Archaeological Investigations of the Parsonage Site (38Ch1660): 2005 season



Archaeological Contributions 38 The Charleston Museum

August 2006

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by Martha A. Zierden and Ronald W. Anthony The Charleston Museum



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Prepared for:

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> the Knox family Willtown Plantation

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The laboratory work is the less visible and less glamorous part of a project, but is the largest. Laboratory intern Theresa Kennedy was responsible for the artifact washing and sorting. Identification was done by Ron Anthony and long-time volunteers Lee Stevens and Barbara Aldrich. Dr. William Turner conserved the metal artifacts recovered during the projects, thereby ensuring their long-term survival.

Chapter I Introduction

Background

Archaeological research at the "New Willtown Church" site by The Charleston Museum began in May 1997 when work was ongoing at the site of James Stobo's plantation on nearby Willtown Bluff, owned by Mr. Hugh C. Lane (Zierden et al. 1999: 95-104). Based on the description of the site by the Knox family and Mr. Dickie Godley, and research by Dr. Suzanne Linder and Mr. Jack Boineau, the sites on Willtown Plantation were presumed to be those of a second Presbyterian church, "built in the upper part of the congregation" in 1767. This church evidently burned in 1807. Nearby was a brick foundation, presumed to be the remains of the parsonage, as noted on a plat of 1815.

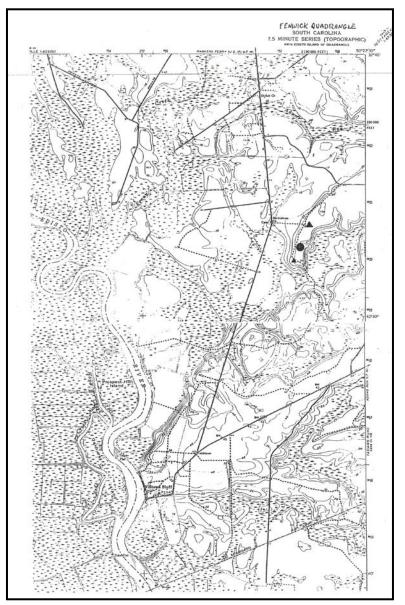
The parsonage site was the subject of limited surface collections in 1998, survey and testing in 2003, and block excavation in 2005. During each phase, the site yielded artifacts and architectural data of remarkable quantity and quality. These data were more consistent with successful colonial plantation sites than with materials expected at the home of a minister. A careful re-reading of the church records, published in 1960, suggests that the site did function much of the time as an income-producing plantation, rather than a parsonage. Therefore the site provides an opportunity to explore the colonial plantation economy as well as the ecclesiastical affairs of the Willtown community.

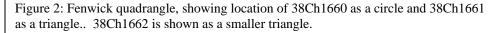


Figure 1: View of parsonage site, facing southeast. Photo taken in 2003, prior to excavation of the house foundation mound.

Site Description

The site known as the Parsonage, 38Ch1660 occupies a ridge of high land adjacent to freshwater swamps, a few miles from the historic village of Willtown on the South Edisto River. The site is accessed by a woods road, directly across from the Bethlehem cemetery, at the curve in Willtown Road. This location matches that shown in the 1815 plat of the Willtown Parsonage tract (McCrady Plat #4451). On this plat, an access road bisects a prominent building, while two smaller structures are shown to the south, closer to the edge of the freshwater swamp. This building has previously been interpreted as the church (or Meeting House), but may be the parsonage instead; the church was no longer standing when the plat was constructed. Currently, the woods road leads directly to the cemetery and presumed location of the church. The foundations of the parsonage are about one quarter mile to the south.





The parsonage site is marked by a rectangular mound of soil about 5' tall. The mound, as well as an exposed brick-lined well, are within a wooded area of mostly climax hardwood. Understory here is greatly reduced, or nearly absent, due to a carefully executed program of prescribed burning. The wooded area containing historic remains measures approximately 200' by 300'. The northern and eastern boundary of this area is a slough, or swampy area. The site is bounded to the west by a woods road running north/south, parallel to (secondary) State highway 38. The area around the wooded section, to the west and south, is an open field, plowed by Mr. Godley. The field was freshly plowed prior to our arrival, and had only moderate vegetation during the fieldwork (see figure 1). Visibility in both the field and the wooded area was very good.

Previous Research

During the 1997 site visit, artifacts were recovered from the church site (38Ch1661) and the presumed parsonage (38ch1660). A third site, consisting of a brick scatter and early 18th century artifacts, was noted in a plowed field south of the parsonage (38Ch1662). Above-ground features and surface artifacts at both the church and the parsonage sites conformed to expectation for such structures. The expected church site included a small cemetery with a number of tombstones dating to the late18th – early 19th century. Following the initial site visit, a number of test units were excavated in the vicinity of the church. The open area adjacent to the cemetery yielded hand-wrought nails and window glass typical of the second half of the 18th century, though the lack of brick from piers or foundation was unexpected and remains unexplained (Zierden, Linder and Anthony 1999:95-104).

The parsonage site contained more dramatic above-ground evidence, consisting of a rectangular earth mound, obviously covering a brick foundation. A range of domestic debris, including ceramics, bottle glass, and nails, were recovered from the ground surface near the mound. In 2002, the Knox family invited The Charleston Museum back to Willtown Plantation to continue exploration of this site (Zierden and Anthony 2003). Exploration continued in June 2005 with nearly complete exposure of the house foundation.

All of the projects were conducted by Ronald Anthony and Martha Zierden of The Charleston Museum, as part of the College of Charleston archaeological field school. The Museum archaeologists joined with College of Charleston professor Barbara Borg. Eighteen students participated in the 2003 project, and 16 students returned to the site in June 2005. The 2003 project included shovel testing and surface collecting of an area measuring 500' by 500', excavation of eight test units on the mound, and surface collecting the adjacent site (38Ch1662). The project demonstrated that the site is domestic, was occupied during the second half of the 18th century, and is remarkable in its state of preservation (Zierden and Anthony 2003).

The eight units excavated in the mound revealed that the brick foundation contained in 'the mound' is relatively intact. These units revealed the northwest corner of the building (exposed in three units) and the length of the eastern wall (exposed in five units). Exposure of three corners allowed computation of the building dimensions, roughly 23' by 34'. Exposure of the eastern wall also revealed an external chimney centered in this gable end (see inset, figure 8).

The 2005 project continued work on the house foundation, and 80% of the structure was exposed. These excavations exposed several architectural features that help define the structure as domestic. A significant assemblage of artifacts, from the 18th century midden surrounding the house, was retrieved. These materials provide information in the residents of the house and their daily activities.

Documentary Evidence

Information on the church and parsonage has been summarized in the history of Willtown Presbyterian Church written by Slann Legare Clement Simmons in 1960. Mrs. Simmons was Secretary of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina. This information is also contained in the site report on the colonial settlement of Willtown, based on research conducted in 1997-1998 (see Chapter 5 in Zierden, Linder, and Anthony 1999).

Following the decline of the Willtown community and the death of Minister Archibald Stobo in 1741, the Presbyterian Meeting House "at Wilton" stood vacant. The Reverend Archibald Simpson noted in 1754 that a "chapel of ease had been built in the upper part of the congregation." Dissention between members in the 'south district' who preferred to remain at Willtown, and the 'north district' ensued during this time. Reverend Simpson noted continued contention during the subsequent decade, when he and Mr. John Alison served the church during a vacancy. Mr. James Stobo, of the Willtown area, seemed to be a leader of the contentious group. His resignation from the Trustee board in 1765 and subsequent departure from the parish evidently smoothed the way for construction of the new church (Simmons 1960:45). Lease & Release for the purchase of the Parsonage Lands from Mrs. Elizabeth Didcotts were presented to at a Trustee meeting in July 1765.

At a meeting in 1765, the Trustees agreed to build "a New Meeting House upon the Willtown Parsonage Land forty Feet by Twenty Six with a flo[?] arch Twenty Six Feet by Twenty Five and Fourteen feet in the Storey with a hip [*scratched out*] Pitch Ruff" and that the Trustees promote a Subscription to enable them to carry on the work. The minutes provided additional details of the planned building: "forty feet square with hipt roof fifteen feet story with three Dores Sixteen windows arched with framed panel Dore & Wndow shutters". This description, plus a reference to meeting "at the Parsonage house" in 1760, suggests that the house may have been completed prior to construction of the church. Mr. William Wilkens was paid for "Survaying the Parsonage Land & forwarding it for a Grant" in 1753 (Simmons 1960: 37). Construction of the church evidently proceeded unevenly. On July 31, 1767, a committee was appointed to inspect the work done to the meeting house "now abuilding BY Mr. Gideon Dupont Senr", and they noted that the work is not done in a "Workman Like Manner according to the Articles of Agreement". They then presented a long list of shortcomings. Later, the Trustees viewed the work "lately done by Mr. Templeton to the Meeting House" and were "Satisfied with it." They agreed to pay Mr. Templeton and to "settle with Mr. Gideon Dupont and pay him the Ballance". They further agreed that the meeting house should be painted, suggesting it was a wooden structure.

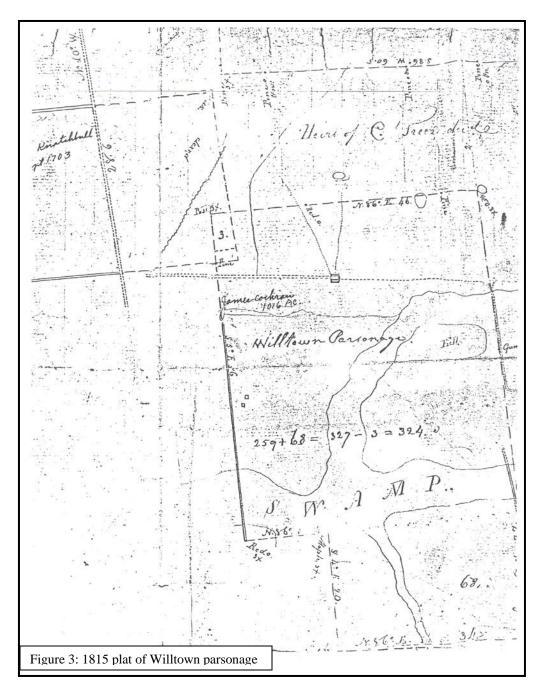
The new church, "now abuilding" in July 1767, was complete the following month when Mr. Simpson preached a sermon there. He mentions that the new Meeting house was "about four miles from the old one [at Willtown Bluff], and about three miles from the public path [Willtown Road], so that it is very convenient and centrical; it is a large handsome and very well built house – the pulpit and pews the same which used to be in the old brick meeting house." The contrasting remark about the 'old brick' house again suggests the new one was of wood.

