PRITCHARD'S SHIPYARD: A LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS OF SOUTH CAROLINA'S LARGEST COLONIAL AND ANTEBELLUM SHIPYARD

by

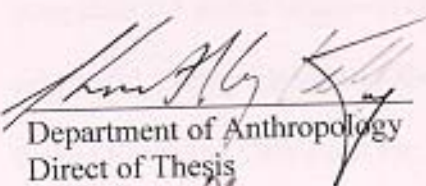Sarah J. Morby

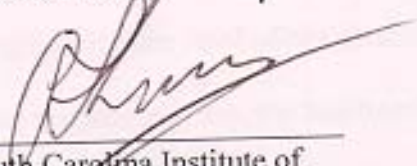Bachelor of Arts
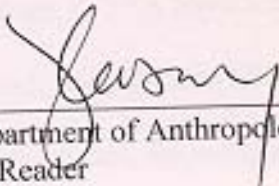
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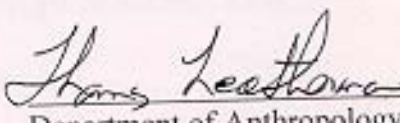
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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the

Department of Anthropology

University of South Carolina

2000

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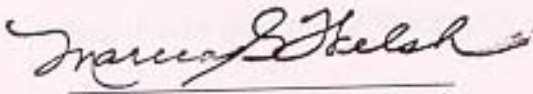
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Dedication:

This work is dedicated to my parents, Jim and Karen Morby for all their support and confidence.

Acknowledgments

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Introduction:

There does not appear to be anything out of the ordinary regarding a lush 7.5-acre stretch bordering Hobcaw creek in Charleston, South Carolina. The 20th century residence of Pepe and Cyndy Hernandez sits atop all that is left of this original 340-acre tract once home to one of Charleston's most famous shipyards. Look closer; hidden just beneath the surface, a rich history begins to unfold. Underneath the modern facade lies evidence of Charleston's prosperous shipbuilding industry, the material culture of those who helped shape one of America's most successful colonial ports.

Landscape comprises the central tenet of my investigations of South Carolina shipbuilding. Categorized as a meaningfully constituted vestige of history, landscape analysis has been successful in uncovering entrenched inequalities between dominant and dominated members of society. Within South Carolina enslaved labor comprised the heart of the shipbuilding industry's workforce. Due to the nature of the ethnic and social relationships between owners and workers a web of interactions and negotiations are recognizable from the landscape.

It is time to broaden African American histories in the American South to encompass their wide range of life experiences. Historical perspectives in the South Carolina lowcountry need to expand beyond those of the socially dominant white minority. By including the ideology of shipyard layout in the biographies of enslaved Africans additional means at social control can be viewed outside plantation contexts.

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The shipyard complicated the relationship between blacks and whites. The social interactions at work in the shipyard would have been different from those found on plantations because of the nature of the skilled enslaved labor. Within the shipyard the small number of skilled enslaved Africans worked alongside free apprentices and shipyard owners and landscape in turn should reflect the increased fraternization.

This projects focuses on the spatial layout of Pritchard's shipyard, a successful enterprise that appropriately reflects the booms and busts of the shipbuilding industry. I use historical maps, ground penetrating radar, and traditional archaeological techniques to add to the understanding of competing historical ideologies interpreted from a landscape negotiated by both master and slave. My investigations push still further and shed light on the relationship between shipyard owners and enslaved Africans. My work comments on the complex struggles of skilled enslaved laborers as members of a devalued community.

It is in my examination of spatial layout that I uncover an imposed hierarchical system, one the landscape had been designed to implement. "Space is not a natural phenomenon, but is produced or mediated by human behavior to elicit certain behaviors" (Delle 1998: 37). Determining how the owners of the shipyard manipulated space demonstrates how they sought to elicit specific social responses and to reinforce the division of labor within the industrial workings of the shipyard.

My work is theoretically grounded in similar studies of landscape and spatial analysis. Landscape studies have a complex history stemming from the examination of prehistoric social relationships. The fundamentals of this emphasis have been redefined to encompass explorations within historical archaeology. The approach has proven

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successful in the investigation of inequalities within plantation and early industrial settings. Consistent with the theoretical and methodological support of this research my investigations at Pritchard's shipyard expand valuable work on plantation and urban contexts to embrace additional industry.

The economic and social sphere of shipbuilding in South Carolina directly influenced the prosperity of Pritchard's shipyard. It is not unfounded to claim that the industry perpetuated and was perpetuated by the spatial patterning of shipyards. The role played by individual settlements in larger socioeconomic systems is reflected in their physical structure or layout (Lewis 1985: 25).

It is only by examining eighteenth and nineteenth-century Charleston that Pritchard's shipyard can be economically and socially situated. I have compiled the shipyard's story from bits and pieces of the surviving historic record. Archival documents recount the rise and fall of its various owners. Briefly mentioned in wills and deeds, the contributions of the enslaved Africans residing and working on the site have remained asides to the industry's history (Probate Court Records). The lives of these workers need to be equally included within the broader context of the African enslaved experience. The interactions between skilled enslaved and skilled white labor need to be examined.

In order to uncover the underlying philosophies embedded in the layout of the shipyard this project synthesizes historical cartographic evidence and archaeologically recovered data. These investigations are preliminary in nature, as such, a fully developed spatial layout has not yet been established for the shipyard. None-the-less I am able to confidently address landscape issues as the historic spatial negotiation begins

to reflect the complex ideologies at work.

In short, my research is aimed at reinforcing and expanding landscape studies and their utility by amplifying current research in the inclusion of additional industry. I seek out contradictory ideologies from a landscape implemented and negotiated for competing control. Furthermore, I use spatial analysis as a tool in exploring the enslaved African experience outside traditional plantation and urban settings. There is a need to recognize both the intended and unintended consequences of actions, and the material and non-material motivations (Baker 1992).

Chapter One:

Through the Landscape Lens: A Theoretical Approach to Landscape:

Introduction:

>"Historical studies of landscape must be grounded in an analysis of
>
>material structures: they are properly concerned with tangible,
>
>visible expressions of different modes of production, with
>
>hedgerows and field systems, with canals and factory systems. But
>
>such material structures are created and creatively destroyed within
>
>an ideological context: such studies must therefore also
>
>acknowledge that landscapes are shaped by mental attitudes and
>
>that a proper understanding of landscapes must rest upon the
>
>historical recovery of ideologies" (Baker 1992: 3).

