources (Honerkamp et al 1982; Zierden et al 1983b; 1983c). Careful examination of the documentary and archaeological record will be necessary to more fully understand the site formation processes resulting in Charleston's archaeological record. This, in turn, will

result in a more accurate interpretation of these data.

Urban Slavery

As a result of considerable archaeological research, a new picture
of plantation slave life is emerging. A significant portion of the
North American slaves, however, lived and worked in urban areas.
Urban slavery is a poorly understood phenomenon. The black majority
of Charleston offers an excellent data base to study this aspect of
Afro-American slavery. Urban slave sites are expected to show more
intersite variability than plantation slave sites of the same period
because of the greater degree of individual economic freedom afforded
the urban slave.

Urban slaves can be roughly divided into two groups, those who
lived with their master and those who "lived out." Typically, slaves
who lived in were confined in close quarters with their master's family.
Surrounded by a high wall, the lot would contain a single dwelling unit
for the master and slave quarters in the rear. These quarters, long,
narrow and usually two stories high, either joined the main house at
right angles or were located in the back of the lot overlooking a
small open area. The second floor had sleeping areas while the first
usually contained the kitchen, store rooms and, sometimes, a stable.
The structure would generally be wooden with a balcony along one side,
at the outer end of which was a privy for the use of the bondsmen
(Wade 1964: 114).

The slave quarters housed as many bondsmen as necessary. These
slaves were sometimes joined in a family but generally had either been
inherited or bought as the need arose. The resulting lack of cohesion
in their group resulted in a great deal of tension to which, in the later
antebellum decades, the higher ratio of female to male urban slaves
added considerably. Although on the plantatiion slaves often sought
domestic service, the reverse was true on the urban site. Here slaves
preferred employment which enabled them to leave the compound as
frequently as possible.

Those slaves who were offered the chance to "live out," due to
their master's generosity, parsimony, or lack of space, eagerly took
it. Homes were made in any available space - a floor, room, shack,
crowded tenement, or house. Some attained a certain degree of affluence
and rented relatively spacious quarters, generally on the Neck. The
greater amount of freedom enjoyed by slaves "living out" encouraged
economic initiative and the accumulation of personal possessions.
Plantation slaves were supplied with items selected by their master
or overseer and had little voice in the matter (Otto 1977; Blassingame
1975). Urban slaves, due to their proximity to the commercial center,
were more able to choose articles for themselves. Pilfering, acknowledged
by masters as distinct from robbery, and other ventures, both legal

and illegal, often provided these slaves with the additional income necessary to accululate personal possessions such as clothing, an easily recognizable symbol of status.

The above documentary evidence suggests that urban slaves had more opportunity for economic independence and were less dependent on their masters for material goods. The ability to hire out one's own time resulted in an increased incentive for individual initiative and expression. Because of this greater degree of individual freedom afforded the urban slave, urban slave sites are expected to show more intersite variability than plantation slave sites. This research question, then, addresses status differences within a single ethnic group. The material assemblage of urban slave sites is expected to show more variability in all areas of material culture, based on increased availability. In addition, more status-related, or sociotechnic items (Binford 1972: 95) are expected in the assemblage of the urban slave. It is expected that the artifact categories most sensitive to social status will be those containing more personal, highly curated objects, rather than those items used in the more mundane affirs of daily life. This category includes items of personal adornment and personal possession (Reitz 1979: 14; Zierden 1981: 133). These categories are expected to be larger and more varied than those of the plantation slave site.

The Free Black Population

A large number of free blacks lived in Charleston throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. This anomalous group occupied a precarious position in Charleston and sought acceptance by white society by disassociating themselves from their enslaved brethern. Patterns at urban free black sites are expected to be more similar to those of white households of equal affluence than to urban slave sites.

In 1848, John C. Calhoun, spokesman of the South, declared,

With us the two great divisions of society are not the rich and poor, but white and black; all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper classes, and are respected and treated as equals...and hence have a position and pride of character of which neither poverty nor misfortune can deprive them (Nevins 1947: 419).

In the South, the aristocracy was one of color, not of wealth; racial unity was the issue which enabled artisan and planter to join in "one great interest." White society recognized free blacks as an unwelcome aberration of the system. By proving themselves capable of an economically independent, and sometimes prosperous, life, they not only refuted pro-slavery arguments but also posed a threat to white dominance. Free blacks occupied an extremely precarious position. Their freedom was not a right, but a privilege, and, as such, could

be abolished as easily as granted. Barred from integration into the superior class by physical characteristics and dreading the subordination inherent in the lower status, free blacks were the "marginal men" of the South. Carefully balanced on a thin yet vital line, some sought to prove their trustworthiness to white society through emulation and un-obtrusiveness. Others had no memory of slavery and merely adopted the white mores and habits to which they had been accustomed all their lives.