The new minister was the Reverend John Maltby from Bermuda, installed in December 1769. Only a year later his daughter and wife died, and Simmons notes that they are buried in the churchyard of the 'burnt church'. She cites a mid-19th century manuscript of Reverend J.L. Girardeau (and grandson of the dismissed tenant of 1808), which states that "the remains of the ruins and a few grave stones which still stand in tolerable preservation. One of these is the name of John Berkeley, of honored memory, who was one of the deacons of the church [appointed in 1769], and on another that of Mrs. Maltby...and nearby signs of the place where the parsonage stood." The stones remaining in the cemetery at 38Ch1661 match the above description, as those remaining include those of John Berkeley (1806), Susanna Maltby (1770), and Henry Veitch (1811). Likewise, the description of "nearby signs of the...parsonage" supports the interpretation of 38Ch1660 as the parsonage.

Reverend Maltby died one year after his wife and was buried in Dartmouth, New Hampshire. There followed a rapid succession of ministers, some who died and others who moved on after a short tenure. While the services of Reverend Maltby were solicited with great enthusiasm, reaction to some of the subsequent ministers was muted. Mr. Oliver Reese was appointed in 1775, and was received 'with great satisfaction'. In 1789, Mr. James Wilson was dismissed as minister, owing in part to inadequate funds.

The property on which the church and cemetery were built is enumerated on the 1815 plat as the "Willtown Parsonage". The parsonage and surrounding lands were evidently valuable to the church as investment property, and were used for purposes other than to house a minister. In 1766, the Trustees leased part of the "Parsonage Old field, including a small piece of Rice land" to Mr. James Fabian. Mr. Fabian was granted permission to clear the rice land, but not to cut and valuable timber, and to pay the Trustees "Twenty Shillings Curry pr Acre for every Acre he plants for the term of one year". Mr. John Peter was granted use of the remaining part of the Parsonage Old Field

for the use of "Keeping a Reservoir of Water thereon". A month later, the Trustees paid for "a Sufficient Quantity of Oister Shells to Plaister the Parsonage House."



Interestingly, the church records of that time also describe "Negroes belonging to the congregation". They were evidently in the care of a trustee, and monies from their hiring went into the Church treasury. Rental of the parsonage house, lands, and laborers provided income for the church. Minutes from a January 1775 meeting of the Trustees note that the "Negroes belonging to the Wiltown Congregation, Seven in Number" were offered for hire on a yearly basis. Hawkins Martin, on behalf of himself and his mother, rented the people, and well as the "Parsonage Land & buildings". This policy, too, was

not without problems, as the Trustees in 1808 removed a tenant for mistreatment of one of the enslaved. Evidently John Girardeau, "who had possession of the Parsonage and Negroes" had "in a cruel manner" shot the Fellow Lymus. For this action, Girardeau was dispossessed, and ordered to "quit the premises and settle for his arrears of Rent & Hire" before departing. The property was then rented to Mrs. Mary Edings.

On May 1, 1807, the congregation was asked to assemble at "the ruins of the church lately burnt" (Simmons 1960:152). A number of subscribers pledged money, or the services of their Negro slaves, for the purpose "of rebuilding the Wilton Church." The Board resolved, however, that rebuilding of the church occur "at Willtown bluff instead of the site on which the Church lately burnt stood--". Simmons concludes that the abandoned church at Willtown was repaired for temporary use, before a new church was built in the Adams Run area.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the parsonage house also burned, but just when this happened is unclear. The artifacts recovered suggest that occupation of the house ceased early in the 19th century. The 1808 reference to the dismissal of John Girardeau suggests that the house did not burn with the church in 1807; however, it is possible that the subsequent rentals were for the lands and outbuildings only. Evidently, the Parsonage acreage was still owned by the congregation when the Penny Creek tracts were surveyed in 1815 (McCrady Plat 4451). Just when the lands were sold has not yet been researched. It is possible that the property passed to private ownership when the congregation dissolved in the mid 19th century.

Chapter II Fieldwork

Field Methods

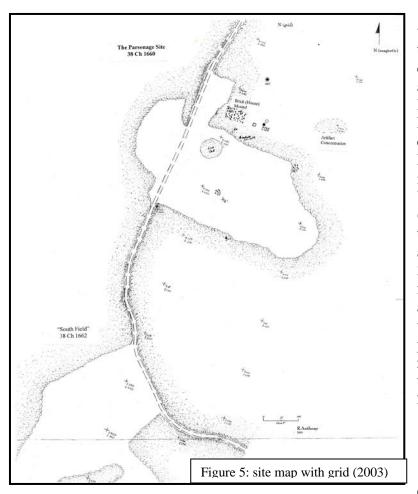
Continued investigation of the site in 2005 began with re-establishing horizontal control. In 2003, a Chicago grid was established over the site, with grid points at 25' intervals. In order to more closely align with the physical features of the landscape, we selected an arbitrary grid orientation of 20 degrees east of north. A key stake was established at the presumed southwest corner of the site, adjacent to the woods road and along the southern edge of the plowed field. This stake, a length of rebar driven into the ground and marked with a sleeve of white pvc pipe, was given the arbitrary designation of N200E200. All measurements at 38Ch1660 were made to the north and east of this point.

The chosen orientation is slightly west of the woods road. The meridian was first established to the north, at 25' intervals, from N200 to N700. This line roughly parallels the woods road, and crosses the road at N650. A base line was then established from the key stake, from N200E200 to N200E600, parallel with the southern edge of the plowed field. Fieldwork in 2003 required establishment of grid points in an area measuring 500' by 400', at 25' intervals. With the exception of the key stake at N200E200 and the northernmost point on the meridian, N700E200, all grid points were marked with wire flags. These were removed at the end of the 2003 field season. Grid points on the structural mound were marked with 10" nails, and these were left in place.



Figure 4: re-establishing the grid

The base points at N200E200 and N700E200 were intact when we returned in 2005. The transit was set up over the N200E200 point and grid points placed at 50' intervals. Points were then placed at closer intervals in the vicinity of the mound (N500 to N550). The transit was then set over the N510 and N530 points, and lines established to the east. These proved to be .4' north of those from the 2003 dig, which were still in place. The 2005 points were used for all excavations on the west and south sides of the foundation. Points from the 2003 excavation were used for the two remaining units on the eastern wall. The discrepancy was adjusted in mapping. Grid points from both seasons were left in place at the end of the project.



Vertical control was established with the transit. An arbitrary datum point, consisting of a large nail in a tree located at approximately N475E325, was established in 2003. Based on the contour intervals shown on the USGS topographic map (Fenwick quadrangle), this point was given an assumed elevation of 30.0' msl. All elevations, for both ground surface and subsurface features, were taken relative to this point. This point remained in place and was used again during the 2005 season.

Materials from each provenience were

bagged separately. Artifact bags were inventoried, and assigned an ordinal Field Specimen number in the field. Record keeping also included narrative notes and completion of a variety of forms on a daily basis. Planview and profile maps were made for each unit, as appropriate. Photographs were taken with color slide film (Kodachrome 200) for archival stability and with a digital camera for instant reference. The digital photographs are used in this report.

The students were involved in all phases and activities of the fieldwork. They maintained a duplicate set of narrative notes, rotating this duty daily. Labeling of bags and assignment of FS numbers was also assigned to individual students on a daily basis. In addition, students were primarily responsible for completing excavation unit forms and feature forms, under the supervision of field supervisors.

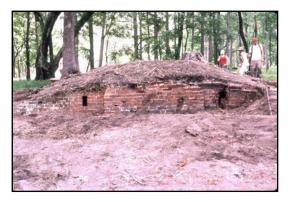
Upon completion of the fieldwork, all cultural materials were removed to The Charleston Museum for laboratory analysis and permanent curation. In the field, the two excavation units on the building interior were backfilled to within .6' of the top of the intact brick foundation. Ten deep units along the exterior of the eastern wall were backfilled to the level of finished mortar joints (or original grade) to stabilize the foundation for continued exposure. All walls were covered with new sheets of .4ml black



plastic. At the request of Dickie Godley, a single unit on the east side of the building exterior, N520E330, was left open to the level of sterile subsoil. Black plastic was placed in the bottom of the unit.

Figure 6: west wall of parsonage, before and after backfilling to grade.

Excavation of the dense brick rubble associated with the burned foundation resulted in large quantities of debris. Efforts were made to consolidate these materials, and to remove all possible signs of physical presence. Loose material (principally brick fragments) that could pose pedestrian hazards was collected and isolated from the archaeological remains. All loose items were removed from the top



of the mound. The smaller screen debris was placed in backfilled units beneath layers of sand. Heavier brick rubble was isolated in piles along the north and south sides of the foundation, so that they could be easily moved, or removed, with power equipment. Roots were collected in a single pile, as well. All grid markers were removed from the field and the road, with the exception of the two key stakes remaining from the 2003 excavation. Nails from the 2003 and 2005 excavations on the mound were left in place, and hammered flush with the ground surface. Heavy cotton cord marked the western edge of the excavation block.

Description of Excavations

The site is visible as an oval mound located in a small wooded tract. The mound rises over 4' from the general ground surface. This appears to be the result of collapse of the structure following a fire, as the ground surface was littered with melted bottle glass. Three zones are present in the mound. Zone 1 is a dark gray-brown humus layer (10yr2/1 or 2/2) full of roots. This zone ranged from .2' to .5' in depth. The layer of brick and mortar rubble resulting from decay of the building was designated zone 2. This varied in thickness, depending on the location within the building mound, and ranged from .1' on the edges to 4.0' adjacent to portions of intact foundation. Moderate amounts of dark soil (10yr2/2) were present among the heavy brick rubble. Zone 3 was associated with the interface of finished and unfinished mortar joints in the foundation (indicating original grade), and consisted of a medium gray-brown sandy soil (10yr4/3). A moderate amount of 18^{th} century material was recovered from zone 3. Sterile subsoil was present beneath



zone 3, and was characterized as a yellow to light brown sand (10yr5/4). Nine units were excavated to the base of zone 3, in order to expose builder's trenches and retrieve artifacts for dating construction and abandonment of the structure. The remaining seven units were excavated into zone 2, deep enough to expose architectural details.