It is important that I introduce these notions concerning ideology and built environment from the beginning because they comprise the central focus throughout my analysis. In this chapter I will begin by situating my theoretical perspectives concerning landscape analysis including a justification for my pursuit of ideology. I also review contemporary landscape studies to confirm and demonstrate their utility as a framework of inquiry.

In association with the African Diaspora landscape analysis has been conservatively limited to plantation contexts. The histories of enslaved Africans within the American South, however, encompass a wide variety of experiences not limited to

plantations. As an established tool in exploring social ideologies and relationships, I embrace landscape analysis in my investigations of the southern shipbuilding industry and more specifically Pritchard's shipyard.

Landscape encompasses a broad range of influences, including but not limited to, the natural environment. My interests, however, concern the built environment as a reflection of ideology created to perpetuate and reaffirm specific social relationships. Landscape serves not only as a reflection of local ideology, but also as an active participant in the perpetuation of such ideology. Mary Beaudry's (1989) distinction between studies of landscape and landuse is useful in this regard. Beaudry (1989) describes landuse "as the deliberate or unconscious effects upon the archaeological record by the occupants of a site," and landscape as a "deliberate and conscious manipulation of the physical environment" (Beaudry 1989: 19). Such a breakdown is effective in delineating between landuse and landscape within the sphere of manipulated environment. In line with the above distinction I intend to focus my discussion on landscape, that which has been deliberately and consciously manipulated.

A comprehensive look at landscape analysis begins to invoke the dialectics of Marx (Baker 1992, Leone 1988, 1989, 1996, Cosgrove 1984). Historical contextualization draws upon Marx's emphasis on specificity or history's relationship to a particular place and time (Baker 1992). "Studies of landscape, like those of ideologies, necessitate an historical perspective. Because landscapes have histories they possess a compelling human significance" (Baker 1992: 7). A contextualization of landscape is essential in order to unveil hidden agendas. It is important that this recognizes the implications of specific landscapes as microcosms of broader contemporary ideologies.

Marxism allows for both agency and history. "The history of humanity must always be studied in relation to the history of industry and exchange" (Marx and Engles 1996: 60). In focusing on shipbuilding as an industry Marxism provides a working knowledge of capitalism, and capitalist motivations. I find Marx's materialist approach particularly encouraging. "By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life" (Marx and Engles 1996: 54). In contrast to the "vulgar materialism" displayed by the evolutionary approaches of the 1960's, inclusive of culture materialism, "Marxism ... includes humanly arranged relations of production in the economic base that determines social change" (Trigger 1989:292).

I am convinced that artifacts, inclusive of built environment, are meaningfully constituted and that meaning is in turn discernible. Marxism allows room for such interpretation in its dealings with the sociology of knowledge. "The belief system is influenced by, and indeed is the product of, the material condition of existence, the economic base. This implies that as the economic base evolves, so too will the belief system of a society, in a systematic way" (Renfrew and Bahn 1996: 452). The implication that the belief system is perceivable as a product of the economic base, here built environment, allots credibility to meaningfully constituted artifacts. "For him '(Marx)' production embraced at once the changing relations into which humans enter in the course of transforming nature, and the consequent transformations of human symbolic capability" (Wolf 1997: 21). My Marxist influences are further broadened to include issues of race, sex and gender under a more comprehensive Neomarxist philosophy.

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The imprisoning effect of space is a crucial element in discussions centering on the power of landscape (Beaudry 1989a, 1989b, 1987, Epperson 1990, 1999, Orser, 1988, 1996). Foucault's theories in *Discipline and Punish* (1979) inform my questions concerning the manifestation of social hierarchy and the exploitation of landscape as a means of asserting control over the labor supply, in this case enslaved Africans. In a larger context Foucault dealt with theories of power. He emphasized the position of the individual in relation to the hierarchical power structures produced for the perpetuation of discipline and normality within society.

Foucault elaborated on Bentham's panopticism (1979), an architectural configuration of discipline employed in prisons. It entailed the construction of a large central tower in order to maintain widespread surveillance. Panopticism, intended by Bentham as a closed system, was used by Foucault as "a generalizeable model of functioning, a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men" (1979: 205). Foucault saw the implementation of panopticism as a "movement from one project to the other, from a schema of exceptional discipline to one of more generalized surveillance" and all this rested on a historical transformation (1979: 209). The implementation of panopticism highlighted a change in social discipline. This transformation was essential to Foucault's interest in the histories of dominant theories and the privileging of particular knowledge.

In *Discipline and Punishment* (1979) Foucault mentions a historic shift from sovereign to disciplinary power. Sovereign power is external to the individual, a graphic display of punishment, and this in contrast with disciplinary power that is internalized and subjugated by fear. Both methods of control were used in the enslavement of

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Africans. Graphic displays of punishment towards noncompliant behavior included public floggings, whippings, and branding. Public punishment was designed to inhibit the insubordination among other enslaved Africans (Morgan 1998: 393-94). Internalized fear was mitigated through, among other things: a constant threat of sale and the forced abandonment of family, friends, and lovers (Morgan 1998: 498-558). Such theories of power provide the basis of many contemporary landscape studies including my own.

Foucault did not directly apply Marx's structuralism however was none-the-less influenced by the dialectics of Marxism. The ideas of the two theorists complement each other and inform my investigations of Pritchard's shipyard. Furthermore, Foucault was interested in viewing struggles through time; recognizing what had been institutionally remembered and institutionally forgotten. The conscious manipulation of environment for the perpetuation of labor control is an institutionalized means to an end. The marginalization of the histories of enslaved labor color interpretations concerning the effectiveness of structurally imposed discipline. Landscape studies need to reach beyond the dictated characteristics of panopticism and make room for resistance to proscribed systems of control. The preliminary nature of my studies at Pritchard's shipyard prevents me from expounding on theories of resistance. I recognize that such resistance undoubtedly existed within the boundaries of Pritchard's shipyard but unfortunately it is beyond my scope to speak authoritatively on the issue with regard to Pritchard's Shipyard.

