

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF A SETTLEMENT AT DIXIE PLANTATION,
HOLLYWOOD, SC

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The College of Charleston's Dixie Plantation in Hollywood, SC is located 19 miles west of the College of Charleston's main campus in downtown Charleston. Dixie Plantation was formerly an 18th and 19th century rice and cotton plantation known as Dixie Plantation. Today, the avenue of oaks and the remnants of rice canals are all that is left of the former plantation.

A 1799 and a ca.1807 plat map of the area indicates the plantation once consisted of a main house, an avenue of oaks, and an unidentified settlement, simply labeled "Fickling's" on the ca. 1807 map. This settlement was represented by two structures on the 1799 map and then four structures on the 1807 map. There are no intact architectural remains of the structures indicated on the plat maps, but in the fall of 2012, an archaeological survey of the area was completed. The primary research goals of this project were to identify the location the settlement indicated by these maps, establish an occupation period, and determine the function of these four buildings from the collected artifact assemblage.

Due to high percentage of table wares and kitchen artifacts at the site, the evidence suggests the buildings had a residential component and could be residences of some of the plantation dependents, particularly the enslaved workers. This thesis will discuss the challenges of identifying sites based on historic maps and assigning site function for the settlement.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF A SETTLEMENT
AT DIXIE PLANTATION, HOLLYWOOD, SC

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in Anthropology

By Eva E. Falls

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Chapter One

Introduction

One of the toughest challenges archaeologists face is determining the function a site served in the past, such as a work area or spiritual place or a domestic residence. This thesis discusses the challenges faced in interpreting the function of a 19th century settlement at Dixie Plantation. Dixie Plantation, now owned by the College of Charleston Foundation as an outdoor research facility, consists of roughly 900 acres and is a former 18th and 19th century plantation near Hollywood, SC, 19 miles outside of Charleston, SC (Figure 1.1). Today, all that remains above ground of the former rice and later cotton plantation is an avenue of oaks and remnants of the early rice field canal system.

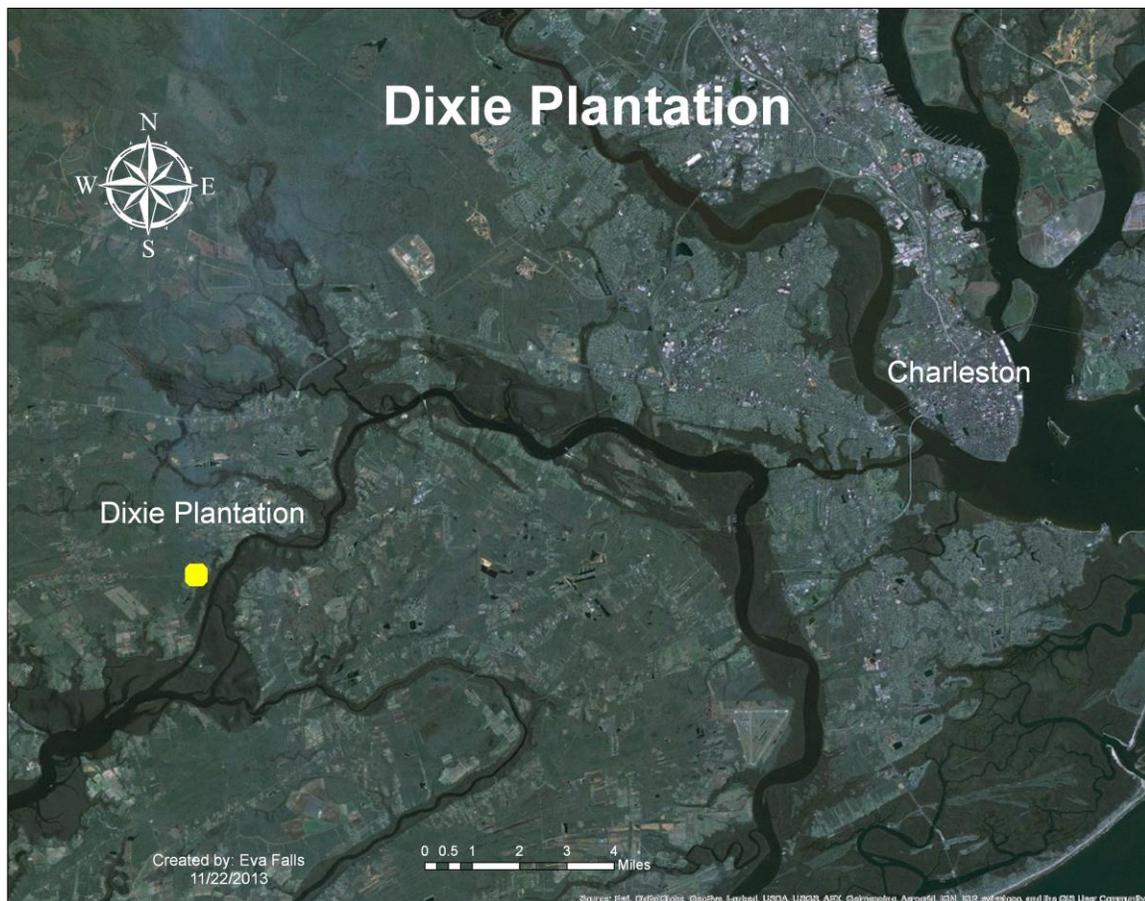


Figure 1.1: Map displaying Dixie Plantation in relation to downtown Charleston, S

Two early plat maps of the area indicate the plantation once consisted of a main house at the end of an avenue of oaks and a nearby settlement. This settlement appears on a ca 1799 McCrady plat map in the collections of the Charleston County Register Mesne Conveyance's Office with two associated structures and is labeled "settlement" (Figure 1.2). It is illustrated off the northeast end of the avenue of oaks a short distance from the main house. On the plat map by Joseph Purcell dated ca. 1807 (Plat # 32-48-3) in the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, the settlement area consists of four structures, a yard, and is labeled "Fickling's" (Figure 1.3).

Project Objectives

There are no above ground intact architectural remains left of the structures indicated on the plat maps. The primary research goals of this project were to identify the settlement area, establish an occupation period, and determine the function of these four buildings from the collected artifact assemblage. In the fall of 2012, an archaeological survey of the area was completed in the suspected vicinity of where they once stood. I hypothesize the buildings represent the former enslaved worker residences, though it is possible that they could also represent residences of other plantation occupants or carriage house, stables, or other outbuildings.

Site Description

Dixie Plantation is bordered by Highway 162 on the west side and the Stono River to the east. A dirt road, Dixie Plantation Road, runs through the middle of the property. This road was known as Willtown Road historically. Most of the property is around 25 feet above sea level (Figure 1.4) with tidal salt marsh areas along the river.

There are only three buildings still standing on the property, two 20th century wood frame tenant farmer cabins and one mid-to-late 19th century brick building. Other 20th century structures, including a barn, an art studio, and a house, have been torn down recently. There is also a fenced cemetery containing four early 18th century marked graves. This cemetery had been identified as the location of the former 1707 St. Paul's Parish Church, one of the earliest Anglican churches constructed in South Carolina (Pyszka 2012 and Pyszka et al 2012). (Figure 1.4)

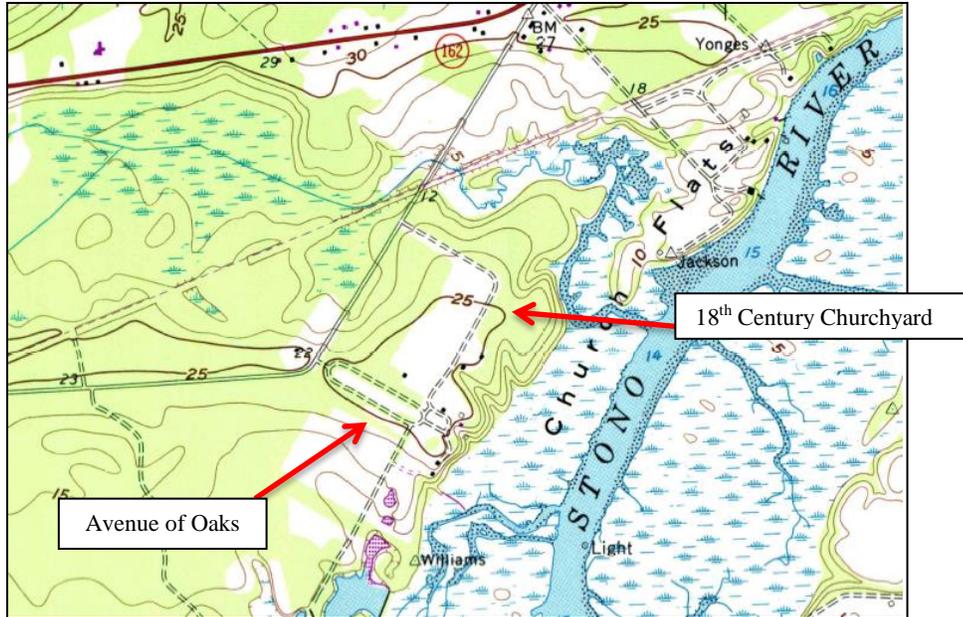


Figure 1.4: Part of the (Wadmalaw) USGS quad map displaying the area of Dixie Plantation with the avenue of oaks and the 18th century churchyard identified.

The survey area is located between Dixie Plantation Road and the Stono River. It is in an open field bordered on the west side by a wooded area, the oak avenue on the south side, a 20th century wood frame tenant farmer cabin to the southwest, and a dirt drive on the east side. (Figure 1.5) At the time of the survey the empty field had been recently plowed, but since it has been planted with native wild flowers and plants.

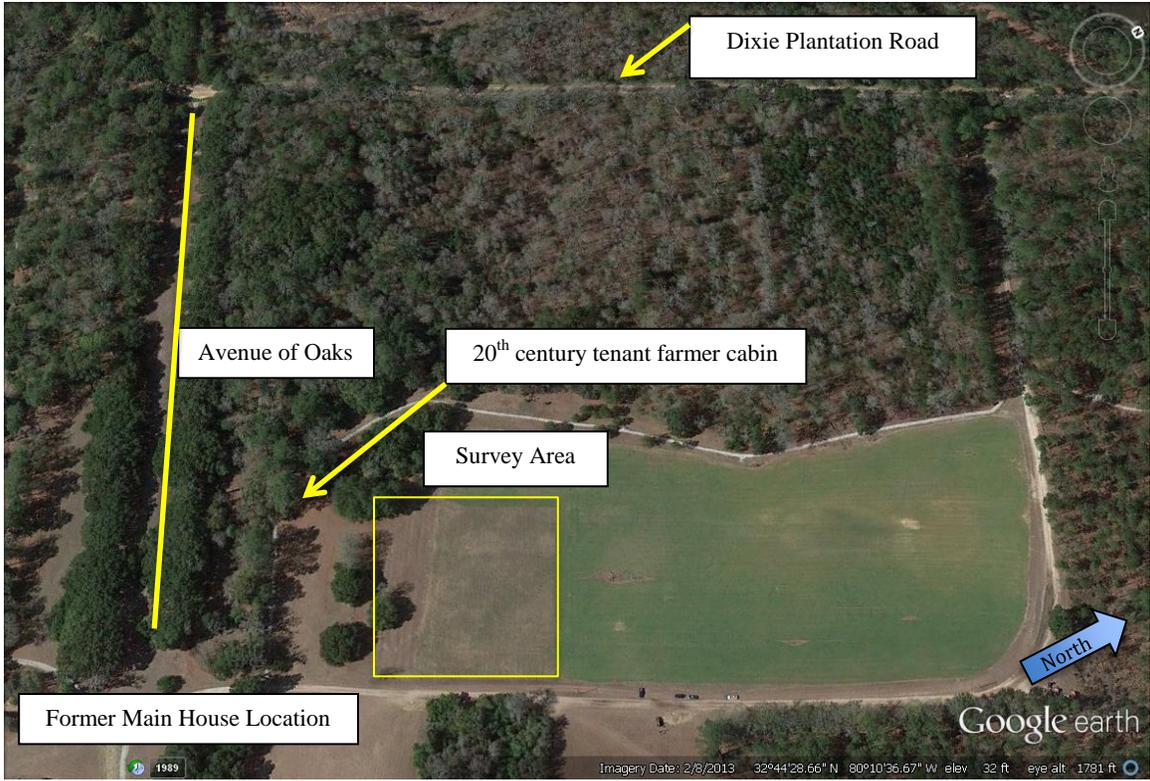


Figure 1.5: Google Earth image showing the survey area in relation to other features of the property.