Figure 7: Unit N520E285, north profile, showing zones 1-3

In all, sixteen units were excavated in 2005 and eight in 2003, to expose 80% of the rectangular foundation. These units completely exposed the east, south, and west sides. Complete exposure of the northern wall was hampered by the presence of large trees growing over the center portions of this foundation. After careful deliberation, it was determined that removing the tree at this point might prove more damaging than leaving it intact.

Table 1	
List of Excavation Units, 2	2005
1. N520 E330	9. N515 E325
2. N505 E300	10. N510 E315
3. N510 E295	11. N515 E295
4. N515 E290	12. N520 E295
5. N520 E285	13. N507.5 E305
6. N530 E300	14. N512.5 E320
7. N535 E320	15. N520 E290
8. N510 E310	16. N510 E290
17. N300 E305	
18. N300 E325	
19. N300 E350	

The brick foundation is quite substantial, and measures 2.3' in width. The foundation survives in the mound at varying heights. Excavation adjacent to the foundation reveals that it continues 1.2' below grade at the time of occupation (based on the presence of a footer course at sterile subsoil and unfinished mortar joints to that height). At its most intact point, the surviving foundation rises an additional 1.7' above this. A new feature exposed during the current excavations was a series of vent openings in the foundation face. These were .4' wide and .8' high, initiating two courses (or .5') above grade level. Single vents were located on both sides of the end chimneys. Four vents were identified along the south wall. Two were identified in the exposed portions of the north wall. These vents continued through the foundation, and appeared to be

angled from front to rear. They evidently proved a point of weakness, however, as the settled southwestern corner was severed along vents on the south and west walls.

The 2003 excavations exposed all but 5' of the east wall, including both the northeast and southeast corners. These units exposed the same high-quality mortar finish seen on the west side. They also revealed an external chimney centered in the wall. The chimney was 7.5' wide on the exterior, and initiated 7.5' south of the northeast corner. The block of units also exposed the interior firebox. The exposed brick flooring on the firebox interior evidenced a fair amount of wear.

The northwest corner of the structure was exposed in three contiguous units excavated in 2003. These include N525E290, N530E290 and N530E295. Excavation of N525E290 to sterile subsoil exposed a 5' section of the western foundation, three feet in depth. The top 1.8' of the exposed wall was constructed of soft orange-red bricks, and exhibited well-finished mortar joints. The mortar was bright white, with a relatively wide scribed joint (Carl Lounsbury, personal communication). Below this point, unfinished mortar joints indicate the grade at the time of excavation.

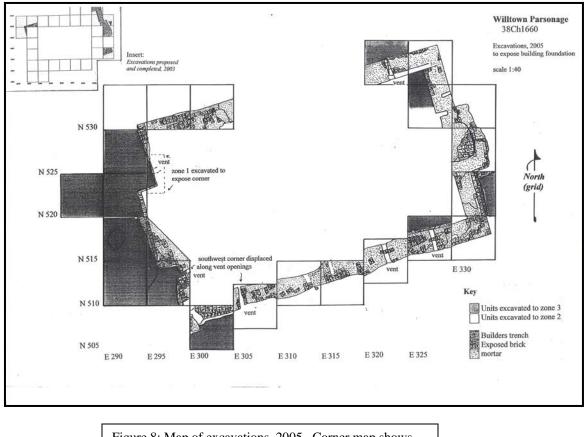


Figure 8: Map of excavations, 2005. Corner map shows excavations completed in 2003.

Five more units excavated in 2005 exposed the western face of the building. These excavations revealed an external chimney centered in the western wall, identical to the eastern fixture. The chimney was 7.5' wide and protruded 2' from the face of the wall. The remaining exterior wall measured 7.5' on either side of the chimney, for a maximum exterior width of 22.5'. However, exact measurements along the west wall were impossible, due to cracking and settling of the southwest corner of the structure.



Figure 9: South wall (N505E300) and west wall (N510E295) showing cracks along the vent openings, and slumping of southwest corner of the structure.



The entire south side of the structure, measuring 34', was exposed during the 2005 excavation season. Again, precise measurement of the southern side was hampered by damage and settling of the southwestern corner. The exposed foundation was examined for evidence of any entrances or openings. A 4' wide section of header bricks laid on end in N510E315 has been tentatively interpreted as a threshold, suggesting a



central doorway. It is currently not known if this is the only entrance or if a similar opening might be found on the north façade. The central 15' of the north wall was not excavated, due to the presence of a large tree growing over that portion of the foundation. Instead eleven feet of the north wall was exposed on the west side and 8.5' on the east side.

Figure 10: view of the south wall of the parsonage, facing west. Unit boundaries are marked with string. The possible brick threshold is visible in the fourth unit from the bottom of the image.

Identification and excavation of builder's trenches is an important step in dating construction of archaeological buildings. A narrow (.2') builders trench was identified

along the foundation walls and designated feature 21. A wider (.8') but more ephemeral builders trench was identified along the east and west chimneys, and designated feature 24. These were sampled in N520E330, along the southern side of the east wall. In this unit, feature 21 appeared to truncate, and post-date, feature 24. While this sequence is uncertain, the evidence clearly does not show the opposite arrangement, which would indicate that the chimneys were a later addition. Feature 21 contained creamware, suggesting a fill date of 1760 to 1770. Feature 24 contained no datable materials. Additional features were present around the building foundations. Most interesting were amorphous concentrations of bright red clay, all designated feature 27. It is unclear if these represent natural unfired clay, clay fired at the time of construction, or results of the fire that destroyed the house. None were sampled.



Figure 11: Unit N520E330, building exterior. Visible are feature 21 along the east wall, overlying feature 24 adjacent to the south wall of the chimney.

The interior of the building was explored in two test units. A 2.5' by 6' sample was excavated inside the northeast corner (units N530E325 and N535E325) and a smaller



sample (2' by 5') was excavated along the south wall in N515E325. The two samples exhibited similar stratigraphy. The interior fill was mostly rubble, and was three feet deep. A shallow soil and root mat (zone 1) overlay a thick layer of brick and mortar rubble. Beneath this was a layer of mortar and plaster, much of it blackened by fire. A second lens of brick rubble followed, this on top of a gray sand layer similar to zone 3 on the exterior.

Figure 12: profile of building interior, N515E325. Note the layer of soft red brick beneath lenses of rubble.

Beneath this, in both locations, was a distinct lens of soft red brick. Dark soil lenses were present beneath this brick in the southeast corner; the red brick was directly on top of sterile subsoil in the northeast corner.

A distinct interior builders trench was present in the southern unit, N515E325. This was a mottled soil fill approximately .4' wide, designated feature 29. This intruded into the dark soil deposits beneath, here designated feature 30. Both features were sampled, but neither contained artifacts other than brick and mortar fragments. A lack of cultural materials, however, is consistent with initial occupation of a site; there would be no artifacts on the ground to become mixed with fill of a construction trench.

In a secondary effort to locate outbuildings suggested by the 2003 survey, three 5' units were excavated in the plowed field south of the house foundation. The 2003 surface collection and shovel test survey revealed a concentration of brick and mortar rubble in the vicinity of N300E325. Additional shovel tests showed a layer of crushed brick and mortar. The units excavated in 2005 were inconclusive, however.

The three units were excavated in plowed soils, on a slight rise. Two levels of plowzone were designated in unit N300E350, while the plowzone was excavated as a single deposit in the two remaining units. The plowzone was relatively shallow in this portion of the site, averaging .5' to sterile subsoil. Numerous plow scars were visible in the subsoil.

Unit N300E305 and N300E325 revealed a number of small, ephemeral features



that are possible post stains. These include features 16-19 and features 22-23. The last unit excavated here, N300E350 revealed a concentration of brick and mortar rubble in the south half of the unit. The feature exhibited a fairly straight edge and was filled with large chunks of mortar and brick in a medium brown sand matrix. Due to time constraints, the feature was not sampled at this time. Additional excavation in this vicinity is warranted.

Figure 13: N300 E350, showing linear concentration of brick and mortar rubble. Note the shallow plowzone above sterile subsoil.

Table 2List of Features

Feature #	Unit	Description
15	N520 E330, etc	brick foundation to house
16	N300 E305	
17	N300 E305	
18	N300 E305	
19	N300 E 305	
20	N300 E305	
21	N520 E330, N505 E300 walls	builders trench to main
22	N300 E325	
23	N300 E325	
24	N520 E330, N510 E295 chimneys	builders trench to
25	N510 E295	small post stain
26	N510 E295	possible post stain
27	N505 E300, N515 E290	moist red clay
28	N300 E350 rubble	area of brick/mortar
29	N515 E325	builders trench, interior
30	N515 E325	dark soil under fea 29
31	N515 E325, N530 E325	soft red brick - flooring





Figure 14: Views of students excavating walls from the parsonage structure.

Chapter III Analysis

Laboratory Methods

The archaeological sample retrieved in 2005 included artifacts from 74 proveniences (FS# 531-604), soil samples from 17 proveniences, and faunal materials from 20 proveniences. A large sample of bricks, intact mortar, and plaster was also retained. The collection was returned to The Charleston Museum, where they were accessioned under the previous gift agreement (Accession # 2003.046). Laboratory duties included the sorting, washing, identifying, and cataloging of all recovered artifacts.

All metal, ferrous and non-ferrous, was stabilized and conserved in the Museum's laboratory. Ferrous materials from this site were in remarkably good condition, compared to other lowcountry sites. This was particularly true with some of the burned nails. Several ferrous and all non-ferrous metal items were treated with electrolytic reduction. The ferrous items were placed in electrolysis in a weak sodium carbonate solution with a current of six ampheres. 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 air-dried. Finally the materials 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, in a more concentrated solution with a current of 12 ampheres. 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 with steel or brass wool before being coated with Incralac to protect the surfaces.

Cultural materials were washed in warm water, dried, and sorted by artifact type. The next step in analysis was identification of artifacts by provenience. The Museum's type collection, Noel Hume (1969), Stone (1974), Brown (1982), Ferguson (1992), and Deagan (1987) were the primary references used, with others consulted for specific artifacts. Ceramics were separated into types and identified by vessel form, wherever possible. Cross-mends and matches were noted, but a complete cross-sorting by minimum number of vessels (MNIV) was not undertaken. Nails were identified by manufacture type, head type, and size, whenever possible. Architectural rubble – brick, mortar, and plaster – was weighed in the field by provenience and discarded.