Social Ideology:

Landscape analysis has been applied to a number of contexts within historical

archaeology studies today. It serves as a tool for interpreting social ideology from landscape, an ideology that in return was reinforced and informed by the landscape. Deetz's (1996) Georgian worldview, for example, is visible within the landscape and inversely reasserted through the same landscape it sought to influence. The historical maturation of gardens and designed yard space do much to reveal the intended ideologies of their creators and the veiled consequences on those seemingly peripheral laymen (Everson and Williamson 1998).

Mark Leone (1988, 1989, and 1996) maintains that the William Paca gardens serve to naturalize contradictions within society. In the face of increasing social disorder the colonial elite sought to ideologically create a sense of order by naturalizing hierarchical relationships and patronizing a Georgian worldview (Leone 1996: 373). They hoped to reassert the notion that nature had put them in charge and that their understanding of its complexities should in turn sustain their position (Leone 1988: 256). It was a response to social pressures that reestablished the past "the garden represents a use of the past as a set of precedents which appear so natural and convincing that they eliminate doubts about the extant social order…" (Leone 1996: 378). The garden served as a naturalization of the existing social hierarchy.

Work done by Faith Harrington (1989) on the Joseph Sherburne Houselot in Portsmouth again explores Deetz's Georgian ideology (1996) through built environment. Sherburne property reflects the ideologies of the emerging elite within the 18th century. Archaeological, archival, and architectural investigations highlight an increasing Georgianization of the property through a successive reworking of the existing built environment. Joseph Sherburne brought a balanced perspective to his environment

though progressive remodeling. He also sought to increase the symmetry of his property through the straightening of boundaries (Harrington 1989: 7). This is particularly important in light of the historical specificity of such analysis. The evolving characteristics of Sherburne's property can be tied to the socially dominant ideologies of the 18th century, and more specifically a Georgian worldview.

Attributing landscape formation to an encompassing ideology, such as the Georgian worldview, can often obscure regional influences and their effect on cultural transformation. It is useful to acknowledge the influence of Deetz's (1996) Georgian worldview but it is also necessary to recognize individual contributions that sought to shape local ideology.

Corporate Ideology:

Landscape analysis can serve a broad constituency and encompass whole societies. Urban space was often meticulously planned from street layout to architectural design. The relationship between the rapid growth of industrial America and corporate sponsorship of urban development demands inquiry into the cognition behind spatial patterning. In this instance layout reflects capitalistic motivations and corporate control over the lives of the urban work force.

Beaudry and Mrozowski's (1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1996) analysis of the Lowell Boott Mills Complex as a material expression of corporate ideology uncovered a social control that extended beyond the work place to encompass a greater sphere of influence within the domestic lives of its workers. The general history of the Boott Mills Corporation and the architecture of both its mills and boardinghouses have been well

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documented through extensive historical and archaeological research. The factory housing associated with the textile industry was designed with specific social intent. It was no secret that corporate paternalism sought to prevent labor unrest (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987: 9) in doing this the Boott Mills complex not only provided employment, but it also fostered a way of life. Corporate control over daily activities was perpetuated through involvement in social regulation and institutionalized religion and temperance. The Boott Mills complex served as one of the many microcosms of industrial urban communities in North America (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987: 8).

The studies at Lowell consider peoples' attitudes and beliefs in conjunction with people's actions, thus reflecting the ideological and historical context of the corporate surroundings. "Landscape alterations to the mill yard are similarly reflective of the evolution of the ideology of industrial capitalism" (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987:8). The textile industry in New England was meticulously laid out in order to produce specific social responses. "The factories, street layout, and worker accommodations were constructed according to detailed plans, carefully thought out; in like manner, company regulations promulgated a policy of corporate paternalism intended to guide and protect the morals of workers" (Mrozowski et al. 1996: 1). The boardinghouse system itself was effective in meeting its managerial goals as evidenced in its adoption throughout New England (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989: 1).

The corporate paternalism of the system is similarly seen in the spatial layout of Pritchard's shipyard. Both occasions facilitated a preconceived hegemony, where corporate control was manifested in built environment, and maintained through physical regulations. "Lowell Mill owners took myriad steps to regulate their workers' lives. In

turn, workers struggled to maintain control of their own lives" (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989: 23). The same issues came to play in the lives of enslaved Africans (Epperson 1990, 1999, Delle 1998, Armstrong and Kelly 2000, Orser 1988, Vlach 1993). Similar to Lowell Mills, the owners of Pritchard's shipyard sought to maintain control over the lives of their workers while slaves in turn struggled to assert some authority within their own lives. The management and control of labor was attempted through spatial regulation, among other avenues.

The approaches employed by Beaudry and Mrozowski can be turned around and applied to labor control in other industrial circumstances. I do not intend to suggest a direct parallel between the textile and shipbuilding industries. I stress here historical, and ideological contextualization. To say Lowell's urban work force experienced the same controls and social regulations as enslaved Africans in South Carolina would be missing my point. I rather acknowledge the direct utility of the Lowell study and seek to address some of the same issues in some of the same ways. Through this I expect to get at the social control of enslaved Africans at Pritchard's shipyard.

Beaudry and Mrozowski (1989) contextually examine the rise and fall of Lowell's boardinghouse blocks. Historical, ideological and spatial causes contribute to the shaping of historical identity and life ways. The idealized picture internalized by corporate owners contrasted with the reality of life in Lowell. Archaeological and historical investigations have begun to uncover the "backyard story"-- the authenticity of Lowell's urban workforce. What the yard space shows best "is the reality of the urban landscape-a landscape lived in and used by people despite the best efforts of the corporations to portray it as a neat, controlled environment" (Mrozowski et al. 1996: 48).

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"Close examination of artifacts that reflect positive and constructive actions by boardinghouse residents to take charge of some parts of their lives teaches us that workers who resided here were not all hapless victims of industrialization but people who were proud of their work, proud of their appearance, and, indeed, proud of themselves" (Mrozowski et al. 1996: 58).

As demonstrated in the work done at Lowell the dynamic of the landscape is multivocal and fosters different purposes and meanings for different factions of the population. The same holds true in an analysis of Pritchard's shipyard; intended outcome did not always coincide with lived reality. Ideal landscape, the reality of white owners, is superimposed on a landscape occupied by two different populations.