Chapter Two

Background

Development of Plantation Archaeology

The literature published on plantation archaeology over the past 50 years is abundant. The development of plantation archaeology mirrors the overall development of historical archaeology in the United States as a discipline. Starting in 1931 when archaeological surveying began at George Washington's Mount Vernon, early plantation archaeology focused on determining plantation layout, identifying structures, historical preservation, and reconstruction efforts. These projects were often focused on places that were tied to important historical figures, like Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. They focused on the overall operation of the plantation and the 'big house,' relying heavily on and supplementing the documentary record. (Singleton 1990, 1995)

Plantation archaeology gradually began to shift from concentrating on the 'big house' to concentrating on the plantation dependencies. African American archaeology and a focus on plantation slave quarters emerged in the 1960's in response to growing interest in disenfranchised populations left largely out of the documentary record. This focus was influenced by the anthropologically motivated 'New Archaeology' movement started by Lewis Binford and the political movements of the 1960's (Singleton 1990). The first in depth study of a slave quartering site was in 1968 by Charles Fairbanks at Kingsley Plantation.

The primary research objectives of many early archaeological investigations of slave sites, including Fairbanks' study, asked questions about acculturation and retention of African traits. Archaeologists looked for material indices of ethnicity and cultural

identifiers. (Singleton 1990, 1995) These “Africanisms” included subfloor pits, colonoware vessels (an unglazed locally made low-fired earthenware) that are similar to ‘African’ vessel forms (Hauser and DeCorse 2003), blue beads (Stine et al 1996), crystals, cowrie shells, and objects marked with x’s interpreted as Bakongo cosmogram symbols (Heath and Breen 2009, Ferguson 1992). This approach was encouraged when African style houses made from wattle and daub were found at the 18th century plantations of Yaughn and Curriboo in South Carolina (Wheaton et. al 1983).

It is important to note though, the presence or absence of one or all of these traits do not necessarily denote the presence or absence of enslaved African Americans. Many of these early studies have been criticized as a simplified and naïve approach to culture. Cultural indices must be considered within the wider context of what is happening at a site. As Howson (1990) points out, “traits do not equal culture.” These types of artifacts, or ethnic material indices, do little to assist in identifying later slave sites as populations developed a new creole culture and became farther removed from their African origins. Cultures were blending as people adapted to a new environment.

Another popular approach to slave quartering sites is ‘status patterning’ or looking for indicators of status in the material record. This term was first coined by John Otto in his study of Canon’s Point Plantation in 1975. Otto looked for status or class indicators in the material record through the frequency of certain types of artifacts (Otto 1977). These studies compare assemblages from planters’ homes, overseers’ cabins, and slave quarters. An example of the application of this technique was in the identification of a suspected slave site at Spiers Landing by Lesley Drucker in 1981. Drucker looked for material indices to establish the socioeconomic status of the residents of the 18th

century lowcountry site. He determined the site was probably occupied by low status agricultural workers or slaves. Unfortunately, this approach does not into account that people invest their wealth in ways that may not be reflected in the archaeological record.

During the 1980's, archaeologists began to compare slave quartering sites to look for material patterns reflecting regional or temporal 'slave culture.' Artifact patterns consist of grouping and categorizing artifacts by function and then observing the frequency of certain types of artifacts. These frequencies can be then compared to the artifact frequencies of other sites. Artifact quantification makes in depth comparisons more feasible and can reveal patterns that could go unnoticed otherwise, while inspiring new lines of inquiry. Artifact patterns are based on the assumption that human behavior is part of a larger cultural system, and therefore the by-products of the behavior (artifacts) will be used or discarded in a similar manner (South 1977).

Two artifact patterns were developed during the 1980's for slave settlements, the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982) and the Georgia Coastal Slave Artifact Pattern (Singleton 1980). The Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern was developed using rice plantations dating to the 18th century. It is characterized by lots of colonoware, impermanent architecture, and higher ratio of kitchen artifacts to architectural artifacts. The Georgia Coastal Slave Artifact Pattern was developed mainly using 19th century sea island cotton plantations with low amounts of colonoware and more permanent architecture. The artifact ratios for this site are characterized by higher percentages of architectural artifacts than kitchen artifacts. (Joseph 1989)

The use of artifact patterns though has been widely criticized as it discounts individual agency, market access, and historical context. It is a very simplified view that

lumps all of plantation culture together across regions and time periods. It does not take into account the many factors that could be affecting the material remains at a specific site. (Orser 1989)

While things like blue beads, colonoware, and subfloor pits have been used to identify slave settlements, in Heath and Breen's study of quartering sites in Virginia (2009) they found slave sites are extremely diverse based on plantation size, geographical location, and time period. The presence or absence of these features does not definitively denote the presence or absence of enslaved peoples. Archaeological studies of plantations focus on the material conditions of the people living there, cultural indices, issues of race, class struggle, and resistance (Singleton 1990, Orser 1998, Singleton 1995). Today, archaeologists use slave sites to discuss the "cultural and historical processes of racialization, household and community formation, and consumerism" (Heath and Breen 2009:3).

Development of Slavery and the Plantation Economy in Low Country SC

The South Carolina low country encompasses the 200 miles along the South Carolina coast and extending approximately 50 miles inland (Olwell 1998). South Carolina has a long history of participation in the slave trade, beginning with the Indian slave trade in the 17th to 18th centuries until political tensions and overexploitation led to importation of Africans (Ferguson 1992). The founding and development of slavery systems in South Carolina was very different than its northern neighbors of North Carolina and Virginia. South Carolina was a slave society with chattel slavery from its founding (Olwell 1998). It was part of the greater South Atlantic Slave Trade and was heavily influenced by the slave practices of the West Indies (Littlefield 1981).

The early South Carolina economy was based on agriculture focused on three cash crops: rice, indigo, and cotton (Hudgins 1999). The almost tropic climate and swampy wetlands made South Carolina ideal for rice production. Rice was the major crop in South Carolina during the 18th century being cultivated in SC as early as the 1690s (Carney 1996), with indigo becoming the second largest crop during the 1750's (Olwell 1998). Cotton became a more important crop alongside rice and indigo during the 19th century.

Some historians have suggested owners in South Carolina preferred enslaved peoples from Gambia, because of their knowledge of rice cultivation in Western Africa (though this association of South Carolina and Gambia was probably due to many market forces of the time besides just preference.) After Gambia, Angolan slaves were also heavily imported. (Littlefield 1981) "The social and economic environment in South Carolina, by contrast [to Virginia], accentuated and prolonged a recognition of African

ethnicity” (Littlefield 1981). This is important to note, because in order to look at specific examples of the influence of African culture in South Carolina, the ethnicity and origin of the slave population must first be established (Littlefield 1981). By the 19th century though, enslaved peoples had established self-sustaining creole populations that were less defined ethnically by their African origins (Olwell 1998). Compared to other colonies, South Carolina was the largest importer of slaves on the North American mainland (Carney 1996). By the end of the 18th century there were 80,000 blacks in the low country, as opposed to only 20,000 whites (Olwell 1998). In 1860, almost 50 years later, there were roughly 127,800 slaves in the low country (Hudson 1997).

A task system based on the age and health of the individual was the common work allotment system on low country plantations (Carney 1996). Slave owners assigned a set amount of work that had to be completed each day. Once their assigned tasks were done, the rest of their day could be spent their own activities. Usually, workers were allowed to have their own gardens. Low country slaves, in comparison to other regions in South Carolina usually had more access to garden plots, sometimes up to 15 acres. They could also supplement their diet with fishing and hunting wildlife. (Hudson 1997)

The imposed work systems helped shape family ties and the community. When workers were allowed to have gardens and create a surplus for themselves, economic and social hierarchies and connections were formed within the community. The task system allowed for a certain level of autonomy and allowed workers to participate in the local economy more than other work systems (Adams and Boling 1989). Enslaved peoples could sell or trade their surplus, though sometimes they were removed from the wider market by buyer restrictions imposed by plantation owners. Social hierarchy existed

within slave communities, because of access to resources and the strength of their familial ties. 'Private' economic and social activities allowed slaves to form their own space on the landscape. (Hudson 1997) "Slaves were not merely the passive subjects of the slave society, but were intelligent agents whose choices and actions, while always shackled by their condition, nonetheless helped to shape the world they lived in" (Olwell 1998).

History of Dixie Plantation

The over 900 acres that now comprise Dixie Plantation have long been occupied by people as evidenced by the prehistoric artifacts. The first known white settlers, Captain John Bristow and Mr. William Peters, rented the land in the general area of the property as early as 1691 from the (Mortier). According to the *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline*, it appears William Peter's house would have been located on the land now known as Dixie Plantation (Figure 2.1). Landgrave Edmund Bellinger, an important political figure in the colony, purchased the property in 1701 after the Bristow and Peters failed to pay their rent (Salley 1910).



Figure 2.1: The square indicates the general vicinity of Dixie Plantation on the *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline, 1691* (Mortier)

In 1706, Bellinger donated 39 acres to the Anglican Church's St. Paul's Parish church bordered by the Stono River, and a church, a cemetery, and a parsonage were built by 1707 (SCHS 1706). Though the parsonage was burned in 1715 during the Yamasee Indian War, the church remained in use until the circa 1750's when the more centrally located parish chapel of ease became the new parish church. The church continued to own their glebe lands along the Stono and rented their land to nearby planters into the early 1800's. (Pyszka 2012)

Not much is known about who was living on the land south of the church lands after William Peters, until Joseph Fickling's name became associated with the property. Joseph Fickling was a planter that owned the property to the south of the glebe lands, including the avenue of oaks, the main house, and the settlement that is the subject of this thesis. His name appears on the ca. 1807 plat map and the settlement is specifically labeled "Fickling's." The settlement and the avenue of oaks are also labeled as "new," indicating there may have been some recent construction or additions at the time (SCHS ca1807).