Those free blacks who were able to achieve the limited success open to them in southern society were a distinct group. Although wealth did not insulate them from restrictive laws;and a severely discriminatory society, these free blacks formed a class of their own. William Johnson, an affluent free black in Natchez, Mississippi, who was a barber, planter and money lender, was, by definition, both an inferior and an aristrocrat. Mentally and outwardly, he was a member of the upper echelons of white society. Although William Johnson was only one of many southern free blacks, there is no reason to believe his behavior was an exception in his class. He kept a diary, took French lessons, subscribed to five or six Mississippii and New Orleans papers and one from New York, and played the violin. The furnishings of his home included a large sofa, mahogany chairs, large mirrors, pier glasses (two of which he bought for $320.00) and bookcases. Despite wealth and status, however, he was subjected to the same victimization inherent in the position of all free blacks. A poor white farmer who lived in the swamp near Johnson's land was reported to have threatened,

> That I was cutting a greate many shines in Coming by his House Calling my Hogs...and that he intended to (give) me a real nigger beating and that he would Beat me to death....

Johnson concluded this entry in his diary, "I listen to his remarks and did not say anything in reply (Hogan and Davis 1951: 599)." His silence in answer to this report of a threat was emulated by the response of the law to the news of Johnson's death. Killed by a man believed to be white, the only other witnesses to Johnson's murder, for which he named his assailant, were black and their evidence inadmissable in court. William Johnson, a member of the gentry recognized and acknow-ledged as such by the other aristrocrats in Natchez society, both black and white, had become merely another manumitted slave at his death.

Charleston free blacks established social organizations based on status and, sometimes, degrees of color (Wikramanayake 1973; Minutes of The Friendly Moralist Society). They established fire companies, the members of which included some of the most wealthy and respected in their community (Descriptive Lists of Free Negroes Belonging to City Engines). Free blacks also joined whites in buying slaves. Some were merely exercising their greater rights to ease the plight of their enslaved brethern; others revealed the same lack of scruples as the dominant race. Their wealth was often utilized to secure an education for their children. They also took advantage of their monetary success to guarantee their security in times of increasingly harsh restrictions on blacks. Thus affluent free blacks were the elite of their class yet barred from achieving a high, secure status in society as a whole. Their sub-group, modelled upon white society, served to distinguish them

from those of lesser wealth and freedom.

The material culture of urban free blacks is expected to be more similar to white households of equal economic status than to those of urban slaves of lower socioeconomic status, as the free black group chose to align themselves with the dominant white group. Archaeological research on free blacks in Charleston thus approaches the questions of status and ethnicity simultaneously, by comparing free blacks with a group of similar status and different ethnic heritage (middle class whites) and with a group of differing social status and similar ethnic heritage (Urban slaves).

Both questions are the focus of current archaeological research, with varying results. Although there are problems in directly correlating social status with archaeological patterns (Otto 1980: 3-4), several studies have made major strides in recognizing socioeconomic status archaeologically (Otto 1975; Poe 1978; Miller 1980), based on direct correlation with the documentary record. Although ethnicity as an issue has been subjected to a similar level of scrutiny (see Schuyler 1980), results of such research have not been as concrete. Ethnicity as a social phenomenon may be more ephemeral than socioeconomic status, and the two may, at times, be difficult to separate (Kelley and Kelley 1980: 140). Nonetheless, some of the most promising research into this problem has been conducted on Afro-American sites on the Georgia and South Carolina coasts (Drucker and Anthony 1979; Ferguson 1980; Otto 1975; Fairbanks 1974; Singleton 1980; Zierden and Calhoun 1983), forming a foundation for the present study.

The urban free black site is expected to exhibit similar sociotechnic items (Binford 1972) as white households, but, at the same time, reflect the Afro-American heritage in artifact categories that are culturally conservative (Deagan 1983; Reitz 1981). Several descriptive, baseline studies will have to be conducted before the present research question can be addressed successfully. A careful, processual examination of the marginal urban free black group is expected to provide information on status and ethnicity in the urban environment.

Spatial Patterning as a Macro - Adaptive Strategy

From the first days of the colony, "desirable" land was perceived as being scarce and at a premium. This fact, plus the economic stagnation of Charleston in the 19th century, resulted in several developmental aspects of the city which are pre-industrial. These patterns will be reflected on a range of levels, from the individual lot to the city as a whole.