Gradwohl and Osborn's (1984) investigations into the former coal-mining settlement of Buxton, Iowa offer a unique opportunity to explore corporate energies expressed through landscape. Established in 1900, Buxton was a carefully planned settlement by the Consolidation Coal Company. The town was comprised not only of housing for the workers and their families but also of a number of communal and public buildings, amenities all but unheard of in mining communities. It was in relation to this that the authors claim to contemplate the urban template superimposed "upon the rural countryside" (Gradwohl and Osborn 1984: 24). This was an engaging concept unfortunately inadequately explored by Gradwohl and Osborn. The authors did not seek out an ideological framework or impetus behind the landscape but instead reported static data. Archaeology as a whole would benefit from a reexamination of their data under contemporary theoretical frameworks expanding landscape analysis to explore issues of

ethnicity, social hierarchy, economics, spatial relationships, extractive industries and urban development.

Landscape analysis can express not just class difference but also racial, and gender relationships. "The ambiguities of landscape…are more readily understood as the outcome of a long and complex historical process, deeply embedded in the changing relations within society and between society and the land…" (Cosgrove 1984: 262). I feel analysis should move beyond a capitalistic pretext and probe into the multiple layers expressed within landscape.

Landscape and Slavery:

As economic systems evolved and capitalism took hold European colonization changed the face of global politics. The push to increase wealth necessitated unlimited manpower, ultimately fulfilled through the comodification of human labor. Africans were exported to European colonies across the globe. In certain colonies this resulted in the complete reliance on enslaved labor and a consequent alteration between workers and their right to and ownership of their labor.

The American South, in particular South Carolina, relied explicitly on enslaved labor for its survival (Morgan 1998, Wood 1975). "South Carolina was the one British colony in North America in which settlement and black slavery went hand in hand. From the outset, slaves were considered essential to Carolina's success" (Morgan 1998: 1). By 1700 nearly half of the 7000 persons living in the Carolina colony were of African descent (Ferguson 1992: 59). In fact "except for a few years after 1790, African Americans formed the majority of South Carolina's population from the early eighteenth

century through 1922" (Ferguson 1992: 63). Prejudice was cultivated between blacks and whites a result of South Carolina's racialized labor force. Physically manifested in the built environment of the lowcountry, the intense racial dynamic reflects an attempt by the white minority to assert control over South Carolina's enslaved African population.

Attempts at social and political control have been historically manifested within built environment. The conscious manipulation of landscape sought to assert control and dominance over a subjugated labor supply. It centers on issues of power, "the interrelation between space and power provides a key to the archaeological study of the past" (Orser 1988:320). Power relations can in turn be identified in the spatial arrangements of past settlements (Orser 1988). Beyond power, race, gender, and class can also be anticipated within built environment. Orser acknowledges the personal reality of space within the existing mode of production, "space is intrinsic in the way in which the material world is produced" (Orser 1988: 321).

White owners exerted economic control over their black slaves within plantation contexts. "Not only were slaves personally owned they were the direct producers" (Orser 1988: 321). Orser's examination of Millwood Plantation in South Carolina chronicles the historical evolution of power relations through slavery, the squad system and ultimately tenancy (Orser 1988:325). Such transformation highlights changing political and social power relations within a plantation context. Orser is narrow in his application of landscape studies; his approach focuses on one-sided power relations. He missed the opportunity to move landscape analysis beyond power to encompass the multiplicity of relationships between and within social and racial categories.

A functional examination of plantation layout qualifies its development and success as the fulfillment of a vital niche within the world economy. Layout in turn served to maximize the economic productivity of the system. In the South Carolina lowcountry each settlement contained "a central complex composed of a mansion with one or more dependencies and that structures devoted to other plantation activities were placed to the side of this complex in a geometric arrangement" (Lewis 1985: 46). This arrangement was supported as promoting the optimal functioning of the industry. However, such functional analysis overlooks the already established multiplicity of meaning attributed to landscape by struggling classes, races, ethnicities and genders.

Delle (1998) stresses space as a manipulatable facet of material culture. Joining the ranks of Mark Leone (1995) and Charles Orser (1996), he characterizes historical archaeology as the archaeology of capitalism. Delle reasons that "landscape archaeology can contribute to our understanding of the global political economy that emerged during the nineteenth century" (Delle 1998: 217). His research and conclusions focus primarily on the economic underpinnings of spatial negotiations, although they too can be expanded to view relations between and within racial and ethnic categories beyond simple class analysis.

For the purpose of his research Delle (1998) breaks down his use of space into three categories: material space, the measurable universe; social space, the social relationships between people experienced within material space; and cognitive space, the mental processes used to interpret material and social space. This categorization of space is useful in light of the differences between real and perceived landscape. It is directly connected to the belief that landscape has no objective appearance or

significance independent of the beholder (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 7,8). This is especially critical when considering historically subjugated populations and their negotiation of the built environment. Multiplicity encourages archaeologists to peel back the layers of meaning within historical landscape. Landscape needs to be viewed as multivocal; it creates differing meanings of place for different persons (Yamin and Metheny 1996). That which it represents and manifests to the subjugators is markedly different from the multiplicity of meanings it sustains for the subjugated.

B.W. Higman (1988) compiled a thorough collection of Jamaican Plantation maps. His statistical, geographical, and social analysis of the collection provides a good resource for the consideration of plantation layout and function on a broader scale. Meticulous planning sought to optimize production and labor management and to discern which layout best supported plantation production assuming all factors being equal. Specific goals were related to specific plantation production. For example, on sugar plantations estate workers (enslaved Africans) were to be situated in close proximity to the plantation works in order to "minimize the time involved in movement of labourers" (Higman 1988: 81). Planters, like Thomas Roughly in his 1823 *Jamaica Planter's Guide*, recommended the positioning of the overseers house in close proximity to the boiling house, affording a clear view of all the works buildings. Similarly it was suggested that the slave hospital and mule stable be placed behind the house to ensure an unimpeded view (Higman 1988: 81).

Higman acknowledges the connections between changing spatial layout and the evolving Jamaican economy, fueled by a switch from sugar to coffee production. His extensive analysis highlights social change from the decline of a European elite to the

eventual emancipation of Jamaica's enslaved population. "Emancipation brought with it renewed attempts to settle immigrant white small farmers in the interior of Jamaica, as a means of placing pressure on the ex-slaves and ensuring their continued labour on estates and plantations" (Higman 1988: 17).

Higman reviews each plantation and critically evaluates the layout and history of the properties as revealed through successive surveys. He provides a statistical analysis of landuse patterns with his data when applicable. While such analysis in Higman's case proves remarkably useful, the available archival resources and the absence of a substantial corpus of material for comparison limit my work.