For basic descriptive purposes, the artifacts were then 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.

Under Stanley South's model, the Carolina Artifact Pattern prescribes broad regularities in the daily life of British colonists. The largest of the eight functional groups 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 metal 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, thimbles, and scissors. The Personal group includes items of personal possession. Though small, this group can be quite varied and 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.

Analysis of Cultural Materials

Most of the artifacts recovered from domestic sites have to do with the affairs of daily life, so the largest artifact group is usually those items associated with food preparation, storage, and service. Though kitchen wares were outnumbered by architectural artifacts, they were present in numbers sufficient to explore domestic affairs at the parsonage house.

On the sites of wealthy residents, food service vessels were designed to display

social status and the knowledge of use that went with ownership of such display pieces. Chinese export porcelain was the most expensive and most desired of all colonial ceramics. The soils around the parsonage house contained a moderate amount of porcelain, both the blue on white underglazed variety and the more elaborate overglaze decorated styles. Chinese porcelain was available to lowcountry residents throughout the 18th century.



Figure 15: Chinese export porcelain, blue underglaze variety (left) and enameled (overglazed) saucer (right) The site assemblage also included two common English table ceramics from the 18th century. The earliest English tablewares were tin-glazed earthenwares known as delft. This ceramic was manufactured from 1670 through 1795. 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 a range of colors, the latter classified as polychrome.

Figure 16: English delft in blue and polychrome

Though common, delft was not very durable, and so fell into disuse after porcelain and stonewares became more available. Delft was specifically replaced by white saltglazed stoneware, developed in 1740. This decorative refined stoneware was recovered in significant amounts, and was more common than delft. White saltglazed stoneware was thin, attractive, and durable. The wares produced after 1740 featured a white clay body and glaze, and were produced in block molds, resulting in elaborate decoration. A range of table and tea wares was available. Nottingham stoneware was also part of the assemblage. This ware features a lustrous brown glaze over a gray body, and came in the form of tea wares, bowls and cups.



Figure 17: examples of creamware from the parsonage: left, fragments of a ridged bowl, c. 1800; right, bowl with rolled rim and plate with feather edge decoration.

The parsonage site was occupied during the era of rapid development in the English ceramic market, in terms of both innovation and marketing. Best known among the Staffordshire potters was Josiah Wedgewood. It was he who perfected the group of white-bodied ceramics known as refined earthenwares, and helped spread them literally to the four corners of the world. These were inexpensive, durable, fashionable, and massproduced. The earliest type exhibits clouded or swirled underglaze designs in brown, yellow, green, and gray, or a solid green glaze. Known among archaeologists as Whieldon ware, after the potter Thomas Whieldon, this ceramic was manufactured from 1740 to 1775. It was often made in the same molds as the contemporary white saltglazed stoneware. Only a few fragments of this ware were recovered from the parsonage. Whieldon wares were rapidly replaced with cream-colored ware know as Creamware or Queens ware, and available by 1762. It is this ceramic that dominates the parsonage site assemblage. Like the Chinese porcelain, creamware came in highly decorated and expensive styles, as well as relatively plain and inexpensive forms. Creamware accounts for nearly a third of the parsonage ceramic assemblage.

In their quest for an all-white ceramic, Wedgwood and his contemporaries altered the glaze formula with the addition of cobalt to produce a bluish-tinted ware. Known collectively as pearlwares, these came in a variety of decorative styles. Hand painted and shell edged wares appeared in 1780, while transfer-printed and annular striped wares were available in 1795. Creamware, with a yellowish tint, continued alongside the



pearlwares in popularity. Though not as common as creamware, the parsonage site contained a number of pearlware fragments, in each of the four decorative groups. The later styles were represented by only a few sherds, again supporting abandonment of the site shortly after these wares became available.

Figure 18: Hand painted (left) and transfer printed (right) pearlware



Eighteenth century ceramic assemblages also contain a range of utilitarian pottery. Most common is Combed and Trailed Slipware, manufactured in the Staffordshire region through the 1780s. These wares feature a clear to yellowed lead glaze over a variety of clay slips, applied to a buff-colored body.

Slipware came in hollow ware forms, such as cups and drinking pots, as well as

open bowls. Another common component of colonial sites is Westerwald stoneware, distinguished by its gray body and dimpled gray glaze, with blue decoration. Common forms from the 18th century include bottles, jugs, pots, and porringers, as well as chamber pots.



Figure 19: above, Combed and Trailed Slipware. Fragments are from a cup or drinking pot. Right, Westerwald stoneware. Fragments are from a jar.

The final type of pottery common on 18th century lowcountry sites is colono ware. These are low-fired, unglazed earthenwares of local manufacture. Colono ware is recovered on all lowcountry historic sites from the early 18th century, particularly after 1730, through the early 19th century. In Charleston, colono ware comprises about 6% of the ceramic assemblage, though on rural plantations it can be as much as 50% of the pottery. Archaeologists have determined that much of this ware was made by the African slaves who populated the lowcountry, though Native Americans, either slave or free, likely made some of the wares recovered (Anthony 2002; Ferguson 1992). More difficult to determine is the users of the ware. African American slaves are believed to be the principal users, as well as makers, of colono ware, and the majority of the wares are recovered from slave sites. But colono wares are also recovered in significant numbers from the main house and kitchen buildings occupied by white owners. In this context, colono ware was probably used for cooking, likely by enslaved cooks. Colono wares comprise 22% of the ceramics around the parsonage house.

Another common component of the kitchen group, and of the parsonage assemblage, is olive green bottle glass. These were generally, though not exclusively, used to hold alcoholic beverages, and were often reused. The green glass bottles were hand blown, and exhibit a pontil scar on the base and irregularities throughout the glass. Seventeenth century examples are short and squat, known as 'onion bottles'. They gradually get taller and narrower, until by the early 19th century green bottles exhibit the proportions found today (Noel Hume 1969). Fragments of olive green glass, many of them melted, are common at the parsonage site. Another variety of glass container are small vials for medicines or condiments. These are also hand-blown, and exhibit a pontil scar at the base. They are often aqua or light olive green, but can also be made of clear glass. A few fragments were recovered at the parsonage.





Figure 20: Olive green bottle glass. Left, base of hand-blown bottle; right, base and neck to square case bottle.

The material assemblage from the parsonage house site was divided into two assemblages, based on site formation events. These consist of zones 1-2, associated with destruction and abandonment of the house, and Zone 3, which presumably accumulated during the use-life of the historic structure. Zone 2 consisted of rubble from the

destruction of the parsonage house, and was characterized by heavy brick and mortar rubble. Two proveniences were recovered from the interior of the house foundation, while the remainder was from the debris piled along the outside of the basement walls. The overlying topsoil, excavated as zone 1, contained very few cultural materials, and was not included in the detailed analysis.

Zone 3 was the gray midden soil surrounding the foundation of the house. Cultural materials were dense in this deposit, and it was presumed that these materials accumulated during the period of occupation. It was therefore expected that there might be temporal differences in the two assemblages. However, the zone 3 assemblage included a number of artifacts melted by the fire, such as window glass and nails, and so the assemblage must include a portion of the materials in the house at the time of demolition. The two assemblages are discussed separately.

The zone 2 assemblage included proveniences from 14 units excavated in 2005; these proveniences yielded 1034 cultural items. The great majority of these were architectural in nature, particularly window glass and nails. The window glass was all pale aqua in color, typical of the 18th century. Much of the glass was melted. All of the nails recovered were hand-wrought, dating them prior to 1780. This supports a mid-18th century date of construction, and suggests little to no repair or renovation of the structure after the development of machine-cut nails in 1780. Architectural artifacts comprised 82% of the zone 2 assemblage.



Figure 21: window glass, including melted examples, and nails from zone 2 deposits.

Kitchen items comprised the majority of the remaining material items. Most common were fragments of olive green bottle glass, again many of them melted by a hot fire. Bottle glass comprised 68% of the kitchen group. There were also a few fragments of aqua and clear bottle glass; these are typically from small medicinal vials in the 18th century. A single fragment of table glass was recovered, from the base of a wine goblet.

Other items were relatively scarce. The remainder of the assemblage included a single brass button, three fragments of kaolin tobacco pipes, and some scrap metal. Most interesting was a fragment of a saw blade.

The ceramics recovered in zone 2 provide clues to the date of destruction of the house, and of the assemblage of materials in use at the time of destruction. The newest ceramic in the assemblage was two fragments of transfer-printed pearlware, developed in 1795. The presence of this ware supports abandonment of the building shortly after the turn of the 19th century (around 1807). Two fragments of the slightly earlier hand-painted pearlwares (1780) were recovered. Creamware, developed in the 1760s and instantly popular, was more common; twelve fragments were recovered from zone 2. Common ceramics from the earlier 18th century were also present; these include utilitarian wares such as combed and trailed slipware and gray saltglazed stonware. Tablewares include white saltglazed stoneware and Chinese export porcelain. Colono ware was the most common ceramic found in zone 2.

The zone 3 deposits, excavated in nine units, contained a denser cultural assemblage. Though kitchen materials were more numerous, they were still overwhelmed by architectural items. Kitchen materials typically comprise 60% of 18th century assemblages, with architectural items comprising about 25%. Here, kitchen materials comprised 30% of the assemblage.

The ceramic assemblage from zone 3 was more diverse than that from zone 2, but was otherwise similar in date range and types of materials recovered. Creamware dominated the assemblage, while lesser amounts of the late 18th century pearlwares were recovered. Two fragments of transfer printed pearlware again suggest that materials were being discarded around the house during the last decade of occupation.

A range of 18th century tablewares were recovered from zone 3. Twenty-seven fragments of delft ware, common in the first half of the 18th century, were recovered. More numerous were Chinese export porcelain tea and table wares (41 fragments) and white saltglazed stoneware (51 fragments). In addition to the undecorated saltglazed wares, a single fragment of scratch blue stoneware, developed in 1744, was recovered. Nottingham stoneware, produced in the middle third of the 18th century, was represented by three sherds, as was Whieldon ware, popular after 1740. Five fragments of Jackfield ware were recovered. This fine red-bodied earthenware is finished with a shiny black glaze, and is often in the form of tea wares.

The zone 3 assemblage also included a number of utilitarian wares, for cooking and food storage. Most common was combed and trailed slipware from the Staffordshire potteries; 53 fragments were recovered. Westerwald stoneware was also recovered. The 13 fragments included mendable portions of a large jar.