The 1680 settlement of Charleston was founded on a peninsula located at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers and the Atlantic Ocean. The three hundred acres extending from Oyster Point to what is

now Beaufain Street were divided into the deep, narrow lots characteristic of 17th century British colonial towns (Reps 1965: 177). The formation of these lots provided maximum street frontage and encouraged multi-storied buildings.

The good, although somewhat shallow, harbor of Charleston and the network of rivers which provided easy access to the backcountry catapaulted the town into a position of commercial importance. As port, depository and trade center, Charleston grew rapidly. Land in and around the bourgeoning town quickly gained in value. In 1751, Governor James Glen reported to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations,

> The value of our land is various and uncertain, some near the town of a very indifferent quality has been sold at the rate of 15 (pounds) or 16 (pounds) sterling per acre. I mention it for the extravagance of the price, but it is no rule to judge by for land of a better quality a few miles further up, would not be worth as many shillings, and a little further still less (Merrens 1977: 177-182).

During the first decade of the existence of Charleston, the captains of ocean-going vessels were forced to use lighters to carry their goods to the town's docks. In the 1690s, however, those areas deep enough for large ships were converted into wharves (Green 1965: 12). Buildings were erected on the wharves and used for store rooms, counting houses and shops.

As the economic functions of the town became more defined, certain areas assumed commercial importance. Merchants, attracted by little or no hauling costs, clustered on East Bay and Broad Streets, the two major east-west thoroughfares adjacent to the waterfront, and the wharves. For the period 1732 - 1737, of the eighty six merchants who gave specific street addresses, 36.0% were located on the Bay, 20.0% on Broad and 14.1% on the various wharves. Elliott Street was the site of 9.4%, while 8.24% listed Church and 4.71& Tradd Street. This pattern holds true, with slight variations, for the years 1738 - 1767 (See Table I).

Artisans such as coopers and sailmakers also preferred sites on or as close to the waterfront as possible. Others, however, had a different criteria for their choice of locations. Although access to raw materials was important for these craftsmen, a more serious consideration was convenience to customers. These artisans spread throughout the city. Of the forty seven craftsmen who gave their addresses in the advertisements published in the South Carolina Gazette from 1732 - 1737, 18.7% were on Church, 16.6% on Broad, 14.5% on Elliott and 12.5% on Tradd Street. Only 8.3% were located on the Bay. 6.2% were situated each on Bedons' Alley and the Green while the wharves, White Point and Union Street each had 4.1%. This lack of clustering continues throughout the next thirty years, with the addition of King Street as an important area for artisans (Calhoun et al 1983: 4-5) (Table II).

The concentration of merchants, and some craftsmen, in a specific district resulted in the development of a commercial core focused on the waterfront. The colonial core was located roughly between Queen and

Water Streets, with a centering on three major east-west thoroughfares, Broad, Tradd and Elliott Streets (Figure 13). The perceived desirability of land in this area caused property values to increase. As residents attempted to keep pace with rising costs, multiple use of buildings increased as did their interchangeable character, a common feature of a pre-industrial town (Dickinson 1961: 27). In 1750, John Jenkins advertised his property in Elliott Street as,

> well situated for trade...has two good back stores, two good lodging rooms, good well with pump and other conveniences (South Carolina Gazette October 8, 1750).

A brick tenement in Broad Street was advertised in 1756 as for

> lett, where Mrs. Francis Bremar now lives, and Messrs. Thomas and William Ellis now keep their stores (South Carolina Gazette January 29, 1756).

Others took in lodgers, and even rented out back buildings as stores and cellars as warehouses. Many merchants advertised their shops as being "in Mr. ---- 's house" or "in one of Mr. ---- 's stores." Conversely, many merchants rented the second story of their businesses as dwellings (Calhoun et al 1982: 56-58).

A combined business/residence was a common feature in Charleston. Although some did this in order to keep the costs of land and buildings manageable, others were persuaded by the lack of rapid, inexpensive transportation. Until the post-bellum era, Charleston was a city of pedestrians (Radford 1974). This made it convenient for dwelling and store, counting house or work shop, to be at least close to one another, if not actually in the same buildings (Dickinson 1961: 264). Professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, also tended to maintain an office in their home. Thus the separation of house and work place was common only for the wealthy merchants, who had their own vehicles, planters residing in the city, and the poor who worked for someone else or could only afford a stall. A combined business/residence, then, was most characteristic of the middle class.

By the antebellum period, residential and business districts had become increasingly differentiated. The wealthy citizens of Charleston, intensifying a practice begun in the colonial period, concentrated in the area south of Broad Street. This persistent clustering of upper class homes in the center of the city was a function of the institutional importance of the area and the greater security provided by living within sight and sound of St. Michaels (Radford 1974: 192)(Figure 27).

Although the commercial core remained focused on the waterfront throughout the antebellum period, King Street rapidly gained in commercial importance (Figure 14). From 1845 - 1860, King Street, a relatively insignificant thoroughfare throughout the 18th century, was the location of the greatest number of retail businesses and a significant percentage of the artisans who advertised in the Charleston Courier (Tables III and IV). In the antebellum period, the growth of the town shifted from an east-west to a north-south orientation, shifting the commercial core slightly northward, to the intersection of East Bay and Broad (Figure 14).

A model has been proposed for land use patterning of the 18th and 19th century commercial cores of Charleston. Elements include the sub-division of lots and maximal use of real estate, a dual residential/commercial function of buildings, frontage of the structure directly on the street and extensive reuse of backlot elements as trash reposi-tories (Honerkamp et al 1982). Other factors to be aware of are multiple land use, often by different individuals or families, rental and subletting of properties, intracity population movement and ownership of large blocks of property by wealthy merchants (Zierden et al 1982). Future archaeological investigations within the commercial cores of Charleston should focus on an archaeological definition of these characteristics of urban land use.

Rural - Urban Contrasts Among the Upper Class

In addition to being the commercial center of the lowcountry, Charleston was also a social center. Planters with numerous ties to the city often built townhouses to display their newly acquired wealth. The city and its calendar of social activities served as the backdrop for this ostentation. The urban site of a planter is expected to contain a higher percentage of high status, or sociotechnic, items than his respective plantation site.

Settlers were attracted to the Carolina colony by the promise of generous land grants. Although financial success was far from assured, immigrants flocked to the colony from a variety of places. The early leaders of the colony, in fact, often found themselves "land poor," owning vast tracts of land, but having only negligible financial assets.

These early citizens of Carolina lost no time in searching for a staple crop which would make their landholdings profitable. With the development of rice agriculture, these planters began to acquire wealth, and Charleston began to develop as an important commercial center for handling these agricultural products (Phillips 1974: 9). The wealthy planter had extensive contact and ties with the city and would spend part of his time there. As the seaport became a major center of the English - North American trade, factors of British merchants came to stay in Charleston. They mingled with the planter class and were considered their social equals. The factors would invest their money in land, join the planter class and, when sufficiently affluent, retire to England.

The social activities of the city proved very attractive to these planters, who were anxious to establish themselves in the burgeoning society. To escape the health problems and isolation that plantation life posed, the wealthy lowcountry planters built gracious townhouses, monuments to their newly acquired wealth (Rogers 1980). Summer in Charleston was a time for parties and socializing; it was also a time for displaying

one's wealth. This ostentation was important for one's children's sake. Marriage was the cement of the new society and planters used their wealth in Charleston to make the most advantageous match possible for their offspring (Rogers 1980: 23).

The planter's townhouse, then, is a study in 18th and 19th century conspicuous consumption. This is especially true for the later antebellum years when the planter class dominated the city; Charleston was declining economically and Charlestonians felt compelled to display their status symbols.

The archaeological assemblage of a planter's townhouse is expected to reflect this compulsive ostentation, more so than the isolated plantation house. Moreover, due to the planter's continued presence in and close contacts with the city, the distance of the lowcountry plantation from the market center is not seen as a factor affecting this dichotomy. The townhouse site of a wealthy lowcountry planter is expected to contain more sociotechnic (Binford 1972), or status-reflecting items than their plantation house site. Such a study will help better define precisely which artifact types and categories are most sensitive to status differentiation.

A second important aspect of this research question is the study of contrasts in adaptation to the rural and urban environments. As urban archaeology has developed in recent years, researchers have begun to address the question of the adaptive strategies unique to the urban environment. Some components of the urban environment include the availability of municipal services (Honerkamp and Council 1984), marketing practices (Reitz et al n.d.), and the consumer choices possible as the result of such marketing practices (Wise 1984). Other adaptive strategies noted in Charleston include intensive use of available space for refuse disposal and multiple residential/commercial use of sites in response to the physical constriction and high land values in the city (Zierden 1984).

Other researchers have begun to compare data from urban and rural sites and to delineate contrasts in adaptive strategies. Reitz (1984) was the first to address this issue in terms of diet, utilizing verte-brate faunal data. She noted dietary differences between urban and rural sites which cross-cut socioeconomic status. The suggestion that many of these differences may be due to marketing practices led to preliminary archaeological investigations at Charleston's Beef Market (Reitz et al n.d.) which are expected to provide additional information on the butchering, marketing and consumption of fauna.