The surveyors' inclusion of enslaved African housing provides a valuable resource for landscape studies in view of its frequent oversight by most planters and contemporary artists. Higman attributed its absence in most historical documents to "the perception of the plantation village as almost separate territory" (Higman 1988: 243). Its relative absence gives as worthy an insight as its inclusion would have; it serves as an indicator of complex social relationships. A marked difference between geometrically patterned and seemingly scattered residences reflects the varying degrees of influence planters asserted over the built environment of their workers (Higman 1988: 244). Houses were included on maps only as a representative sample with the true number often surpassing that which was included, further remarking on the marginalization of nearly half of Jamaica's population.

Historical and archival records support the histories of plantation owners and operators. What has not been "institutionally remembered" is the enslaved populations' negotiation of space in an active resistance to constrained bondage. "Landscape

provides a focus by which people engage with the world and create and sustain a sense of their social identity" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 15). The multiplicity of landscape negotiation needs to be satisfied. By expanding experiences to include those that landscape had intended to control anthropologists can begin to hear the voices of a people that have been historically muted.

John Vlach (1993) examines the architecture of plantation slavery principally focusing on areas adapted by enslaved workers. He emphasizes the personal connections enslaved Africans had with the land. Land held for them meaning beyond which planters had intended. "Hidden within the official, ordered landscapes established by planters, there was another system of definitions developed by slaves" (Vlach 1993: x). In 1865, Freedman Bayley Wyat of Yorktown Virginia elaborated on this bond with an unwavering conviction.

> "We has a right to the land where we are located. For why? I tell
> you. Our wives, our children, our husbands, has been sold over and
> over again to purchase the lands we now locates upon; that the
> reason we have a divine right to the land... And den didn't we
> clear the land, and raise de crops ob corn, ob cotton, ob tobacco, ob
> rice, ob sugar, ob everything?" (Vlach 1993: ix).

These are the definitions, institutionally forgotten, that landscape studies like I have employed at Pritchard's shipyard seek to uncover. Vlach claims that negotiations of personal landscape made slavery tolerable for enslaved Africans and it was this reworking of the imposed landscape that fostered identity within the worlds created as the titled of Vlach's (1993) book so candidly puts it in *Back of the Big House.*

Pre-emancipation Jamaican plantations allowed slaves relatively autonomous control over their provisioning grounds, creating a dual space (Delle 1998). Space manipulated by the enslaved population, akin to private property, was legally owned by the plantation. There was a spatiality of control, movement was sanctioned under the panopticism of the driver's house and surveillance was used as a means of domination. Spatial resistance was included within the material space of the enslaved and was manifested through unsanctioned movement such as running away (Delle 1998). Delle views the manipulation of space by the enslaved Africans apart from those negotiations intended by the European implementers. Here the private use of space created a sense of reality specific to Afro-Jamaican society within the confines of a plantation system.

Armstrong and Kelly's (2000) analysis of Seville Plantation, St. Ann's Bay Jamaica, showed the evolution of spatial transformations in relation to the landscape of the resident African community. Living space was actively transformed to increase solidarity and autonomy missing within the planter's design (Armstrong and Kelly 2000: 359). Housing patterns shifted from a highly structured pattern displayed in rows, expressing a design imposed by the planter, to a more generalized layout of living structures. It was indicative of a developing Afro-Jamaican creolized ideology, "an expression of the community that had evolved within the African-Jamaican settlement" (Armstrong and Kelly 2000: 377). Once again space has been implemented as a medium by which interactions within and between racial and social groups is revealed. The lack of a written history that reflects the ideology and life experiences of enslaved Africans incites alternative avenues to ascertain social interactions.

The Virginia plantation of "King" Carter serves as an example of labor discipline manifested within built environment (Epperson 1990). Carter owned some 47 independent plantations scattered over nine counties. The enslaved population was housed in quarters together with one to two dozen slaves. Carter closely supervised the construction, in an attempt to assert his control he demanded particular design and orientation.

Currently on exhibit as part of Williamsburg's open-air museum, Carter's Grove plantation demonstrates proscribed domination through built environment (Epperson 1990). The architectural ideology of the plantation served as a false consciousness, "it simultaneously articulates a specific system of domination and presents it as inevitable, eternal, and matter of fact common sense" (Epperson 1990: 31). Epperson acknowledges the attempted aesthetic hegemony of the built environment by expanding on the contradictory inclusive/ exclusive aspects of the formal plantation landscape. "It embodied contradictory attempts to control the slaves and simultaneously render them invisible" (1990: 32).

Epperson takes his discussion beyond complacent acceptance of the imposed landscape and highlights resistance. He focuses on a converted window that served as a door leading to a shared yard area between two slave residences. This area, serving as the primary social space for the enslaved Africans, was concealed from the approaching path and semi-concealed from the view from the foreman's residence. It was a space manipulated by the enslaved Africans to achieve a semblance of autonomy beneath the close watch of their white owners.

Bernard Herman (1999) critically evaluated enslaved African and servant housing within Charleston, South Carolina. He initially focused on the residence of Billy Robinson who was an enslaved African American implicated in the Denmark Vessy revolt. Andrew Miller was the white boardinghouse keeper in charge of the residence in which Robinson lived. Miller's testimony at Robinson's trial was adamant in that collaboration between Robinson and other blacks would have been impossible based on the location of Robinson's room. Robinson occupied the room above the kitchen, only accessible under Miller's direct gaze. Miller was certain no one could have access to Robinson's living quarters without first being spotted by him. Upon cross-examination, however, the accuser was able to describe Robinson's residence in explicit detail indicating his admittance to the residence unbeknownst to Miller and the other white boarders. This is significant because it indicates a private meeting between two blacks, in quarters that the master was convinced he had in full surveillance (Herman 1999). Clearly the false sense of surveillance held by Miller had convinced him of his authority over the enslaved Robinson. The reality of the situation was considerably more complex, Robinson had successfully renegotiated his private space and had subverted Miller's control.