As of the US Census in 1790, the Ficklins' owned 53 slaves though not much else is known about the people that worked on the plantation during the early 19th century. The only specific references to the Ficklins' enslaved people are found in two runaway slave ads that Joseph Fickling posted in the *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*. On July 23, 1794, he posted a ten dollar reward for Tom, and on April 24, 1810, he posted another ten dollar reward for Nelson, a ship's carpenter (Figure 2.2).

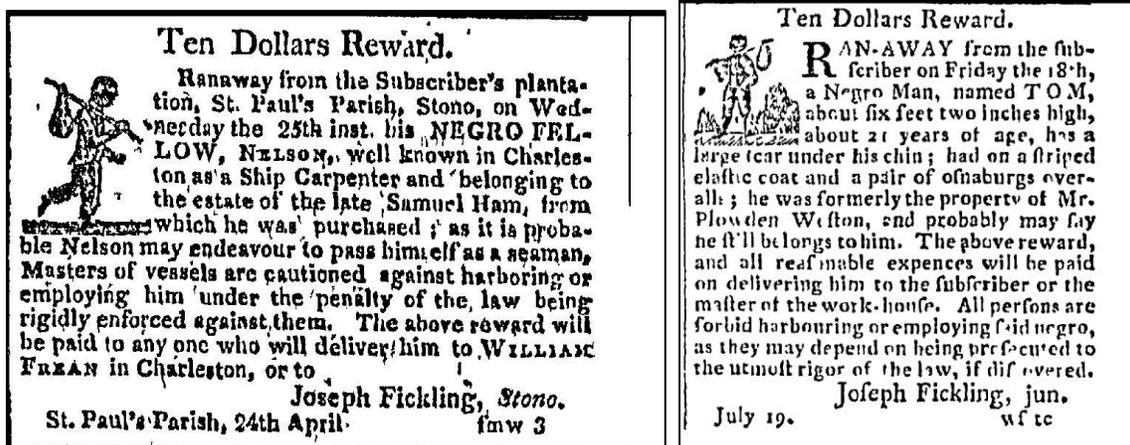


Figure 2.2: Runaway slave ads posted in the *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* by Joseph Fickling

Joseph Fickling appears to own the property until his death in 1815. His tract of land along the Stono of roughly 410 acres was advertised in a sheriff's sale in July 1817 (*City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* 1815, 1817). The Robert Mills atlas map from 1825 shows the land belonging to Edward Lynah (Figure 2.3). Lynah likely acquired the property upon his marriage to Eliza Fickling, Joseph's daughter, on November 27, 1816 (Sarret, Jr. 1997). After Lynah, Benjamin Bailey owned the property until he sold it to Frederick Richards ca 1866 after a failed attempt to pay his taxes with Confederate money (SCHS 1866). Benjamin Bailey's name and a date that looks like 1854 has been added to the ca 1807 plat under Joseph Fickling's name indicating he owned the property in the years leading up to the Civil War.

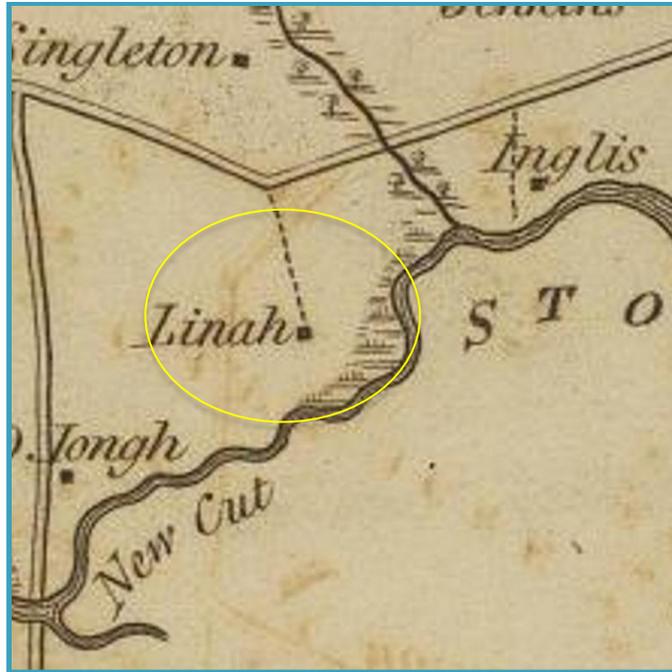


Figure 2.3: Detail of the 1825 Robert Mills map showing the property belonging to Linah.

Not much is known about the property during the late 19th into the early 20th century until it was purchased by George Williams. Williams built a new house at the end of the avenue of oaks in 1918 (News and Courier, Charleston 1935). A 1919 USGS map shows three structures in the area of the former settlement on the ca1807 plat. Two early-20th century wood frame structures, believed to be tenant farmer residences, still stand on the property today and may represent these structures on the 1919 map that since have been moved to their present locations.

Williams' 1918 main house was heavily remodeled after the Italian boxer Vincent Fiermonte and his wife, Madeleine, bought the plantation in 1935 for around \$40,000 (Charleston Evening Post 1939). Fiermonte added a wooden guest house, a dog run, a barn, a garage, and a tennis court to the property (News & Courier 1937). Unfortunately,

the new mansion burned down shortly after the remodel's completion in 1939 (Charleston Evening Post 1939) and was never rebuilt.

Fiermonte was the third husband of Madeleine Force Astor Dick. After their divorce, Madeleine retained ownership of Dixie Plantation, and upon her death in 1941, her second son from her second marriage, John Henry Dick, inherited the property. John Henry Dick made Dixie his permanent home in 1945. He was an ornithologist and naturalist that thrived on the natural beauty of Dixie and used the property as a nature preserve due to his interests. (SCHS 1919) In 1995 upon his death, John Henry willed the plantation to the College of Charleston as an outdoor learning facility which it has served as ever since (College of Charleston 2013).

Previous Archaeology

The archaeological projects and fieldwork seasons to date have been carried out at Dixie Plantation through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the College of Charleston. These projects include an extensive investigation of the early 18th century St. Paul's Parish Church, its churchyard, and its parsonage complex (Pyszka 2012). Shovel testing and excavations along the avenue of oaks, around the former main house, and the settlement area were also conducted as one of the College of Charleston's 2008 archaeological field schools.

Initial archaeological testing to identify the settlement's location began in 2007 and continued into 2008. Under the direction of Kimberly Pyszka, then a Ph.D. student at the University of Tennessee, and Maureen Hays, anthropology professor at the College of Charleston, students shovel tested the open field on the north side of the avenue of oaks

in front of one of the extant early 20th century tenant cabins, designated as Area B (Figure 2.9). The 37 shovel tests did not yield sufficient evidence that the 19th century settlement's location had been identified. However, in the spring of 2009, the discovery of the ca. 1807 plat map at the South Carolina Historical Society indicated the settlement was just to the north of the original survey area.



Figure 2.4: Google Earth image with the 2007 and 2008 shovel test area highlighted.

Chapter Three

Methods

Archaeological Fieldwork, Fall 2012

In the October and November of 2012, another attempt was made to identify the settlement by overlaying the ca. 1807 plat map with Google Earth imagery, using the avenue of oaks and Willtown Road as guides. A 100x110 meter grid, designated Area G (Figure 3.1), was established covering the area extending the 2007-2008 survey area to the north. A combination of surface and subsurface survey methods were employed. As a majority of the survey area included a recently disked field, two systemic surface collections were completed over the seventy-two 10 x 10 meter units in the disked area of the survey area, followed by 110 shovel tests across the entire grid on 10 meter centers.

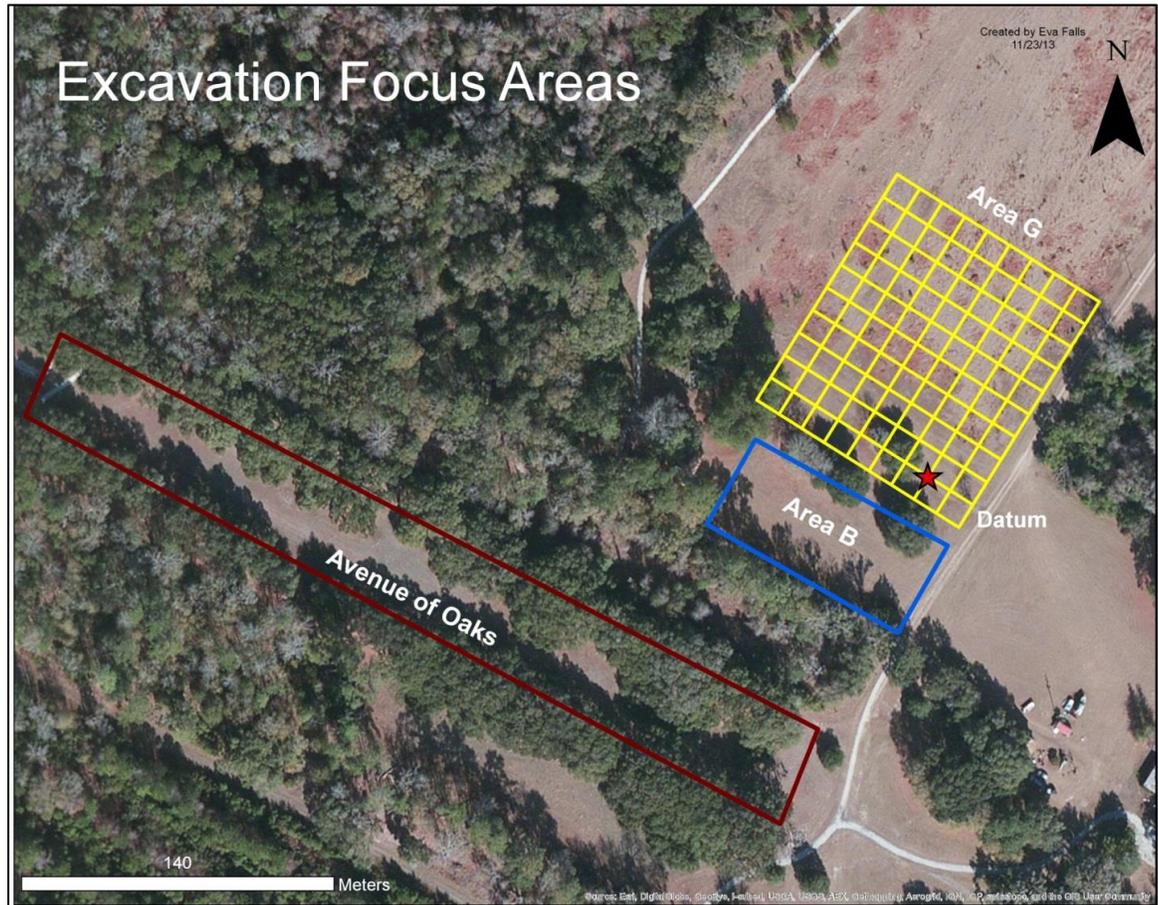


Figure 3.1: This figure shows the survey grid, Area G, in relation to the avenue of oaks and the 2007-2008 survey area, Area B.

Based on the artifact distribution and density from the shovel-tests, nine 5x5ft units were excavated in areas of high artifact concentrations, with one unit was placed in an area of low concentration (Unit 67) as a control. These units were labeled Unit 63 through Unit 72 (Figure 3.2), because they were tied into an existing database of all excavation units across the property. Units 63, 67, 68, 69, and 70 were placed in the recently plowed field, while units 64, 65, 66, 71, and 72 were placed to the south. The entire survey area has been plowed, just some areas more recently than others.