In a more recent study, researchers examined data from four taverns, which were grouped along a rural - urban continuum. The functional differences of urban and rural 17th century taverns were reflected in the archaeological data (Rockman and Rothschild 1984).

A combination of historical and archaeological data from both urban and rural sites should be utilized to further examine adaptation to the urban environment and contrasts in rural and urban adaptive strategies. Such studies will allow us to further understand the role of Charleston in the maritime - agrarian system, in which the city was responding

to changes within the larger, plantation based system.

CHAPTER VI

Recommendations

Charleston is synonymous with history, and the city played a key role in the development of the southeastern United States. Charleston was founded in 1670, and by the early eighteenth century was a centrally important port and marketing center for the agriculturally oriented southern colonies. Charleston continued to serve as an economic and social center for the lowcountry and the southeast through the first half of the nineteenth century, when the development of inland rail transportation and the Civil War reduced Charleston's economic role to one of secondary importance. An associated lack of development and construction resulted indirectly in the preservation of much of Charleston's historic architecture. Direct efforts in this regard began in the early twentieth century and continue up to the present time. Charleston has been, and is, considered a leader in historic preservation, rehabilitation, and adaptive reuse.

Charleston possesses another resource that has not been appreciated until quite recently: the urban archaeological record. This is not unique to Charleston; urban archaeology is a quite recent development in the field of urban studies and historical archaeology. The growing interest in urban sites is a result of several factors, including federal regulations, increasing attention to the revitalization of the core of historic cities and, finally, the belated realization that urban archaeological sites do exist and the study of such sites can provide a significant amount of data on past human behavior. Urban sites present new challenges that require application of innovative theories, methods and techniques. One such unusual aspect of the urban site is the large and complex body of documentary information available to the urban researcher. The extensive study, of which this document is a part, represents our attempt to utilize the documentary record in an innovative way to aid in archaeological investigations.

The document also represents the City of Charleston's recent, but quite active, involvement in the examination and preservation of Charleston's archaeological resources. This interest resulted in a cooperative agreement between the City of Charleston and The Charleston Museum. The City consistently contracts with the Museum to conduct excavations on construction projects receiving federal aid. More importantly, the City contracted with the Museum to conduct this study. The study facilitates the integration of individual research projects into a holistic, long term research effort, by investigating several historical and anthropological issues. Also, the study streamlines the integration of archaeological research and earth moving construction in Charleston. To this end, the document is designed to serve as a ready reference on the archaeological and historical potential of the peninsular city for the non-archaeologist. City planners and developers are encouraged to consult the document and to consult the Museum early in the planning stages of a project.

Procedures

When notified of a planned project, the archaeology staff will begin a more thorough documentary search for the property to determine the archaeological potential of the site. Because all earth moving activity, including archaeological investigation, destroys the archaeological site, excavations should be conducted prior to any construction activity. In certain cases, the clearing of sites should be monitored by the archaeologist. Excavation prior to construction is considered the most efficient, and most effective, means of mitigation of the resource. Both the developer and the archaeologist know in advance how much work will be conducted, how much it will cost, and when it will be finished. Archaeological work can then be completed well in advance of construction activity.

An alternative method is monitoring construction. Although less desirable in some ways, this method is effective when the archaeological potential of a site is uncertain, or the potential effects of the construction is unknown. In this procedure, earth moving is observed by the archaeologist while it is in progress, and any archaeological deposits are recorded as they appear. The advantage of this method is that time and money of all parties is saved if no archaeological remains are uncovered. The disadvantage occurs in the case of discovery of archaeological remains. At this point, construction is slowed or halted until excavation is complete. Likewise, excavation then takes place in less than ideal conditions. In most cases, planned excavation is recommended over monitoring.

The key to effective integration of archaeology and construction is early planning. Planners and developers should be familiar with this document and should consult it for each project. The Museum archaeologist should also be informed of development plans as early as possible. For the purposes of planning, the peninsular city of Charleston may be considered a single, contiguous archaeological site, with many components (see Cressey and Stephens 1982). Some areas of the city are more significant than others (see Chapter 4) and some may warrant no excavation. Archaeology should, though, be considered as part of all projects. The already effective cooperation between the City and the Museum has been enhanced by the present study. The City is to be commended for supporting the project. With the Preservation Plan to guide future efforts, archaeological research will make meaningful contributions to this historically significant and beautiful city.

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