Herman's analysis of architecture in Charleston (1999) and other comparable southern cities gives agency to enslaved African Americans, based on a conscious manipulation of space within the architectural topography of urban slavery and a social invisibility that could be used to their advantage. Commerce and domestic work characteristically took place below the dwellings of profiteers such as Miller, offering a direct view of the work-yard and street to white owners (Herman 1999: 80). Quarters

behind shops and boardinghouses and those who occupied them often went unrecorded within street directories, this marks the social invisibility of blacks within white society, a marginalization perpetuated through imposed spatial layout.

Conclusion:

Landscape analysis is a useful approach in the pursuit of historical ideology. A layout that had been developed for the purpose of representing and maintaining specific social and ethnic relationships did not necessarily secure the intended responses by those it sought to dominate. The manipulation and negotiation of space resulted in a range of experiences supporting my emphasis on multiplicity of meaning within landscapes. The reality of enslaved labor was different from that of their white owners.

The justification of landscape analysis has been laid out in great detail and its utility maintained.

> "Landscape is a way of seeing that has its own history, but a
>
> history that can be understood only as part of a wider history of
>
> economy and society; that has its own assumptions and
>
> consequences whose origins and implications extend well beyond
>
> the use and perception of land; that has its own techniques which it
>
> shares with other areas of cultural practice" (Cosgrove 1985: 1).

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Chapter Two

The South Carolina Shipyard: A Historical perspective

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The Rise and Fall of South Carolina Shipbuilding:

> "Along the coastal plain of the North American Continent there is
> a broad wedge of land which stretches from the hazy base of the
> Appalachian Mountains to the uneven rim of the Atlantic. This
> low triangle of green and brown, spread out like a fan between the
> Savannah River and the sea, has been known for the past three
> centuries as "South Carolina.""(Wood 1974: 3).

The colonial settlement of South Carolina began with an influx of Caribbean-based planters in search of new opportunity. It is here in this land of diversity and difference that I concentrate my landscape study.

Early in its settlement colonial South Carolina moved from land-based exports; fur, skins, cattle and Indian goods to an agrarian based economy. After failed attempts with successful northern crops like tobacco, planters along South Carolina's coast discovered its propensity for rice and indigo cultivation. The success of the colony's economy relied heavily if not solely on enslaved labor. Unimpeded by its shaky agricultural beginnings the colony grew rapidly and became recognized as a legitimate producer.

After its founding in 1670 Charleston, South Carolina quickly blossomed into the colony's wealthiest city (Zierden, 1999: 73). An important port, it was the lifeline for many southern colonists and the only urbanized center south of Philadelphia (Clowse 1984). Carolina planters transported their goods to the entrepot by way of the shallow waterways that penetrated the coast. Even though colonial Charleston was built on a merchant economy many historians feel the region never developed a notable shipbuilding industry (Price 1974).

None-the-less, a variety of scholars contend that Charleston did indeed sustain a profitable shipbuilding business. During certain periods of the colonial era, the Charleston merchant fleet carried 15 to 20 percent of all staples imported and exported from the colony (Clowse 1981). The Tobias Thomas papers located in the fireproof building of the South Carolina Historical Society list the manufacture of all incoming and outgoing vessels to grace South Carolina wharves. It was standard that each new vessel be registered before setting sail on its maiden voyage and following any significant repairs (Clowse 1984). There have been some notable difficulties, however, with the engagement of the South Carolina ship registries as a historic source.

"Some registries refer to earlier South Carolina registrations, which often are not traceable…the record series appears suspiciously incomplete where South Carolina's minor ports are involved [i.e. Georgetown and Beaufort]…small vessels operating as plantation boats or packets within the colony… did not have to be registered. Finally, registrations of older vessels bought outside

the colony seldom specified where these crafts were purchased" (Clowse 222-23).

These inconsistencies need to be addressed when establishing the breadth of South Carolina's shipbuilding industry and its impact on the local economy.

Charleston's naval lists cover 1711 through 1767 and provide another resource for establishing the numbers of Carolina built crafts (Clowse 1984). Shipbuilding within the colony was encouraged through financial inducements, subsidies and other economic incentives. These prompted local merchants to use South Carolina built crafts for the transportation of their goods. In 1703, for example, duties were halved provided imported and exported goods were carried on vessels built in the colony and owned by South Carolinians. Subsidies sought to stimulate what the legislatures saw as a lagging industry, "under the law, the treasury would pay 7s. 6d. current money per ton for vessels constructed" (Clowse 1984).

Beyond economic incentives environmental factors played an integral role in substantiating Carolina shipbuilding. The colony's hard wood forests provided a ample supply of live oaks, *Quercus virginiana,* a natural resource that rivaled the brown oaks, *Quercus robur,* of England (Wood 1974). Pines provided additional materials suitable for masts and oleoresins were easily converted into caulking and waterproofing compounds (Clowse 1984). South Carolina-built crafts were substantial vessels built from the finest local raw materials and were often preferred by merchants to the crafts constructed in northeastern port cities. Witnessed in this 1769 journal entry by Mrs. Ann Manigault, a prominent Charlestonian, "Proof that the Goodness of Vessels built here,

and the superior Quality of our Live Oak Timber to any wood in America for ship-building is at length acknowledged" (Webber 1920:22).

While the construction of large vessels was impressive, the success of the industry was initially fostered and maintained through the frequent repair of merchant ships. Records indicate ships being fitted for sea in Charleston as early as 1673 (Clowse 1984). Outfitting ships provided a mainstay within the confines of the waxing and waning industry. It was not uncommon for vessels having completed the voyage from England to the colonies to require sizable repairs prior to their return passage. Even today English flint litters the historic sites of Charleston's shipyards. Used as ballast, flint serves as a physical reminder of merchant influence and the demand for vessel repair (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Low-tide view of Lynn's shipyard. Pile of ballast visible on left (Photo: Christopher Amer, SCIAA).

Unfortunately the rise of South Carolina's shipbuilding industry has not been credited within historical documents. Clowse (1984) reviews a number of historic cases where critics concerned with the colonies retarded growth cited a lagging shipbuilding industry. It was true that in 1698 South Carolina was home to one of the smallest Merchant Marines of any British North American Colony. The territory employed ten crafts aggregating 330 tons (Clowse 1984: 226). Successive years saw the industry rise and fall, peaking around 1720. Following its initial success the industry fell into a depression that lasted well into the 1740's. In 1720 the Charleston fleet consisted of 20

vessels totaling 647 tons, but by 1724 this had already fallen to ten vessels aggregating 460 tons (Clowse 1984).