Architectural items again comprised the majority of the assemblage; hand wrought nails and large amounts of window glass, some of it melted by fire, comprised 68% of zone 3 assemblage. Other artifacts included 16 fragments of kaolin tobacco pipes, two brass furniture tacks, a fragment of English flint, and some scraps of iron and brass.



Figure 22: brass buttons, upholstery tack.

Table 3
Artifact Assemblages

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brass button pewter button glass bead		1		1
furniture tack	2			4
pipe bowl pipe stem	5 11	1 2	2 1	84
misc iron strap iron misc brass wire saw blade iron buckle drill bit horse shoe misc lead	4 1 7 4	1 1 1	10	7 1 1 1 1

Chapter IV Interpretations

Dating the Site Deposits

As is standard, all archaeological deposits from the parsonage house were dated on the basis of stratigraphic point of initiation and Terminus Post Quem. "Stratigraphic point of initiation", or the relative vertical position of the top of a feature or zone deposit, suggests that soils gradually accumulate on sites of human occupation and the deepest is therefore the earliest. Terminus Post Quem, or TPQ, is based on the invention of the newest artifact in the provenience. The two principals are used in combination to date events on historic sites.

Based on stratigraphic position, it was assumed that zone 3, the midden surrounding the house foundation, would predate zone 2, the rubble zone that represents post-fire degradation of the site. However, the artifacts retrieved from both proveniences were remarkably similar. Both deposits contained transfer-printed pearlware as the latest artifact, providing a TPQ of 1795. Further, both contained melted window and bottle glass, graphic representation of the fire. Overall content of the two proveniences were remarkably similar, in terms of both range of artifact types and relative proportion of artifact types. Both assemblages were dominated by architectural debris, though this formed a slightly smaller portion of the overall assemblage for zone 3 (83% architectural materials in zone 2, 68% in zone 3). Overall, the zone 3 materials contained slightly more mid-18th century materials than did zone 2. In terms of site behavior and site formation, this suggests that zone 3 contains materials deposited throughout the occupation of the site, but that the last event of occupation cycled the majority of the materials into the archaeological record.

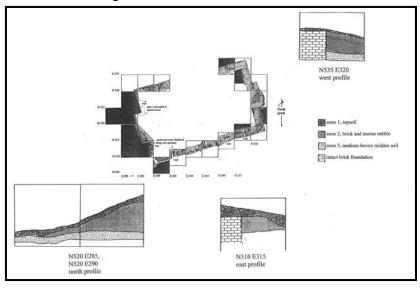


Figure 23: profiles of various units, showing zones 2 and 3.

From this logic, it then follows that all of the cultural materials contained in zone 2 were in active household use at the time the building was destroyed by fire. The zone 2 deposits, then, provide a glimpse into the use life of various ceramics. Creamware, the popular and ubiquitous ceramic developed in the 1760s, appears to be the tableware of choice at the turn of the 19th century. The newer pearlwares are present in smaller amounts. The household continued to use older tea and table wares, particularly porcelain from the Orient. Colono wares are the most significant utilitarian wares. Green glass wine bottles were used extensively.

These interpretations are tempered somewhat by small sample size. If the zone 2 deposits contain *in situ* materials in use at the time of the fire, then excavations on the foundation interior will likely expand this data set and refine these interpretations. The two small interior samples retrieved in 2005 suggest that the building interior will contain significant artifact deposits.

These dating principals were also applied to the unit excavated in the presumed kitchen midden (N525E400) in 2003. This stratigraphically complex unit included three zones and fourteen features in 1.2' of soil; cultural deposits continued beneath this level. Refined earthenwares, manufactured after 1760, were confined to the upper zones, zones 1 and 2 in particular. Feature 1 contained 1740s ceramics, Whieldon ware and white saltglazed stoneware, as the newest ceramics, as did the features below. This suggests that the ash represented by feature 1 may be a 1760s event, and that occupation of the site continued after this.

A final dating measure applied to the site assemblages was calculation of a Mean Ceramic Date. This dating technique, developed by Stanley South (1972), aids in site dating by determining the period of most active occupation. It is based in the principals of fashion and lifecycle of manufactured items, principally ceramics, to determine a peak period of site use, based on the frequency of each ceramic type and its median date of manufacture. While the Mean Ceramic Date does not provide an absolute time of deposition, or range of occupation, it does hint at the peak period of site use, based on relative frequency of datable artifacts.

The documentary record indicates that the new Willtown church was built in 1767 and burned in 1807. There are hints in the same records that the parsonage lands were in possession of the Presbyterian Church some time before construction, and after the loss of the church; indeed the plat of 1815 indicates that the land is still known as "Willtown parsonage". Based on the assumption of a mid-18th century date of construction, through abandonment at the time of the documented church destruction in 1807, the mean date of occupation for the parsonage is 1778. The zone 3 midden around the house produced an earlier Mean Ceramic date of 1761. The above zone 2, consisting of debris from abandonment and collapse of the structure produced a date only slightly later, 1765. These dates may reflect the lengthy availability of the ceramic wares that span the entire 18th century, or they may suggest that the heaviest use of the site occurred in the third quarter of the 18th century, rather than the fourth quarter.

Data from the construction trenches sampled during the 2005 project suggest that the house was constructed during the same decade as the church, likely the 1760s. This is based on the presence of creamware, with a TPQ of 1762, in feature 21. Alternately, the data may reflect repair or rebuilding during the fourth quarter of the century.

Other assemblages from the 2003 project produced slightly different Mean Ceramic Dates. The proveniences from the kitchen midden, N525E400 produced the earliest date, 1758, reflecting a preponderance of early features. This supports the suggestion proposed above from the soils around the house, that the heaviest use may be the third quarter of the 18th century. This evidence is in contrast to the dates form the site area in the plowed field, south of the main house and in the vicinity of brick clusters suggesting small outbuildings. The shovel testing in this area produced a mean ceramic date of 1770, while the surface collections produced a later date of 1783. These, plus the horizontal distribution of materials, suggest that other areas of the site were built, or occupied, later than the main house complex.

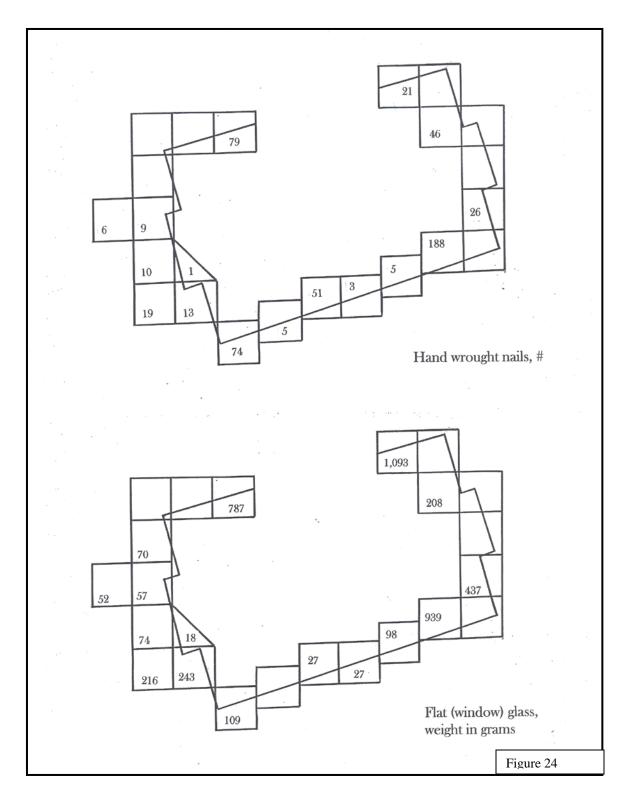
Artifact Distribution and Architectural Analysis

Because of the sudden destruction and abandonment of the parsonage house, the artifacts retrieved around it likely represent primary refuse. This is material that has not been moved from the time of initial deposit. In such cases, horizontal distribution of materials can vary according to site activity. All of the units excavated in 2005 were located on, or beside, the foundation of the house. Variations in distribution therefore inform on the layout and use of the house.

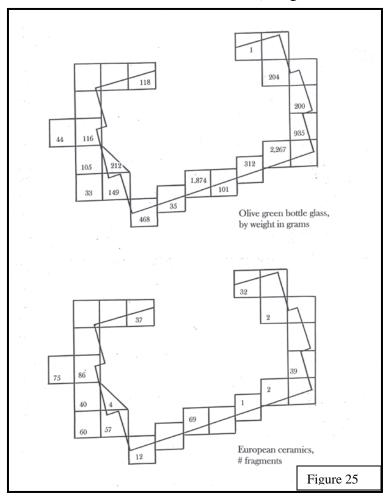
For this study, artifacts were tabulated by excavation unit. For units that were excavated into zone 3, zones 2 and 3 were added together. Five artifact categories were considered. Most significant for expanding our view of architectural style is the distribution of window glass. This distribution was calculated by weight as well as count, and the results were the same. Window glass is relatively sparse along the west wall and, to a lesser extent, along the east wall. These appear to be the gable ends with external fireboxes, and they evidently did not have windows. Glass is concentrated in two units along the north and south walls, suggesting these are the locations of windows. Heavy concentrations are noted along the north wall, indicating that this may be the front of the house, or at least the location of the largest windows. Glass is distributed in a similar manner along the south wall, though lesser amounts were recovered. Unlike the north wall, where trees blocked access to the middle third, the entire south wall was exposed. Here, it was possible to detect concentrations of window glass near the southwest and southeast corners, and lesser amounts in the center. This, combined with evidence for a threshold in the brickwork, suggests a central door flanked by two windows.

Nails are more equitably distributed, with concentrations noted at the corners of the structure. Large numbers of nails were recovered from the two interior samples (units N515E325 and N530E325), suggesting that most of the building structure collapsed inward. All of the nails recovered were hand-wrought, indicating construction and use

before 1780; there is thus little evidence for repair or rebuilding of the house in the last quarter of the 18th century. Additional excavation of the building interior will likely refine this view.

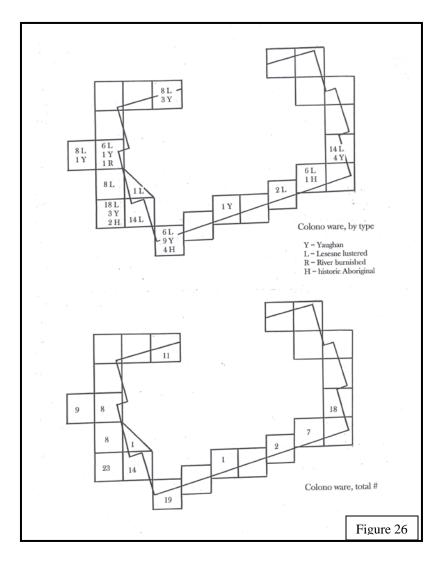


The domestic artifacts were distributed in a slightly different manner than the architectural materials. Three categories were considered; olive green bottle glass, European ceramics, and colono wares. Because of the high volume, bottle glass was calculated by weight as well as artifact count; the distribution by weight is considered for the present discussion. Distribution of glass was highly variable by unit, as one proceeds around the perimeter of the structure. When units from each of the four sides of the structure are added together, a different picture emerges. Green glass is nearly absent from the northern side of the structure (119 grams or an average of 60 grams per unit),



but is heaviest along the south side of the structure (5,057 grams, or an average of 842 grams per unit). Glass is moderate on the two sides, with a heavier concentration on the east side (659 grams, or 120 grams per unit) and a slightly smaller amount on the west side (1339 grams, or 446 grams per unit). This distribution provides tentative support for the suggestion that the north side of the structure (roughly facing the church) was the front of the building, and the south side was the rear (facing the adjoining outbuildings). The heavier concentration on the east side may relate to the interpreted presence of the kitchen and kitchen midden on the east side of the house.

Colono ware, which is far less common than bottle glass, shows a slightly different pattern. Here, colono ware was calculated by sherd count. Colono wares are concentrated on the two sides of the structure, with the heaviest concentration along the west side. They are less frequent along the north side, and particularly along the south side. European ceramics are distributed in a similar manner. They are most common along the west side of the structure (322 total, or an average of 58 fragments per unit), and along the north side, the proposed front of the house (69 fragments or 34 per unit). They are least common along the south and east sides (14 fragments and 20 fragments per unit, respectively).



If some, or all, of the recovered artifacts were deposited as a result of the fire, or abandonment of the structure, then the distribution may reflect their placement and use in the house. This is particularly true of the European ceramics, for example. The recovery of relatively large portions of vessels, particularly from the vent openings, suggests that excavation of the building interior may reveal *in situ* deposits and inform on the distribution of durable material culture through the house. Alternately, deposition of artifacts, particularly in zone 3, may reflect secondary discard and thus the pattern have no relevance to area of usage. Additional excavation around the house and in the area of the kitchen midden will be necessary to better understand refuse distribution and activity areas at the site.

The present data, though, suggest much of the site is intact and the product of primary refuse disposal. Exposure of the majority of the foundation, combined with the above analysis of artifact distribution, provides some solid clues to the layout and appearance of the house, though these become more speculative as one moves from foundation to roof. The structure is rectangular, and measures 22.5' by 35'. Exterior chimneys are present on both narrow walls. This general configuration suggests a two-

room plan, likely with a central hall. There is tentative evidence along the south wall for a central entrance, and another is expected in the center of the north wall. Two rooms, on either side of the central hall, were each heated by the external fireplaces.

Though there is no direct archaeological evidence, it is likely that the structure was at least two stories. The preserved foundation varies in height, but seems substantial enough to support a semi-subterranean basement or cellar area, as well. These spaces typically served as storage rooms or work spaces. The well-executed masonry and numerous vent openings suggest a space large enough to benefit from air circulation. We have no evidence for roof style or materials, but it is likely the two narrow walls, with chimneys, were gable ends (Lounsbury 1994:153). Construction materials for the superstructure are also unknown. The quantity of brick remaining on site suggests a substantial brick foundation, and possibly a wooden superstructure. Alternately, the gable walls could be of brick. The quantity of wood charcoal retrieved from the excavation units on the building interior suggests wooden rafters and possibly a wooden shingle roof. Finally, as discussed above, the structure evidently had many windows, located particularly on the north and south sides. In keeping with the style common by the middle of the 18th century, these were likely sash windows, with rectangular glass panes. Taken together, the archaeological evidence indicates a well-made house of moderate size. The high-quality masonry suggests at least some attention to quality and detail, resulting in a house that was fashionable as well as functional.





Figure 27: portions of intact brick showing struck mortar joint. Right is north profile of N510E290.

Parsonage - or Plantation?

The parsonage site was identified through historical documents as the home of the minister associated with the second Willtown Presbyterian church, and was interpreted as such. The site has been surveyed and tested since 1998. During each phase of investigation, the site yielded artifacts and architectural data remarkable in quantity and quality. These data were more consistent with economically successful plantation sites

than with materials expected at the home of a minister. In particular, the recovery of quantities of colono ware suggests the presence of enslaved African Americans, while the presence of fashionable creamwares and Chinese porcelain suggests the ability to acquire some luxury goods. Thus the archaeological data was seemingly at odds with the documentary data. But a recent re-reading of the church records reveals that the congregation owned at least seven African American slaves. Further, they leased the people and the property to plantation owners; thus the site did function much of the time as an income-producing plantation. It is unknown if the planters leasing the site also lived in the house.

Excavation of the house foundation in 2005 produced a modest artifact assemblage, one dominated by architectural debris. The pattern was similar for the zone 2 materials, deposited as a result of destruction, and the zone 3 materials, that accumulated at least in part during the use-life of the structure. This reflects the destruction of the house. This is in contrast to the materials retrieved from the midden unit excavated in 2003, and to the Carolina Artifact Pattern (South 1977).

Table 4Artifact profile for the Parsonage House			
	Zone 2(%)	Zone 3(%)	Carolina Patterr
Kitchen	17.0	30.0	60.3
Architecture	82.3	68.6	23.9
Arms		.03	.5
Clothing	.09	.03	3.0
Personal			.2
Furniture	.07	.07	.2
Pipes	.28	.57	5.8
Activities	.28	.57	1.7

Artifacts other than architectural debris and kitchen wares are virtually absent from the soils around the main house. The kitchen materials are those typical for domestic sites of the late colonial period, and include a large proportion of colono wares, typically associated with the households of African American slaves. Colono ware is also recovered from planter's houses, and was likely used in cooking. Twenty one percent of the parsonage ceramics were colono wares. The majority was Lesesne lustered, a variety that dominates the colono wares of planter houses. The great majority of the European ceramics were tablewares. The two fashionable table and tea wares of the late 18th century, creamware and Chinese export porcelain, dominate the ceramics. Smaller amounts of delft (from the early 18th century) and pearlware (from the very late 18th century) were also present. Generally, the ceramic assemblage was narrower than other colonial plantation sites, and contained fewer types than the nearby midden area. Generally, this assemblage suggest moderate furnishings, but ones adequate to serve tea and dinner according to current fashion.

The kitchen midden assemblage, excavated in 2003, stands in contrast to the assemblage from the main house. Here, kitchen materials dominate the assemblage, and architectural materials are in the minority. Architectural artifacts are, in fact, less common than typically found on colonial sites, based on the Carolina Artifact Pattern.

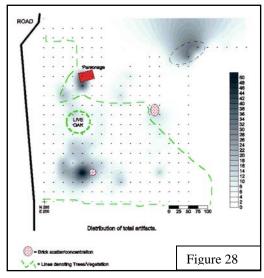
Table 5Comparison of midden deposit to Carolina Artifact Pattern					
	N525E400	Carolina Pattern	House fndn.	Stobo Plntn.	Drayton Locus 22
Kitchen	72.1	60.3	30.0	64.7	57.0
Architecture	21.4	23.9	68.6	28.7	37.3
Arms	.12	.5	.03	.31	.3
Clothing	.12	3.0	.03	.22	.5
Personal		.2		.08	.02
Furniture	.24	.2	.07	.68	.29
Pipes	5.2	5.8	.57	5.12	3.0
Activities	.62	1.7	.57	.10	1.3
Colonoware, % ceramic	55.0		21.0	25.6	62.0
Porcelain, % ceramic	7.4		9.3	6.07	4.2
Creamware, % ceramic	5.6		29.3	19.0	13.0

The artifact assemblage from the kitchen midden was both larger and more diverse. In contrast to the main house, arms, clothing, and furniture materials are present in proportion to the Carolina artifact pattern. Tobacco pipes are also present in significant numbers. This suggests a domestic occupation typical of British colonial sites. In order to consider this assemblage in broader context, the midden assemblage is then compared to the nearby plantation assemblage of James Stobo. This site, located at Willtown Bluff, was occupied by James Stobo from 1741 to 1767 (Zierden et al. 1999). Like the parsonage, the site was well-preserved and subject to sudden destruction and abandonment. As noted in the historical background, James Stobo played a key role in decisions concerning the second Willtown church and parsonage. These data are also compared to those from an area of 18th century occupation at Drayton Hall, located on the Ashley River. Drayton Hall was constructed in 1738 and used principally as a business center and seat of entertainment by the owner of several plantation tracts. Recent excavations were conducted in an area believed to be the location of slave quarters and work buildings during the 18th century (Zierden and Anthony 2006). Several categories of material culture are comparable between the parsonage midden, the Stobo yard, and the Drayton Hall yard.

Analysis of the ceramic assemblages from the parsonage house, the midden, the Stobo plantation, and the Drayton Hall yard reveals some interesting trends. Colono wares dominate the ceramic assemblage in the midden, comprising 55% of all ceramics. This is in contrast to the house assemblage, containing 21% colono wares. It also varies markedly from the Stobo site, which contained 25% colono wares. This strongly suggests occupation and use of the building and associated activities by African American residents. Likewise, the Drayton yard – and possible slave residences – contained 62% colono ware.

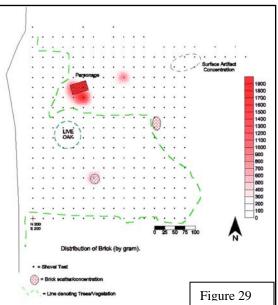
Chinese porcelain is also well-represented in the midden, comprising 7% of the ceramics. This is comparable to the Stobo site, which contained 6% porcelain. The Drayton Hall work area assemblage contained 4.2% porcelain. A large variety of European ceramics are present, as well, and the midden contained a broader range of types than did the house assemblage. Delft and white saltglazed stoneware are the dominant tablewares found in the midden. Another common component of the midden assemblage are combed and trailed slipwares, typically used in food preparation and storage during the 18th century. Creamware is far less common in the midden than it is around the main house, comprising 5% of the kitchen midden ceramics and 29% of the house ceramics. The Stobo site, abandoned after 1767, still contained 19% creamware, while the Drayton work yard, occupied through 1800, contained only 13 % creamware.

The parsonage site, then, contains an artifact assemblage typical of lowcountry plantation sites of the colonial period. The data compares favorably with assemblages from the Stobo site, a successful rice plantation owned by a man of means. The parsonage kitchen midden area contains an artifact assemblage significantly different from that of the main house, one more similar to the workyard/slave residence area of Drayton Hall. This, together with the stratigraphic record, indicates that the parsonage midden area may be used to explore evolution of foodways and daily life at the site through the 18th century. Further, the large assemblage of colono wares supports the suggestion that African Americans were in residence at the site, and that they were responsible for most of the affairs of the plantation function of the property.



The 2003 survey revealed a number of outbuildings in addition to the main house, thus suggesting a plantation function. The distribution maps suggest a concentration of artifacts associated with the brick cluster south of the main house, at N300E325. The limited excavations conducted in 2005 failed to reveal an intact structure in this vicinity, but produced an artifact assemblage supporting domestic occupation. The assemblage around N300 E325 contains a large proportion of architectural material, 52% of the assemblage, supporting the presence of a structure. Kitchen materials are 44% of the assemblage. Overall, the ceramic assemblage is somewhat later, and creamwares comprise 43% of the ceramics. Colono wares also form a significant portion of the assemblage, accounting for 19% of the ceramics. Chinese porcelain, in contrast, forms 2.2% of the ceramics. These preliminary results suggest this area is worthy of further investigation.

The 2003 survey also revealed a heavy concentration around the brick cluster at N600E550, in the wooded area. In contrast, artifacts were notably absent around the brick rubble at N450E500. Artifacts are also, of course, concentrated in the midden area. The present data suggests horizontal variability across the site, and a specialized function for each of the structures. They further suggest an extensive plantation complex, beyond a simple residence occupied by a minister. Investigation of each of these areas should expand our knowledge of site activities.



Colono Ware

Colono ware, originally called Colono-Indian ware by Virginia archaeologists (Noel Hume 1962), is a class of unglazed low fired hand built earthenware initially believed to have been manufactured exclusively by historic period Native Americans as a "market ware" for sale to European Americans. Noting the high frequency of occurrence of this pottery on plantation sites and observing that much of this ware found in South Carolina exhibited certain formal, decorative, and manufacturing characteristics atypical of pottery produced by Native Americans during the 18th and 19th centuries, Leland Ferguson (1980) hypothesized that much of this pottery encountered at plantation sites was produced and used by enslaved Africans and/or African Americans. Rather than Colono-Indian ware, Ferguson (1980) suggested that the name be modified to colono ware. He urged that this term be used to refer to unglazed low-fired earthenware likely utilized, sold, and traded by both African Americans and Native Americans during the colonial and antebellum periods.

Early support for Ferguson's hypothesis regarding the makers and users of colono ware was provided by the archaeological investigations of the slave site at Spiers Landing (Anthony 1979; Drucker and Anthony 1979) and at Yaughan and Curriboo plantations in Berkeley County, South Carolina (Wheaton et al. 1983). Research at Yaughan and

Curriboo (Wheaton et al. 1983), and more recently at Drayton Hall plantation (Lewis n.d.; Ferguson 1992; Zierden and Anthony 2004), has provided evidence for the on-site manufacture of colono ware at these plantations.

Early anthropologically oriented plantation archaeology in South Carolina focused on the interaction among, Africans, African Americans, and European Americans. Of late, however, increased attention has been given to the role of Native Americans in the formation of "Southern society", a role facilitated through various types of cultural interactions between Native Americans and the aforementioned groups (cf. Anthony 2002; Joseph 2002; King 2002). In an effort to be objective, several scholars have used the concept of *creolization* when discussing culture change and formation resulting from encounters among different cultural groups in colonial and early antebellum America. Creolization, "... the building of a new culture from diverse elements." (Ferguson 1992:150), emphasizes creativity and the expresses mutual exchange and contribution by all cultures in contact. 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). A product of culture contact, colono ware reflects the emergence of new cultural systems; new systems forged as Africans, African Americans, European American, and Native Americans adapted to unfamiliar physical and social settings. Colono ware is, perhaps, our best material expression of syncretism from archaeological contexts.

During the last two and a half decades, the investigation of colono ware has been conducted at varying scales of analysis. Joseph provides an excellent summary of colono ware research in South Carolina as part of a report on archaeology the Charleston County Judicial Center (Hamby and Joseph 2004). This, along with Brian Crane's dissertation research (Crane 1993), represents the most intensive study of South Carolina colono ware from an urban context, to date. Crane (1993) studied a relatively large colono ware assemblage from the Heyward-Washington house and concluded that the collection was produced from a number of different clay sources. He suggested that this colono ware assemblage was likely acquired or purchased from diverse sources, rather than manufactured in one locale, such as downtown Charleston. The work at the Charleston Judicial Center supports Crane's findings (Hamby and Joseph 2004). Joseph believes that most of the colono ware found at the Charleston County Judicial Center site was exchanged via an urban market system. Other researchers are currently studying this market system as well (cf. Isenbarger 2006). Joseph states,

"The Colonowares found at the Judicial Center Site were obviously made for trade at market. There is no evidence that Colonoware was made on the Judicial Center Site, and the majority of the Colonowares found by the project were most likely purchased, probably from Charleston's markets ..." (Hamby and Joseph 2004:257). According to Joseph, most of the colono wares observed at the Judicial Center Site can be classified as Lesesne Lustered colono ware (Anthony 1986). This variety of colono ware, initially discussed as part of the archaeological investigations of Lesesne and Fairbanks plantations (cf. Zierden et al. 1986), on Daniel's Island, in Berkeley County, has long been considered a market ware (Anthony 1986; Joseph 2002). Joseph suggests that Lowcountry colono wares be classified as either *Market* Colono Ware or *Village* Colono Ware. Currently, Village colono ware is represented by a variety referred to in the literature as Yaughan (Wheaton et al 1983). Yaughan wares are most often found in association with rural slaves occupations where it was used as a utilitarian pottery (Anthony 1979, 1986; Wheaton et al. 1983; Zierden et al. 1986; Hamby and Joseph 2004; Zierden and Anthony 2006).

A second season of archaeological investigation at 38Ch1660, the parsonage site, has yielded notable amounts of both Yaughan and Lesesne colono wares (Wheateon et al. 1983; Anthony 1986). A third variety, most likely associated with colonial period Native Americans (cf. Anthony 2002), was also observed.

Table 6 Colono Ware From Excavation Unit N525 E400 (2003)				
<u>Classification</u>	Frequency	<u>%</u>		
Yaughan Lesesne Lustered River Burnished Historic Aboriginal	225 53 0 25	74 18 0 8		
TOTAL	303	100		

Table 7Colono Ware From the Parsonage Structure (2005)			
<u>Classification</u>	Frequency	<u>%</u>	
Yaughan	21	18	
Lesesne Lustered	90	76	
River Burnished	0	0	
Historic Aboriginal Colono Ware	8*	6	
TOTAL	119	100	

	Table 8		
Colono Ware From Excavation Units in Field South of Parsonage Structure (2005)			
Classification	Frequency	<u>%</u>	
Yaughan	13	93	
Lesesne Lustered	0	0	
River Burnished	0	0	
Historic Aboriginal	1	7	
TOTAL	14	100	

Yaughan colono ware is most often associated with African American residential occupation. It appears to be an "everyday" utilitarian ware used for cooking and serving. At several plantation sites investigated in the lowcountry, this variety comprised more than half of the artifacts recovered from African American slave residential areas (eg. Drucker and Anthony 1979; Wheaton et al.1983; Zierden et al. 1986). Vessel forms dominating Yaughan assemblages include convex-sided, rounded to slightly flatbottomed hemispherical bowls and both large and small globular jars with everted rims and gently rounded bottoms. Some Yaughan jars recovered from lowcountry sites are characterized by lug or strap handles which do not appear to have been attached by plug insertion (Wheaton et al. 1983; Anthony 1986, 2002). Lips of these ceramic vessels are most frequently rounded or flattened with a tool. Yaughan vessels usually exhibit crudely smoothed to rather well smoothed surfaces and, at times, burnished or rubbed

finishes. Yaughan vessels that have been burnished can exhibit surfaces that have been incompletely or haphazardly rubbed. A notable number of Yaughan sherds recovered from the parsonage site indicate that several vessels were burnished in this way. Yaughan vessels often exhibit a clearly laminar paste and vessel walls which often are not uniform in thickness.



Figure 30: Yaughan colono ware

Yaughan bowls generally outnumber jars, at least 2 to 1, in many, if not most, rural colono ware assemblages. This seems to be the case at the Parsonage site as well (Tables 9 and 10). Other Yaughan vessel forms encountered, although usually in the minority, may include bottles, cups, plates, and lidded vessels, possibly serving a function similar to a Dutch oven (Anthony 2002). No vessels of this sort were recovered from the Parsonage site during the present project. At times, Yaughan smoking pipe fragments and gaming pieces, such as marbles, have been recovered from 18th and early 19th century contexts. A single colono ware pipe bowl fragment was recovered from excavation unit N505 E300 at the parsonage site.

Table 9Colono Ware Rimsherd Frequency From the Parsonage Site (2003).				
<u>Vessel For</u>	<u>m Yaughan</u>	Lesesne	<u>%</u>	
Bowl	23	12	74	
Jar	10	2	26	
TOTAL	33	14	100	

Colono Ware Rir	Table 10Colono Ware Rimsherd Frequency From the Parsonage Site (2005).				
Vessel Form	<u>Yaughan</u>	Lesesne	<u>%</u>		
Bowl	7	17	83		
Jar	3	2	17		
TOTAL	10	19	100		

Lesesne Lustered colono ware (Anthony 1986), believed to have been a market

ware rather than a *utilitarian* ware (Anthony1986; Hamby and Joseph 2004), often accounts for the majority of colono wares associated with rural planter/landowner residences (Anthony 1986, 2002). Likely used routinely in 18th century planter households, Lesesne can exhibit physical attributes similar to some European and European American ceramics. This occurrence supports the notion that much of this pottery was



Figure 31: Lesesne lustered and creamware bowls from Charleston sites.

produced to please or appeal to a specific clientele (Joseph 2002). Recent archaeological investigations in Charleston reveal that Lesesne ware represents the majority of colono wares found in 18th century urban contexts as well (cf. Hamby and Joseph 2004; Isenbarger 2001, 2006).

Like other varieties of colono ware, most Lesesne vessels are bowls. Both straight and convex sided bowls occur. They are characterized by slightly rounded to almost flat bottoms. Unlike Yaughan bowls, most Lesesne bowls recovered from the parsonage were straight-sided. Tables 9 and 10 show that more Lesesne bowl rimsherds than jar rimsherds were recovered from the project area. At the parsonage, Lesesne vessels exhibited both round and flattened lips. Flattened, tooled lips represent 72% (n = 23) of the current Lesesne rimsherd assemblage. Sometimes Lesesne vessels, particularly bowl forms, exhibit a distinctive bulbous lip. This characteristic was not observed at the parsonage site. Other Lesesne vessel forms known from 18th century lowcountry sites include both necked and neckless jars, bottles, cups, and multi-podal vessels reminiscent of some early European vessel forms (Anthony 1986, 2002; Hamby and Joseph 2004).

Lesesne colono ware from the Parsonage Site presently is limited to only bowls and jars. Usually exhibiting a fine to medium paste, at times almost temperless, Lesesne colono ware can evidence a laminar paste, although the laminar "look" is often not as pronounced as found in the somewhat less well fired Yaughan pottery. A laminar paste is evidently one signature of hand modeling vessel construction, as opposed to a coil method. Perhaps the most readily visible morphological feature of Lesesne colono ware is its surface treatment. Lesesne pottery is characterized by relatively wellburnished surfaces (Anthony 1986, 2002).



Figure 32: Lesesne lustered colono ware



Although not as evenly or completely burnished as a variety of colono ware known as River Burnished (Ferguson 1989), Lesesne colono ware is burnished to a degree which often results in a "waxy" feel to the vessel surface. Another distinguishing characteristic of Lesesne, relative to Yaughan pottery, is uniformity in vessel wall thickness. Lesesne vessels also tend to be somewhat thinner walled than Yaughan vessels. Both

Figure 33: Lesesne lustered sherds, from reducing (left) and oxidizing (right) firing conductions

Lesesne and Yaughan ceramics were primarily hand modeled and both can be incompletely oxidized or incompletely reduced. At times, Lesesne colono ware can be completely oxidized or reduced. No River Burnished colono ware has been identified at the parsonage site.

River Burnished pottery dates to the late 18th/early 19th century (Ferguson 1989), and is relatively well made. Several researchers have suggested that River Burnished pottery was produced and sold/traded by historic period Catawba. Although no evidence of River Burnished pottery was observed in the project area, other styles of historic period aboriginal pottery was encountered during both the 2003 and 2005 field seasons (Tables 9 and 10). Though the pottery exhibits several physical attributes similar to other colono ware varieties, such as vessel form, it can be readily distinguished by a relatively

coarse-grained paste with substantial quantities of sub-angular to angular coarse sand (1/2 to 1.0 millimeter). Interestingly, this paste also characterizes complicated stamped historic aboriginal pottery of the area (Anthony 2002). The historic period aboriginal colono ware found at the parsonage site and other sites in Charleston and Berkeley counties usually exhibits interior surfaces that are very well smoothed to burnished and often exterior vessel surfaces that are burnished as well. Joseph describes a similar type of pottery observed in 18th century downtown Charleston contexts that he refers to as Colonial Burnished (Hamby and Joseph 2004).



Figure 34: Historic aboriginal colono ware

The colono ware assemblage from the project area supports several observations made from similar rural Lowcountry sites (Anthony 1979, 1986, 2002; Zierden and Anthony 2003, 2006). Lesesne Lustered ware is found more frequently than Yaughan ceramics at the parsonage planter/landowner residence. This association of the Lesesne variety with planter/landowner occupations has been observed for several years (Anthony 1986, 2002; Hamby and Joseph 2004). It is likely that this occurrence is an expression of cultural preference. At many lowcountry sites, Lesesne ceramics, particularly bowls, exhibit larger vessel orfices than Yaughan bowls. This may indicate a serving, rather than storage or cooking, function for many Lesesne vessels. Yaughan pottery, in turn, is more clearly associated with food preparation. At the parsonage site, Yaughan is more common in former field areas and in the area directly east of the parsonage residence, within a locus possibly containing a detached kitchen. Again, this reinforces previous observations that Yaughan colono ware is associated with non European American residences and other activity areas (Anthony 1979, 1986, 2002; Wheaton et al. 1983; Ferguson 1980, 1992; Hamby and Joseph 2004). Interestingly, historic aboriginal colono ware at the parsonage seems to be associated with Yaughan pottery. This occurrence has

also been noted at other 18th century sites in Charleston county (Anthony 2002, Zierden and Anthony 2003, 2006).

The physical attributes of the colono ware varieties at the parsonage appear to be relatively homogenous and consistent. There does not appear to be much internal variability among the recovered assemblages of each variety. There is some variance relative to other 18th/ early 19th century sites lowcountry sites. For example, the Yaughan variety appears to be much better fired than Yaughan pottery from a number of other sites. There is also a high occurrence of flattened lips and an overall lack of vessel form diversity relative to other comparable sites; with the exception of a probable colono ware pipe bowl fragment, no non vessel/container colono wares were observed. If colono ware is a product of culture contact among people of widely divergent cultural backgrounds, then variance among colono ware assemblages from different sites would be expected. To borrow Carl Steen's vivid and useful analogy (Steen 1999), each region or sub region should have had its own "recipe", or cultural mix, for its associated ethnic stew. Archaeologically, colono ware is currently our best tangible product of that dynamic cultural stew. It has the potential of informing us about the mix of ingredients, their proportions, when they were added, and how they interfaced.

Colono ware from the parsonage site and from other lowcountry sites offers invaluable opportunities to explore syncretism on the Carolina frontier. Further intraregional study of colono ware will provide an avenue to reconstruct and understand some of the processes of culture change and formation experienced by pioneering African Americans, Native Americans, and European Americans during the colonial and early antebellum periods (Anthony 2002). This pottery will help researchers explain the emergence of "Southern Society" in both rural and urban contexts.

Summary and Recommendations

As has been noted before, the Parsonage site offers an unusual opportunity to explore a well-preserved colonial site, occupied for a relatively short period of time and abandoned *in situ* (see Zierden et al. 1999; Joseph and Zierden 2002). The site exhibits only minimal disturbance subsequent to abandonment in the early years of the 19th century. A portion of the site has been plowed, but this the 2003 analysis suggests this area retains good horizontal integrity. The degree of subsurface preservation in this area remains unknown, though the three units excavated in 2005 suggest some degree of disturbance and compaction. Site conditions such as these are common throughout the coastal plain, and such sites still contain much valuable data. A smaller portion of the site is wooded, and a single test excavation in the concentration of kitchen materials suggest that there is almost no post-depositional disturbance to the site, beyond the first few inches of soil. The principal feature of the site, the brick foundation to the parsonage house, is well-preserved in the mound of soil and has now been completely exposed. The

foundation appears stable enough to remain exposed, but should be protected from the elements by a covering of some type.

The 2003 survey of an area approximately 600' by 900' revealed a site with definite boundaries and concentrations of materials, suggesting specialized activity areas. A rich midden area was discovered and tested 75' east of the main house mound, and a single test unit in 2003 identified a deep ash layer and several features that are likely wooden post stains. Three additional outbuildings, south and east of the house, were identified through brick concentrations. The presence of brick suggests substantial, if small, structures. Artifacts recovered in and around each of these buildings should inform on the date of occupation and function of that locus. There is some evidence to suggest these buildings were used into the 19th century, after the main house was destroyed. Likewise, additional structures may be located north of the house, particularly in the vicinity of the brick well.

The midden area east of the main house has provided tantalizing evidence of daily life at the site; this warrants further testing. The single unit excavated in 2003 revealed a rich, dense midden, evidence for a host of activities, and an artifact assemblage notably different from that retrieved around the main house. The features excavated to date have not revealed much about the function of this area. It is possible that the posts reflect a building constructed of wood, rather than brick, while the array of artifacts suggest a kitchen function for the area. Comparison between the 2003 data and the larger main house assemblage revealed dramatic differences. These data suggest that the kitchen midden area may be the most revealing portion of the site.

Exposure of the entire foundation of the main house has provided important details on the size and appearance of the building. The excavations reveal that the building burned in the early 19th century, appears to have collapsed inward, and to have received minimal disturbance since that time. Test excavations suggest the interior of the structure is filled with brick, charcoal, plaster, and other architectural debris, but these layers may also contain evidence of the furnishings and personal possessions. Additional excavation of the building interior should be very revealing, but could also be time-consuming. At leas a portion of this interior should remain unexcavated, and preserved for future generations. Excavation of the interior may also de-stabilize the extant foundation, so such an effort should be approached cautiously, with careful consideration given to post-excavation stabilization.

The site has been subject to only a brief review of the historical literature, and additional documentary study is warranted. A recent reexamination of the Willtown church records suggests an expanded, and more complex, role for the parsonage site. Evidently, the site functioned as an income-producing plantation, one staffed by enslaved African-Americans, as well as a home for the minister. This role was anticipated from the artifacts recovered, and in the architectural data. Additional documentary evidence would further clarify this dual role, and the place of the site in the greater Willtown community.

Religious settlements in the lowcountry have received relatively little attention, and the artifacts recovered at the Parsonage suggest that a range of activities – economic, social, and religious – may have occurred here. Research at Willtown and colonial Dissenter communities (Zierden 2002; Beck 2002; Crass et al. 2002; Elliott and Elliott 2002) suggest that these communities were fluid and complex. The Parsonage site is part of the greater Willtown community, founded a few miles to the south (Zierden et al. 1999). The new Willtown church and parsonage are part of the evolving Carolina frontier, and the creation of the new church reflects a shift from frontier to plantation economy in the Edisto area. A major characteristic of frontier society was a multiracial and multiethnic population, and the ways relations and identities of component groups shifted. The parsonage site should be studied as a component of the evolving Willtown community.

The parsonage site contains data capable of providing new insights into the history of the Edisto area. The site is well-preserved and has been well protected; it is worthy of continued stewardship. Additional archaeological and historical research on the site will add considerably to our understanding of this special property.

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