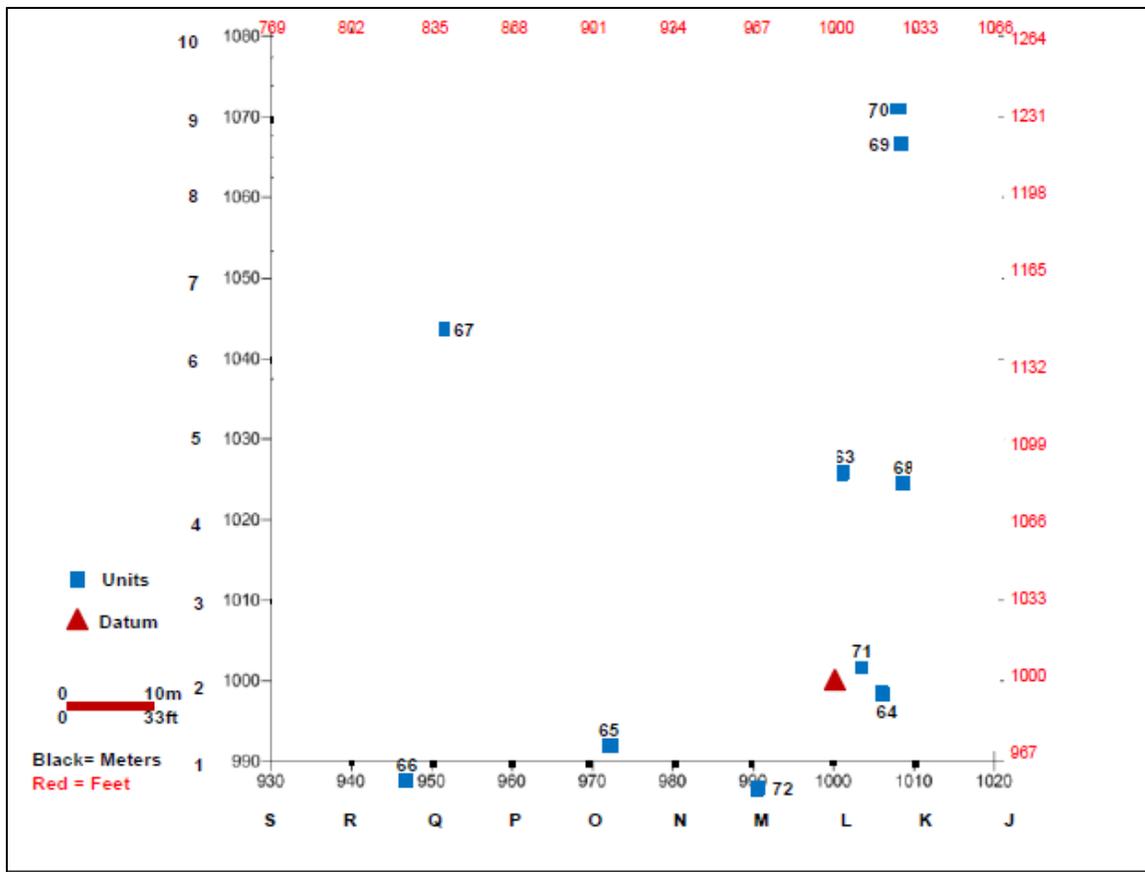


Figure 3.2: This figure shows the locations of the excavation units within the survey grid.

Identifying the Site

Artifact distribution and density were used to identify the general location of the former settlement. At the bottom of one of the units not located in the recently disked area (Unit 65), plow scar features appeared indicating more extensive plowing in the past than visible today. This indicates all of the artifact locations collected by surface collection and shovel testing may have been affected by agricultural activity.

Several studies over the years conducted by archaeologists have been concerned with how reliable artifact distributions in plowed agricultural fields are when trying to define site boundaries (Navarez and Deiz 2008, Ammerman 1985, Odell and Cowan 1987, Dunnell and Simek 1995). These empirical experiments tracked the lateral and

vertical movement of artifacts before and after plowing. They found that all artifacts of varying size do move (Navarez and Diez 2008), especially vertically, but materials do not move laterally away from their original location more than a few meters at most (Odell and Cowan 1987, Ammerman 1985, Dunnell and Simek 1995). For this reason, using lateral distributions for this project was appropriate.

Two methods of displaying the lateral artifact distributions were used. First, three choropleth maps were created using Microsoft Excel displaying the total artifacts collected from shovel testing, surface collection, and shovel testing and surface collection combined. Then Surfer, a contour and surface mapping software, was used to show the distribution of ceramics and brick, the most numerous types of artifacts, from shovel testing and surface collection. Brick and ceramic distributions were selected specifically to show whether architectural debris was concentrated in different areas than the kitchen debris.

A breakdown of the total artifacts for each of the ten excavation units was also completed. This was done in order to determine whether units located in different areas of the grid had more artifacts than others.

Artifact Analysis

In the lab, the collected artifacts were washed, measured, and weighed. Using a number of sources (Hume 1969, Florida Museum of Natural History, Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory 2002, South 1977), they were identified and cataloged into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The artifact catalog was based on Stanley South's model in his volume *Method and Theory* (1977), dividing artifacts into functional

categories. In this case, the categories used were kitchen, architectural, activities, tobacco pipe, arms, clothing, furniture and Native American. The types of artifacts included in each of these categories are shown in Table 3.1. A complete analysis of the Pre-historic and Historic Native American ceramics was outside the scope of this project, though their presence was recorded.

Group	Examples of Artifacts Group Includes
Kitchen	European ceramics, colonoware, bottle glass, silverware
Architecture	brick, mortar, flat glass, nails, hinges
Tobacco Pipe	pipe stems, pipe bowl fragments
Activities	bone, slag, marbles, shell, lithics
Clothing	beads, buttons, hook&eyes, gromets, buckles
Arms	percussion caps, lead shot, gun flint, shell casings
Furniture	tacks, handles
Native American	Pre-historic ceramics, Historic Native American ceramics

Table 3.1: Listings of types of artifacts included in each functional grouping

Determining the Occupation Period

From documentary research, it is evident the land has been in use from the late 17th century through the 20th century. Using common historical archaeology dating methods, including South’s Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) method (South 1978) and Lewis Binford’s (1962) linear regression formula for dating pipe stems, the artifact assemblage was dated in order to establish a median occupation of the site. These two methods produce a date which can then be compared to the artifact assemblage as a whole and the historical documentary evidence.

The mean ceramic dating method uses ceramic manufacture dates to determine the median occupation date of a site. First, the median manufacture dates for each kind of ceramic are multiplied by the quantity of sherds for each type of ceramic. Those

products are then summed and divided by the total number of sherds producing the MCD. Of course, this method does not take into account how long it took for ceramics to be discarded and become part of the archaeological record. Also, it does not work well with ceramics that have long manufacture periods, nor does the median date always reflect known occupation periods. Things that can affect discard behavior include gifts, inheritance, and market access (Adams 2003). Despite these weaknesses, it remains to be a popular and effective method that can provide a general median occupation date. In this case, it was applied to provide another line of evidence, besides just a general look at the artifact assemblage.

Since Harrington (1954) originally observed the pipe stem bore hole diameter got smaller over time, pipe stem formulas have become a common tool used by historical archaeologists. Harrington used drill bits to group known dated pipes into date ranges based on bore size. His histogram has 5 time intervals from 1620 to 1800. It does not take into account pipes of non-English make, and he only used pipes from Virginia. It does not provide an exact date, but Harrington hoped this could be an additional tool used in conjunction with other methods.

In 1962, Lewis Binford created the first linear regression formula based on Harrington's histogram. The formula produces an exact date, but because Harrington's histogram was not exact and was based on only collections from 18th century Virginia, it has inherent error. Besides having a standard deviation of + or – 10 to 15 years, it also can be thrown off by the presence of Dutch or American made pipes (McMillan 2010).

His formula is as follows:

$$\text{Binford's Formula: } Y=1931.85-38.26X$$

38.26 - interval between the means of Harrington's time periods

1931.85- the theoretical date the bore diameter would have reached zero

X – the mean diameter of the researcher's sample

Y- the mean date of the sample

Because of the weaknesses of formula dating, they were only used as two lines of evidence to establish the main occupation period. Ceramics with known production ranges are very helpful in establishing occupation periods, because they were produced and popular during very specific time ranges. I compared the frequencies of diagnostic ceramics that were popular during the mid-18th century, the early 19th century, and the mid to late 19th century. The presence of artifacts, particularly ceramics, dating to each time period support the theory the settlement area was occupied continuously from the latter half of the 18th century to the late 19th century.

<u>Mid 18th century</u>	<u>Early 19th century</u>	<u>Mid to late 19th century</u>
Buckley	Creamware	Ironstone
Astbury	Pearlware	Yellowware
Delft	Annularware	Whiteware
Staffordshire Slipware	Scalloped Edgeware	Ginder Beer Bottle
White Salt Glaze Stoneware	Black Basalt Stoneware	Non-impressed edgeware
German Blue&Gray Stoneware		Unscaloped edgeware
Whieldonware		Lusterwares
Jackfield		Flow Blue
Manganese Mottledware		

Table 3.2: Popular ceramic types included in each time frame

Assessing Site Function

Because large scale excavations have not been done on the site yet to reveal if any intact features remain, the artifact assemblage has to serve as the primary identifying tool. Over the years, historical archaeologists studying plantations have developed several different methods for analyzing artifact assemblages to address questions of status indicators, vessel form preference, the level of acculturation or ethnic indices. Also, deriving artifact patterns, based primarily on kitchen to architecture ratios, has been a popular method for comparison between known slave quartering sites on 18th and 19th century plantations and identifying slave sites (Singleton 1990, Trinkely 1993, Drucker 1981). I have chosen to steer away from using comparisons to derived patterns to define this site, because these patterns assume culture is a normative phenomenon that exists outside of a specific location's historical context (Orser 1989). Like pattern studies though, I did use artifact frequencies to explore site function.

In this case, I did not assume the structures represented on the plat maps are residential in nature. They could be stables, storage buildings, or other outbuildings. Therefore, first I compared the presence of certain functional groups of artifacts within the assemblage, whether there are more nails, tools, horse equipage, or architectural debris represented or there are more kitchen or clothing debris represented. Then within the kitchen group, I compared the percentages of table wares or ceramics associated directly with food consumption to ceramics that could represent utilitarian or storage vessels.

Though the site and structures could have had multiple functions, establishing a residential component could indicate plantation dependents were living at the site. Rather

than focus on assigning a particular ethnic or cultural identity to the people who lived and worked at this settlement, I have chosen to focus on the types of activities the artifacts suggest to determine whether the structures served as domestic residences as opposed to other outbuildings.

Chapter Four

Results

Identifying the Site

Three choropleth, or thematic maps, were created to the 10x10 meter squares with the most artifacts (Figures 4.1, 4.2, & 4.3). These maps show most of the collected artifacts are clustered in the eastern half of the grid of the area that had been recently plowed. K4, K5, and K8 are the squares with the highest density.