The colony lacked shipwrights and other skilled craftsman. There were attempts, albeit unsuccessful, to recruit immigrant carpenters and caulkers. In a letter to Samuel Wainwright (a prominent Carolinian) on February 16, 1763 Henry Laurens wrote,

> "I can not find any carpenter that will undertake the building of a
>
> Ship… As to writing for Carpenters to come from England &ca.
>
> 'tis a concern of too much importance for building a Single Ship I
>
> may have strangers to support in such [busi]ness instead of having
>
> workmen &ca. Besides such are not to be had on tolerable terms
>
> witness Mr. John Rose's attempts"(Hamer 1972: 262).

The shortage of skilled workers persisted well into 1760's (Clowse 1984). Some historians have attributed the retarded production of substantial ships in the colony to the lack of skilled labor (Goldenberg 1976) while others, in my opinion more accurately point to a shortage of capital and a lack of interest among potential buyers (Clowse 1984).

Rapid population growth and the increased importation of enslaved Africans cultivated a blossoming Carolinian economy centering on staple crop agriculture. As a direct consequence of the Stono Rebellion in 1739 the importation of enslaved Africans decreased dramatically. This opened a door for the industry; the capital originally tied up in the slave trade was redirected into more diverse enterprises like ship building (Clowse 1984). The industry gained new ground as South Carolina investors such as Henry Lauren's began to purchase shares in locally built crafts. Between 1743 and

1753, 115 new vessels amassing almost 3700 tons were registered in South Carolina (Clowse 1984: 235). Along with newly available capital the revitalization of the industry during the 1740's has also been attributed to King George's War (1739-1748) (Amer and Naylor 1996). The threat of privateers and the necessity of an expanded offshore naval fleet demanded more local ship repair facilities. The industry rose to the occasion.

The Revolution continued to support local builders. The Navy was responsible for commissioning the repair of numerous vessels.

> "Mr. Paul Pritchard
>
> Sir/
>
> In the late Gale of wind Count DeEstang's Ship had her Rudder hurt and is in want of Timber to make a New One also Timber to make three or four other Rudders for Ships of the Line— The Commissioners of the Navy Board Request that you do Supply all the under mentioned Timber with all Possible dispatch as the safety of the Ships greatly depend on your Exertion in this Matter
>
> By Order of the Board
>
> E Blake 1ˢᵗ Comm"
>
> (Salley 1913:22).

The end of the war brought with it defeat for the British and a decline in the local market. The remaining shipyards concentrated their efforts on ship repair while the

30

steady deterioration of the industry resulted in its virtual disappearance in South
Carolina by 1865 (Amer and Naylor 1996).

Pritchard's Shipyard:

Early Occupation:

    A historical contextualization of shipbuilding within South Carolina provides the
foundation for an expanded analysis of colonial and post-colonial shipyards. As with
any industrial undertaking shipbuilding experienced periods of boom and bust
corresponding with the political and economic circumstances of the times. Pritchard's
shipyard bordering Wackindaw Creek, later known as Hobcaw Creek, represents the
changing atmosphere of the industry. It was one of the more profitable yards in the
region and for that reason stands as a representative example of southern shipyards.

    The tract of land historically referred to as Pritchard's shipyard was bordered on
the northwest by the Wando River, on the north by Hobcaw creek, on the east by David
Maybank, and on the south by Molasses Creek (Amer and Naylor 1996). The property
originally numbered 330-acres when it was first granted to Lt. Col. John Godfrey in
February 23, 1681 and sold to Richard Dearsley of Barbados on May 2, 1682 for £100
current money (Moore 1978: 209).

    Archival records indicate that during Richard Dearsley's tenure enslaved
Africans resided on the site. This dates the African American occupation of the shipyard
to the late 17th century. The land and "all buildings, timber, fences, slaves, cattle and
stock" were sold to Dearsley's son Maj. George Dearsley April 28, 1701 for £350
current money (Moore 1978: 210). The deal included the seven enslaved Africans living

on the site … "As also these Seaven [sic] Negroes following by name Old Dick, Ceesear, Charles, Roger, Nanny, Judith & Mary now resident/ye said Plantation…" (Probate Court records v54: 343). Historical documentation has focused on property owners; however, I seek to emphasize the enslaved residents of the shipyard. By including their names I emphasize their individuality and legitimize their role as active participants in the social dynamics of the shipyard.

George Dearsley was a shipbuilder who may have been building vessels in the colony as early as the 1690's. In addition to his property on Hobcaw creek, he owned a working shipyard on a tract of land bordering Shem creek, to the south of Pritchard's Shipyard (Jones 1981). The historical record still can not confirm if at that time the property on Hobcaw was being used as a shipyard; however, according to his will in 1702 it was recorded as Dearsley's primary place of residence… "And bequeath to my Dear Sister Eliz^a Quelch and her heirs for Ever this my Plantation whereon I now Dwelue [sic]…" (Probate Court Records). Dearsley goes on in his will to name the enslaved Africans living on the property, also leaving them to his sister Elizabeth. Notice the expansion of the small community when the list of names in Dearsley's will is compared to list of enslaved Africans mentioned in the bill of sale the previous year.

"…With all the buildings I mean houses thereon with one Negro man P^r name Dick one woman p^r name Nancy & her Son Charles one Negro woman P^r name Kate and one Negro woman p^r name Betty and one man p^r name Samson one negro man P^r name Droge and one man P^r Name Ciruss with what Stock is on the S.^{d} plantation…" (Probate Court Records).

The property fell into the hands of Dearsley's brother in law, Benjamin Quelch, in 1709 along with the eight enslaved African Americans mentioned in the above quote. Either at the hands of Quelch, or Dearsley before him, the property was expanded to its maximum 340-acres. Following Quelch's death the plantation was passed to his wife Elizabeth, (Dearsley's sister) and eventually to their son Andrew. Andrew Quelch mortgaged the property July 4, 1748 to Thomas Bolton of Charleston for £10,300, Quelch failed to make payments on the mortgage and Bolton bought the property at public auction in 1753 (Probate Court Records: 305).

The Rose and Stewart Years:

Disorder within English trade networks during the middle to late 1740's opened the door for Scottish merchants in South Carolina's market (Clowse 1984: 236). Here enter John Rose and James Stewart, two Scottish shipwrights. In 1753, Rose and Stewart bought the tract of property bordering Hobcaw creek from the Charlestonian merchant Thomas Bolton for £2900 (SC Deed Abstracts 1984: 305). This began a well-documented legacy of shipbuilding for what was to become Pritchard's Shipyard. Although there are records of ships built at Hobcaw Creek prior to Rose and Stewart's acquisition of the property there is no proof that they were built on that tract. These ships include the 15-ton schooner *Friendship* built in 1745 (Oslberg 1973:266) and the 25-ton schooner *Mary* built on Hobcaw and registered October 8, 1746 (Oslberg 1973: 245). Hobcaw Creek was a hotbed of local shipbuilding activity and it is more than likely that these ships came from another shipyard located on the same creek.

James Stewart of Dalguise, Scotland came from a long line of shipbuilders. His

uncle was the famous Mungo Murray a leading British shipwright and author of an early

shipbuilding handbook published in 1756 (McNeil 1942:19). Stewart himself had

apprenticed under John Scott of Whitby. In November 1734, Stewart settled in

Woolwich, England and worked in the Naval Yard near London. It was not long until he

packed his bags and headed for the American colonies in search of new opportunities. A

series of letters between James Stewart and his father John (Dalguise Muniments 1734-

1754) provide a rich account of the struggles faced by immigrant shipbuilders in

establishing themselves within the South Carolina market.

Stewart arrived in Charleston with Murray in 1749. From the beginning the two

took advantage of South Carolina's enslaved labor.

"We propose to buy two Negroes to bring up to our businesses

which will cost £60… they say here when they talk of a Man's

being Rich he has so many Negroes… if we had a Dozen Working

Negroes we need work no more ourselves…if we can stop the

stream for the first two years I shall be satisfied our Negroes will

every day be worth More and More to us… some carpenter

Negroes here are worth £150 sterling" (Dalguise Muniments

1749).

Based on the recommendation of Master Joseph Allen, Surveyor of the Navy,

Stewart joined up with John Rose, a local Scottish shipwright and the two began to

amass a competent workforce. In 1752 Rose and Stewart's "family" consisted of "10

persons 5 of whom are Our own Slaves ourselves one white servant and two hired

Negroes" (Dalguise Muniments 15th August 1752). Stewart's classification of his workers as family highlights a curious bond that appears to have forged between the men and their enslaved apprentices.

By 1752 Rose and Stewart had seven enslaved Africans and expected to purchase more "until we have a sufficient number to answer the extent of our business here" (Dalguise Muniments Nov 23, 1752). Struggling from practically nothing the two shipwrights worked to establish a successful enterprise.

> "we came in here with about £ Ster 800 [600?] we put on our
> treusars went to work by the day raised Slaves by degrees lived
> snug & untill of late nobody knew what we were worth now we
> have got Experience & are known and Respected by the first Rank
> & we wear Silk Jackets and Ruffels …it is true we seldom doe any
> work Ourselves but then we have more care and trouble than ever."
> (Dalguise Muniments Feb 1754).

Stewart drops out of the written record in 1755 and Rose is credited with the substantial ships that came from the Hobcaw yard including the 180-ton *Heart of Oak* in 1763 (SC Gazette April 23-30, 1763) and the 160-ton *Liberty* in 1767. Stewart had mentioned to his father his desire to retire and may have returned to Scotland to live out the remainder of his days. "…if I had a Competency Sufficient to live Independent might Retire (tho' thiss is Reconed a good Old Man's Country we have all the Necessarys of Life in Aboundance yet should reather chuse to Retire to my Native Country…" (Dalguise Muniments November 23, 1752).

Rose married Hester Bond, the granddaughter of David Maybank, one of the original property owners on Hobcaw Point. The couple lived on the yard with their four children until they sold the property in 1769 to Daniel Manson, and William Begbie. Manson and the Scotsman Begbie were responsible for the 200-ton *Magna Carta* and the 200-ton *Carolina Packet* both launched from the shipyard in the early 1770's. Unfortunately for them Begbie and Manson were both loyalist supporters during the Revolution and were forced to flee the colony, Begbie to Jamaica and Manson to New York. The two returned during the British occupation of Charleston to reclaim their practice but were again compelled to leave after Britain's unsuccessful campaign (Rodgers, George 1981: 338).

The Pritchard's of Hobcaw:

Paul Pritchard of Cobh City, Ireland and Abraham Livingston bought the property from Begbie and Manson in 1778 including all "houses, outhouses, buildings, wharves, storehouses, orchards, gardens, marshes, trees, wells, water, water couriers, ways…etc." for £50,000 currency (Probate Court Record: June 20, 1778). Pritchard came from a long line of shipbuilders and brought with him the skills he gained on his family's shipyard. The family's yard was located on Ireland's Haulbowline Island in the Harbor of Cork (Houmes 1986: 18). Not much is known about Livingston.

On October 2, 1778 the commissioner of the State Navy bought out Livingston's half of the property for £25,000 current money (Indenture October 2, 1778). The commissioner had already purchased ½ of Paul Pritchard and his wife Ann Pritchard's share on October 1, 1778 (Indenture October 1, 1778). Included in the sale were the yard's 15 enslaved Africans. Pritchard retained a quarter interest in the yard and was

hired by the navy to run the operations, he continued to do so until the British captured it in 1780.

The property remained in the center of heated conflict throughout the Revolution. Mrs. Von Kolnitz tells in her story that "Paul Pritchard cleverly removed and hid from the British a large quantity of powder that had been stored in the Hobcaw Powder House" (Zeigler 1954: 14). The Hobcaw powder house in question refers to a tract of land owned by Col. Lempriere, not Paul Pritchard (Figure 2). Despite this historical inconsistency, the Navy remained at Pritchard's shipyard until Charleston fell to the British. After its fall, John Rose attempted to reassume command of the yard for the British Royal Navy (Houmes 1986:26).

The Pritchard family legacy at the yard does not end here; the property was fully restored to Pritchard's sole ownership following the war (Houmes 1986: 27). The success of the yard under Paul Pritchard's leadership went on to surpassed all previous and future owners of the property. He and his enslaved Africans sustained the largest shipyard in Antebellum South Carolina (Amer and Naylor 1996). The enslaved Africans who built ships under his direction at the Hobcaw shipyard are mentioned in his will.

> "the following Negroes… Portius, Sam Moosa, Henry Junk Caesar, Ben, