# Archaeological Testing, 2004 Drayton Hall



Field School in Historical Archaeology The Charleston Museum and College of Charleston

Archaeological Contributions 33 The Charleston Museum January 2004

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### Abstract

Archaeological testing at Drayton Hall was conducted by The Charleston Museum under an Historic Sites Fund grant from the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Test excavations were conducted at two loci on the National Trust property of Drayton Hall in June 2003. Twenty-three units were excavated in Locus 22, northwest of the main house, in an area presumed to be the 18<sup>th</sup> century slave community. Excavations revealed a concentration of midden soil in the northeast portion of the locus, and artifacts dating predominantly to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A number of post features may represent a structure, or structures. Testing at Locus 20, located between the river's edge and the ha-ha ditch, was designed to mitigate damage to the archaeological record through the selective planting of new shade trees. These excavations revealed a very sparse artifact scatter and a few features which may date to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Excavations were conducted by students enrolled in the Archaeological Field School at the College of Charleston, co-directed by Barbara Borg (College of Charleston), Martha Zierden and Ronald Anthony of The Charleston Museum.

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## Chapter I Introduction

Drayton Hall, owned and operated by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, is an important Charleston landmark for many reasons. Built by John Drayton in 1738, the house passed through seven generations of the Drayton family before sale to the National Trust for Historic Preservation (figure 1). The principal physical feature of the property, the plantation main house, was completed in 1742 (figure 2) and is the oldest and finest surviving example of Georgian Palladian architecture in the southern United States (Lane 1996: 70-72; www.draytonhall.org;) The Drayton family owned several cash crop-producing tracts throughout South Carolina, but Drayton Hall served principally as a country seat for the family. Third owner Charles Drayton left detailed records that attest to his efforts as a horticulturalist and physician. The only Ashley River plantation spared during the Civil War, the house remained largely unaltered after 1875. The discovery of phosphate as a commercially viable material in 1870 provided family income that paid for much-needed repair, but mining operations on the property compromised certain portions of the archaeological fabric even as it added new features to the historic landscape. Following the collapse of the phosphate industry, the house was used sporadically as a summer retreat. The African American population of the property declined, as families searched for other labor opportunities. The last owner, Charles Drayton, determined that public ownership was in the best interest of the property. The house has been preserved, rather than restored, and has been operated as an historic house museum since acquisition by the National Trust in 1974.

The economic and physical ravages of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, though, took a toll on the Drayton Hall landscape. All but two dependencies have disappeared from the property. The twostory flanker buildings, the colonial slave village, and the antebellum slave community, as well as most of the work structures and the gardens no longer exist. These buildings, and indeed all of the features of the Drayton Hall landscape, have been researched and interpreted since the 1970s. Archaeology has always been part of the research at Drayton Hall, and indeed the initial study by National Trust archaeologist Lynne Lewis was a pioneering work in the field of historical archaeology (Lewis 1978; 1985). Archaeological research and mitigation by Lewis, and others, have continued to inform on the site, and to alter interpretation of the property in the ensuing three decades. The archaeological testing that is the subject of this report, and the Landscape Master Plan, conducted during the same period, represent only the latest in a long line of significant research projects at Drayton Hall.

## The Current Project

Initiation of archaeological research by The Charleston Museum began in January 2003, when Director of Education Craig Hadley contacted the Museum. Drayton Hall was involved in an exhaustive study of the historic landscape by the firm of Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates,

Inc., with landscape historian Susan Turner of Louisiana State University and landscape architect Sheila Wertimer to result in a Landscape Master Plan. Implementation of this plan proposed the planting of shade trees, lost in Hurricane Hugo in 1989, to protect the historic azaleas on the riverfront. Archaeological mitigation of the areas to be impacted seemed prudent. As the Museum was scheduled to cooperate with the College of Charleston in an 8-hour field school course during the summer of 2003, the plan of research was expanded to include a number of research issues pending for the property. After detailed discussions with Dr. George McDaniel, Director of Drayton Hall, Mr. Craig Hadley, and Ms. Lynne Lewis, Trust Senior Archaeologist, it was determined that two areas would be tested during the summer of 2003. The first would be the area impacted by landscape planting, and the second would be the suspected location of the 18<sup>th</sup> century slave settlement, on the front lawn northwest of the main house.

Based on these plans, a written proposal was submitted to Drayton Hall, and Drayton Hall was awarded a Historic Sites Fund grant from the National Trust, in the amount of \$10,000. The two-week field project was directed by The Charleston Museum, under the supervision of Martha Zierden and Ron Anthony. Fieldwork was conducted by students enrolled in the archaeological field school course, taught by College of Charleston professor Barbara Borg and the Museum archaeologists. Sixteen students and four volunteers participated in the course. Graduate students Andrew Agha, Nicole Isenbarger, and Hayden Smith from the University of South Carolina coordinated the fieldwork. Two docents from Drayton Hall (Stephanie Abdon and Elizabeth Laney), trained in archaeology, worked with the crew and coordinated visitor tours of the site. Testing in the two loci was conducted simultaneously. The archaeological materials and notes were then transferred to The Charleston Museum for analysis and reporting. Upon completion of the project, these will be returned to Drayton Hall for permanent curation.

The landscape study focused on the lawn between the ha-ha and the river (designated Locus 20 in 1990 by Brockington & Associates), and was principally a mitigation of areas to be impacted by the planting of shade trees. The location and number of units was determined by the Master Plan. A total of six 5' units, four 2.5' units, and five 1' units (shovel tests) were excavated on either side of the central allee that leads to the river. Goals of this project were to broaden the scope of the landscape project to include archaeology as a data source and to incorporate archaeological excavations and results into site interpretation. Any 18th or 19th century garden features identified in the excavation units would be incorporated into the ongoing research, and eventually into public interpretation and educational programs (Drayton Hall 2003) The investigation of the proposed location of the colonial slave community (designated locus 22) entailed excavation of twenty-three 5' units. Goals of this project were similar. The action of archaeological research and discovery were incorporated into tours, and the preliminary results of that research included in educational programs. An additional goal was to provide a unique learning experience for the College students, in which they would be exposed to museum practices, public interpretation, and inter-disciplinary cooperation, as well as the basics of field research. Close coordination between the Museum and College professors and the Drayton Hall staff made these goals achievable.

### **Research Topics**

The Charleston Museum has conducted archaeological research on lowcountry historic sites for over three decades. Studies have included both urban sites, principally the city of Charleston, and rural plantation sites, with a dual focus on the planter families and the African American workers on those plantations. Since 1980, archaeological research by The Charleston Museum has been guided by a series of long-term research topics, integrating data from urban and rural settings. These topics address a number of issues, both descriptive and processual. This unified approach gives weight to individual sites, as each project has a place in a growing comparative data base. The authors have been researching the topics investigated at Drayton Hall for the past two decades. As is often the case with archaeological research, the Drayton Hall loci both conform to emerging patterns noted throughout the lowcountry, and exhibit some characteristics not seen before, leading to more questions and more research.

The first broad topic to be considered is site formation processes, the physical actions that result in the transformation of a living culture into an archaeological site (Schiffer 1977, 1983). An archaeological site consists of a natural setting altered by the humans who occupied that site. Artifacts are introduced into the ground by a variety of methods, including discard, loss, destruction, and abandonment. Once in the ground, artifacts can be redistributed or they can be removed. Specifically of interest are those activities that introduce materials into the ground and reorganize them after deposition. Understanding the site formation processes is an essential first step in site interpretation.

A principal focus of research in the past decade has been evolution of the lowcountry landscape. This broadly-based study (Zierden 1996, Zierden et al. 2000) encompasses topics previously considered separately, such as diet and subsistence strategies, terrain alteration, health and sanitation, horticulture and ideology. This approach embraces the idea of a cultural landscape, the modification of land according to a set of cultural plans, embodying often inseparable technological, social, and ideological dimensions. People created and used the landscape in a planned and orderly manner for everything from food procurement to formal design to explicit statements about their position in the world. The creation and maintenance of formal gardens, as well as work areas, is part of the overall manipulation of the natural landscape.

Moreover, a property may incorporate multiple cultural landscapes; features and changes made by a planter family may be viewed and used differently by the enslaved people who occupied the same site. A landscape approach thus allows us to study the property as envisioned and maintained by the Drayton family through several generations. It simultaneously encompasses a distinct, and overlapping, study of the enslaved African people who lived in the same spaces under different circumstances. Drayton Hall has been a leading institution in the study of African people on lowcountry plantations, and those residents left a distinctive signature in the ground. Continuing the search for the 18<sup>th</sup> century slave community builds upon previous work at Drayton Hall, as well as the broad data base from throughout the lowcountry. Likewise, the study of the

formal gardens builds on recent archaeological investigations of Charleston gardens (Zierden 2001a, 2001b, 2003), as well as studies of plantation gardens (Cothran 1995, 2003; Rosengarten 1998).

An important aspect of the study of African residents of the Carolinas has been the discovery and analysis of colonowares recovered on plantation, and urban, sites in the lowcountry. Colonoware is an unglazed, low-fired earthenware of local manufacture. Distributed within the mid- and south-Atlantic states, the ware was first identified, and is still concentrated, on sites in coastal South Carolina. Based on their recovery at slave communities on plantation sites, scholars suggest that the majority of these ceramics were produced and used during the 18<sup>th</sup> century by enslaved African Americans and historic period Native Americans. Decades of study by Ron Anthony and others has suggested that some of these ceramics may have been manufactured specifically as a result of African American and Native American interaction (Anthony 2001; see also Ferguson 1980, 1992; Noel Hume 1962; Zierden et al. 1999). Colono ware expresses the dynamics, complexities, diversity, and energy of cultural encounters in the colonial South. The colonowares recovered at Drayton Hall add an important, and unusual, set of data to this ongoing study.

## **Previous Research**

Drayton Hall has been the subject of numerous archaeological studies since acquisition by the National Trust in 1974. The present project attempts to build on the many fine studies previously conducted at Drayton Hall. The majority of these have been conducted, or supervised, by Trust senior archaeologist Lynne Lewis, well known for her work at Drayton Hall (Lewis 1978, 1985). Lewis is currently completing a synthesis of archaeology at Drayton Hall (Lewis, personal communication, 2003). Only the projects most relevant to the present study are discussed below. A complete inventory of archaeological investigations is on file at Drayton Hall.

In 1974, Lewis began a 19-month field study of the main house at Drayton Hall. The area around the main house and the house interior were investigated. The south flanker was excavated to determine its use. The ornamental mound and drive were tested to confirm the 20<sup>th</sup> century date of construction. Some refuse deposits north of the main house were also tested. This study was documented in a book published by the National Trust (Lewis 1978). This study suggests that the south flanker was used as kitchen.

In 1980, a field school from New York University, directed by Dr. Bert Salwen, conducted survey and limited testing on the east lawn and garden. The students documented serpentine beds bordering the central walk and defined concentrations of refuse north of the house. Field notes from this project were loaned to The Charleston Museum and re-examined during the present project.

In 1981, Lynne Lewis investigated the north flanker and the privy structure. Current interpretation is that the north flanker served as laundry and servants' quarters. The north flanker appears to have been constructed later than the house and the south flanker. There is tentative evidence for a structure pre-dating the main house in this area. Ms. Lewis generously provided a working copy of her synthesis of archaeological work at Drayton Hall for comparative data (Lewis n.d.).

In 1989, Thomas Wheaton of New South Associates tested the brick concentration on the river's edge, suspected to be the 1740s orangerie. This brief project concluded that the site is the orangerie, that the site is intact, and that further research, as well as preservation in place, is warranted (Wheaton 1989).

In 1990, Christopher Espenshade and a crew of four archaeologists from Brockington & Associates of Charleston conducted a systematic survey of the entire (115 acre) Drayton Hall tract. The survey was prompted by heavy damage to the property, particularly the wooded tracts, by Hurricane Hugo in 1989. The survey entailed complete tract coverage on a 20 meter interval, with shovel tests excavated every 20 meters. Twenty-two loci, dating from the prehistoric period to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, were identified (Espenshade and Roberts 1991). These loci definitions were used during the present project.

Archaeological work in 2003 utilized the site grid established by Lynne Lewis in 1974, with some adjustments. This is discussed in detail in Chapter III. The loci definitions proposed by Espenshade in 1990 were also utilized during the present project.

#### Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Archaeology's role in the preservation of a property such as Drayton Hall is two-fold. First, the archaeological record - the layers of soil and artifacts - is part of the total historic fabric, worthy of preservation. All standing structures have an associated archaeological component, whereas not all archaeological sites have extant architectural components. Further, the archaeological component is non-renewable, and is damaged or destroyed by any ground-disturbing activity. At the same time, the ground-altering activities of today, just as those of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, are part of the ongoing changes and additions to a continually occupied archaeological site.

Secondly, archaeological research is an additional source of broad interpretive data for an historic site, ranging from tangible artifacts and foundations to abstract ideas. The key word is interpretation, for current anthropological theory suggests that all types of data are subject to interpretation, to be read by many viewers. Archaeological data, like architectural data, documentary information, maps, plats, oral history, etc., contribute to a clearer understanding of a historical question, but archaeological answers do not supercede those from other disciplines. This site report, along with numerous other documents, artifacts, and reports, is one contribution to the multifaceted exploration of the evolution of Drayton Hall.



Figure 1. Topographic map of Drayton Hall property (U.S.G.S. Johns Island).



Figure 2. Drayton Hall, facing northeast from the reflecting pond. Visible are the main house, the privy, and the ornamental mound.

## Chapter II Project Setting

## **Site Description**

The current Drayton Hall tract occupies 115 acres of the original 750 acres deeded to John Drayton in two separate tracts in 1737. The long, narrow tract fronts the western side of the Ashley River, northwest of the City of Charleston. The present western boundary of the property is Highway 61, known as Ashley River Road, a historic thoroughfare which runs along a ridge of high land from Charleston to Summerville, between the Ashley and Stono Rivers (figure 1). From the entry on Highway 61 to the bank of the Ashley River, the land drops rather precipitously, from nearly 30' above sea level at the highway to 11' above sea level at the river front (USGS Drayton @ 10.93'msl). With the exception of approximately 10 acres around the main house, which is maintained as lawn, the remainder of the tract is wooded. Hurricane Hugo had a tremendous impact on the wooded areas, prompting the 1990 survey, among other mitigation measures. While a few large trees of some antiquity are to be found, the majority of the wooded areas consist of volunteer regeneration from the 20<sup>th</sup> century; pine and mixed hardwoods with a dense understory of ferns and vines. Much of the high land at Drayton Hall, particularly the tracts west of Highway 61 and south of the central avenue, was mined for phosphate in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Halfway down the main entry road, on the north side, is a large reserve pond. The pond, plus the marshes and fields on either side of the remaining entryway, are remnants of the diked marshes and fields laid out in the 18<sup>th</sup> century for growing rice. The extent of rice growing at Drayton Hall is unclear; Charles Drayton's 1790s sketch of the property shows an extensive system of fields, dikes and ditches (figure 5). Yet family accounts suggest that commercial crop production was not a priority for Drayton Hall.

From this point, the original centrally-located drive has been altered for visitor flow, bending sharply to the left, and circling the main house complex to the north (figure 3). Visitor and support buildings are nestled in wooded tracts in this area. The area around the main house, currently maintained as lawn, contains only one other standing colonial structure. This is the brick privy building, located north of the house. Colonial ditches that surround the house and drive, as well as a few large live oak trees, also survive from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The land side of the house contains two dominant features, added to the landscape in the last century. The first is a three-tiered ornamental mound, in the center of the former drive, adjacent to the west facade of the house. Fill for this mound came from the second feature. The reflecting pond, southwest of the house, was created by excavating a stream bed in the 1880s (see figure 2).

The lawn on the river side of the house is highlighted by the central walk, the axis mundi, terminating in a wooden footbridge that crosses the 18<sup>th</sup> century ha-ha, or ditch. The area between the ha-ha and the river is currently lawn interspersed with azaleas planted by Ms. Charlotta Drayton in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the ensuing century, this area was heavily

overgrown, but significant loss of trees in 1989 (Hurricane Hugo) opened the area to sunlight. This has resulted in a great deal of stress to the shade-loving azaleas, and the current landscape plan calls for deliberate placement of new shade trees (figure 4).

The banks along the Ashley River are actively eroding, and exhibit pronounced topography. Drayton Hall has taken active steps in the last decade to stem this erosion. Remains of the 18<sup>th</sup> century orangerie are located on the riverbank, on the north side of the lawn and axis mundi. Remains of ditches and docks relating to the phosphate industry are located north of the orangerie remains.

#### **Development of City and Countryside in Carolina**

A group of patriotic English noblemen was granted the Carolina colony as a political reward; these profit-seeking men established their colony in 1670. The earliest settlement was up the Ashley River at Albemarle Point, established by a small group of settlers from the West Indies. Agriculture and commercial prosperity demanded security, however, and this proved to be the first concern of the colonists. Although the English had laid a firm grip on the province, the colonists were still in an exposed position, vulnerable to attacks. The Spanish missions extended from St. Augustine, Florida to St. Helena, or Port Royal, South Carolina. Until these were abandoned in 1702, the area south of Charleston (known as Charles Town until incorporation in 1783) was the scene of intermittent warfare (Andrews 1937). The French, spread along the Mississippi, were a constant source of suspicion. Pirates, the scourge of the Caribbean and Atlantic seas, were another serious irritant. Neighboring Indian tribes of the Kiawah, Etiwan, Wando, Sampa, and Seewee further added to the colonists' anxiety while the constant increase in a potentially rebellious African slave population created fears that died only with the demise of slavery. By 1672, the Charles Town 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 30 small houses on the west bank of the Ashley and four on the east bank of Oyster Point (Andrews 1937:203n).

Intimately linked to rivalry with the Spanish was control of the Native American population, principally through trade relations. Control of the Indians was pursued relentlessly by the English, French, and Spanish as a result of the Europeans' desire for animal skins and Indian slaves. South Carolina was the most heavily involved of any colony in the Indian slave trade (Snell 1973). Although this trade was condemned by the Lords Proprietors, it was profitable for the colonists, and a large number of enslaved people were shipped to the Caribbean and to northern colonies.

The principal item of trade, though, was not slaves but animal skins. The main animal pursued by Native people, and desired by European merchants, was the white-tailed deer. The Indians depended on these animals for a significant portion of their food, and they artificially increased deer herds in the wild by firing the woods (Cronon 1983; Lefler 1967; Silver 1990). This use of fire decreased the amount of underbrush and promoted the growth of grass; in the early colonial period deer roamed these man-made savannahs in large herds.

Deerskins soon became the colonists' most profitable export. The earliest trade was a secondary, small-scale pursuit of individual planters. Some of these entrepreneurs hired an Indian hunter to supply them with skins; others traded in more haphazard fashion (Crane 1981:118). By the mid-18th century, dressed deer skins accounted for 16% of the colony's exports, and tanning was the city's most important industry (Bridenbaugh 1955:76). The defeat of the Indian alliance in the Yamasee War changed the mechanics of this trade as the defeated tribes moved inland. Those involved in the fur trade now required a storage facility to support their long-distance enterprise.

Although the defeat of the Indians in the Yamasee War resulted in increased safety for all colonists, it also radically altered the fur trading network of some, as remnants of the defeated tribes retreated inland. Charleston's access to inland waterways facilitated trade with the large inland tribes - the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw - as did the forts and posts established in the backcountry after 1730 (Crane 1981). These outposts promoted trade with the Indians, protected the frontier inhabitants, and guarded against French and Spanish encroachments (Calhoun 1986; Sellers 1970; Sirmans 1966).

Soon the trade was transformed from one operated on a small scale by individuals to a capital-intensive industry controlled and dominated by Charleston's mercantile community. These merchants established credit relations with British businessmen, enabling them to procure and finance the trading goods necessary for the (primarily) barter exchange conducted with Indian suppliers. The wealth and standing acquired by these merchants led to diversification, into commodities such as naval stores, provisions, rice, and African slaves (Calhoun 1986; Calhoun et al. 1982; Earl and Hoffman 1977:37).

The growing colony never lacked settlers. Dissenters, Englishmen, Scots, New Englanders, Jews, and African and West Indian slaves formed the core of this diverse group. The West Indies remained a source for early settlers, and these planters, merchants, artisans, servants, and slaves influenced development of Carolina's social and political environments. The Carolina policy of religious toleration also attracted a variety of settlers. French Huguenots, suffering persecution in their native land, were assimilated into the prevailing English society rather rapidly.

A large number of Carolina's settlers came unwillingly. The escalating cultivation of rice throughout South Carolina in the 18th century created a voracious demand for labor. Although the English settlers were unfamiliar with this crop, many Africans brought to the lowcountry came from rice-producing areas of Africa. Rice itself was introduced to South Carolina from Madagascar, and many African slaves possessed skills in rice cultivation and other tasks essential to the plantation economy (Littlefield 1981; Wood 1975). Significant continuities between African and Carolinian methods of planting, hoeing, winnowing, and pounding rice persisted until these techniques were no longer economically feasible (Joyner 1984:13-14). By 1708 the majority of lowcountry residents were black. African bondsmen worked the crops in the country and provided labor for building and maintaining the city. The area of relatively high bluffs and narrow marsh along the Cooper River was best suited for shipping, and in 1680 the settlers founded a walled city bounded by present-day Water, East Bay, Cumberland, and Meeting streets. The early threats from the French and Spanish necessitated a fortified city, and the city walls were constructed by 1704. This planned city, known as the Grand Model, encompassed the high land from Oyster Point to Beaufain Street (Earle and Hoffman 1977). The town was laid out around a central square and divided by wide streets into deep, narrow lots, a plan characteristic of 17th century Irish towns colonized by the British. While the new Charleston was a renaissance city in many ways, the surrounding town wall and steep roofs gave it a decidedly medieval atmosphere (Coclanis 1985). As the threat of invasion faded and prosperity rose, the city walls were dismantled; removal began in the 1720s and was completed by the 1740s (Poston 1997:49). The major fire of 1740 destroyed most of the early city, and the medieval-style architecture was replaced by more modern, Georgian structures.

The decade of the 1730s witnessed Charleston's transformation from a small frontier community to an important mercantile center. When royal rule replaced an inefficient Proprietary government in 1729, following a revolt by the settlers, Charleston entered the mainstream of the colonial economy. The development of outlying communities, following the Township Plan of 1730, brought an influx of products from the backcountry. Meanwhile, as rice became more profitable, lowcountry plantations rapidly expanded. During this period, the merchants emerged as a distinct group; further, they began to invest their earnings in the local economy, instead of returning to England after making their fortunes (Rogers 1980; Stumpf 1982).

As the colony prospered, the merchants and planters emerged as the leaders of society; indeed, the two groups often overlapped, for planters engaged in mercantile endeavors, and merchants invested their earnings in land, becoming planters themselves. This strong tie to the country is an important theme in the city's history (Goldfield 1982).

Charleston's economic expansion in the 1730s was matched by physical expansion. By 1739 the city had grown well beyond the city walls and development was primarily to the west. The city spread west to the banks of the Ashley River and south to the tip of the peninsula, though much of the peripheral area was only sparsely occupied.

As the 18th century advanced, Charleston expanded in economic importance and in the relative affluence of its citizens. As the planters and merchants gained in prosperity, they began to demand goods more appropriate to their elevated station in life, attracting factors, merchants, and craftsmen. By the mid-18th century, Charleston emerged as one of the largest and wealthiest cities in the colonies (Weir 1983). Personal wealth poured into the colony from Europe in the form of furniture, silver, tableware, clothing and paintings; imports were matched by a rise in local craftspeople and their slaves producing this finery, particularly cabinetmakers and silversmiths. This ascendancy of personal and collective wealth continued after the Revolution, peaking in the early 19th century (Rogers 1980:74; Green 1965).

Personal wealth was matched by a rise in imposing public and domestic architecture. Ironically, the devastating fire of 1740 cleared the way for construction of large structures in new styles. Public architecture on a grand scale is embodied in St. Michael's church, built in 1751, the State House on the opposite corner, and the Exchange building, built in 1769. On the domestic front, a number of large double houses were constructed during this period, in some cases replacing earlier, more modest structures on the same lot. These changes are part of a general shift in architectural style which began in the third quarter of the 18th century (Herman 1997; Zierden and Herman 1996). Some archaeologically investigated examples include the John Rutledge House (1763), the William Gibbes house (1772), the Miles Brewton House (1769)and the Heyward Washington house (1772).

## **Development of Drayton Hall**

Historical occupation of the property is summarized below to provide a setting for the archaeological projects conducted in 2003. The summary below is neither exhaustive nor original, and is summarized from previous studies by Lewis (1978), Espenshade (1991) and the web site maintained by Drayton Hall (www.draytonhall.org/about).

In 1706, the Anglican-dominated colony was organized into parishes, which served both religious and government functions. Drayton Hall was located in St. Andrew's Parish, and the church building was located only a short distance away on Ashley River Road (Linder 2000). The Drayton Hall tract was first granted in 1676. The property was granted and forfeited (returned to the Lords Proprietors), and twice again, before it was acquired by Francis Yonge in 1718. Yonge kept the land about 15 years, and likely built the first house on the property (Espenshade 1991:8). When the tract was offered for sale in 1734 after his death, a contemporary advertisement listed "296 acres all good land, with an indifferent Dwelling House and convenient Barn and other necessary out-Houses; and about 20 head of very good Cattle" (South Carolina Gazette, October 5, 1734; Espenshade 1991). The property then changed hands twice more before John Greene sold a 350 acre tract to John Drayton in 1738. At this time, the property was advertised by Greene as having "a very good Dwelling-house, kitchen and several out houses, with a very good orchard, consisting of all sorts of fruit trees" (South Carolina Gazette, January 12, 1738). There is further suggestion in the advertisement that Greene was in residence on the land at the time of the sale (Espenshade 1991:8; Stockton 1985:5). There is archaeological evidence for a dwelling house that pre-dates the Drayton Hall mansion, located in the vicinity of the north flanker. There is also tentative evidence that this structure remained standing and in use after construction of Drayton Hall (Lewis, n.d.; Craig Hadley, personal communication 2003).

John Drayton acquired other adjoining tracts, and built the grand house in the Georgian-Palladian style some time between 1738 and 1742. Drayton purchased other plantation tracts (eventually more than 30 properties and 1639 acres (Lewis n.d.), including Ashley Wood and Jerico Plantation across the river. Indigo was the major cash crop on these two plantations (Espenshade 1991:19). Rice and indigo, the major cash crops of the colonial economy, were raised on the other tracts. Rice and other provision crops were raised at Drayton Hall, as well, but these were used principally to feed the plantation residents. John Drayton was a thirdgeneration Carolinian, and was well-connected financially, socially, and politically; he constructed Drayton Hall as a business center and seat of entertainment.

In accordance with British mercantilistic policies, colonists continually experimented with profitable staples, those commodities not available in Britain. Crops were first planted for subsistence, and livestock was raised for the same purpose. Cattle proved profitable in the late 17th century, and quantities of beef and provision crops were exported to the West Indies (Wood 1975:32). These, and deerskins from the Indian trade, were the colony's earliest successful exports. But experimentation was endless, and Englishmen planted oranges, grapes, olives, flax, hemp, cotton, indigo, and ginger (Calhoun et al. 1982). This rather chaotic trading system was regulated by a series of Navigation Acts, which included bounties for desired crops. Under this system, indigo and naval stores were also profitable colonial crops. Naval stores included pitch and tar produced from the longleaf pine which covered the lowcountry. Eliza Lucas Pinckney first experimented with indigo on her father's plantation in 1739 (Edgar 1998:146; Rogers 1980).

It was rice, however, introduced in 1695 from Madagascar, that made Carolinians wealthy. It would require many years of experimenting, and many shiploads of enslaved Africans from that continent's rice growing region, before rice proved profitable. By the 1730s, the technique of inland rice production had developed to a point where rice became the most popular staple. The plantation economy expanded, bringing with it a financial stability and enough capital to entice merchants and factors to remain in Charleston and reinvest their earnings, rather than returning to England (Rogers 1980, chapt. 3; Calhoun et al. 1982).

Between the 1690s and 1720 lowcountry planters experimented with different strains of rice and different cultivation methods. Much like other crops, rice was first planted in open upland fields and without irrigation. Kovacik and Winberry (1987) report that it was later discovered that growing it under flood conditions improved yields considerably, and planters then reclaimed swamps such as those around Drayton Hall. African bondsmen cleared them of trees and stumps and built systems of dams, gates, ditches and canals to flood and drain fields at different times in the plant's growth cycle. Remnants of these banks and ditches still transect many lowcountry swamps, and a wooden trunk of this era has been investigated at Drayton Hall (Lewis 1996). Production of rice jumped from 8000 barrels in 1715 to more than 40,000 by the 1730s. Inland swamp cultivation remained the major production technique through the colonial period, contributing to expanded settlement along the coast and the increased importation of slaves.

Indigo flourished on the high land where rice did not. But like rice it was a demanding crop, and fetid water was a characteristic. The plant needed little tending in the field. But processing indigo was more arduous than processing rice. When the leaves were harvested, slaves carried them to a series of great vats or tubs, where they fermented while laborers kept up a continuous pumping, stirring, and beating. The rotting indigo "emitted a putrid odor and attracted clouds of flies that only slaves could be forced to tolerate" (Berlin 1998:148). The leaves were later removed and the bluish liquid drained into a series of vats, where slaves beat the

liquid with paddles. This was repeated several times before the liquid was set with lime at just the right moment, this evidently requiring great skill. After the sediment precipitated, the liquid was filtered and drawn off, leaving a blue mud. This was strained, dried, cut into blocks, and dried again for shipping. Berlin notes that the process was both "demanding and delicate, requiring brute strength, but also a fine hand, to create just the right texture, density, and brilliance of color" (Berlin 1998:148).

Suzanne Linder further notes that the putrid waters of indigo processing also attracted mosquitos. Malaria was a frequent and often fatal illness in South Carolina, and though the connection of this disease to the mosquito was unknown, indigo vats were always placed far away from homes. Linder further notes that a substantial investment was necessary for indigo production because of the vats. These were often of brick or wood, and well sealed. The technique of lining in-ground indigo vats with sand and pitch has been attributed to African slaves, and "they jealously guarded the secret so that the masters never discovered it. A slave who possessed this special skill was greatly valued" (Linder 1996:44). John Drayton's plantations across the Ashley, Ashley Wood and Jerico, were furnished with five sets of indigo vats and an array of indigo fields (Espenshade 1991:19).

The third major agricultural development of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was the development of tidal rice cultivation. Richard Porcher (1985) has noted that the earliest mention of tidal cultivation is 1738, but it was another half century before the shift was complete. Tidal rice culture utilizes the tidal changes on rivers to irrigate and drain fields in floodplain swamps, though this technique can only be utilized in those parts of the river above the incursion of salt water. The swamps were diked and ditched, and the flow of water regulated by simple, yet ingenious, trunks. Although the shift to tidal culture demanded a considerable amount of labor, particularly in the reclamation of tidal swamplands, planters reaped large returns on their investments. From the mid-1760s to 1780 the population of enslaved African Americans doubled from 52,000 to 100,000 (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:72-74). Planters utilized their older inland rice fields as well as new tidal ones.

John Drayton married four times and had seven children who survived infancy. His fourth wife, Rebecca Perry, was seventeen at the time she married 59-year-old Drayton. She bore him three children before his death in 1779, four years after their marriage. According to family tradition, he left the plantation to Rebecca, possibly to spite his sons, whose behavior had displeased him (Lewis n.d.). She, in turn, deeded Drayton Hall to Dr. Charles Drayton, Drayton's second son, in 1783 and moved back to Charleston, where she lived to be 80 years old, never remarrying.

During this time of transition, Drayton Hall was occupied by British forces. John Peebles of the Royal Engineers detailed the march to Drayton Hall in March 1780. Peebles described Drayton Hall as "One of the best houses I have seen in America, with handsome improvements" and said of John Drayton that "he was a great rebel and is lately dead & left his fourth wife a widow who lives in the house with her children. The old rascal was very rich, had 10 plantations

& about 1,000 Negros" (Abstract on file Drayton Hall, quoted in Espenshade 1991:21). The enlisted men stayed only one night at Drayton Hall, and crossed over to the other side of the Ashley. The British commanders evidently stayed much longer, long enough to engender criticism from Charles Drayton for treatment of the plantation.

The second owner, Dr. Charles Drayton, moved into the house in January 1784. His tenure is the best known, for he kept a detailed diary that describes construction of buildings and landscape elements. In particular, Charles Drayton was an avid horticulturalist, and a companion of Andre Michaux. According to Espenshade, Charles Drayton built the Bowling Green near the house in 1785 and the serpentine ditches in the garden in 1799. He repaired and modified many outbuildings, and built a new barn and slave quarters. (The latter evidently replaced the colonial village in the Locus 22 area, and were constructed on the ridge beyond the reserve pond.) The number of enslaved African people on Drayton Hall likewise increased during Dr. Charles Drayton's tenure, from 41 in 1790 to 172 in 1800 and 181 in 1810. The next available data date to 1860, when 44 slaves are listed. Espenshade suggests that this increase may reflect a brief experimentation with cotton on the plantation (Espenshade 1991:30).

Lewis (1985:124) notes that there are several references in Charles Drayton's diaries to growing cotton as a cash crop until the Civil War. Edgar states that "the first cotton boom of 1794 to 1819 enriched almost all who planted cotton" (Edgar 1998:271). The development of long staple sea island cotton and the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 by Eli Whitney had major impacts on the state's economy. Cotton could be grown on lands not suited to rice. South Carolina's economy became more and more irrevocably tied to the fortunes of staple crops, particularly cotton.

The most pertinent document produced by Charles Drayton is his hand-drawn survey of 1796, showing Drayton Hall and its landscape setting, surrounded by the larger natural and agricultural context. Landscape planner Michael van Valkenburgh notes that the document is particularly significant for landscape reconstruction, as it includes both field layout and the outline of the ornamental landscape (2003:15). The plan shows the main house and flanker buildings, fronted by a shield-shaped symmetrical layout, centered on the axis of the house and the entry road from the land side. The entry road terminates in a circular drive (replaced with the mound in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century). The shield-shaped garden on the water side is separated from the river by a curved line, presumably the ha-ha still extant in the landscape. The layout has been described as a *ferme ornee*. Between the ha-ha and the river is a smaller area, with an asymmetrical, more naturalistic, layout. This latter area includes the 1747 orangerie and a network of serpentine paths. Van Valkenburgh suggests that the plan reflects a carefully designed and highly sophisticated landscape. Numerous diary entries indicate that Drayton was constantly updating his garden (van Valkenburgh 2003:16-17; Lewis n.d.).

The rectangular fields outside the formal landscape were used for a variety of crops. Drayton recorded corn, rice, rye, wheat, buckwheat, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, peas, Dutch and French beans, lettuce, cabbage, spinach, radishes, parsley, cucumbers, tomatoes, squash, cauliflower, asparagus, chili peppers, strawberries, nectarines, peaches, and oranges (Charles Drayton diary in Espenshade 1991:29).

Charles Drayton died in 1820, and left Drayton Hall to his son Charles Drayton. The younger Charles Drayton increased the family's holdings by purchasing additional plantation lands. He died intestate in 1844, and the property passed to his widow, Mary Middleton Schoolbred Drayton, and his sons James S. Drayton, Dr. Charles Drayton, Thomas M. Drayton, and John Drayton. The latter two sons eventually acquired controlling interest, and they retained the property through the Civil War.

By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, prime rice lands had become so expensive that the investment needed in land and slaves to begin a successful plantation was almost prohibitive; most successful rice planters had 'old money'. Likewise, the shift to tidal production was principally an innovation of the elite, as only those already in the planter class could afford this expansion. The concentration of land in the hands of a few was matched by a concentration of human property (Chaplin 1993:234-239; see also Rogers 1990; Clifton 1978; Foner 1983; Kovacik and Winberry 1987; Dusinberre 1996; Rosengarten 1986). Two-thirds of the valued property owned by planters was human (Edgar 1998:285). Edgar suggests that, despite the continued wealth of many, there were signs that the state's economic health was "illusory" (Edgar 1998:284). As a center of this economy, Charleston steadily lost ground to other southern cities (Edgar 1998:287).

The prosperity of Charleston and the lowcountry was waning in the second quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as other ports such as New Orleans and New York usurped the position of Charleston. The expanding railroad system during these years largely bypassed the city. But it was the Civil War and the aftermath that caused the economic demise of the lowcountry plantation system.

For several months following the firing on Fort Sumter, soldiers freshly mustered into Confederate camps around the city found it hard to realize that war was upon them. The lighthearted mood did not last. After the fall of Port Royal and Beaufort in November 1861, refugees from coastal islands crowded into Charleston. The city was blockaded and placed under siege, and repeated bombardments threatened the southern end of the peninsula. Charlestonians moved to the upper wards, above John Street, or to the piedmont or mountains. Although the impact of the great fire of 1861 was more physically damaging than the bombardment, the impact of the War on the city and the surrounding lowcountry was nonetheless profound.

Despite the incessant shelling, Charleston withstood Union invasion until February 1865. With the War lost and General Sherman's troops believed to be heading for Charleston, General Beauregard ordered evacuation of the city. Horror and despair marked the evacuation of the city, but it was cries of jubilation from the freedmen and immigrants remaining that greeted the Union troops arriving on the peninsula.

Though Charleston was spared the ravages perpetrated on Atlanta, Columbia, and other southern cities, the physical effects of the war were visible across the lowcountry. The Drayton

Hall house was one of the few Ashley River plantations spared the torch by Union officers; there are conflicting stories about the reason for its survival. The most persistent is that Dr. Drayton erected a quarantine sign, suggesting that the house was being used as a smallpox hospital.

On September 22, 1962 President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. All slaves in the parts of the south still in rebellion were "thenceforward and forever free." In 1865 Federal troops took control of South Carolina and enforced the declaration of freedom for all African Americans still in bondage.

### **Post-War Changes**

The South's defeat in the Civil War created a new order of things. Former male slaves became citizens and voters; they joined freedwomen as taxpayers, and could make their own decisions about where to live and work. "Free persons of color" were no longer a privileged minority. As a class, they lost their legal status, as well as considerable property, when the slaves were emancipated. White Charlestonians, too, had new choices to make. The Reverend A. Toomer Porter urged them to "turn their backs on the past and look to the future; not to waste energies on vain regrets" (Porter 1898). Some, like Porter, chose to "accept as a fact the freedom of the slaves" and make the best of new realities. Some white families deserted the city and tried to rebuild their lives elsewhere. Others bided their time, preparing for the moment when they would "redeem" the state from Radical Reconstruction and return to a semblance of the old hierarchical order.

One impact of emancipation was to give Charleston a black majority once again, through in-migration of rural freedmen. Contrary to the hysteria of many white planters, the motives of the black migration were deliberate and purposeful. Especially on very large plantations, workers tended to stay where they were until after harvest, so the massive movement of people didn't begin until the fall of 1865. Many people who came to Charleston were looking for work or lost family members, or returning to the city from wherever their masters had taken them for safe-keeping.

While Reconstruction was revolutionary in extending political rights, it did not radically alter economic stratification. The occupations of freedmen and women followed the precedents set in slavery. In the country, most blacks earned their living as agricultural laborers; in the cities, the majority were domestic workers - butlers, valets, coachmen, gardeners, handy men, housemaids, cooks, laundresses, nurses, and serving girls. The gift of land and farm equipment expected from the Union government did not materialize, as most white planters were able to eventually reclaim their lands by swearing allegiance to the Union.

The emancipation of the enslaved laborers spelled the end of profitable rice production in South Carolina. Planters returned to their cotton and rice plantations with contracted labor from the freedmen, but were unable to realize the prewar returns. The rice plantations were particularly damaged by neglect during the war years. The freedmen were forced by economic circumstance to work for low wages, but they refused to do the most dangerous and miserable tasks - the maintenance and digging of ditches and banks, which involved winter work in cold water. The lowcountry was still producing a significant portion of the nation's rice crop in the 1880s, but not so by the next decade. A mechanized system of rice production was successful in Arkansas and Louisiana, but the system did not work in the lowcountry. A series of severe hurricanes were the last blow. These destroyed the already fragile rice dikes up and down the coast. Hurricanes struck between Savannah and North Carolina in 1893, 1894, 1898, 1906, 1910 and 1911. The 1893 storm alone killed over 1,000 people (Edgar 1998). The last Santee river plantation to produce rice was David Doar's Harietta, in 1908 (Doar 1970).

The Civil War proved to be devastating to the owners of Drayton Hall, both financially and psychologically. Though a medical doctor, Dr. John Drayton considered himself a planter as well, and much dependent on income from his plantations. The loss of slave labor forced a new economic order, and John Drayton considered razing the house for the sale of the bricks (Galbraith 1984). But the discovery of phosphate deposits on the west bank of the Ashley river, and the utility of this soft rock for fertilizer, provided a brief, but important financial recovery for the Drayton family and many plantation owners throughout the lowcountry. Dr. John Drayton and his nephew Charles Drayton leased the rights to mine phosphate at Drayton Hall as early as 1866. These activities continued through the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Phosphate rock, composed of fossil animal remains, lime, silica, fluorine, and carbonaceous material, could be mixed with nitrogen and potash to make fertilizer. The rock can be gathered along the Ashley River at low tide. If the deposits were at a depth of three feet or less, it could be mined by hand. If deeper, a steam shovel was brought in to remove overburden. After excavation, the phosphate was washed to remove mud, then conveyed to a wharf or shed to await shipment. Narrow gauge railroads were often built to move the rock. Portions of Drayton Hall were mined by hand, others by machine. The leases for Drayton Hall land stipulated that the lessee could cut timber as necessary, for both the mining operations and for fuel for employees. But they were not to disturb or injure any of the "ornamental or shade trees, nor disturb the garden or the yard. They were also forbidden to cut any trees within 100 yards of the riverbank" (Espenshade 1991:47).

The phosphate mining operations had a major impact on the Drayton Hall landscape and the Drayton Hall archaeological record. Much of the tract west of Ashley River Road was strip mined, and the area south of the house was mined by hand. Additional facilities were constructed, including washing sheds, shipping complex, railroads, and boilers. The slave cabins were reoccupied as a barracks for convict laborers. At least 9 freedman houses were built during the 1870s-1880s. Many of the freed people remained on the property after the Civil War, and worked in the phosphate operations. Mr. Richmond Bowens recalls his father working in the phosphate operation, while his mother worked as a house servant for Miss Charlotta Drayton.

The lowcountry phosphate industry lost ground in the 1890s when a higher grade was discovered in north Florida (Espenshade 1991:40; Schick and Doyle 1985). The economic relief provided by the phosphate industry was only temporary, and the improving economy touted in

Charleston's 1883 yearbook did not last (Waddell 1983). The widespread poverty of Charleston and the lowcountry into the 20<sup>th</sup> century inadvertently resulted in preservation of much of the city's historic buildings, and of important rural structures such as Drayton Hall.

Income from phosphate allowed the Drayton Hall house to survive, though the flankers and the orangerie were destroyed by a series of natural disasters in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (the 1886 earthquake and a series of hurricanes between 1893 and 1911). Many of the freedmen and their families remained in residence on the property, working in a more diverse, if economically limiting, economy. The depression of the 1930s meant hard times for both the tenants and the Drayton family. The younger Charles Drayton died in 1915, leaving the property to his wife and children. Controlling interest eventually lay in daughter Charlotta, who enjoyed the house as a weekend and summer retreat, living in the house without the 'modern conveniences,' heating, plumbing, and electricity. Charlotta Drayton died in 1969, leaving the property to her two nephews, Charles Henry Drayton III and Francis Drayton. Realizing the financial burden of maintaining the property, the brothers sold Drayton Hall to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1974.



Figure 3. View of the land (Highway 61) side of Drayton Hall, showing Locus 22.



Figure 4. View of the river side of Drayton Hall, showing Locus 20.



Figure 5. Charles Drayton's 1796 sketch of fields and gardens (from van Valkenburgh, 2003:16)



## Chapter III Fieldwork at Locus 22

## **General Fieldwork Methods**

All field equipment used during the current project was provided by The Charleston Museum and the College of Charleston. This equipment was transported to Drayton Hall on the first day of the project and stored in the tents used for educational programs. Work proceeded at Locus 20 and Locus 22 simultaneously. Locus 20 consists of the portion of the garden between the ha-ha ditch and the bank of the Ashley River, focused on the central walk from the house. Locus 22 consists of the northwestern corner of the rear (road side) lawn, bordered to the west and north by the entry road (realigned after 1974). The two loci were approximately 1,200 feet apart.

Fieldwork began with establishment of a single grid that would be utilized at both loci. After careful consideration of previous field projects and consultation with Lynne Lewis, we determined to utilize the permanent grid established by Ms. Lewis in 1975. This grid was referenced to the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey triangulation monument (Drayton #1) located on the banks of the Ashley River, roughly centered on the allee from the main house. The monument was covered with sand at the time of the fieldwork, and was relocated for us by John Kidder. Lewis (1978:8,14) reports that the grid north is 43 degrees, 7 minutes west of north. The principal base line (east-west line) runs straight through the basement of the house from the Drayton #1 marker. The Drayton marker, however, is located at the eastern edge of the property; therefore, the Chicago grid, which runs north and east and is based on the southwest corner of coordinates, initiates on the west side of the entry drive. The grid for the 2003 fieldwork, then, was established 'backwards', in terms of grid coordinates; based on placement of a grid mark west of the entry road and careful inspection of Lewis' field map (1978:16-17) the bench mark received the coordinate N500 E1235 (figure 6).

The transit was set over the Drayton #1 marker, and a line due west was established through the basement, based on a grid nail placed in the floor of the basement by Lewis. Drayton Hall employees reported that this particular nail was moved "about 2 inches" during subsequent building repairs, in order to place it between paving stones and minimize impact to the building. By comparing the current transit orientation with the site map prepared by Lewis, it was determined that the nail was moved to the south. The grid line was then established by lining up on a range pole placed 2" north of the grid nail. This created a grid line oriented to the house.

Grid pins were then established west of the U.S.G.S. marker at 20' intervals in the lower garden (the area between the river bank and the ha-ha) to facilitate excavations in locus 20. These were marked with pin flags and with 12" galvanized iron nails. A final mark for this

section of grid was placed on the wooden foot bridge with permanent marker. Based on Lewis' grid (see figure 6; Lewis 1978:16-17), this line of points was given the designation N500.

From this grid point, pins were placed at 100' intervals to the front of the house, designated N500 E600. At this point, the transit was set up over the new grid point, and a grid line established north at 50 foot intervals to N650 E600. The point placed at N600 E600 was used as a common elevation reference point for vertical control between the two loci. The transit was again established on the N650 E500 point, and the N650 grid line continued to the west at 100' intervals to the N650 E300 point. At this point, pins were located at 20 foot intervals to the edge of the entry road (N650E160). A permanent point at N650 E100 was located on the other side of the entry road. This point was marked with a 3' section of iron rebar with a sleeve of white pvc piping. A second permanent mark was placed at N790 E280, on the northern side of the entry road.

Displacement of the pin flags and grid nails by visitors, and by lawn maintenance, was a minor problem throughout the project. Upon completion of field work, all grid nails were removed, to minimize visual impact to the landscape and physical impact to lawn maintenance equipment. The two permanent markers in the wooded areas were left in place.

Vertical control was maintained with the transit, and elevations were taken at the top and bottom of each defined provenience. A temporary datum point was established at the N600E600 grid point. This back site was used for all elevations, and all measurements were taken relative to this point. Upon completion of the fieldwork, the absolute elevation of this point was calculated relative to the U.S.G.S. benchmark on the edge of the Ashley River. (Drayton #1, Elevation 10.96 feet above sea level at mean low water).

All excavations were conducted by hand using shovels and trowels. Excavations followed natural zones, and deeper zone deposits were subdivided into arbitrary levels. Where appropriate, levels of fill inside large features were designated as zones within features. Munsell Soil Color Charts were used to standardize soil color description for each provenience. Soils were screened beside each of the 5' units, using a rolling hand-sifter or stationary screens. Most materials were dry-screened through 1/4 inch mesh until soil moisture hampered visibility. At this point, all of the contents of the screen were bagged by provenience, and the materials returned to The Charleston Museum, where they were water-screened and sorted. Upon completion of the fieldwork, all units were backfilled by hand and the sod was replaced.

Based on previous procedures, the staff of Drayton Hall and The Charleston Museum determined to retain all architectural material and debris recovered in the field. This included brick rubble, mortar, slate, and phosphate. These materials were overwhelming at times, and single proveniences might fill a dozen gallon bags. These large proveniences were water-screened at the Museum. At this point, it was determined that the majority of the debris was phosphate nodules. After consultation with National Trust staff, the phosphate was weighed by provenience and discarded. All brick, mortar, and slate was retained and weighed.

Environmental analyses are considered integral to any archaeological project, even if funds are not available for immediate study. To this end, all bone was carefully collected from each excavated provenience. One quart to one gallon soil samples were collected from each natural provenience. Architectural samples were retained wherever appropriate.

Record keeping entailed narrative notes and completion of a variety of forms on a daily basis. Planview and profile maps were made for each unit, as appropriate. Munsell Soil Color Charts were used to identify soil colors and stratigraphic changes. Materials from each designated provenience were bagged and tagged separately. A field specimen number (FS#) was assigned to each in ordinal fashion. Photographs were taken in black and white (T-max 100) and color slide (Kodachrome 200 for warm tones and archival stability). Digital photography was used extensively for publication and presentation purposes.

### **Dating Techniques**

Following excavation, all materials were removed to The Charleston Museum where they were washed, sorted, and analyzed. Analysis began by sorting, identifying, and quantifying all artifacts by individual provenience, or FS#. Each provenience was then dated on the basis of terminus post quem (the invention date of the newest artifact in the provenience) and stratigraphic position. From these two measures an approximate date of deposition was calculated

All encountered archaeological deposits were dated on the basis of stratigraphic point of initiation and Terminus Post Quem. Terminus Post Quem, or TPQ, is the principal which states that no provenience can be deposited earlier than the invention date of the latest dating item in the provenience. A provenience can be deposited any time after that date; therefore, estimated date of deposition is rarely the same as the TPQ date.

Stratigraphic point of initiation is based on the Law of Superimposition, the geological principal that soils gradually accumulate on sites of human occupation. Therefore, the deepest deposit is the earliest, with deposits occurring later as one approaches the surface of the ground. Relative dates are therefore assigned according to the profile map and the measured level of the top (or point of initiation) of each deposit. Thus the date of deposition assigned to each archaeological provenience is based on both techniques and is determined by considering each provenience relative to those around it.

On sites such as Drayton Hall, where dispersed test units are excavated, additional emphasis is placed on recognizing stratigraphy, in terms of dating, depth, artifact content, and physical characteristics, across broad areas of the site. Following a determination of date of deposition for each provenience, appropriate temporal divisions are determined for a site. In Charleston, site assemblages may be subdivided temporally according to changes in site ownership or usage, general historical trends within the city, or changes in world technology. After the parameters for appropriate temporal subdivision are determined, each individual provenience is placed in the appropriate group. These subdivisions then form the basis for discussion of artifact patterns (found in Chapter IV) and for intersite and intrasite comparison and interpretation.

#### Test Units at Locus 22

During the 1990 survey, Espenshade designated the northern half of the back (highway) portion of the lawn Locus 22. This area formerly contained the northern flanker and, beneath it, the pre-Drayton house, the privy (still standing), and the caretaker's house. Espenshade further noted a concentration of predominantly 18<sup>th</sup> century material around the former flanker and "further downslope". Espenshade also noted the presence of midden soil between the flanker and the privy, and along a ridge of higher land bordering the northern entry road. His data support a previous suggestion that the northwest corner of this yard might be the location of the 18<sup>th</sup> century slave community (figure 7).

A total of 23 five-foot units were excavated in this area, initiating along the N650 line, and then farther to the north, with the northernmost unit N750 E275. Units were dispersed from a low area near the entry road, E180 to the rise at E330 (figure 8). Overall, the units exhibited a homogeneity of stratigraphy and artifact assemblage. There was horizontal variation in artifact density; artifacts were considerably denser in seven units located in the northeastern portion of the test area. This artifact density varied positively with the presence of a noticeably darker midden soil in these units. The darker soil and higher concentration of artifacts corresponds somewhat with a ridge of higher ground present in this northeastern quadrant. The 23 units contained 42 designated features. The features are described in detail below, following a summary of the individual units. Only a few features were excavated; the majority were left unexcavated in anticipation of a larger, and more detailed, data recovery project in the future.

N580 E245 was the southernmost unit excavated, and was located near one of the original live oak trees lining the central drive. Stratigraphy was shallow, .6' in depth, and artifacts sparse. There was very little cultural disturbance to the soil. Two zones were defined. The zone 2 soil was an overall yellowish brown sand (10yr4/4).

The next most southerly unit, N625 E200, and the units along the N650 line - N650 E180, N650 E215, N650 E260, N650 E295 - also exhibited brown sandy soil and relatively sparse artifacts assemblages. N625 E200 was 1.0' deep. Zone 1 was a shallow root zone of dark grey sand (10yr4/1) followed by a more substantial deposit of zone 2, a dark greyish brown sand (10yr4/2). Feature 3, a possible post hole, was encountered in the northeast corner of the unit. "Gold" sterile sand (10yr5/6, yellowish brown) was encountered .8' below surface.

N650 E180 and the adjoining unit, N655 E180, exhibited similar stratigraphy, in terms of depth and soil color. The highlight of this unit was feature 2, a linear deposit running east/west, likely a ditch of some type. Several features, interpreted as posts (features 36-40), were present along the south side of feature 2. None were excavated. Feature 36 appears to be a shovel test from the 1990 survey by Brockington & Associates.

N650 E215 exhibited similar depth and stratigraphy. A shallow zone 1 was followed by zone 2, measuring .5' in depth. A circular feature (feature 1), possibly a shallow well, was noted in the northwest quadrant of the unit. N650 E295 was also shallow, with a dark grey-brown zone

1 followed by a brownish zone 2 (10yr4/4, dark yellowish brown), averaging .5' deep. Two features were present at the base of this unit. Feature 20 was a small circular area in the center of the unit. Feature 19, in the southeast corner, appeared to be a more substantial deposit. Unit N690 E280 was similar in depth and stratigraphy to those units described above. A single small feature, designated feature 7, was located in the unit. This was a small squared post, likely from a fence line.

N650 E260 contained no features, but was much deeper. This unit was located in the lowest portion of a depressed area running through Locus 22, and the stratigraphy suggests that the relief in this area may have been more pronounced in the colonial period. N650 E260 was 3.0 feet deep and was excavated in four zones. Zone 1 was very dark grey-brown sand (10yr3/2), followed by deeper deposits of brown sandy soil (10yr4/4). This was followed by a loamy dark brown sand (zone 3; 10yr3/4), and a grey loam (zone 4; 10yr5/1). Soils similar to zone 4 have been encountered on other archaeological sites, and appear to reflect areas of former marsh or swamp. No features were present in the bottom of this unit. Artifact density, however, was higher here, relative to nearby units. This suggests deliberate refuse disposal in a low area.

The units excavated in the portion of the site above the N700 line exhibited considerably more evidence of historic occupation. A block of three units, N705 E200, N705 E205, and N705 E210, contained several features of significance. Soils here were slightly deeper; zone 1 averaged .2' in depth, followed by the brown soil of zone 2, nearly 1.0' deep. Sterile soil was encountered 1.2' below surface. Artifacts were relatively sparse, but there was an increase in architectural debris and architectural artifacts. The most significant feature was a ditch, designated feature 5, running the length of the three units. Several post stains were noted on either side of the ditch. In N705 E200, a round feature 6 intruded into feature 5, while feature 13 was barely visible in the south profile. The latter appeared to be a square post stain. Additional square posts, features 8 and 12, were noted in the south profile of N705 E205. Feature 11 was a larger circular stain present on the north side of feature 5. Several posts were present in N705 E210. Features 30 and 32 were located on the south side of feature 5, while a cluster of dark stains intruding into feature 5 were eventually mapped as features 31, 41, and 42. Feature 29 was a squarish stain located in the northeast corner of the unit. All the features in N705 E210 bear further inspection, and would likely benefit from deeper excavation of the unit floor. It appears that the tops of the several features are presently poorly-defined. At this point, however, it was deemed prudent to preserve the unit at this level, and continue excavation when a larger area is exposed. The concentration of features, though, suggests intense activity in this portion of the site. The posts are likely evidence of a structure (figures 9 and 10).

Several of the post features in this block were characterized small fragments of a crumbly white mortar in the feature fill, which was a dark brown soil (10yr4/3). Features 8, 29, and 30 all exhibited this type of fill. Features 12, 13, 31, and 32 did not contain mortar crumbs, and may also relate to each other. The portion of feature 12 extant in the unit was excavated to profile. It was a well-defined post hole and mold, the latter containing traces of wood. Samples of wood, and soil from both the hole and the mold, were retained for future analyses. A lack of artifacts

hampered dating of this feature, but it may post-date many of the other features in the units. One historic aboriginal sherd was recovered from the base of the post hole. Two other post features were sampled, as well. Feature 8 and feature 30 were partially excavated; neither contained any datable artifacts (figure 11).

A sample of feature 5 was excavated in N705 E200 (figure 9). This 1.0' wide sample contained only a single sherd of historic aboriginal pottery. The excavation revealed a relatively shallow trench with rounded bottom. Maximum depth was .6 feet.

Feature 5 continued east into additional units. Feature 5 was also located in N705 E235. This unit was also 1.0' deep, and zone 2 was a medium brown sand (10yr4/3). Feature 5, defined at the base of zone 2, was 1.4' wide and .6' deep in the center. The entire 5' section of feature 5 was excavated in this unit, and contained only two fragments of colonoware. Unit N715 E235, located ten feet to the north, produced no features and exhibited comparable stratigraphy. Unit N720 E200, located north of the block containing the series of posts, was also relatively shallow and characterized by brown sandy soil. The three features (33, 34, and 35) located in this unit were poorly defined. At least one appeared to be a tree stain.

Adjoining units N705 E255 and N710 E255 marked the transition of the site, in terms of soil color and artifact density. Here, soils of zone 2 were slightly darker, 10yr3/2 (very dark greyish-brown) to 10yr3/4 (dark yellowish brown), compared to the dark greyish brown (10yr4/2) soil found elsewhere on the site. Artifact density also increased in these units. Feature 5 (here initially designated feature 22) was present at the base of zone 2, as were a number of other features. Features 21 and 27 were dark grey loamy deposits, the former intruding into feature 5 and therefore post-dating it. The rest of the features were large, amorphous areas (features 23, 26, and 28) or small squarish stains (features 24 and 25) that may represent posts. Features 26 and 28 are currently large, amorphous areas, and may represent several features whose tops are mixed. Further excavation will clarify this. At the present time, the features in units N705 E255 and N710 E255 suggest significant human activity in this area (see figure 12).

The final six units, located in the northeastern-most portion of the site tested to date, exhibit a different stratigraphy and content from the units previously described. Here, the units were deeper and, more significantly, the soils defined as zones 2 and 3 were noticeably darker (10yr3/1, very dark grey). Artifact and architectural material was much denser here, as well. A large amount of debris was present in the units, and the majority were small phosphate nodules. It is unclear at this time whether these small nodules are a natural inclusion in the upper soil levels, or if they represent remnants of mined phosphate deposits, and therefore disturbance to the soil deposits. These units contained very few cultural features, however. As these units were located beneath large oak trees, the roots slowed work and hampered visibility (figure 13).

The six units ranged in depth as well, from 1.1' in N715 E330 to 1.6' in N750 E275 and 1.9' in N720 E295. Four zones were defined in the latter feature, and the layers included very dark brown soil (10yr2/2). The quantities of artifacts recovered from these units came from the upper

layers; the lower layers of dark soil contained very little cultural material, suggesting perhaps a relatively undisturbed swampy area.

Since the artifacts, and dark soil, increased in density as one moved north and approached the entry road, three shovel tests (1.5' squares) were excavated along the grid line, in the wooded area north of the entry road. All exhibited the dark soil found in the six 'midden' units, but were of varying depths and contained little cultural material. N785E280 was relatively shallow and dominated by phosphate nodules. N800E280 was excavated to a depth of .6', and exhibited dark grey midden on top of dense phosphate debris. N810E280 was also .6' deep, with slightly less phosphate inclusions. N800E280 was the only shovel test containing artifacts, three fragments of bottle glass.

1.	N580E245	no features
2.	N625E200	feature 3
3.	N650E180	feature 2
4.	N655E180	feature 2
5.	N650E215	feature 1
6.	N650E260	no features
7.	N650E295	features 19, 20
8.	N690E280	feature 7
9.	N705E200	features 4, 5, 6, 13
10.	N705E205	features 5, 8, 11, 12
11.	N705E210	features 29, 30, 31, 32, 41, 42
12.	N705E235	feature 5
13.	N705E255	feature 5; features 21, 22, 2, 24
14.	N710E255	no features
15.	N715E235	no features
16.	N720E200	features 33, 34, 35
17.	N715E330	no features
18.	N720E280	features 9, 10
19.	N720E295	no features
20.	N730E315	no features
21.	N735E265	feature 14
22.	N735E290	features 15, 16, 17, 18
23.	N750E275	no features

## Table 1Summary of Units and Features, Locus 22

#### **Descriptions of Features**

The zone deposits, and their contents, describe the range of habitation (temporally and functionally) on an archaeological site. Features, in contrast, are record of individual events at a site of human occupation. These range from construction to discard to destruction or abandonment. For this reason, each feature is described individually below. Features were designated in ordinal fashion across the site.

<u>Feature 1</u>: Occupying the northwest half of excavation unit N650 E215, feature 1 appears as a series of semi-circular shaped bands of yellow red to dark gray brown to gray brown clayey loam soils. These bands of soils extend south from the unit's north side curving southwest into the west wall. No cultural materials were collected from or observed in this features fill. Although the function and cultural affiliation of this deposit is currently unknown, concentric bands of different color soils have been observed as fill in unlined well features. This configuration of soils can occur in wells that have been allowed to fill in gradually. Elucidation of this features function awaits archaeological excavation and possibly attests to relatively deep features in this area of Locus 22.

<u>Feature 2</u>: This feature, located in the northern third of N650 E180 and the southern third of N655 E180, is characterized by heavily mottled yellow-red, tan, and dark gray brown clayey loam soils. Several rectangular shaped features, likely post holes, have impacted this feature in the northwest area of N650 E180. Feature 1, likely a linear shaped deposit, evidenced no cultural materials within its fill. Linear ditch-like features, similar to Feature 2, have been found at several colonial and ante-bellum Berkeley and Charleston county plantations. Observed profiles of these ditch-like deposits suggest that several were used simply for drainage. Indications of the age and function of feature 2 at Locus 22 await excavation.

<u>Feature 3:</u> Extending about one and half feet south of the northeast corner of N625 E200, Feature 3 actually extends into both N630 E200 and N625 E200. Exposed sections of feature 3 suggest a rectangular shape for this feature. Soils observed are heavily mottled with yellow red and gray brown sandy loams characterizing the northern two thirds of the feature while the southernmost section may be described as a lighter gray brown somewhat less mottled fill deposit.. Based primarily on shape and context, it is believed that feature 3 may reflect the remnants of an 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century posthole. Deposits such as this are relatively common at colonial and antebellum lowcountry plantations. Feature 3 remains unexcavated and thus its age is presently uncertain.

<u>Feature 4</u>: Initially encountered in N705 E200, feature 4 was observed trending with the unit's north wall and south for about a foot until interfacing with feature 5. Lightly mottled soils of feature 4 extend into excavation units to the north, east, and west of N705 E200. Yellow- red
and gray-brown soils of this feature appear to have been impacted by feature 5. The date of deposit and function of feature 4 is currently unknown. No cultural materials were observed within the fill of feature 4. It is possible that this unexcavated area may represent a transition deposit, from zone 3 into subsoil, the color and texture of which was affected by feature 5.

<u>Feature 5/22</u>: This linear east/west- trending feature was encountered in five excavation units along the N705 grid line. Feature 5/22 varies its width (north/south limits) within these units from about 3 to 1.5 feet. Soils defining the feature are lightly mottled yellow- red and graybrown sandy loam. Samples of feature 5 were excavated in N705 E235 and N705 E200. It is believed likely that Feature 5/22 dates to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Olive green bottle glass, kaolin clay pipe stem fragments, and Yaughan colonoware sherds were recovered from the top level of the feature. This feature has been impacted by several posthole-like and larger features, particularly in units E205, E210, and E255. Linear ditch-like features have been found and excavated at several 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century lowcountry plantations and evidently were relatively common deposits within these cultural contexts. (eg. Zierden et al. 1986).

<u>Feature 6</u>: Located in N705 E200, this feature intrudes into the south side of feature 5/22. Generally circular in shape, this lightly mottled deposit of yellow-red and gray-brown soils most likely is a posthole. Although feature 6 has not been excavated, its size and shape suggest it may reflect structural remains rather than a fence post.

<u>Feature 7</u>: Observed in the north profile as well as the floor of excavation unit N690 E280, this feature may represent another posthole. Although initially observed as a generally circular area of mottled yellow-red and dark gray-brown soils about .7 feet in diameter, feature 7 likely represents a squared post, possibly part of a fence line. This feature has not been excavated. Approximately .5 vertical feet of feature 7 is exposed in the north wall of the excavation unit.

<u>Feature 8:</u> Observed in the south profile as well as the floor of excavation unit N705 E205, this feature is rectangular in shape. Clearly defined by mottled yellow-red and dark graybrown soil with notable amounts of shell, mortar, and brick fragment, feature 8 has an architecturally related function. Its location suggests that it is associated with feature 12 or possibly with feature 32, located northeast of feature 8. The size and shape of feature 8, extending about a foot east/west and more than a foot north/south, suggest that it is a structural foundation posthole dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Structural foundation remnants such as this have been observed at several lower socioeconomic status occupations in Berkeley and Charleston counties (eg., Drucker and Anthony 1979 and Zierden et al. 1986).

<u>Feature 9</u>: Defined by very dark gray-brown, slightly mottled fill, feature 9 was observed in the floor and north profile of N720 E280. Although this feature has yet to be excavated, its generally rectangular shape suggests that its function is architecturally related. Located in the northwest section of the excavation unit, it may be associated with feature 10 to the southeast. More definitive statements regarding the function and age of feature 9 awaits its excavation. <u>Feature 10</u>: Feature 10 is currently not well defined spatially or culturally. It may actually represent more than one depositional episode. Occurring in the center and southeast floor of excavation unit N720 E280, this feature is generally linear and is characterized by lightly mottled gray-brown soils. No cultural materials were observed within the currently defined limits of this feature. The excavation of feature 10 will be required before any statements regarding age or function can be offered.

<u>Feature 11</u>: Semi-circular in shape, this relatively large feature extends north from excavation unit N705 E205 into N710 E205. Characterized by heavily mottled yellow-red, tan, and gray-brown loamy soils, this feature also contains a notable amount of shell, brick, and mortar. Although the age of this deposit is unknown, its physical location suggests its association with other 18<sup>th</sup> century features in close spatial proximity. Firmer information regarding the age and function of feature 11 will depend on future excavation of this well-defined feature.

<u>Feature 12</u>: Located in N705 E205 and N705 E200 this feature was first observed in unit floors and southern profiles as a rectangular area of heavily mottled yellow-red, tan, and dark gray- brown soils. Upon partial excavation, feature 12 was found to be a post hole with remnants of the actual wooden post surviving. The excavated section of feature 12 was the feature fill encountered in unit floors. This excavation procedure exposed a complete profile view of the feature by basically bisecting the feature. The vertical profile view exposed a squared wooden flat bottom post mold. Approximately 2 feet of vertical post mold (with wooden post remnants) were exposed. Unfortunately, no datable artifacts were recovered from the excavation of this feature; based on its shape, size, very low frequency of artifacts, and the majority of cultural materials found in adjoining contexts, feature 12 probably dates to the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Its size and configuration suggest that it is likely a foundation to a structure. Feature 12 may be associated with features 8 and 30 to the east and feature 13 to the west. Feature 12 may also be associated with a cluster of possible posthole features located in N705 E210.

<u>Feature 13</u>: Located along the southern wall of excavation unit N705 E200, this feature is rectangular in shape and extends south into N700 E200. Feature 13 is characterized by lightly mottled dark gray-brown fill which is in marked contrast to surrounding lighter colored subsoils. Its location, shape, and size, suggest that this feature is another structural post hole, quite possibly associated with feature 12. Feature 13 has not been excavated.

<u>Feature 14</u>: This feature extends over approximately the eastern third of excavation unit N735 E265. Generally amorphous in shape, feature 14 is characterized by lightly mottled dark gray brown soils. No cultural materials were observed within the exposed feature fill. When first encountered and recorded, the horizontal spatial limits of this feature were indistinct. An accurate shape, character, and function of feature 14 will be ascertained only through excavation.

<u>Feature 15</u>: Located in the northwest area of excavation unit N735 E290, this feature is characterized by lightly mottled yellow red and gray brown loamy soils. Appearing as roughly oval in shape, the east border of feature 15 is indistinct. The size and shape of feature 15 suggest

that it may have an architecturally related function, however the determination of this features function as well as age awaits excavation.

<u>Feature 16</u>: Located near the center of excavation unit N735 E290, feature 16 can be characterized as a generally amorphous shaped area of lightly mottled dark gray brown loamy soils. The limits of this feature were indistinct. No cultural materials were observed within feature soils. It is quite possible that feature 16 is actually a northern part of feature 18, a large feature extending into the excavation units south wall. The function, date, and association(s) of Feature 16 will need to be ascertained through careful excavation.

<u>Feature 17</u>: Generally oval in shape, this relatively large feature extends northwestward from the east wall of excavation unit N735 E290. The southern limits of feature 17 are likely contained within unit N735 E 295. Feature 17 can be described as an area of lightly mottled dark gray brown soils. A section of this features southwest boundary is indistinct where it evidently physically interfaces with feature 18. During the present study, it could not be determined whether feature 17 intrudes into feature 18 or vice versa. The depositional sequence, function, and age of Feature 17 awaits excavation. No cultural materials were observed.

<u>Feature 18</u>: First observed within excavation unit N735 E290, this relatively large generally rectangular shaped feature extends south into N730 E290. Characterized by lightly mottled very dark gray brown soils, this features shape, size, and the generally angular turns observed in its boundaries suggest that its function is architecturally related. However, presently, a firm interpretation regarding the function and age of feature 18 remains undetermined as well as its potential association(s) to features 16 and 17. The northern and northeastern edges of feature 18, where it physically interfaces with features 16 and 17, have been disturbed by large tree roots. Reliable interpretation of the depositional history, function, and age of feature 18 and adjoining cultural deposits will require carefully executed excavation. No cultural material was collected or observed from feature 18 during the present investigation.

<u>Feature 19</u>: Occurring as a triangular shaped area of mottled yellow-red and gray-brown soils in the southeast corner of excavation unit N650 E295, this features age and function is currently unknown. It is likely that feature 19 extends to the east and south, for an undetermined distance, of N650 E295. No cultural materials were observed within exposed section of feature 19 fill.

<u>Feature 20</u>: Located northwest of feature 19, near the center of excavation unit N650 E295, Feature 20 is generally circular in shape. It is characterized by mottled yellow-red and gray- brown soil. No artifacts or other culturally related materials were observed in association with this deposit. Feature 20 is likely a post hole. Features exhibiting the physical characteristics of Feature 20 encountered at other lowcountry plantations have been interpreted as 19<sup>th</sup> posts, quite possibly fence posts excavated with a post hole digger.

<u>Feature 21</u>: Semi-circular in shape, this feature is characterized by dark lightly mottled gray brown loamy soils. Feature 21 extends westward from the east profile of excavation unit

N705 E255. It likely occurs east into N705 E260. Currently exposed areas of feature 21 exhibit distinct horizontal boundaries which clearly demonstrate that this feature intrudes into feature 5/22. Firm statements regarding the age and function of feature 21 will require the further horizontal exposure of this deposit as well as the subsequent careful excavation of this potentially informative feature. No cultural materials were recovered from feature 21.

<u>Feature 23</u>: Located in the southwestern corner of excavation unit N705 E255, this feature is characterized by lightly mottled gray brown soil. Exposed sections of feature 23 are generally rectangular in shape, however it should be noted that currently designated horizontal limits of this feature are tentative. The physical character of feature 23, particularly relative to other features encountered during the present study, suggest that this deposit may not be culturally generated. Further exposure to the south and west of unit N705 E255 and subsequent excavation is needed in order to further interpret and comment on this subsurface anomaly.

<u>Feature 24</u>: Rectangular in shape, this feature is located on the border of excavation units N710 E255 and N705 E255. Feature 24, relatively regular in shape and characterized by lightly mottled dark gray brown soils, likely is a posthole. Its size suggests that it may be a structural post hole rather than a fence post. No cultural materials were observed from this feature. Its age and function should be determined via excavation.

<u>Feature 25</u>: Located in excavation unit N710 E255, feature 25 is a somewhat square shaped area of dark gray brown soil possibly intrusive into feature 26. Its shape suggests that it could be a post hole, however, its relatively indistinct edges may indicate that it may simply be a darker fill area of feature 26. Because of the questionable nature of feature 25, excavation would be required to safely comment on its age and function.

<u>Feature 26</u>: This large amorphous feature extends over nearly the entire eastern half of excavation unit N710 E255. Characterized by mottled dark gray brown soil, feature 26 may be more than one feature. Large cultural features have been encountered at a number of lowcountry plantations, however, excavation will be required to ascertain this features age and function. No cultural materials were collected from feature 26.

<u>Feature 27</u>: Located in the northwestern area of excavation unit N710 E255, feature 27 appears to intrude into Feature 28. Generally circular in shape, this feature is characterized by gray-brown loamy soils mottled with sandy clay. Subsoil clay within the fill of a coastal plain feature suggests that the feature may have substantial depth. Given this potential, and the size and shape of feature 27, it is quite possible that it represents another post hole. This feature should be excavated to determine its age and confirm its function.

<u>Feature 28</u>: This somewhat rectangular feature is located along the western side of excavation unit N710 E255. Evidently, it extends west into N710 E250 for an unknown distance. Like feature 27, this feature is characterized by gray-brown sandy loam soils mottled with a sandy clay. The relatively regular and squared shape of some areas of this feature suggests an architecturally related function for feature 28. It is also possible that feature 28, as currently

defined, may actually be more than one feature. As is commonly the case, excavation is required before reliable statements can be given regarding age and function.

<u>Feature 29</u>: Located in the northeastern area of excavation unit N705 E210, feature 29 may be related to feature 32 to its southwest. Feature 29, a square shaped area of mottled gray brown soil, likely represents a post hole. Brick, mortar, shell, and bone were observed and collected from the fill of this feature. The age of feature 29 is currently unknown.

<u>Feature 30</u>: Located near the center of the south profile of excavation unit N705 E210, feature 30 extends south into N700 E210. This features roughly square shape, and dark gray brown mottled fill suggest that feature 30 represents yet another post hole at Locus 22. It is possible that this feature is associated with feature 13 to the west, as well as features 8 and 12. Any temporal and/or functional affiliations between these cultural deposits can only be determined via further excavation. Brick fragments, bone, and shell were recovered from the upper deposits of feature 30 during excavation unit cleaning.

<u>Feature 31</u>: Intrusive into feature 5/22, this square shaped feature is characterized by heavily mottled gray brown loam. Based primarily on location, feature 31 may actually be a post mold associated with feature 41, a possible large post hole. Feature 31 is likely associated with features 12, 29, and perhaps 32. These structural deposits appear to partially define a probable 18<sup>th</sup> century structure within Locus 22.

<u>Feature 32</u>: This feature is located in excavation units N705 E205 and N705 E210. Generally circular in shape, feature 32 is characterized by dark gray brown mottled soil with shell. This feature is a post hole with a post mold and is likely associated with features 12, 29, and 31.

<u>Feature 33</u>: Located in the north center of N720 E200, this roughly oval shaped feature extends north into N725 E200. Exhibiting dark slightly mottled soils, feature 33 has indistinct limits. No cultural remains were observed within the fill. Its location suggests an association with feature 34. The function and age of feature 33 is currently unknown.

<u>Feature 34</u>: Like feature 33, this feature extends southward from the north profile of N720 E200. Feature 34 is characterized by a rather homogenous light gray brown loamy soil. Exhibiting indistinct boundaries, it is quite possible that features 33 and 34 may represent the remnants of a tree. No cultural materials were observed within feature soils.

<u>Feature 35</u>: Located southeast of feature 34, this roughly oval feature is characterized by a clayey fill which possibly has been thermally altered. Presently, it is unknown whether feature 35 represents a cultural or a natural soil anomaly. Further delineation of this feature awaits excavation.

<u>Feature 36</u>: Located in the northeast corner of N650 E180 and the southeast corner of N655 E180, this semi-circular feature intrudes into feature 2. Its physical character indicates that it represents a shovel test from previous archaeological investigation of Locus 22.

<u>Feature 37</u>: Intrusive into feature 2, this generally oval-shaped feature occurs in N650 E180. Feature 37 is characterized by slightly mottled dark gray-brown soil. It is quite possible that this feature is a post hole, perhaps a fence post. Its shape suggests that is was excavated by a post hole digger. Although its age has not been determined, it is likely that feature 37 post-dates the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<u>Feature 38</u>: Located immediately south of feature 2, within excavation unit N650 E180, this rectangular feature is characterized by mottled dark gray-brown soil. Its shape and obvious association with feature 39, a probable post mold, strongly suggests that feature 38 represents a post hole. No cultural materials were observed within the fill of either feature. Age determination of this cultural deposit will require excavation.

<u>Feature 39</u>: South of feature 2, in the northwestern floor of excavation unit N650 E180, feature 39 is located within the currently defined bounds of feature 38. Generally circular in shape when first encountered, this dark gray-brown feature is likely a post mold associated with feature 38, a post hole. Presently, the age of features 38 and 39 are unknown. Based on size and general configuration, it is possible that these features represent part of a pre  $-20^{\text{th}}$  century fence line.

<u>Feature 40</u>: This feature is located in the northwestern corner of N650 E180, immediately northwest of feature 38. Extending west into unit N650 E175, the exposed area of feature 40 is rectangular in shape. Characterized by a dark gray-brown slightly mottled fill, its regular shape and relatively squared corners suggest an architecturally related function. Feature 40 is intrusive into feature 2, however, the age of this feature is currently unknown. Excavation of feature 40 will be required to more fully understand its function and temporal affiliation.