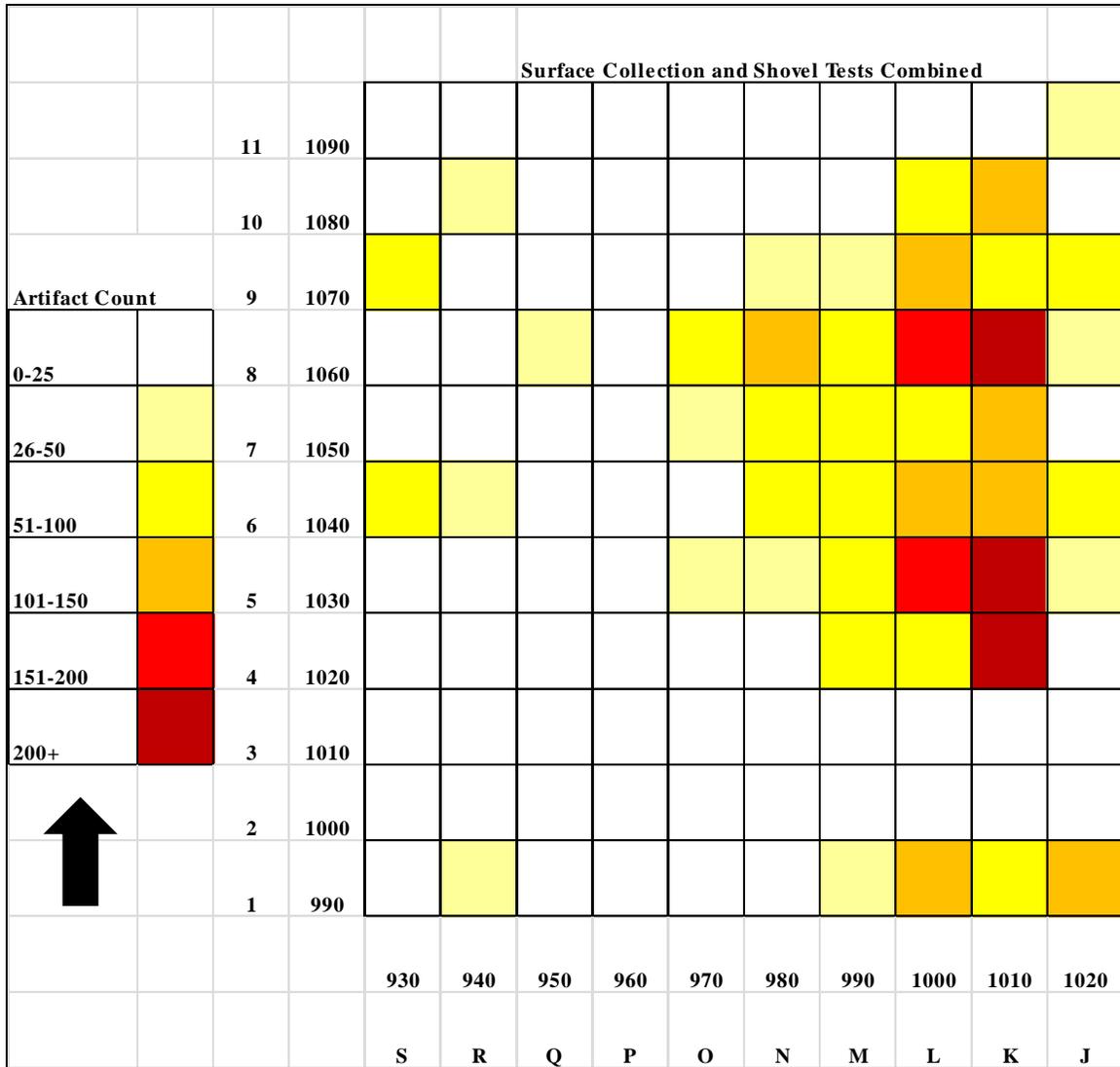


Figure 4.1: A thematic map combining the artifact density of surface collection and shovel testing

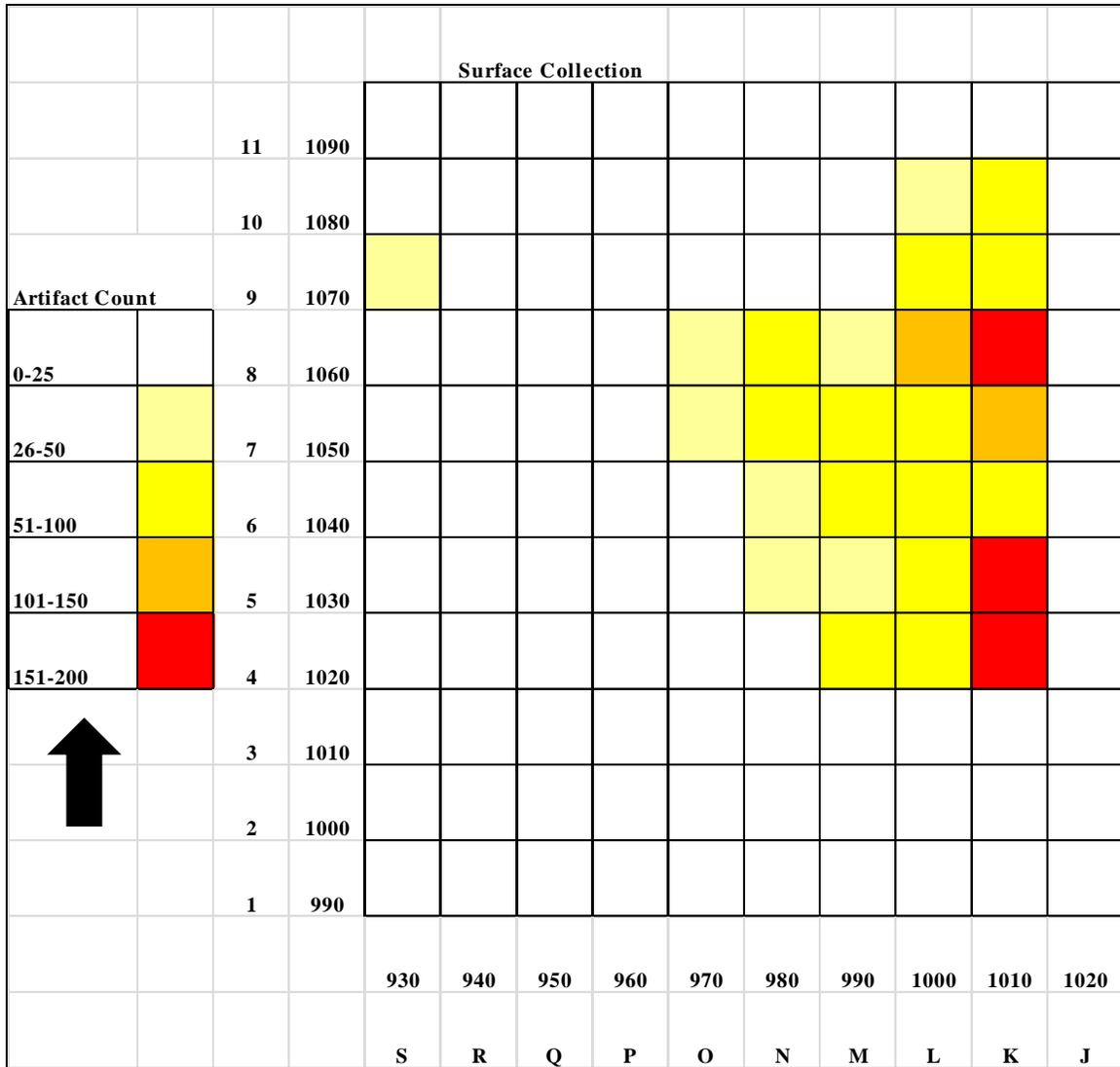


Figure 4.2: A thematic map displaying the artifact density of the surface collection

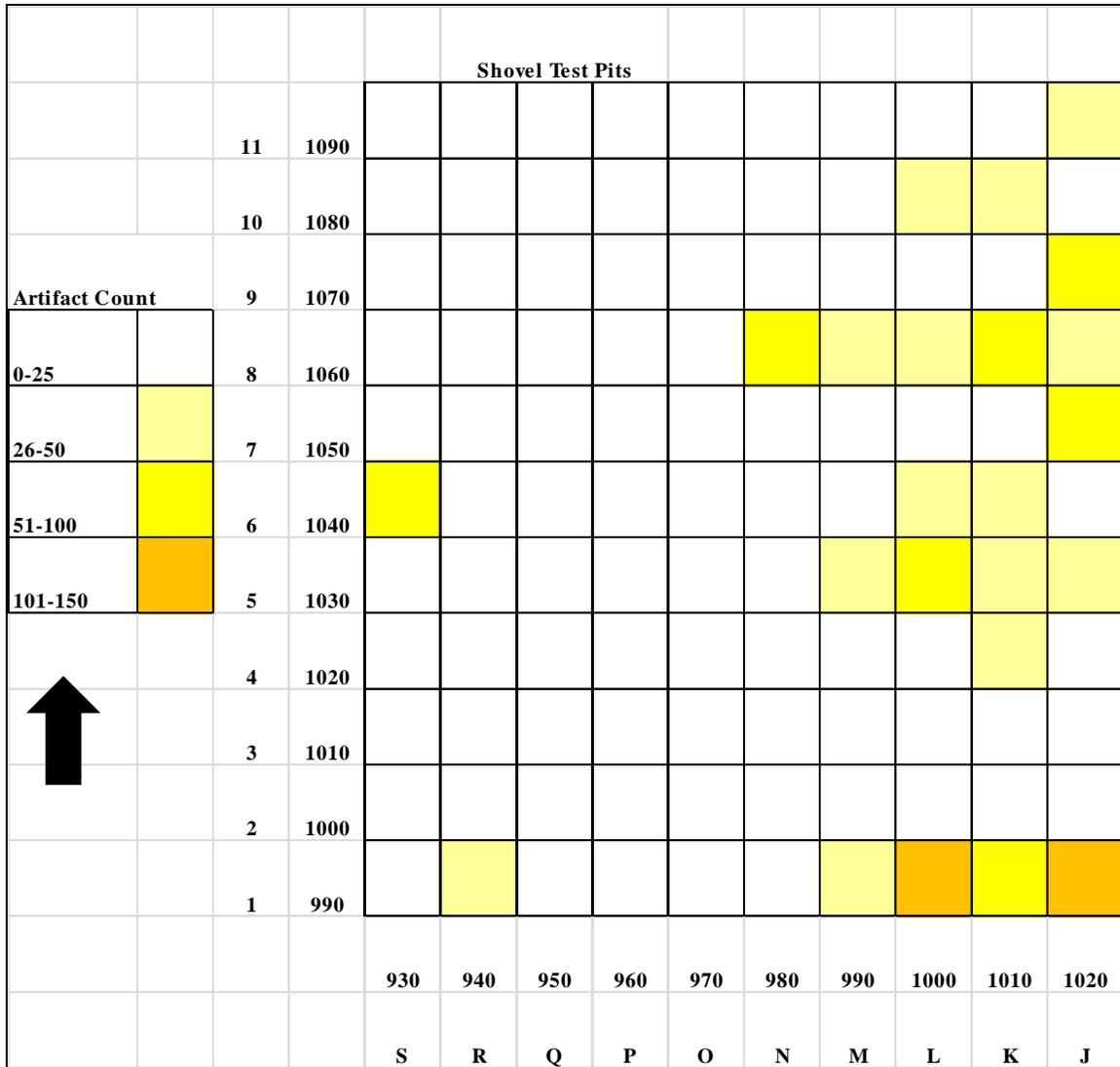


Figure 4.3: A thematic map displaying the artifact density of the shovel testing

The Surfer maps also show the shovel test artifacts and the surface collection artifacts are clustered in the eastern half of the grid bordered by the road (Figures 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7). The areas with the highest density of brick and ceramic are roughly 20 meters west of the road. The Surfer map displaying the distribution of brick from the shovel tests seems to reveal a concentration of brick (Figure 4.4) with high concentrations of ceramic directly to the south and the north of it (Figure 4.5). This could represent a building where trash was thrown out the front and back.

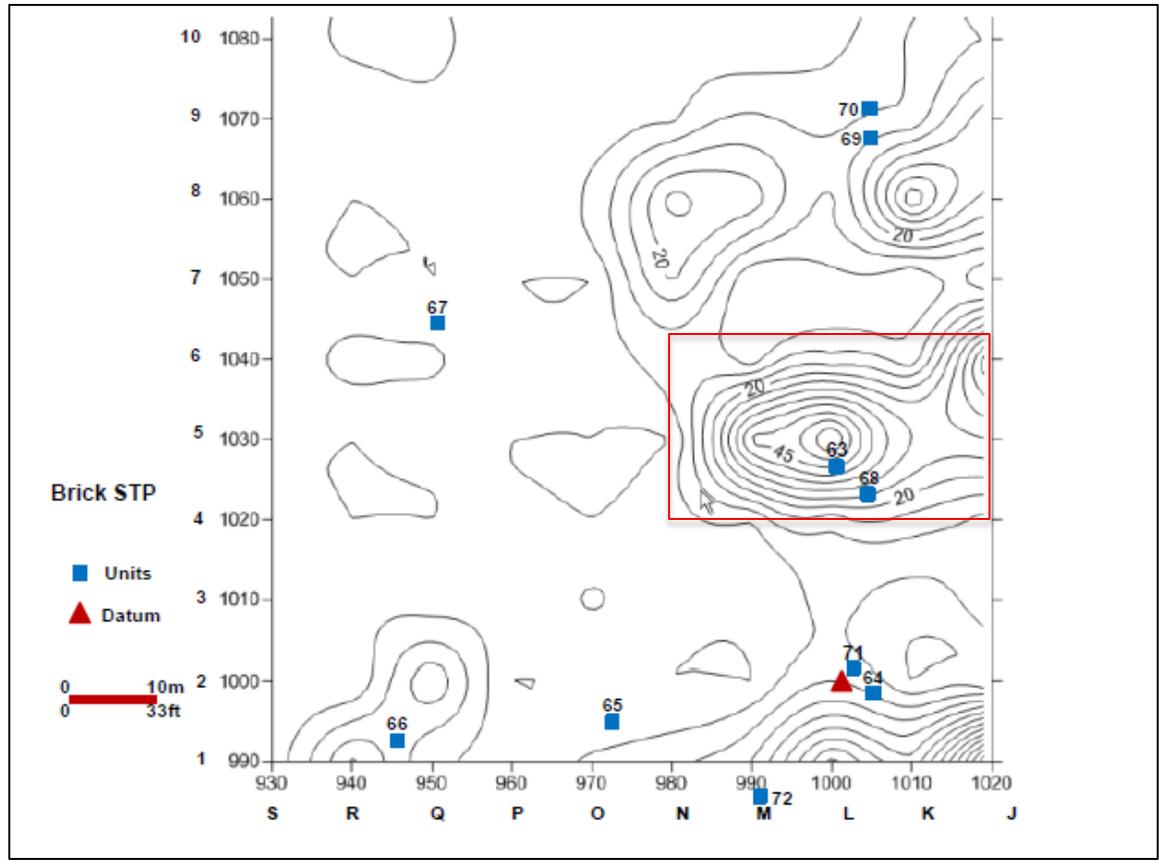


Figure 4.4: Distribution of brick collected by shovel testing; Figure created by Maureen Hays

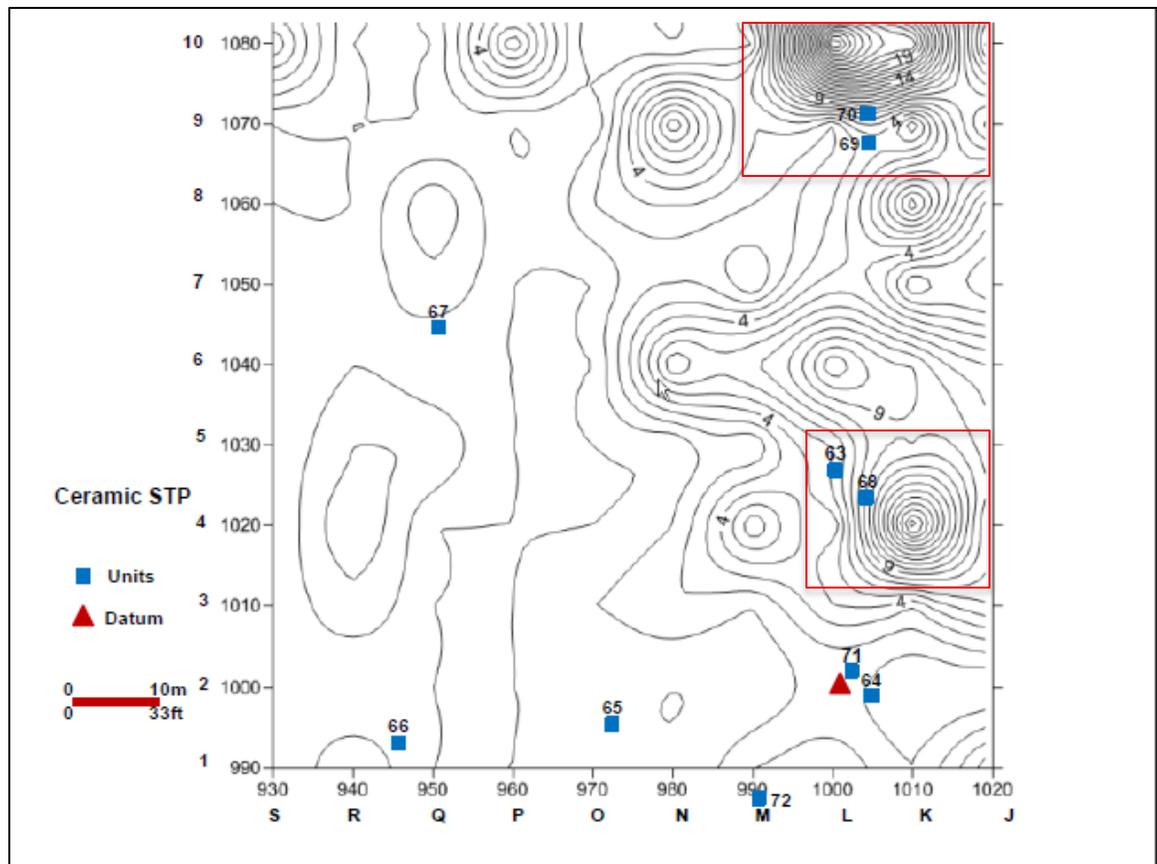


Figure 4.5: Distribution of ceramic collected by shovel testing; Figure created by Maureen Hays

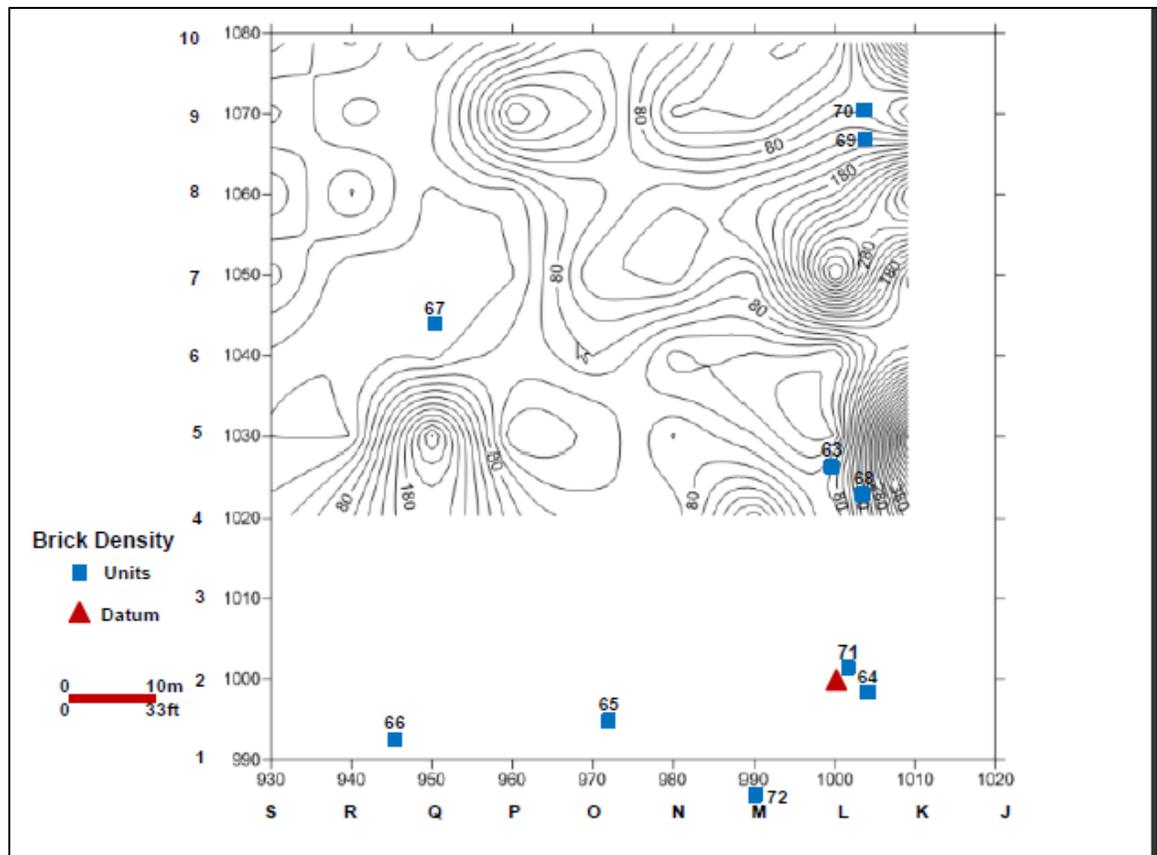


Figure 4.6: Distribution of brick collected by surface collection; Figure created by Maureen Hays

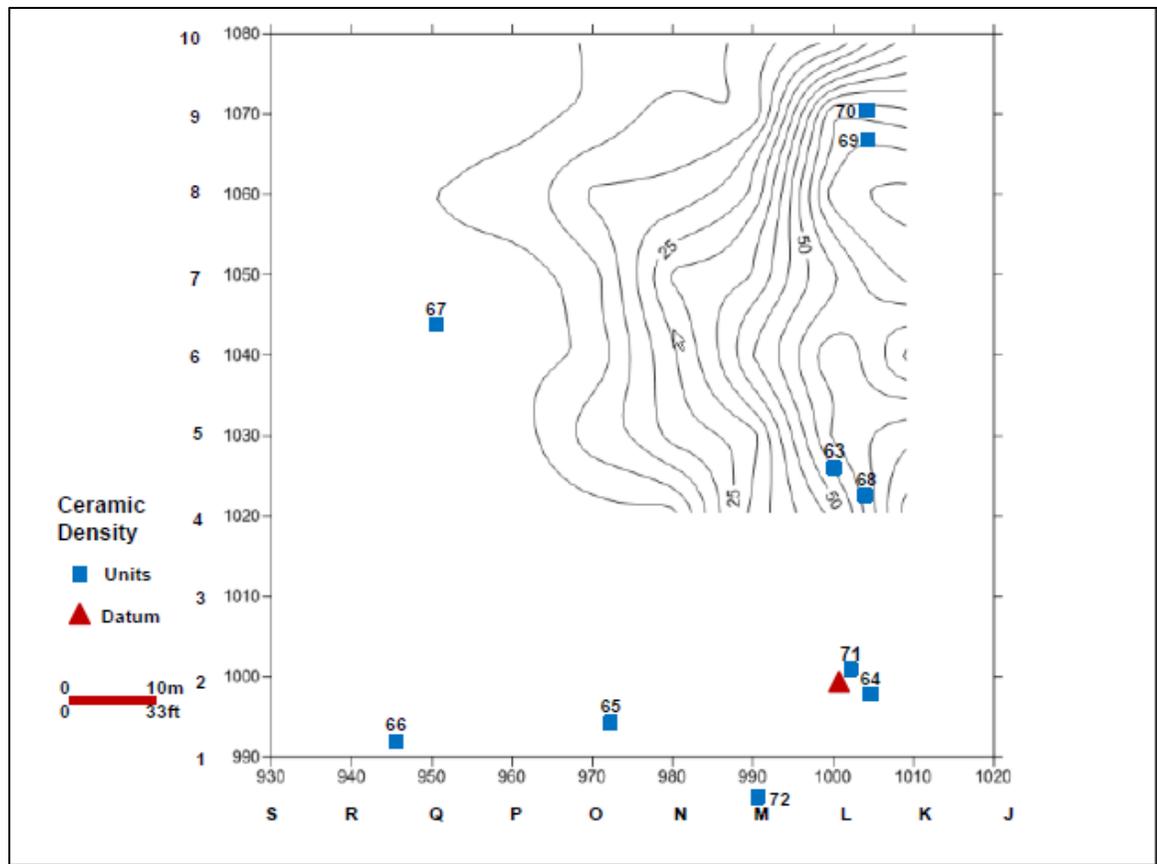


Figure 4.7: Distribution of ceramic collected by surface collection; Figure created by Maureen Hays

The units with the highest density of artifacts were 64 and 71 (Table 4.1). These two units were in the area that had not been recently plowed, in the southeastern portion of the grid. Together, they make up 52% of the artifacts recovered from the test units. The artifact concentration being confined the eastern portion of the grid is confirmed by the units furthest from the road in the western half of the grid, 65, 66, and 67, only making up 1 or 2% of the collected artifacts from the excavated units (Table 4.2). The fact that the artifacts are concentrated in the eastern half of the grid indicates the site is located primarily in the eastern portion of the survey area.

Unit	Grid Square Location	Total Artifacts	Kitchen Artifacts	Architecture Artifacts	Activities	Tobacco Pipe	Clothing
63	L4	160 (6%)	103 (11%)	49 (3%)	4 (3%)	4 (9%)	0
64	L1	614(24%)	218 (24%)	360 (25%)	18 (16%)	11 (23%)	7 (70%)
65	O1	62 (2%)	12 (1%)	40 (3%)	9 (8%)	1 (2%)	0
66	R1	15 (1%)	6 (1%)	5 (0%)	4 (3%)	0	0
67	Q6	35 (1%)	9 (1%)	11 (1%)	15 (13%)	0	0
68	L4	68 (3%)	30 (3%)	35 (2%)	3 (3%)	0	0
69	L8	311 (12%)	127 (14%)	158 (11%)	19 (17%)	7 (15%)	0
70	L9	249 (10%)	154 (17%)	79 (6%)	11 (10%)	5 (11%)	0
71	L2	699 (28%)	175 (19%)	494 (35%)	10 (9%)	18 (38%)	2 (20%)
72	M1	299 (12%)	93 (10%)	182 (13%)	22 (19%)	1 (2%)	1 (10%)

Table 4.1: Artifact counts and percentages of each category for each excavation unit

Determining the Occupation Period

The results of the two dating formulas applied to the assemblage were separated by about 30 years. The MCD was calculated using diagnostically dateable ceramics. Out of 1,931 sherds, not including Native American ceramics, 866 sherds were diagnostic. Binford's linear regression formula was applied using 114 pipe stems from across the site. The mean ceramic date is 1790.77, while the pipe stem formula produced a date of 1761.

The breakdown of ceramic types revealed that 32% of the ceramics dated to the early 19th century, while 12% dated to the mid-18th century and 4% dated to the mid to late 19th century. The production ranges for many of these ceramic types do overlap, but overall it seems the ceramics indicate a heavier occupation during the late 1700's and early 1800's.

<u>Mid 18th century</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent of Total Ceramics</u>
Buckley	7	0%
Astbury	8	0%
Delft	66	3%
Staffordshire Slipware	85	4%
White Salt Glaze Stoneware	40	2%
German Blue&Gray Stoneware	22	1%
Whieldonware	3	0%
Jackfield	1	0%
Manganese Mottledware	3	0%
<u>Early 19th century</u>		
Creamware	132	7%
Pearlware	349	18%
Annularware	110	6%
Scalloped Edgeware	19	1%
Black Basalt Stoneware	3	0%
<u>Mid to late 19th century</u>		
Ironstone	6	0%
Yellowware	31	2%
Whiteware	24	1%
Ginder Beer Bottle	3	0%
Non-impressed edgeware	11	1%
Unscalped edgeware	7	0%
Lusterwares	0	0%
Flow Blue	2	0%

Table 4.2: Frequency breakdown of ceramic types by time period

Assessing Site Function

The total count for the Fall 2012 assemblage was 6,509 with a total weight of 24,482.4g. The majority of artifacts fell into the kitchen category, making up 44% of the assemblage, and architecture category, making up 39% of the assemblage (Table 4.3).

Functional Group	Total Number	Total Weight (g)	Percent of Total Artifact Count	Percent of Total Artifact Weight (g)
Kitchen	2874	8624.6	44%	35%
Ceramics	1933	5611.6	30%	23%
Bottle Glass	941	3013	14%	12%
Architecture	2529	12424.3	39%	51%
Brick and Mortar	1624	10597.8	25%	43%
Nails and Hinges	762	1719.5	12%	7%
Window Glass	143	107	2%	0%
Tobacco Pipe	163	234.5	3%	1%
Pipe Stems	111	177	2%	1%
Bowl Fragments	52	57.5	1%	0%
Activities	293	2263	5%	9%
Clothing	14	13	0%	0%
Native American	630	898.5	10%	4%
Furniture	1	0.5	0%	0%
Arms	5	24	0%	0%

Table 4.3: Counts, weights, and percentages breakdown by artifact grouping

At 30% of the total artifact count, ceramics are the most frequent type of artifact in the assemblage. Within the ceramic category, high fired refined earthenwares are the most frequent type of ceramic making up 53% of the ceramic sherds (Figure 4.8).

European made earthenwares comprise 60% of the ceramic sherd count, while locally made unglazed colonoware only comprise 4%, stonewares comprise 8%, and porcelains comprise 3% of the assemblage (Table 4.4). Because the entire area had been heavily plowed over the years, the sherds were extremely small, most less than 2cm in diameter. For this reason, a minimum vessel count was not calculated, nor was vessel form recorded, because it would be mostly speculation.



Figure 4.8: Decorated refined earthenwares

Ceramic Type	Sherd Count	Sherd Weight (g)	Percentage of Total Ceramic Count	Percentage of Total Ceramic Weight (g)
Coarse Earthenware	52	645	2%	10%
Colonoware	97	243	4%	4%
Porcelain	67	126.5	3%	2%
Refined Earthenware	1345	2565.1	53%	39%
Slipware Earthenware	85	247.5	3%	4%
Stoneware	206	1679	8%	26%
Tin Glazed ware Earthenware	66	87	3%	1%
Native American	630	898.5	25%	14%
Other	13	17.5	1%	0%

Table 4.4: Breakdown of ceramic types by count, weight, and percentage

Ceramic Types	Sherd Count	Sherd Weight (g)	Percentage of Total Ceramic Count	Percentage of Total Ceramic Weight (g)
American Gray&Blue Stoneware	4	186.5	0%	3%
Annularware	110	140.5	6%	3%
Astbury	8	14.5	0%	0%
Black Basalt Stoneware	3	24	0%	0%
Buckley	7	12	0%	0%
Coarse Earthenware	52	645	3%	11%
Colonoware	97	243	5%	4%
Creamware	132	275	7%	5%
Delft	66	87	3%	2%
Edgedwares	40	110.6	2%	2%
German Blue&Gray Stoneware	22	58.5	1%	1%
Ginger Beer Bottle Stoneware	3	39	0%	1%
Ironstone	6	43.5	0%	1%
Jackfield	1	0.5	0%	0%
Manganese Mottled ware	3	2	0%	0%
Non-specific Stoneware	133	1300	7%	23%
Nottingham	1	0.5	0%	0%
Pearlware	349	816	18%	15%
Porcelain	67	126.5	3%	2%
Redware	24	67.5	1%	1%
Staffordshire Slipware	85	247.5	4%	4%
Unid. Refined Earthenwares	607	879.5	31%	16%
Whieldonware	3	2.5	0%	0%
White Salt Glaze Stoneware	40	70.5	2%	1%
Whiteware	24	88	1%	2%
Yellowware	31	113	2%	2%
Other	13	17.5	1%	0%

Table 4.5: Detailed specific ceramic breakdown by count, weight, and percentage

Because the majority of the vessel forms could not be determined, the ceramics were divided in to two groups based on likely vessel form and function. Group A consisted of the ceramic types that usually took the form of table wares, such as cups, mugs, bowls, teapots, plates, or platters. Group B consisted of the ceramic types that could have been table wares, but could also have been chamber pots, jars, storage vessels, or cooking pots (Table 4.6). (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory 2002)

These groupings were created to try and determine whether the site was used only for food preparation and storage or there may have been a residential component where people were preparing and consuming meals at the site. Group A made up 82% of the assemblage, while Group B comprised only 18% of the assemblage.

Group A	Group B
Annularware	American Gray&Blue Stoneware
Astbury	Buckley
Black Basalt Stoneware	Coarse Earthenware
Creamware	Colonoware
Delft	German Blue&Gray Stoneware
Edgedwares	Ginger Beer Bottle Stoneware
Ironstone	Non-specific Stoneware
Jackfield	Redware
Manganese Mottled ware	Other
Nottingham	
Pearlware	
Porcelain	
Unid. Refined Earthenwares	
Whieldonware	
Staffordshire Slipware	
White Salt Glaze Stoneware	
Whiteware	
Yellowware	

Table 4.6: Breakdown of ceramic types included in Group A and B

Artifacts of Note

Two specific noteworthy artifacts in the assemblage represent the mid-19th century component of the site, a Civil War era button and a presidential pipe bowl fragment (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). The button is a South Carolina Citadel cadet button produced in the 1860's by Schuyler, Hartley, & Graham, NY. It has a palmetto tree and one of the state motto's "Animus Obibusque Parati" on it. (Ridgeway Reference Archive)

The presidential pipe bowl fragment is the bottom half of President Pierce's face. Franklin Pierce served as the president of the United States from 1853-1857. During the 19th century, clay pipes made into the form of presidents and presidential candidates were very popular. Pierce pipes specifically were popular during the 1850's and 1860's. (Pfeiffer et al. 2007)



Figure 4.9: Image of the SC citadel button



Figure 4.10: Presidential pipe fragment in the shape of Pres. Pierce

Chapter Five

Discussion

Identifying the Site

The artifact distributions do indicate the survey has identified the general area of the former settlement noted on historic maps. The artifact distribution is concentrated towards the eastern half of the grid, and when the distributions are compared to the ca1807 plat overlay on Google Earth, the areas of the highest artifact concentration line up with two of the historic structures. The two excavation units with the highest artifact counts, 64 and 71, also line up directly with one of the buildings on the ca1807 plat overlay on Google Earth. The other high artifact concentration area around K8 on the grid and the two units in its vicinity, 69 and 70, do not line up with any of the ca1807 structures. This area could represent a later structure or a midden, but the distributions clearly demonstrate the settlement is located at least in part within the survey grid.



Figure 5.1: Shovel test and surface collection combined chlorophyll map overlaid with Google Earth



Figure 5.2: The ca1807 plat map overlaid with Google Earth

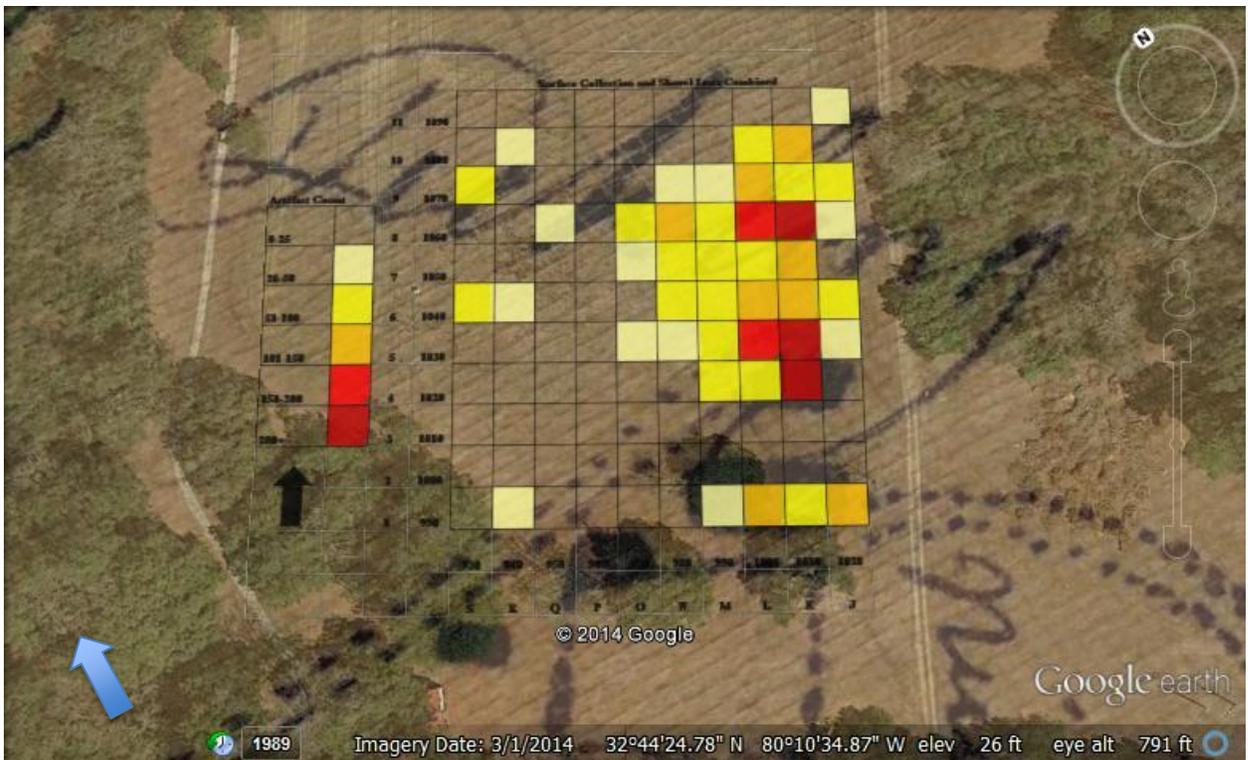


Figure 5.3: The combined chloropleth map and the ca1807 plat overlaid

Determining the Occupation Period

Based on historical documents and previous archaeology at Dixie, it is evident the present-day property has been occupied by Europeans, enslaved Africans, enslaved African Americans, and freed African Americans since the early 18th century and by Native Americans even longer. The exact occupation of the historic settlement though has not been established. When was it built? When was it torn down? From the McCrady plat, we know at least two structures of the settlement were standing by 1799, and the majority of the settlement had been dismantled before the creation of the 1919 USGS map.

The mean ceramic date, 1790.77, and Binford's formula date, 1761, are separated by 30 years. In this case, the two dates did not complement each other and both are earlier than expected based on the historic records and the rest of the artifact assemblage. There are a few things that could be affecting the dates.

The mean ceramic date could have been affected by the sample size, specifically which ceramics were actually dateable. Adams (2003) comments that the mean ceramic date can be thrown off when applied to collections based on sherd count not vessel count, which may affect this sample. Also, there are factors that could be affecting discard behavior like use over long periods of time or re-use of earlier ceramics through inheritance, gifts, or market access. Some tableware in particular can have a lifespan of 15 to 20 years (Adam 2003). Overall though, 1790 would not be an unreasonable median occupation date for the settlement.

The pipe stem date could have been affected by the small sample size, the fact that it was originally developed on collections from Virginia, and it has a margin of error

of + or – 10 to 15 years. Also, the formula is not as accurate when it comes to 19th century sites as it was originally developed for colonial assemblages. (McMillan 2010) In this case, I do not believe the pipe stem formula of 1761 would be the best date to use as a median occupation date when combined with other lines of evidence.

The majority of the artifacts production dates span the first half of the 19th century. The frequency breakdown of the ceramics showed 32% of the ceramics were produced during the late 18th, early 19th centuries. The most common type of ceramic collected was refined earthenwares, specifically pearlware. Pearlware is a type of high fired earthenware (usually decorated) that was roughly produced from 1780 to 1840 (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory). Later refined earthenwares, like whiteware and yellowware that date to the mid-19th century to the early 20th century were less represented in the sample. These types along with decoration techniques like flow blue or lusterwares only made up 4% of the assemblage.

The SC citadel button and Pierce pipe bowl found at site do suggest site activity into the 1850's and 1860's. After the Civil War and the end of slavery, there was probably a period of adjustment at the plantation as enslaved workers left the property or transitioned into tenant farming. There was also a change in ownership as Benjamin Bailey was forced to sell the property in 1863. Based on the available artifact and documentary evidence, I believe the main occupation of the site was from the 1790's to the 1860's.

Assessing Site Function

The artifact assemblage is comprised primarily of kitchen artifacts, as opposed to any other artifact grouping. Comparatively, there are not large amounts of slag or nails, and there are no horse shoe nails, horse shoes, bridle pieces, or farm tools. Granted some of these artifacts may not have been discarded in the area or not survived to become part of the archaeological record. The large amounts of kitchen artifacts though do suggest there was more to the site than barns or storage sheds.

The kitchen group consisted primarily of ceramics and container glass. The container glass included clear glass and green bottle glass, but the glass shards were not as numerous as the ceramics and, like the ceramics, were very small. The green bottle glass could indicate bottles used for storage or consumption at the site. Therefore, bottle glass may not be the best indicator of the site being used in a domestic capacity, as they could indicate a domestic or storage function.

The most common types of ceramics, designated Group A, were those that usually only took the form of tablewares. Group B consisted of those ceramic types that could have been tablewares, general utilitarian vessels, cooking pots, or chamber pots. While several ceramic sherds could have come from the same vessel, Group A significantly outnumbered Group B, 77% to 23%. This suggests people were consuming, as well as, preparing food at the site. If people were living at the site, it was probably the plantation dependents, either the enslaved workers or the overseer.

Chapter Six

Conclusions

The goals of this project were to identify the location of the 19th century settlement of present-day Dixie Plantation, estimate an occupation period, and to determine if the settlement could have been where the plantation's workers were living. The distributions of artifacts across the survey area revealed that artifacts clustered in the eastern half of the grid. The concentrated artifact areas could represent the location of the former structures or waste dumping areas for the settlement, but I believe the survey area does encompass the settlement's former location.

The majority of the dateable artifacts support the idea the settlement was occupied from the late 18th century to the mid-19th century at the end of the Civil War. The two dating formula results seem to fall at the beginning of this period, and the most frequent types of ceramics were popular during the early 1800's. If the settlement was occupied by enslaved workers, it would be a reasonable assumption they would be living there from when the property became a traditional plantation to the end of the Civil War and emancipation.

The high percentage of kitchen artifacts, primarily tablewares, spread across the site led me to the interpretation that the settlement did serve in a domestic capacity to some extent, probably by the plantation's enslaved workers. A separate kitchen from the main house would have likely had a much larger percentage of storage and other utilitarian wares. Also, the site would probably been too far away from the main house to be a kitchen. The presence of tablewares in large amounts does not support that the area was strictly a "work area" such as the stables or a carriage house.

The archaeological exploration of Dixie Plantation is still in the beginning stages. In the future, I would like to see further testing around the main house to see if there was an unattached kitchen closer to the house or a midden, and perhaps, testing closer to the former rice fields to look for potential field hand residences. If there were field hand residences closer to the fields, it could affect the interpretation of who was living in this settlement area. Would they have been house servants or specific skilled labor? I also think it would be interesting to explore the 20th century tenant farmer occupation around the settlement area to look at the long term trends in the area.

The next step for this project is to open additional excavation units in the vicinity of the datum point, unit 64, and unit 71 to look for features such as post holes or structural remains, as this area had a high concentration of artifacts and it directly overlays one of the ca 1807 structures. If this indeed a domestic settlement occupied by enslaved workers, as I have interpreted it, the site should also be compared to other sites in the area to tie it into a regional context. It could then reveal trends in market access and consumer preference.

Identifying and interpreting human behavior through material remains left behind is the ultimate goal of archaeology and being able to establish the function or purpose of a site has always been a challenge. In this case, the lack of structural remains and vague labeling on historic maps leave archaeological methods to aid in the interpretation. Based on the completed fieldwork and artifacts collected to date, the 19th century settlement on Dixie Plantation appears to have served in a domestic capacity for the plantation's enslaved laborers during the period the property served as a traditional working plantation.

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