<u>Feature 41</u>: Intrusive into ditch-like feature 5/22, feature 41 is located near the center of N705 E210. Containing features 31 and 42, this large square shaped feature, approximately 2.5 feet on a side, is characterized by lightly mottled gray brown soil. No cultural materials were observed within its fill. Large features such as feature 41 have been encountered archaeologically at other colonial and antebellum lowcountry plantations. They have been interpreted as having an architecturally related function. Feature 41 may be a large post hole associated with features 31 or 42, or both. It is also possible that feature 41 is associated with a (possible) structure initially defined by features 8, 29, 32. This potentially important cultural deposit should be excavated in attempt to firmly define its age, function, and association with other features in close proximity.

<u>Feature 42</u>: Generally oval-shaped, this feature is likely associated with feature 41 and possibly with feature 31. Located within the currently defined limits of feature 41, feature 42 is characterized by dark gray-brown soil. It is possible that feature 42 is a "replacement" post for features 41 and/or 31. No cultural material was observed or recovered to date from feature 42 contexts. Excavation is recommended in order to understand more clearly the nature, age, and function of feature 42 as well as its association with other nearby cultural deposits.



2 PINE





Figure 7. Fieldwork in progress at Locus 22, facing north; triangulating an excavation unit.









Figure 9. N705 E200 to N705 E 120, facing west. Visible are the ditch, feature 5, and various posts. Feature 12 has been excavated.



Figure 10. N705E255 to N710E255, facing north. Visible are the ditch, feature 5, and various posts.



Figure 11. Post features in N705 E200 block; closeup of feature 12 profiled, mortar in feature 30.



U N720 E200

N705 E200



T. N625 E200

2/ N6

Figure 12. Locus 22 site map, showing excavation units and features.



N690 E280

50 E215

+ N650 E250

N650 E260







40



Figure 13. Views of N720 E295 and N715 E330, showing dark midden soil.



### Chapter IV Analysis of Materials, Locus 22

### Laboratory Methods

Following excavation, all materials were removed to The Charleston Museum where they were washed, sorted, and analyzed. All bagged materials were sorted by the field provenience number (FS#) and inventoried. The large proveniences - those with multiple bags filled with unidentified rubble - were first water-screened outdoors and the rubble air-dried. Upon washing, the vast majority of the rubble proved to be phosphate nodules. The samples were then sorted, to remove artifacts and brick rubble. The phosphate was weighed by provenience and discarded. Resulting empty bags were then retained as part of the laboratory record.

Each artifact from each provenience was then washed in warm water with a soft brush and rebagged when dry. Analysis by provenience included identification and counting of each artifact by type. Washing and sorting commenced immediately after the field project, and was conducted by trained laboratory technicians, students from the College of Charleston, and experienced volunteers. College interns were those enrolled in the 2003 summer field school at Drayton Hall; working with Drayton Hall interpreters, they provided valuable connection between the field work and the laboratory work. Students volunteered 430 hours on the laboratory analysis.

Conservation procedures included reconstruction of ceramic and glass vessels, where possible, and stabilization of diagnostic metal artifacts. Ceramic and glass vessels were restored with conservator's glue, B-72 and a number of commercial super-glue products, all reversible in acetone. Ferrous materials were separated during analysis. Several ferrous and all non-ferrous metal artifacts were selected for further treatment through electrolytic reduction. The ferrous items were placed in electrolysis in a weak sodium carbonate solution with a current of six amperes. Upon completion of electrolysis, ranging from a few weeks to a few months, they were placed in successive baths of distilled water to remove chlorides and dried in ethanol. Finally the artifacts were coated with a solution of tannic acid and phosphoric acid, and dipped in microcrystalline wax to protect the surfaces. Non-ferrous artifacts were also placed in electrolytic reduction of these artifacts was usually accomplished in one to two days. They were then placed in distilled water baths to remove surface chlorides, dried in ethanol, and gently polished before being coated with Incralac to protect the surfaces.

Faunal materials were washed, separated from other materials, and weighed by provenience. They remain in separate bags within the general provenience bag, available for faunal analysis in the future. Soil samples, ranging from one to two quarts in size, were inventoried, double-bagged, and boxed for permanent curation.

Upon completion of the analysis, all cultural materials, soil samples, and architectural samples were packed in standard-sized boxes for return to Drayton Hall, where they will remain in curation as the property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Field notes, photographs, and catalogue cards were also returned to Drayton Hall; copies were retained by The Charleston Museum.

### <u>Analysis</u>

Identification of the artifacts was the first step in the analysis of materials. The Museum's type collection, Noel Hume (1969), Stone (1974), Ferguson (1992), and Deagan (1987) were the primary sources used. Ceramics references included Towner (1978), Gaimster (1997); Austin (1994), Sussman (1997), and Cushion (1976). Other references were consulted for specific artifacts. Lorrain (1968), Huggins (1971), Kechum (1975), and Switzer (1974) were used to identify bottle glass. Epstein (1968) and Luscomb (1967), as well as South (1964) were used for button identification, and Fontana and Greenleaf (1962) and Sutton and Arkush (1996) were consulted for nails.

Some artifact types were subject to more detailed identification. Ceramics were separated into types, and identified by vessel form, whenever possible. Cross-mends and matches were noted, but a complete cross-sorting by minimum number of vessels (MNIV) was not undertaken at this time. Nails were identified by manufacture type, head type, and size, where possible. Architectural rubble - brick, mortar, and plaster - was weighed by provenience.

The artifact assemblages were initially quantified by stratigraphic position and horizontal distribution. This confirmed a lack of temporal sequencing in the stratigraphy at the site, a phenomenon noted in the field. In other words, there was no temporal difference between the zone 1 deposits and the zone 3 deposits across locus 22. The overall artifact assemblage is the subject of the present discussion, and the locus 22 materials are considered a single temporal assemblage. The materials were then quantified by excavation unit, to note any horizontal patterning. These issues are discussed later.

For basic descriptive purposes, the artifacts from each of the temporal and locational assemblages were sorted into functional categories, based on South's (1977) model for the Carolina Artifact Pattern. South's methodology has been widely adopted by historical archaeologists, allowing for direct intersite comparison; all of the Charleston data have been organized in this manner. For nearly twenty years, archaeologists have attempted to classify the artifacts they recover by function, or how they were used in the everyday life of their owners. Artifacts are quantified in relative proportion to each other within eight broad categories. Broad regularities, or patterns, in these proportions prescribe the average retinue of activities on British colonial sites. While some have criticized this methodology as being too broad, it has been widely adopted by historical archaeologists working in the southeastern United States. In Charleston, it has been used as an initial organizing tool. Lynne Lewis has previously used this methodology for Drayton Hall (Lewis 1978).

Under Stanley South's model, the Carolina Artifact Pattern prescribe broad regularities in the daily life of British colonists. Artifacts are sorted, and then quantified, within eight broad groups, based on function. The largest is usually those artifacts related to kitchen activities, such as food preparation, service, and storage. The Kitchen group includes most ceramics, bottle and table glass, cooking vessels, and cutlery. Food storage containers, from crocks to bottles to tin cans, are also included. The second group relates to Architecture and the buildings themselves. This group includes nails, window glass, and other architectural hardware. Smaller groups include Arms and weaponry items, and Furniture items, principally hardware. The Clothing group includes items from clothing, such as buttons and buckles, and items used to make or repair clothing, such as straight pins and scissors. The Personal group includes keys, coins, jewelry, combs and brushes. The Tobacco group includes clay pipes and other items from tobacco smoking. The final group is somewhat larger and more eclectic, and includes items from a range of domestic Activities. Included in the Activities group are farm tools, toys, fishing gear, equestrian hardware, storage items, and any other specialized craft activities.

The Locus 22 assemblage contained 5,559 artifacts. These were initially quantified by the eight functional categories that define the Carolina Artifact Pattern Following this exercise, the relative proportions of a variety of artifact types were examined, based on the work of King (1990, 1992), and many others in the mid-Atlantic region. This recent exercise (Zierden 1993, 1994) has provided more details on proportions of consumer goods and how they were used by Charlestonians.

#### The Artifact Assemblage

*The Kitchen Group:* As is typical of most British colonial sites, artifacts from the Kitchen group dominated the assemblage (64.5%). This group included a wide range of ceramics, as well as glass vessels. The ceramic assemblage, used to date the occupation of locus 22, contained materials typical of lowcountry sites dating to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The refined earthenware types, developed in the 1760s, and in the 1780s-1790s, are the latest artifacts in the assemblage. These particularly sensitive temporal markers were used to determine that locus 22 represents an 18<sup>th</sup> century occupation. The date ranges shown for each ceramic type recovered are based on Noel Hume (1969), South (1977: 210-212), and Miller et al.(2000), as well as recovery of wares in tightly-dated archaeological deposits in Charleston.

Colonowares dominate the ceramic assemblage from each unit, and from the locus overall (figures 14 and 15). They average 67% of the ceramics. These include a number of wares that are likely historic Native American wares, as well as the more traditionally-defined wares associated with African American sites in the lowcountry. The Drayton Hall colonowares are discussed in detail by Ron Anthony in Chapter V.

The earliest European ceramic found at Drayton Hall is delft. Delft is a tableware common in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century that persisted in use through the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Such wares were common on 17<sup>th</sup> century sites, but they were fragile. Tea cups and small vessels faded in

popularity after 1750, but larger vessels such as plates, bowls, platters and punch bowls continued throughout the century (Austin 1994). British delft features a soft yellow-to-buff-colored earthenware paste and an opaque, sometimes chalky-textured glaze consisting of tin oxide in a lead glaze. The glaze can be white, but often exhibits a light 'robin's egg' blue background color. Individual vessels may be undecorated, or feature hand-painted decoration in blue or in a range of colors, the latter classified as polychrome. The Drayton Hall assemblage included fragments decorated in blue, as well as undecorated types. Fifty-four fragments of delft were recovered. The locus also contained two fragments of French tin-enameled ware, known as Faience. Faience was imported into Charleston, and other English colonies, at the time of the Revolution, and is most common in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Waselkov and Walthall 2002).

The tin-enameled tablewares of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were briefly, but quickly, replaced by dinner and tea ware of white salt-glazed stoneware (1740-1775). First developed in the 1740s, these became the typical English tableware of the mid-18th century. Plates and soup bowls, as well as a host of serving vessels and tea wares, are the most common forms recovered in Charleston, reflecting the rising importance of individual place settings and matched sets. While much of the salt-glazed stoneware was undecorated, elaborately molded and sprigged examples are recovered as well. Typical rim forms included the 'dot, diaper and basket,' bead and reel, and barley patterns, though plain rims are also recovered. The Locus 22 assemblage included a few of these wares, only eight fragments. In addition, two fragments of the slightly later (1744-1775) Scratch Blue stoneware were recovered.

Two fragments of Nottingham stoneware (1700-1810) were recovered. This ware is characterized by a hard grey stoneware body and a smooth or lustrous brown glaze over a white slip. The white slip distinguishes the Nottingham wares, and can be seen by viewing a ceramic fragment from the side. Noel Hume (1969:114) notes that several potters may have produced a variation of this ware. Also recovered in small numbers was the unglazed red stoneware known as Elers ware (1763-1775) and the unglazed black stoneware known as Black Basalt (1750-1820); these were most often teapots. Locus 22 yielded two fragments each of these distinctive wares.

Three finely made redwares were produced by the Staffordshire potters and are recovered in small amounts (.25% average) in Charleston - Jackfield ware, Agate ware, and Astbury ware. The earliest, Astbury (1725-1750), are hard, red-bodied earthenwares, lead-glazed to give them a ginger brown surface. They were decorated with sprig-molded designs, often in white pipe clay. A common variation in Charleston features white clay around the rim. Two fragments were recovered from Locus 22.

More popular in Charleston in general, but relatively sparse at this site, was Jackfield, produced from about 1740 to 1780. The ware was made by various potters and featured a fine clay body that ranged from grey to purple to red, the red being the hallmark of the Staffordshire potters. The common feature was a deep black, oily or shiny, black lead glaze. Jackfield vessels include teawares and pitchers. Bowls and teapots are the most common Charleston forms. Three fragments were recovered from locus 22 at Drayton Hall.

The most elaborate and most popular tea and table ware of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were porcelains from China. Chinese porcelain was made from a combination of kaolin clay and a finely ground feldspathic rock, and can be distinguished from other ceramic wares by a high-gloss glaze fused to the body. The body is extremely tight-grained, and the glaze clings to it in a thin translucent line on both sides. Those wares with an underglazed blue design are most common. Tea wares - handleless cups and saucers - are the most common forms recovered, but plates are also found in large numbers

Relatively rare and expensive in the late-17<sup>th</sup> to early-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Chinese porcelains were increasingly popular and available as the 18<sup>th</sup> century progressed. Robert Leath suggests that porcelain had become fairly commonplace in South Carolina by the 1730s, and a decade later was advertised regularly among merchandise in the *South Carolina Gazette*; merchant David Crawford, for example, advertised, "...a large assortment of China ware as breakfast cups and saucers, dishes, plates and bowls of all sorts, tea and coffee cups and saucers, also 3 compleat sets of color'd china for a tea table" (Leath 1999:50). Porcelains often comprise over 20% of the ceramics at elite townhouse sites. The majority of these are blue-on-white underglaze decorated, but most sites yield examples of the more expensive overglazed (or enameled) porcelains. The locus 22 assemblage contained 58 fragments of blue-on-white porcelain and seven fragments of overglazed porcelain (fragments of porcelain deemed to be 18<sup>th</sup> century types, but exhibiting no decoration were counted as blue-on-white).

The 18<sup>th</sup> century proveniences also yielded numerous fragments from utilitarian ceramics. The two earliest ceramic types were represented by a few sherds each. North Devon gravel tempered ware consists of a smooth red and grey clay with quartz inclusions, hence its name. The interior of the vessel is coated with a thick apple-green lead glaze. The Charleston examples are usually cream pans or one-gallon pots. Three fragments were recovered from Locus 22. The North Devon wares were manufactured from 1650 until the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and Buckley ware was manufactured from 1720 until the Revolution. Buckley ware features an agate-like body of red and yellow clays, but the heavy vessels are ribbed on the interior and/or exterior and covered with a thick, black, lead glaze. Three fragments were recovered from Locus 22. Charleston forms include cream pans and bowls, glazed only on the interior, and large storage jars glazed on both sides (Noel Hume 1969:135).

The most common utilitarian ceramics on 18<sup>th</sup> century sites in Charleston are the body of wares known collectively as combed-and-trailed slipwares. Noel Hume attributes most of these wares to factories in Staffordshire and Bristol, but British archaeologist David Barker suggested Buckley or Liverpool as a source for much of the slipware imported to Charleston. The majority of these wares feature a buff- to yellow body and are decorated with combed lines in iron oxide or manganese under a clear to pale yellow glaze. The simplest were trails of brown glaze over the buff body, sometimes combed into elaborate designs. Other variations occur with light trailed stripes over a black slip, or with "...skillfully marbleized blend of white, dark, and light-brown slips." Noel Hume (1976:136) declines to date these variants with accuracy, but suggests that importation of these wares ended with the Revolution.

Slipwares are recovered in large numbers on Charleston sites. They average 10% of the ceramics for this period in Charleston and account for 5% of the Locus 22 assemblage. The large flatware pieces - shallow bowls, plates, and platters of all sizes - feature an unglazed exterior and molded rim reminiscent of pie crust. The interior features slips and spriggles of white, dark, and brown clay, often combed in elaborate designs. The hollow wares - most often mugs or cups of various sizes, but also pitchers and candlesticks - are thinner, glazed on both sides, and most often feature a series of brown clay dots with combed trailings on the exterior.

In 18<sup>th</sup> century contexts, red-bodied slipwares trimmed with trailings of white clay are also common. Sometimes these vessels feature splotches of green or brown glaze. All of these are attributed to potteries in the North American colonies, possibly Philadelphia or Salem, North Carolina. Carl Steen has recently suggested that the many Philadelphia potters were the source of these wares, and the *South Carolina Gazette* regularly advertised ships arriving from that port. The most common Charleston examples are called Trailed Philadelphia Earthenwares by Steen (1999), and match the description above. Cream pans and heavy, smaller bowls are the most common vessel forms recovered in Charleston. These are most common in the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and provide irrefutable archaeological proof of inter-colonial trade, a venture rarely discussed in the documentary record (Steen 1999:68); thirteen fragments were recovered from Locus 22 proveniences.

A second product of the Philadelphia potters common to Charleston consists of mediumsized bowls, with or without handles. The exterior of these vessels features a solid lead glaze in either brown, rust, or black, and an interior that features sloshed or swirled slips, or powdered glazes that run to the bottom of the vessel; Steen terms these Clouded wares; in Charleston they have been catalogued for a decade as "Mid-Atlantic earthenwares." Fourteen fragments of these wares were recovered from Locus 22 proveniences.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century earthenware assemblage also featured a number of lead-glazed earthenwares, in a variety of forms and glazes. At Drayton Hall, the most common examples have a dark brown or black lead glaze. A few examples of a greenish or yellow lead glaze were recovered. Lead-glazed earthenwares comprise 2.3% of the ceramics, and most are utilitarian wares.

Stonewares, most manufactured in the Rhineland, comprise the final class of 18<sup>th</sup> century ceramics recovered at Drayton Hall. Noel Hume suggests that these wares were imported into England and later shipped to the colonies in large numbers throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. After 1760, the Rhineland's virtual monopoly was broken by the potters of Staffordshire (Noel Hume 1969:276). The type known to archaeologists as Westerwald is grey-bodied and decorated in blue, and sometimes purple. Vessel forms for the period include chamber pots, small crocks, and mugs of various sizes; earlier 18<sup>th</sup> century sites contain jugs with bulbous bodies and reed necks, and porringers. Eight fragments were recovered from the 18<sup>th</sup> century features.

The Rhineland potters also produced salt-glazed stoneware in brown. Most famous are the "bellarmine" jugs with a bearded face. These 17<sup>th</sup> century vessels are rare in Charleston; more

common are undecorated bottles. These were imported through the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. British brown stoneware of the second half of the century are more commonly pots or mugs, but stoneware bottles from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century are also recovered. Twenty-seven brown stoneware vessel fragments were recovered at Locus 22.

The most important ceramic development of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was the gradual perfection of a thin, hard-fired cream-colored earthenware that could be dipped in a clear glaze. The ware fired at a lower temperature than stoneware, and was thus a refined earthenware. The resulting wares were durable, attractive, and inexpensive, and they rapidly spread throughout the world. Pioneering efforts in this direction were made by Thomas Astbury and Thomas Whieldon, but it was Josiah Wedgwood who would ultimately perfect these wares and market them successfully. The original cream-bodied ware featured a clouded or swirled underglaze design in purple, brown, yellow, green and grey. It was introduced in the 1740s. In 1759, Wedgwood produced a wholly-green ware. All of these are loosely categorized as Whieldon ware by American archaeologists. The Whieldon wares were manufactured until 1770, and are consistently present in 18<sup>th</sup> century contexts in small numbers. None were recovered from Locus 22 at Drayton Hall, though they have been recovered elsewhere on the site.

Far more numerous, in fact dominating the 18<sup>th</sup> century ceramic assemblage, were creamwares, which comprise nearly 12% of the locus 22 ceramics. This is in keeping with the almost universal popularity of cream-colored earthenware in the late 18th century. After Josiah Wedgwood went into business on his own in 1759, he found the green glazed ware was not so popular, and he turned his attention to refinement of the cream-colored ware, later called Queensware. Wedgwood appears to have perfected the ware by 1762, although diverse archaeological sites have produced nearly irrefutable evidence of earlier use (cf. Deagan 1975). Regardless of the manufacture date, by 1770 these wares could be found in the four corners of the colonial world, and are ubiquitous on archaeological sites of the period. In her study of 18th century consumerism, Ann Smart Martin (1994:169-185) has comment that Wedgwood himself marveled how quickly creamware "spread over the whole Globe and how universally it is liked". What is remarkable in Martin's view is that Wedgwood managed to compress the cycle of luxuryto-common consumption into a very short period. By continually bringing out new styles, Wedgwood satisfied both the middle class consumer eager to display their knowledge of manners and the fashionably wealthy who sought to distance themselves from the nouveau (Martin 1994a, 1994b; 1996). Creamware came in highly decorated and expensive styles, and in relatively plain and affordable patterns. Like other members of the colonial gentry, Charlestonians evidently swarmed to the new ware.

The creamwares were augmented after 1780 with pearlwares. Throughout the 1770s, Wedgwood continued to experiment with production of a whiter ware, which in 1779 he termed "pearl white." Thus 1780 marks the beginning of the era where British refined earthenwares feature a bluish tint to the glazing and blue pooling in the cracks and crevices. It was not Wedgwood's intention to replace the earlier creamware, but this did occur to a certain extent, as other potteries produced the new wares in quantity. In general, pearlwares are 17% of Charleston ceramic assemblages, compared to 25% creamware. A small number of pearlwares were recovered from Locus 22, comprising 3.7% of the ceramics. This relatively small number supports disuse of this locus after the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As with other Charleston sites, pearlwares from Locus 22 come in a wide range of decorations, compared to creamware. Earliest (1780-1810) was hand painting in underglaze blue, most often in chinoiserie designs. Hand-painted tea wares in a polychrome palette (brown, sage green, cobalt blue, orange-rust, and yellow) often featured delicate floral designs. Eleven fragments of hand painted pearlware were recovered from Locus 22.

Shell-edged pearlware is perhaps the most readily recognizable historic ceramic. The ware comes most often in flatware - plates, soup bowls, platters - and features rims molded in a feathery design, which was hand painted in blue or green. The earlier pieces, c. 1780-1795, feature careful, individual brush strokes, accenting the individual feathers. By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the hand painting had deteriorated to a single swiped band around the rim. The early 19<sup>th</sup> century also witnessed rims molded in designs other than feathers. Twenty-four fragments of shell-edged pearlware were recovered from Locus 22.

Two other decorative styles were applied to pearlware in 1795, and they dominate the early 19<sup>th</sup> century ceramics. Transfer or bat printing involved the creation of detailed designs in a myriad of patterns. The North Staffordshire potters, led by Josiah Spode, successfully produced this blue-on-white ware in 1784. This development, coupled with a significant reduction in the importation of porcelains from Canton after 1793, resulted in a large market for the new ware (Copeland 1994:7; Miller 1991). Transfer printed wares, the most expensive of the decorated refined earthenwares, are usually recovered in a wide variety of forms: plates of all sizes; bowls of all sizes; tea cups and coffee cups, with or without handles; mugs and saucers. The list of service pieces is equally lengthy, including platters, tureens and tea wares. These wares were evidently little-used at Locus 22; only nine fragments were recovered.

The other distinctive style of 1795 is known as annular ware, and this pearlware features machine-turned stripes in a range of colors on small low-shouldered bowls and mugs. The range of vessel forms is quite limited, compared to the other pearlware styles, and this ware is the least expensive (Miller 1980). The bowls were suitable for one-pot meals, such as soups, stews, and pilaus. Variants of annular ware include mocha ware, with dendritic patterns in the wide stripes, and cabled ware, featuring swirls and dots in a heavy colored slip. The annular wares were far more common at locus 22; 28 fragments were recovered.

The British potters, including Wedgwood, continued to refine their glaze formulas so that by c. 1820 the blue tinge had been removed from the wares, leaving a white china. Much to the confusion of archaeologists, the same decorative motifs continue from pearlware to whiteware. Whiteware forms dominate ceramic assemblages after 1820. Only two fragments that could tentatively be classified as whiteware were recovered from Locus 22.

Olive green bottle glass comprised the majority of the other kitchen wares. These English glass wine bottles became common after 1650, and were hand-blown until the 1820s. During the

17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the bottles gradually became narrower and taller, compared to the original squat 'onion bottle'. These bottles, which were often refilled from larger barrels or otherwise reused, are ubiquitous in fragmentary form on 18<sup>th</sup> century English colonial sites (Noel Hume 1969). Locus 22 contained over 600 fragments. Other, smaller, condiment and medicine bottles included those in clear and aqua glass. Particularly distinctive were the small aqua vials for holding medicines. These were also hand-blown until the 1820s. Over 100 fragments of these were recovered at Locus 22.

Far less common at Locus 22 were fragments of leaded glass, or decorative table glass. Only 13 fragments could be identified as table glass, including two goblet base fragments. The final kitchen items were three fragments of iron kettles and two fragments of pewter, possibly cutlery.

*The Architecture Group:* The architecture group (30% of the assemblage) was dominated by window glass and iron nails. The majority of the window glass was pale green or aqua in color, and thus typical of the hand-blown glass common through the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Crown glass began as a bubble of hand-blown glass, gradually worked into a disc. These discs featured a thick edge, which was trimmed away and wasted, and a central pontil scar, or bulls-eye, which could be up to one inch thick. The circles of glass were known as 'crowns' and were shipped to America in crates, to be cut to size by the purchaser (Noel Hume 1969:234). The Locus 22 assemblage included 470 fragments of aqua-tinted flat glass, and only a few fragments of clear flat glass.

Nails were the other common component of the architecture group. Though corroded, the majority of the nails from Locus 22 could be identified as to method of manufacture. The great majority were hand wrought, with either a pointed or spatulate end, and thus dating before 1780 (figures 16 and 17). Six hundred sixty wrought nails were recovered, and 162 machine cut nails (shank after 1780, head after 1805) were recovered. One hundred seventy eight were unidentifiable, meaning that they were too corroded to identify shank or head style. Nails were counted as "unidentified" if a head was present. Portions of unidentifiable nails lacking a head were identified as fragments; an additional 230 fragments were recovered.

*The Arms Group:* Relatively few arms-related materials were recovered from Locus 22, and they comprised 0.3% of the assemblage. Three lead shot were recovered. Most notable was an iron flintlock mechanism, in two parts. It appears to be the type common in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, likely from a British Brown Bess lock (figure 18). The remainder of the Arms group consisted of flakes of English flint and two brass shotgun shell bases. The shells are likely not associated with the occupation of Locus 22.

*The Clothing Group:* Clothing items were equally sparse at Locus 22, comprising only 0.4% of the assemblage. Buttons were the most numerous, but these were relatively few. A single bone disc, with a central hole, was recovered. Most common were plain brass discs, known as "type 7" in Stanley South's (1964) classification. These are common throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>

century. Eleven brass buttons were recovered. Four fragmentary pewter or white metal buttons were recovered, as well; these date to the same time period (figure 19). A single iron button was recovered. Also recovered was a single white porcelain, or prosser, button, typical of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These buttons. These button have typically been identified as white porcelain, or china, but Sprague (2002:111) suggests that all were manufactured after 1840, by the prosser method. This involves the preparation of fine clay with the addition of quartz to create a 'dust'. The buttons have a very smooth surface, and sometimes pebbly back. This prosser button is one of only a few artifacts from Locus 22 that postdate the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Three fragments of brass buckles were recovered, but these were too fragmentary for full identification.

Two beads, both types commonly recovered in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, were found. The first was a cornaline d'alleppo, which is a translucent green glass bead with an opaque red glass exterior. Kathleen Deagan notes that these are common on French sites, and may be of French origin (Deagan 1987:167-168). The second was a wire-wound bead of dark blue glass (figure 20). Glass beads are common on colonial sites. The final artifact was a fragment of iron scissors, again too fragmentary for full identification.

*The Personal Group:* The personal item group, usually the smallest category, was unusually so. The three items classified in this group comprised only 0.05% of the Locus 22 assemblage. The group contained a lead bale seal and a key (figure 17). The key was a standard 'skeleton' type key, common in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Lead seals are often associated with trade, and are presumed to secure bags of general merchandise. Seals can be the manufacturer's own, or those from official excise taxes. The Drayton example is in two sections, the type associated with merchant's seals.

A curious artifact was a square fragment of flint, roughly 1" square and 1/4" thick. The size and shape appeared to be natural. One side was smooth, and exhibited a series of small circular dimples, reminiscent of a "half" of a domino or an oversized die. Careful examination suggests that they could be a cultural addition to this natural material. If so, this would be a highly unusual artifact. The position of the holes is somewhat random, and do not appear to mirror domino or dice configurations exactly (figure 20). Interestingly, the square was recovered from N720E290, adjacent to the unit N735E290, which yielded the colono ware pot (figure 15) and pipe (figure 20).

The most interesting artifact recovered at Locus 22 was a small eyepiece of brass, measuring 1.61 cm. in diameter and 1.36 cm. in height. The threaded brass eyepiece was in two parts and, when unscrewed, revealed a tiny lense of convex glass, 6 mm. in diameter and 2 mm in depth (figure 21). Early opinion of Dr. William Turner, Professor Emeritus at Medical University of South Carolina and Dr. Curtis Worthington, Curator of the Waring Library, Medical University of South Carolina, is that this is a portion of an early microscope. Further identification of this piece is warranted. It is possible that this piece belonged to Charles Drayton, noted for his botanical and scientific concerns.

*The Furniture Group:* Furniture items were also noticeably sparse, comprising 0.17% of the assemblage. Most common were the brass tacks associated with upholstery in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Five tacks, featuring a square shank with pointed end and a domed top, were

recovered. Also appropriate to the 18th century were two curtain rings. These flat rings measure about 1" in diameter, and file marks are visible on the edges. Such rings are found consistently on Charleston townhouse sites. A small brass finial and two fragments of decorative brass completed

The Tobacco Group: White kaolin tobacco pipe fragments, associated with tobacco smoking in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, comprised 3.0% of the assemblage. The pipe group was equally divided among stem fragments and bowl fragments.

The Activities Group: The final group, termed Activities, comprised 1.2% of the assemblage. Included here were fragments of iron barrel straps, representing storage containers, and fragments of melted lead. Most notable was a horseshoe, complete with nails, a most unusual find (figure 22). Two other fragments of horse shoes were recovered. The final items were two fragmentary tools, too incomplete for identification.

# Table 2 Artifacts Recovered from Locus 22

# Kitchen Artifacts

non-1 '

porceiain, b/w oriental	58	1.	
porcelain, overglazed	7	olive green glass	653
British brown stoneware	27	clear container glass	46
Westerwald stoneware	8	aqua container glass	68
grey salt-glazed stoneware	13	table glass	13
White salt-glazed stoneware	15	cutlery	2
Scratch Blue stoneware	2	Iron kettle frag	3
Nottingham stoneware	2		
Elers Ware	2	wrought nail	662
Black Basalt stoneware	2	cut nail	138
misc. stonewares	13	unidentified nail	178
Creamware	320	nail fragment	230
Pearlware, undecorated	42	copper nail	2
Pearlware, shell edged	16	window glass, aqua	473
Pearlware, blue hand paint	7	flat glass, clear	1
Pearlware, polychrome h p	1	misc hardware	2
Pearlware, transfer printed	0	0:	
Pearlware, annular	21	flint/flint frag	11
Pearlware, mocha	24 1	lead shot	3
Jackfield ware	7	musket part	2
Astbury ware	2	shotgun shell	2
Faience	2		
Delft, undecorated	2	button, 1-hole bone 1	
Delft, blue on white	44	prosser button 1	
Delft, polychrome	9	brass button 1	1
Slipware, combed & trailed	1	pewter button 4	
	141	iron button	

12	1 11 0	
13	buckle frag	3
14	bead	2
48	scissors	1
17		
2	microscope part	1
11	lead seal	1
3	key	1
3		
843	furniture tack	5
111	curtain ring	2
1	finial/dec brass	3
749		
73	pipe bowl frag	89
	pipe stem	80
120	misc strap metal	50
11	misc lead	8
	tool	3
	horse shoe	4
	13 14 48 17 2 11 3 3 843 111 1 749 73 120 11	13buckle frag14bead48scissors1772microscope part11lead seal3key3843111curtain ring1finial/dec brass7497373pipe bowl fragpipe stem120misc strap metal11misc lead10horse shoe

 Table 3

 Comparison of Locus 22 to Carolina Artifact Pattern

	Locus 22		Carolina Artifact Pattern	
Kitchen	3,587	64.5%	60.3%	
Architecture	1,689	30.3%	23.9%	
Arms	18	0.32%	0.5%	
Clothing	24	0.43%	3.0%	
Personal	3	0.05%	0.2%	
Furniture	10	0.17%	0.2%	
Pipes	109	3.04%	5.8%	
Activities	65	1.16%	1.7%	



Figure 14. Examples of Yaughan variety colonoware rims and complicated-stamped pottery.

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Figure 16. Examples of hand-wrought nails.



Figure 17. Key, clinched nail.





Figure 21. Possible microscope lense piece.



# Chapter V Fieldwork and Laboratory analysis, Locus 20

Designation as Locus 20 follows from the work of Espenshade and Roberts (1991:113), who noted a low density scatter of 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century artifacts, with 18<sup>th</sup> century artifacts the most common. Espenshade found no evidence of structures or features during their work. Historical research suggests that the area has likely been part of a garden, or manipulated landscape, since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This area may have been the site of the Revolutionary War camp (Hadley, personal communication; <u>www.draytonhall.org/about</u>). The 1796 sketch of the plantation gardens by Charles Drayton depicts this area as a naturalistic garden, with serpentine paths (Landscape Master Plan 2003:16); this may or may not have been the first garden design. The area was subject to some clearing and destruction during the Civil War, and was likely open during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This area was redesigned and planted with trees and bushes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; Miss Charlotta Drayton is credited with planting many of the azaleas in this location. By the time of acquisition by the National Trust in 1974, the area was heavily overgrown. A fair bit of the under-story vegetation was cleared in the late 1970s. There was continued clearing, and some prudent planting, in the 1980s-1990s. Hurricane Hugo in 1989 took a heavy toll on vegetation throughout the property, and removed many trees from the Locus 20 area. Removal of the mature canopy trees exposed the area to additional sunlight, which has stressed the shade-tolerant azaleas and other bushes in this area. The goal of the proposed landscape plantings is to mediate this situation, particularly for the shade-loving azaleas.

### **Goals**

Excavations at Locus 20 were designed with the simultaneous goals of mitigating damage to the archaeological record caused by preservation efforts and researching the landscape in this portion of the property. The azaleas, planted by Miss Charlotta Drayton in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, are a shade-loving tree. They have been adversely impacted by the loss of trees in this area during Hurricane Hugo in 1989. Plans call for judicious planting of new shade trees, careful pruning, and continued irrigation (Landscape Master Plan 2003:64).

Prior to fieldwork, representatives from Wertimer & Associates placed pin flags in the proposed location for new trees. Excavation units were placed around these locations or adjacent to them, as allowed by existing bushes and roots (figure 23). Each unit was photographed relative to the location of the landscape flag prior to excavation. The units were located by triangulating with tapes from the N500 base line. Six 5' units, two 2.5' units, and five 1' units were excavated in this area (figure 24).

Elevation in Locus 20 was relatively low, and the soils here were loamy and wet. Heavy rains hampered fieldwork in this area, as the soils were slow to drain. The soils were also

characterized by concentrations of small phosphate nodules and pebbles of English flint. Overall, artifact density was very low. Some cultural features were encountered, but a lack of artifacts made dating of these features problematic.

### **Description of Units**

Excavations began with three 5' units, located on the south side of the central allee. Each was located around the landscape flag by triangulating from the N500 base line. Triangulation began with 20' squares, with points placed at 5' intervals along the triangulated grid lines. This was followed by triangulation of 5' units to reach the appropriate location.

N470E1140 was located closest to the river's edge, just south of the azalea bed bordering the allee. This relatively shallow unit contained two defined zones. Zone 1 was a very dark grey loamy sand (10yr3/1) containing root mat, about .5' deep. This was followed by a slightly lighter and browner (10yr3/2, very dark greyish brown) zone 2, excavated to a depth of .9' below ground surface. Two features were noted along the north wall of the unit, at the base of zone 1, and both appeared to be recent planting events. They were mapped and excavated. Feature 2 proved to be a recent post, with a distinct mold containing remnants of wood. Both features contained fragments of plastic, likely from planting tags. Each feature was excavated completely, and work resumed on zone 2. Excavation was halted at this point, .9' below surface. Here, the soil was a light, sterile sand in the northwestern half of the unit (10yr5/6, yellowish brown), while it remained darker in the southeastern half (10yr4/4, dark yellowish brown). There was no clear line dividing the two soil types, and therefore no separate designation was given. Two more features were present at this level. Feature 6 is a small round pit in the north wall; the profile suggests that the feature continues from zone 2. This appears to be a plant stain, and was not excavated. Feature 7 was a smaller plant stain, located in the south wall, and was not excavated. Both appeared to be landscape features of recent vintage. Excavations were halted at this level.

Unit N469E1020 was equally shallow, but contained a broader array of features. The unit also exhibited evidence of considerable mixing in the upper levels. The overlying .7' of soil were excavated as a deep zone 1, in two levels, and a shallower zone 2. Both zones contained quantities of small phosphate nodules and very small flint nodules and pebbles. Samples of each were retained. Sterile yellow sand (10yr5/6, yellowish brown), very hard-packed, was encountered at .75' below surface. Three features were visible intruding into the sterile soil. Feature 4 was a small pit located in the southwest corner of the unit. The feature was filled with brown sand and red brick dust. It initiated near the top of the unit and contained blue plastic, suggesting a planting event of recent vintage. The eastern half of the unit contained a large. amorphous pit of bluish clay mixed with sand. This suggests a deep feature, again likely a planting event, possibly a tree uprooted during Hurricane Hugo. This was designated feature 3. Features 3 and 4 were not excavated. Feature 5, however, located in the central portion of the unit, exhibited soil color and shape consistent with 19th century plant features. This was an oval stain of dark greyish brown sand (10yr4/3). The color and texture of the soil, as well as the configuration of the feature, suggests that feature 5 represents a planting stain from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or earlier. Excavation of half of the feature revealed a pit with sloping sides and an

uneven, pointed bottom, suggesting a square shovel cut. The feature exhibited a maximum depth of 1.1'

Unit 475E975 was located on the south side of the allee, closest to the ha-ha. This unit was deep, and was filled from top to bottom with a homogenous loamy dark grey soil (10yr3/2). Artifacts were most numerous in this unit, and zone 1 level 1 contained some fragments of bottle glass - olive green, clear, amber, and aqua - as well as two fragments of pearlware and a sherd of colonoware. A tinned button in level 3 probably dates to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The dominant item in the unit was chunks of phosphate - the phosphate increased toward the base of the unit. Lighter sterile sand was encountered 1.4' below surface, and the bottom sloped toward the center of the unit.

Two 5' units were located on the north side of the allee. N535E995 was located some distance from the azalea bushes, in an area of open lawn slated for a shade tree. This unit was rather shallow, and sterile grey soil (10y45/1) was encountered 1.1' below surface. Two zones were defined; zone 1 was a black humus (10yr2/1), while zone 2 was slightly lighter and browner (10yr3/2, very dark greyish brown). No features were noted in the unit. Artifacts consisted of a pipe stem, three fragments of olive green glass, four of clear glass, and one fragment of historic aboriginal pottery. Fragments of flint were still common. N529E1060 was located adjacent to the azaleas on the north side of the allee, and was positioned to avoid the azalea roots as much as possible. Stratigraphy and content of this unit was the same. Any cultural materials were retrieved from zone 1. Zone 2 contained heavy amounts of phosphate and little else. Overall the soils were very wet, and sterile soil, 1' below ground surface, was just above the water table.

Based on the results of these five units, archaeologists and staff at Drayton Hall agreed that all tree locations along the allee should be tested, but that large units were likely not necessary. The remaining tree locations in the lawn would be tested with 2.5' squares. The tree locations in the azalea hedge would be shovel tested, to minimize impact to the azalea roots.

Four 2.5' units were excavated. Each was excavated by natural zones to sterile subsoil. N490E1055 was excavated between the azalea hedge and the southern edge of the allee. The unit exhibited similar stratigraphy, and contained only flint, granite, and phosphate. A single fragment of clear glass was recovered from zone 1. N525E975 was 1.0' deep and excavated in two zones. Very dark greyish brown soil (10yr3/2) continued in the west half of the unit at this point. Two olive green bottle glass fragments, as well as flint and phosphate, were recovered. N515E1025 was located on the north side of the allee, and was excavated to 1.1' below surface. Flint was the only material recovered. A possible feature was noted at the base of the test unit. N475E1075 was the most interesting small unit. Discovery of a planting stain led to expansion of the unit, to 2.5' by 3.5'. This revealed two features. Feature 8 was a roughly rectangular planting hole, containing a heavy felt bag. John Kidder suggests that this method has been used to transplant bushes at Drayton Hall in the last decade, and so the feature is probably modern. The feature was encountered at the base of zone 1 level 2, and was filled with a mottled brown and yellow sand. Beneath this was a homogenous brown sand pit, likely an earlier planting event. Feature 9 was sampled, as well. Neither feature contained any artifacts.

Shovel tests within the azalea hedges were excavated at N515E1180, N510E1145, N480E1155, N510E1115, and N520E1000. Flint was the only material recovered from the five tests.

			Locus 20	
	Unit	Size	Features	Assemblage
1.	N470E1140	5x5	features 1, 2, 6, 7	clear glass, colonoware
2.	N469E1020	5x5	features 3, 4, 5	nail, glass, prehistoric pottery, window glass
3.	N475E975	5x5	no features	brass button, colonoware, pearlware, bottle glass
4.	N535E995	5x5	no features	bottle glass, pipe stem, hist aborig pottery
5,	N529E1060	5x5	no features	bottle glass, pipe stem
6.	N490E1055	2.5x2.5	no features	brick, glass
7.	N515E1075	2.5x2.5	possible feature	brick
8.	N475E1075	2.5x2.5	features 8, 9	colonoware, glass, brick
9.	N525E975	2.5x2.5	no features	brick
10.	N515E1180	1x1	no features	no matl.
11.	N510E1145	1x1	no features	no matl.
12.	N480E1155	1x1	no features	no matl.
13.	N510E1115	1x1	no features	no matl.
14.	N520E1000	1x1	no features	no matl

# Table 4Proveniences and Artifacts, Locus 20


Figure 23. Site map, Locus 20, showing grid points and excavation unit location.





Figure 24. Excavation in progress, Locus 20, facing northwest and southeast.



## Chapter VI Interpretations

Though limited in scope, the test excavations at Drayton Hall provided some tantalizing data. Excavations were more productive at Locus 22, but each area provided some additional information on ongoing questions. The data retrieved during the 2003 testing may be considered relative to previous work, and ongoing research, to formulate a plan for further investigation. Taken together, the data retrieved suggests that Locus 22 may indeed be the site of the colonial slave settlement. The soils contained primarily materials from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting that the site was abandoned after 1810. The high proportion of Yaughan colonoware is consistent with other slave villages in the lowcountry. The features encountered suggest that more extensive excavations could reveal evidence of structures in this area. Locus 22 presents an excellent venue for the continued study of African American life in colonial South Carolina. The analysis of recovered colonowares builds on two decades of careful study by Ron Anthony and others, and suggests that the Drayton Hall collection exhibits some new characteristics. The suggestion that Locus 20 was utilized as gardens was somewhat supported by the limited testing. Further work should be planned, in concert with the Landscape Master Plan, and with long-term research and interpretation goals at Drayton Hall. Preliminary interpretations for both loci are reviewed below.

## Locus 20 and Landscape Archaeology

Overall, testing at Locus 20 was successful only in mitigating damage to the archaeological record to be caused by planting. Fourteen units revealed an area with low, damp soils, heavy concentration of phosphate, and very few artifacts and cultural features. There is, however, evidence of planting that dates to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and some planting stains that predate the century. At this point, a lack of horizontal patterning and lack of datable artifacts renders it impossible to ascribe a period or function to the earlier features (features 5 and 9). The overall appearance of the soil fill and the shape of these two features, in comparison to other lowcountry garden features (Zierden 2001, 2003), suggests a 19<sup>th</sup> century date of deposition, and possibly a colonial origin. Considerably more fieldwork will be necessary to date these garden features and to determine the pattern, if any, of the garden.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the current work is the consistent presence of small flint nodules. Such material could simply be dumped ballast, or it could be remnants of paving material for garden paths. Little is known at present about paving materials for garden paths in the lowcountry. While crushed oyster shell seems to be the most common (see Zierden 2001), there are references to gravel, as well. Presently, the flint does not appear to be patterned or concentrated, and it is possible that former paths have been destroyed by 20<sup>th</sup> century activities. A great deal of further work is necessary to determine this, however. Recent projects, both in the lowcountry and elsewhere in the southern colonies, have demonstrated that garden archaeology

requires extensive block excavation to adequately read the patterning of colonial gardens (Zierden 2001; see Kelso 1990; Luccketti 1990; Weber et al. 1990; Leone and Shackel 1990). This is particularly true for naturalistic gardens, as suggested by Charles Drayton's 1796 plan (figure 25).

Scholars from a host of disciplines have argued the necessity to consider an entire property, not just the main house, when studying and interpreting an historic site. Drayton Hall has been a pioneer in this effort, and current interpretation includes all aspects of the property from all time periods. These efforts, however, are tempered by the uneven survival of landscape elements. Missing, for example, are most of the work buildings and all of the structures occupied by the enslaved residents of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The main house, retinue of service buildings, work yards, gardens, paths, fences, walls, and waterfront were integrated parts of a whole, each dependent on the other for both function and definition (see Deetz 1990). Archaeology has been used to examine many of these features through the decades of ownership by the National Trust.

An integral component of elite colonial homes was a formal garden. As with their buildings, Charlestonians copied English and other European garden styles, but melded them with the physical conditions of their American setting and their community self-image. Along with houses, furnishings, and fashionable possessions, gardens were "...statements of wealth and the right to own it" (Kryder-Reid 1994:131). A garden was "an extension of the parlor, a place where polite people walked and conversed"; fences, vegetation, and other visual barriers separated the garden from areas unrefined (Sarudy 1989; Bushman 1992:130). Barbara Sarudy has expanded this metaphor further in her analysis of garden furniture - Charleston area residents often moved themselves and their furniture outside in search of cooling breezes (Sarudy 1995). Besides providing a stage for genteel performances, the house and garden were themselves performers on their own stage (Bushman 1992:132).

Certainly the careful siting and architectural embellishments of Drayton Hall suggest that the house was deliberately placed for optimal viewing. Such a house would have been complemented by formal garden surroundings. Indeed, Michael van Valkenburgh and his associates suggest that the 1796 plan indicates that Charles Drayton was "exceptionally advanced as a connoisseur of garden design" and that the plan is "...a rare example of the marriage of a symmetrical garden plan within the larger framework of a naturalistic composition" (Van Valkenburgh 2003: 27). The 1989 investigations by Thomas Wheaton successfully identified the orangerie as an early and significant feature of a carefully contrived garden. His limited work suggests that the orangerie is well preserved in the archaeological record, and that additional work will likely reveal important new data. It is likely that other landscape features are equally well preserved below ground (figures 25 and 26).

Like the service buildings, survival of visible garden elements at Drayton Hall is uneven; a lack of visual elements challenges interpretation efforts at historic properties. One of the challenges in interpreting such a garden and landscape is that gardens such as this, even if no longer extant, were subject to the dynamics of both cultural and natural change, and the changing

views of successive owners (see figure 27). These issues, and others, are discussed eloquently, and extensively, in the Landscape Master Plan (2003) The Plan proposes long-term archaeological research on the Drayton Hall landscape, utilizing non-invasive methods whenever possible (2003:69). The research at locus 20 suggests that such an approach would be challenging, but likely productive.

#### Patterning and Distribution at Locus 22

Testing at Locus 22 included 23 test units and three shovel tests, and covered an area measuring 150' by 175'. This area had received only minimal testing by Lewis in 1975, by New York University in 1980, and by Brockington & Associates in 1991. The site-wide shovel testing by Brockington, for example, included only five shovel tests in this area; all were positive (Espenshade 1991:115). The testing conducted in 2003 provides the first detailed examination of content and spatial patterning for this portion of the Drayton Hall property, believed to be the locus of the colonial slave community (figures 28-32). Content has been discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 4; this section discusses spatial distribution in Locus 22.

Considerable variation in soil color, artifact content, and depositional sequence was noted across Locus 22. Most prominent was the dramatic soil color change noted in the northeast section of the test area. Six excavation units - those north of N720 and east of E260 - contained a dark grey-brown soil (10yr3/1). Two adjoining units - N705 E255 and N710 E155 - contained a soil type that was transitional between this dark midden and the lighter brown (10yr4/2) sand found elsewhere on the site. The transitional nature of these units suggests that this soil color change is the result of historical and occupational events, and not the result of ground disturbance. This is particularly significant in light of the realignment and construction of the entry road on the west and northern borders of locus 22 in 1974. The current data suggests that the dark soil is the result of human habitation, and the refuse disposal practices that cycle organic materials into the ground (Schiffer 1977). Further, the physical boundaries of the soil color may be used to predict location of yard activity areas, relative to structure location, in this vicinity. Finally, soil color may be used to effectively guide future excavations at the site.

It is also noteworthy that the features encountered at Locus 22, particularly the possible structural post stains, are <u>not</u> located in this dark midden soil. Rather, those discovered to date are located west of the midden, in the N705 line. Here, the ditch and the posts appear to be 18<sup>th</sup> century features. Artifact distribution lends further support to interpretation of this area as the site of a structure.

The preliminary analysis discussed in Chapter IV indicated no temporal sequencing for this site. All of the materials recovered date to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and there was little horizontal or vertical variation in the dates of the artifact assemblages. Therefore, the artifacts were analyzed

by horizontal location - by excavation unit - using a variety of measures. This revealed some interesting intrasite patterning that may guide future studies.

Total artifacts per unit are shown in figure 33. This reveals considerable variation across the site, ranging from a low number of 13 in N580 E245 to 829 in N735 E290. Artifacts generally increased as one moved north across the site. There is, however, a dramatic increase in artifacts within the dark midden squares. There is also a notable increase between the E235 and the E255 units along the N705 line. This further supports the interpretation of the dark soil as kitchen midden.

An additional method used by The Charleston Museum to measure the 'organic' or 'trashy' nature of sites is to calculate the number of artifacts recovered per cubic foot of soil. This mitigates against units of comparable dimensions, but varied depth. In downtown Charleston, where refuse is often denser overall than on dispersed rural sites, artifact density has ranged from 10 artifacts per cubic foot to 25 artifacts per cubic foot (materials such as brick, mortar, slate, charcoal, and bone are not included in these calculations. They are normally tabulated separately, as weights.) Artifact density by unit is shown in figure 34. Again, there is considerable variation across the site, with a gradual increase from south to north. N580 E245 was the least dense, with 0.65 artifacts per cubic foot. This low density continued along the N650 line, with the exception of N650 E260, the deep unit located in the possible low area. This increase in materials was noted in the colonoware tabulations, as well. This may reflect deliberate discard in a swampy area, or may reflect post-depositional movement of soils through natural causes.

Artifacts were also sparse in the N705 E200 block, where the post features were clustered. Artifact density increases to the east of this, with 3.9 artifacts per cubic foot in the E235 units and a dramatic jump to 12.0 artifact per cubic foot in the E255 units. Again, the six units located in the dark midden contained a large number of artifacts, ranging from 12.0 artifacts per cubic foot of soil to a high of 23.6 artifacts per cubic foot in N735 E290. Taken together, these tabulations suggest that the dark soil marks the location of focused refuse disposal for this portion of the site.

Interpretation of the dark soil as midden, and indeed of the entire locus as a habitation area, is tempered somewhat by the overall lack of faunal remains (animal bone) recovered at the site. Faunal remains are an important component of archaeological sites, and inform on a number of issues. Faunal material was evidently more numerous in the area of the main house and flanker buildings (Lewis 1978:99). Only 803 grams of bone were recovered from the present excavation. While the bone that was recovered came primarily from the midden area (see figure 35), the overall amount is somewhat low. Interestingly, the second 'concentration' of faunal remains, though fewer, was noted in the N705 E200 block. The distribution of faunal remains, then, mirrors the distribution of architectural material.

One possible reason for the lack of faunal remains may be preservation. Preservation of bone is usually good on historic sites in the lowcountry, due to the alkaline nature of most midden soil. High ph for bone preservation is enhanced by the presence of calcium in the soil. On historic sites this is often provided by oyster shell and by lime mortar, made from oyster shell. Almost all lowcountry sites are marked by a scatter of crushed oyster shell. Shell was noticeably sparse at Locus 22, as was mortar. The lack of bone, then, may be due to preservation rather than site formation processes.

A different pattern is noted, however, when the distribution of architectural materials nails, window glass, and hardware - is considered. Figure 36 shows the relative proportion of architectural materials to total artifacts by unit. Most British colonial domestic sites average 30% architectural items, as calculated for the Carolina Artifact Pattern (South 1977). Architectural items are sparse in the south half of the locus. There are also relatively sparse in the extreme northern portion of the site, even in the midden area. The N730 to N735 units contain 20-25% architectural items. This jumps in the N715 to N720 units in the midden; these three units contain 42% to 48% architectural materials. These proportions are mirrored in the N705 E200 block. Even though the overall artifact count is much lower, architectural artifacts averaged 45% of the total count. The proportion drops in the group of four units located between these two: architectural items range from 16% to 29% in the E235 and E255 units.

A comparable trend can be seen in the distribution of brick rubble, by weight. Figure 37 shows brick weight totals per unit, and brick weight per cubic foot of soil. The latter statistic is the more graphic. Brick increases along the N705 E200 block and in the N705 E235 units. It decreases in the E255 units, and then again is high in the midden soils. There is little north/south differentiation among the six midden units, as seen in the architectural artifacts. The overall amount of brick recovered is not enough to suggest brick structures; rather the brick may have been used for foundation piers, for chimneys, or for structural support. This bears further investigation. These patterns, coupled with the presence of the post features, may suggest a line of structures, tending east/west, in this area. Certainly, these figures should be used to guide future excavations.

#### **Colonoware**

For many North American archaeologists the prime reason, or perhaps the only reason, for doing archaeology is to do anthropology. It is the justification for the systematic or the calculated destruction of a cultural resource, a non-renewable resource, in order to learn about cultural behavior. An interest in understanding human behavior is often the dominant personal motivation for archaeologists doing archaeology. Additionally, this archaeological research objective of explaining cultural behavior is often a prime message archaeologists try to convey to the public and new anthropology students who, to a large degree, think that archaeology is recovering interesting or valuable "baubles" from the past or, at best, simply documenting, rather than understanding the past.

Within the last 25 years or so archaeological investigations of South Carolina plantations have moved away from particularistic approaches toward more anthropologically oriented research (cf. Drucker and Anthony 1979; Lees 1980; Wheaton et al 1983; Zierden et al 1986; Trinkley et al 1995; Cooper and Steen 1998). Accompanying this re-direction in research focus has been an increasing use of interdisciplinary techniques and the search for behavioral patterns, often integrated into a general-systems-theory framework.

Since the late 1970s the accelerated interest in plantation archaeology has seemed grown with an increasing interest in what many refer to as African-American archaeology. Indeed, some scholars would likely argue that the continuing popularity of South Carolina plantation archaeology has actually been the result of an ever-increasing research interest in African-American archaeology. Theresa Singleton states that, "The archaeological study of African American life has become a well-established research interest within American historical archaeology". (Singleton 1999:1). Furthermore, she correctly notes that most topics in African-American archaeology have concerned themselves with the fascinating study of cultural interaction and change. Those anthropologically oriented studies that have focused on cultural interaction have generally focused on the results of interaction between African Americans and European Americans. Recently, however, more attention has been given to the role of Native Americans in the formation of "Southern Society" by investigating the cultural interactions among African Americans, and Native Americans (cf. Anthony 2002).

Several well-known plantation investigations have utilized cultural interaction and change to help explain the findings (cf. Otto 1975; Wheaton et al 1983; 1985, Zierden et al 1986; Ferguson 1992). This has been accomplished by conceptualizing various mechanisms of culture change such as cultural loss, innovation, diffusion, and acculturation (Haviland 2003). The anthropological concept of acculturation, major culture changes that people are forced to make as a result of intensive interaction among societies, was perhaps initially used principally as an explanatory frame. However, some scholars believed that a Eurocentric bias was inherent in such interpretation (Singleton 1999). In an effort to be objective, several scholars began to use the term *creolization* when discussing culture change and formation as a result of encounters by different cultural groups in colonial and antebellum America. Creolization, "...the building of a new culture from diverse elements." (Ferguson 1992:150), unlike acculturation, emphasizes creativity and expresses mutual exchange and contribution by all cultures in contact. The use of creolization embraces another traditional anthropological concept, that of *syncretism*. Syncretism, a result of acculturation, is a term that refers to "... the blending of indigenous and foreign traits to form a new system."(Haviland 2003:728).

Colonoware, a product of culture contact, reflects the emergence of new cultural systems; new systems forged as African Americans, European Americans, and Native Americans adapted to unfamiliar physical and social settings. This low-fired earthenware perhaps is our best and, to date, most studied material example of syncretism from colonial and antebellum South Carolina plantation contexts. In South Carolina the accelerated interest in colonoware has generally tracked with the increasing pace of plantation archaeology, and more recently, the investigation of colonial and antebellum urban contexts.

Colonoware is an unglazed, locally made low-fired earthenware. Distributed within the mid- and south-Atlantic states, the majority of these ceramics were manufactured during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Originally called Colono-Indian ware (Noel Hume 1962) by Virginia archaeologists, these ceramics were first thought to have been exclusively produced by historic period Native Americans as a "market ware" for sale to European Americans. Recognizing that this ware found in South Carolina exhibited certain formal, decorative, and manufacturing characteristics atypical of the market wares produced by Native Americans during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and also noting the high frequency of occurrence of this pottery at plantation sites, Leland Ferguson (1980) hypothesized that much of this ware found at plantation sites was manufactured and used by enslaved Africans and/or African Americans. He suggested (1980) that the term colonoware, rather than Colono-Indian, be used to refer to this low-fired earthenware, a broad classification analogous to a term such as British ceramics. Thus, the modified name of this hand built pottery refers to unglazed low fired earthenware believed to have been manufactured and used by both African Americans as well as historic period Native Americans.

In South Carolina, early support of Ferguson's hypothesis, regarding the makers and users of colonoware, was provided by archaeological investigations of the slave site at Spiers Landing (Anthony 1979; Drucker and Anthony 1979) and by the work at Yaughan and Curriboo plantations (Wheaton et al 1983). Colonoware from these sites comprise more than half of the total number of ceramic assemblages recovered. Additionally, analysis of the colonoware from the Yaughan and Curriboo sites revealed some colonoware sherds with spalling marks. This observation, along with the possible occurrence of unfired colonoware sherds at these sites, provided early evidence of on-site manufacture of colonoware ware was recovered by Lewis (1978; n.d.) near the Drayton Hall plantation main house. This evidence was a colonoware bowl basal fragment that had been incised with the initials "MHD" before it had been fired. The initials may stand for Mary Henrietta Drayton who resided at Drayton Hall plantation from the 1780s into the 1840s (Lewis n.d.; Ferguson 1992).

Colonoware research in South Carolina has traditionally focused on:

- 1. spatial and temporal distribution,
- 2. variation, including ceramic vessel and non-vessel items,
- 3. changes in function, and
- 4. Ethnic affiliation of the producers and users of colonoware.

During the last 25 years or so, the investigation of colonoware has been performed at varying scales of analysis. Some researchers have studied collections of essentially "whole"

vessels, attempting interregional comparative analyses, while others, principally using data from cultural resource management (CRM) investigations, have delved into intra-regional study of these wares (e.g. Anthony 1979, 1986; Wheaton et al 1983; Crane 1993; Trinkley et al 1995; Espenshade 1996; Ferguson 1992). Those who have studied colonoware intra-regionally have noticed for some time considerable morphological variability in lowcountry colonoware.

Advocating the importance of intra-regional colonoware research, Cooper and Steen (1998) have cogently presented the pitfalls associated with excessively broad-scaled studies. Their position acknowledges colonoware variability and diversity. Cooper and Steen (1998:1) warn that many of the "macro scale" or interregional studies have "…removed colonoware from its context of manufacture and use." In other words, empirical data gleaned from large-scale studies of colonoware have been used to investigate local assemblages, an exercise that often does not appreciate notable intra-regional variability. A method such as this, decontextualizing colonoware, will obscure sought-after cultural meaning available primarily through the study of localized operative cultural processes reflected in this low-fired earthenware.

One of the primary anthropological research values ascribed to colonoware is the belief that it represents one of the best surviving examples of tangible evidence of culture contact in the South (Anthony 2002). Colonoware expresses the dynamics, complexities, diversity, and energy of cultural encounters in the colonial South. Thus, it offers an opportunity to examine and understand cultural interaction and change among African-American, European-American, and Native American populations during the colonial period.

Several researchers have noted that some colonoware vessels clearly reflect a blend of African-American, European-American, and Native American traditions (Wheaton et al 1983; Anthony 1986; Ferguson 1992; Cooper and Steen 1998). Containers that readily demonstrate this mix include foot-ringed bowls, various multi-podal vessels, vessels with strap and loop handles, teapots, chamber pots, pitchers, Dutch oven-like vessels, shallow pans with crenellated (pie crust) rims, among others.

In South Carolina much of the investigation of colonoware has focused on integrating its functional and expressive social elements with socioeconomic status and spatial distribution within rural, and lately, urban contexts (Anthony 1979, 1986; Drucker and Anthony 1979; Wheaton et al 1983; Ferguson 1985,1992; Isenbarger 2001). Several of the earliest of these investigations were concerned with a search for ethnicity, an effort to correlate particular named working categories of colonoware with particular socioeconomic groups. Initially, a prime motivation for pursuing this objective was simply the need to determine basic site function at many undocumented historic sites. The early investigation of these ceramics from many of these South Carolina sites demonstrated that pronounced variation among colonoware assemblages can occur from site to site, as well as within the confines of a single site. Traditionally, variation has been most evident in vessel form, surface treatment, and paste characteristics. Analysis of the colonoware and historic Aboriginal pottery from the James Stobo plantation, near the historic town of Willtown in

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southern Charleston county, strongly suggests that much of the paste variation noted in lowcountry colonoware assemblages may be explained by the presence of previously unrecognized historic aboriginal inspired or made pottery within these assemblages (Anthony 2002). Today, information derived from descriptive analysis continues to provide baseline data useful for formulating hypotheses of models of colonial and early antebellum lifeways and adaptations.

The present research effort in the area designated as Locus 22 at Drayton Hall plantation yielded 1,031 identifiable (non-residual) colonoware sherds and one complete vessel. Previous excavations by Lynne Lewis (1978, n.d.) in the vicinity of the main house yielded about 12,000 colonoware sherds. This assemblage represented approximately 28% of the household ceramics recovered by Lewis (n.d.). Most of the Locus 22 (70%, n =725) colonoware assemblage was recovered from five (5' x 5') excavation units in the northern area of the tested locus, within a midden area of the site. As depicted in Table 5, this colonoware assemblage was analyzed using three well-published classifications (Wheaton et al 1983 and Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Anthony 1986; Ferguson1989). A fourth unnamed category was used to segregate colonowares that are believed to have been produced or inspired by historic period Native Americans (cf. Anthony 2002).

# Table 5Colonoware From Locus 22

<u>Classification</u> Yaughan	Frequency 843
River Burnished	1
Historic Aboriginal Colonoware	76*
TOTAL	1,031

\*includes one red-filmed sherd

The majority (82%, n = 843) of the colonoware recovered during the present study has been classified as Yaughan colonoware (see figure 14). Yaughan ceramics are found most often in association with African-American slave occupations and are thought by many to have been made and used by enslaved Africans and/or African Americans. Vessel forms dominating Yaughan assemblages include convex-sided, rounded to slightly flat-bottomed hemispherical bowls and both large and small globular jars with everted rims and gently rounded bottoms. As is the case with the Locus 22 Yaughan collection, bowls normally far outnumber jar forms in

Yaughan assemblages. At Locus 22 (74%, n = 90), of the identified Yaughan rimsherds reflected bowl forms. Vessel forms represented at Locus 22 included hemispherical bowls, globular jars (two with loop handles), one possible chamber pot, and one possible bottle. No multi-podal vessels were observed. Unlike River Burnished, and to a lesser degree Lesesne Lustered, Yaughan pottery generally exhibits a laminar looking paste. The laminar paste and a lack of coil breaks indicate that Yaughan colonoware was manufacturing by hand modeling rather than by a coiling method. Yaughan ceramics, characterized by a medium-coarse paste with fine (1/8 to 1/4 millimeter) to medium (1/4 to 1/2 millimeter) sub-rounded to sub-angular sand, is usually thickerwalled than other colonoware varieties. At Locus 22, Yaughan rimsherds proved to be thickerwalled than other varieties. Most of these rimsherds ranged in wall thickness (measured within 2 cm of the vessel lip) from .80 cm to 1.07 cm. Furthermore, Yaughan vessel wall thickness often is not uniform, unlike other colonoware varieties. Typically, Yaughan pottery surfaces are crudely smoothed and tactually rough to the touch. Burnishing with a stone, bone, or other tool has been observed, however, this burnishing is not as systematic or complete as found on River Burnished or Lesesne Lustered colonoware. In terms of surface modifications, overall Yaughan vessel lips seem to reflect the most variety. At Locus 22 Yaughan lip form variation was less than observed on colonoware from near the Drayton Hall planter house (cf. Lewis n. d.) and from many other lowcounry plantations as well. Most Yaughan vessel lips at Locus 22 were either rounded (63%) or flattened (33%) while others were scalloped (n = 1), finger impressed (n = 2), crenellated (n = 1) 1), notched (n = 1), or folded (n = 1).

Lesesne Lustered colonoware was a minority ware (11%, n = 111) at Locus 22. This colonoware variety, found in archaeological contexts dating from the early 18th to the early 19th centuries, lies morphologically between River Burnished and Yaughan earthenwares (Anthony 1986). The producers of this pottery are unknown; however, Lesesne Lustered is more frequently found in association with planter occupations and may represent a locally manufactured market ware (Anthony 1986, 2002). Like other varieties of colonoware, most examples of Lesesne Lustered vessels are bowls, both convex and, unlike most Yaughan colonoware, straight-sided bowls. Lesesne Lustered bowls have a tendency to have larger vessel orifices than Yaughan or River Burnished bowls; up to fourteen inches in diameter, in some cases. This large diameter suggests primarily a serving function for these bowls. Excavations near the Drayton Hall planter residence yielded bowls up to 13 inches in diameter (Lewis n.d.). At Locus 22, most (92%, n = 22) of the Lesesne Lustered rimsherds recovered during the present investigation represent bowls. Unfortunately, these rimsherds are too small for firmly determining the vessel orifice diameter of the represented vessels. Two remaining Lesesne Lustered rimsherds represent a jar and a possible soup plate. Additionally, a stub-stemmed Lesesne Lustered colonoware pipe stem fragment was also recovered (Figure 14). This rare non-container colonoware item, likely made by an African-American or Native American, exhibits morphological features that were originally associated with European-Americans. Thus, this uncommon artifact likely represents a tangible example of 18<sup>th</sup> century syncretism.

Lesesne Lustered ceramics are characterized by burnished or rubbed surfaces that are normally not as well burnished as River Burnished colonoware, however, they do often have a smooth, almost waxy feel. Additionally, Lesesne Lustered pottery is characterized by vessel walls that are generally thicker than most River Burnished vessels. Furthermore, Lesesne Lustered earthenware commonly, unlike Yaughan colonoware, has uniform vessel wall thickness. Usually exhibiting a fine to medium grained paste (and at times virtually temperless), Lesesne Lustered pottery is not as well fired as River Burnished colonoware. Furthermore, a laminar-looking paste is not as pronounced in Lesesne Lustered ceramics as it is in Yaughan colonoware.

A single sherd of River Burnished colonoware was observed during the present research effort. It was recovered from the northernmost (5' x 5') excavation unit. Lewis (n.d.) recovered almost 500 sherds of this pottery from cultural deposits in close proximity to the Drayton Hall main house. River Burnished colonoware is a thin, well-fired, well-burnished earthenware, usually with a micaceous paste. Ferguson (1985, 1989) suggests that this earthenware dates from the late 18th into the 19th century. The notable low frequency of River Burnished pottery in Locus 22, an 18th century occupation area, suggests that this colonoware variety is primarily a 19th century phenomenon (cf. Anthony 2002). Vessel shapes include straight-sided unrestricted bowls with flat to slightly rounded bottoms as well as relatively straight or vertical-necked jars (Ferguson 1985; Anthony 1986). Jars may have lug or strap handles which were attached by plugs that were inserted into holes in vessel walls and smoothed on the inside (Ferguson 1985, 1989; Trinkley et al 1995). Although generally sharing some of the physical attributes with other varieties of colonoware, River Burnished is most easily distinguished by its relatively hard, wellfired, non-laminar paste, often micaceous with fine sand, and relatively thin vessel walls. Several researchers attribute its manufacture to Native American populations collectively known as the Catawba (Baker 1972; Wheaton et al 1983, Schohn 2003). At times, River Burnished vessels exhibit painted surfaces that are most frequently painted in black and/or luminescent red. Designs observed include dots, lines, and floral motifs. Near the Drayton Hall main house, Lewis (n.d.) found 45 examples of this red and black painted pottery. Most of these ceramics exhibited painted dots and lines (Lewis n.d.). Several examples of this painted pottery, from downtown Charleston contexts, have been recently viewed by R. P. Stephen Davis Jr. and Michelle Schohn of the Research Labs of Anthropology of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Martha Zierden Personal Communication, 2003). Based on recent and on-going research, they believe that this pottery is likely Catawba made. Davis and his colleagues are currently investigating historic period Catawba sites as part of The Catawba Project (cf. Davis and Riggs 2003).

Seventy-five (7%) pieces of colonoware recovered from Locus 22 have been classified as historic aboriginal colonoware. This category of colonoware, initially used in the analysis of the colonoware from the James Stobo plantation near Willtown (Zierden et al 1999; Anthony 2002), is believed to have been produced by historic period aboriginals and/or produced and used by those interacting or having interacted with historic Native American populations. When lacking surface decorations, such as bold, poorly applied complicated stamped motifs, the most striking physical characteristic of this group of earthenware is its coarse paste with substantial quantities of sub-angular to angular coarse (1/2 to 1.0 millimeter) sand (Anthony 2002). This pottery also often exhibits very smooth almost burnished interior surfaces. These ceramics consist of both bowl and jar forms. Like other varieties of colonoware, bowls appear to outnumber jars. Bowls

can be either straight-sided, like most Lesesne Lustered and River Burnished bowls, or convexsided like most Yaughan colonoware bowls; most jar forms are characterized by everted rims. Soot has been observed on exterior surfaces of several of these ceramics from both Stobo plantation and Locus 22 at Drayton Hall plantation (Anthony 2002). Continued investigation of this category of colonoware is recommended. It is possible that much of the puzzling paste/temper variability observed within some lowcountry assemblages (cf. Anthony 1986; Trinkley et al 1995) may be explained by the presence of previously unrecognized historic aboriginal inspired or made pottery.

Also included within this classification of historic Native American pottery is a single sherd of earthenware found at Locus 22 referred to by several as "red filmed". Relatively little is presently known about lowcountry "red filmed" pottery. Some researchers suggest that it may be associated with historic Yamasee populations (Bill Green, personal communication, 2002; Bobby Southerlin 2003). Red filmed colonoware occurs mostly as bowl and jar forms. Evidently, bowl forms are more common (Bobby Southerlin, personal communication 2003). Red filming has been observed on both the interior and exterior of vessels. Its appearance on low-fired earthenware is similar to a "brick red" colored slip. A relatively substantial amount of red filmed colonoware has been recovered from Stono plantation (38CH851), located on the Stono River at James Island, South Carolina. Interestingly, the red filmed colonoware observed at Stono plantation has been almost exclusively recovered from the 18<sup>th</sup> century slave settlement. This James Island red filmed colonoware exhibits a paste which is very similar to that characterizing River Burnished colonoware.

Archaeologists are often asked by non-archaeologists, "What is the neatest or best artifact they have found"? A standard reply may be, " all artifacts are significant, and artifact patterns or associated sets and groups of artifacts usually provide more cultural information than individual artifacts". Acknowledging the expression, "there is always an exception to the rule" a case in point may very well be provided by one artifact, a small colonoware bowl, recovered from excavation unit N735 E290 at Locus 22 (Figure 15). This small hand-modeled bowl is incompletely oxidized and poorly fired. It is only 3.2 cm high with an oval shaped vessel orifice measuring 4.6 cm by 3.55 cm. This small Yaughan colonoware container exhibits convex sides and interior and exterior surfaces that are very crudely smoothed. Several areas of this little vessels exterior surface are "cracked" and uneven. No decoration or surface treatment is present on this poorly made vessel. Based primarily on its size and other physical characteristics, initial interpretation is that perhaps it is a colonoware vessel that was made by a child, a product of enculturation. Subjectively, the vessel does not seem to be a trade or market ware, a ritual or medicinal container, or even a vessel that is functional. A subjective scenario, easily imagined, is that of a small child mimicking, learning and/or practicing how to make a colonoware bowl by observing a parent, a relative, a community potter... Aside from this humanistic image, perhaps the most significant aspect of this small vessel makes is the actual location of manufacture. As mentioned above, limited evidence of on-site manufacture of colonoware exists. Given that this vessel is, 1) not a market ware and, 2) from a locale that is probably the Drayton Hall 18th century slave settlement and, 3) quite likely a vessel manufactured by a child, it is believed that

this petite vessel is probably the evidence to date for on-site (plantation) manufacturing of colonoware. This vessel is a rare object that should be carefully curated and minimally handled.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the colonoware observed from Locus 22 during the present study is the lack of variability and diversity present, relative to the colonoware recovered from the Drayton Hall main house area as well as to other 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century lowcountry plantation colonoware assemblages. This lack of variability is reflected in a low diversity of vessel forms and sizes, as well as other physical traits such as relative similarity in paste characteristics, color, lip treatment, and surface treatment. These data, along with the tight date for the Locus 22 deposits and the occurrence of the small vessel mentioned above, further supports the idea that much of the colonoware found at Locus 22 was manufactured on-site. This perhaps by a single potter or a lower number of potters than present at other lowcountry plantations. The colonoware bowl base incised with MHD recovered by Lewis (n.d.) further supports the notion of on-site manufacture of colonoware at Drayton Hall plantation. Much of the colonoware variety and diversity observed by Lewis (n.d.) in the assemblage she recovered from areas near the Drayton Hall main house, might be explained by the presence of "market wares" - specific vessel forms likely produced by historic period Native Americans and/or African Americans.

The relative morpological homogeneity characterizing the colonoware from Locus 22 along with the diversity evident in the colonoware assemblage from the main house area suggest the real need for pointed research questions and testable hypotheses concerning the temporal, social, and economic dynamics of colonoware manufacture, marketing, and use. Drayton Hall plantation and other similar sites offer invaluable opportunities to explore syncretism and other human behavior in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century lowcountry. As a product of culture contact among people of widely divergent cultural backgrounds, colonoware tangibly reflects the emergence of new cultural systems (Anthony 2002). Further intra-regional study of colonoware assemblages, such as those from Drayton Hall plantation, will provide an avenue to reconstruct and understand some of the processes of culture change experienced by pioneering African-American, European-American, and Native American people in contact during the colonial and early antebellum periods.

## **Summary and Recommendations**

The present study of the western portion of Locus 22 demonstrates that this area of Drayton Hall merits careful management. Cultural deposits and material culture recovered from test units support the suggestion that this is likely the location of the slave settlement, likely occupied only during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Several features encountered in units N705 E205 and N705 E210 likely reflect the location of one or more 18<sup>th</sup> century structures, possibly slave residences. Intact subsurface archaeological deposits were observed in most of the excavated units. The analysis presented in this chapter suggests that Locus 22 exhibits horizontal variability,

as well. Artifact frequency and feature variability within this area suggests that definition of activity areas is possible.

Research questions concerning slave community settlement patterning, diet, recycling behavior, and the emergence of new cultural systems are some of the research questions that can be addressed through further archaeological investigation of this area. It is recommended that future archaeological work in this area proceed as block excavations in areas of defined activity. Additional testing on the margins of the local is also warranted. Any additional research and analysis of this locus should be conducted under a broader framework of previous archaeological work at Drayton Hall, as reported by Lynne Lewis. Efforts should be made to compare the cultural features and artifact assemblages from Locus 22 with those of the main house, the flanker buildings, and other 18<sup>th</sup> century structures that have been investigated in the last three decades.

The archaeological remains at Locus 22 are an important part of the Drayton Hall landscape. Efforts should be maintained to protect this fragile and significant cultural resource. Any future ground disturbing activity in this locale should be, at minimum, carefully monitored.

Further investigation of the gardens and landscape on the river side of the house will require a broader approach. Landscapes and gardens on plantations such as Drayton Hall require very broad block excavations and subsurface investigation to determine patterning and content with any certainty. Such an approach would be expensive and time consuming; it would also have a significant impact on the surviving landscape. The limited investigations in Locus 20 suggest that an 18<sup>th</sup> century landscape is likely preserved in the archaeological record, but it will be challenging to define. Investigations might be more fruitful in the area between the ha-ha and the house, as Charles Drayton's 1796 plan suggests a more formal, and therefore more predictable, pattern in this area. Broad testing, followed by judiciously-selected block excavation, could reveal pattern and content in this area. Prior to that, a number of non-invasive techniques should be investigated. These might begin with close-interval contour mapping, to discern remnants of below-ground landscape features such as ditches, beds, and paths, followed by ground-penetrating radar and resistivity. Garden archaeology should be developed in close coordination with the landscape scholars working at Drayton Hall, in accordance with the newly-developed Landscape Master Plan.

The areas investigated in 2003 hold much promise for expanding knowledge and interpretation of daily life at Drayton Hall, for all residents. Archaeological research in these areas, and others, should build on the impressive body of data already available from previous excavation projects. Further, archaeological research should be conducted in close collaboration with scholars from a variety of disciplines, and planned within the guiding principals of preservation operating at Drayton Hall.



Figure 25. Detail of Charles Drayton's 1796 sketch of the landscape, showing a naturalistic pattern in the vicinity of Locus 20 (from van Valkenburgh 2003:28).



Figure 26. Gibbes' 1840s sketch of John Drayton's orangerie (from van Valkenburgh 2003:14.



Figure 27. 1896 river view of Locus 20, beneath the ha-ha (from van Valkenburgh 2003:21).



Figure 28. 1840s view from the Drayton Hall portico, facing northwest, from the Gibbes sketchbook (from van Valkenburgh 2003:46).



Figure 29. 1905 view from the Drayton Hall portico (from van Valkenburgh 2003:46).



Figure 30. 2003 view from the Drayton Hall portico, showing relation to Locus 22.



Figure 31. 1886 view of Drayton Hall on entrance axis, facing east (from van Valkenburgh 2003:51.



Figure 32. Current view of entrance axis and realigned service road, 18<sup>th</sup> century live oak, and excavations at Locus 22, facing west.











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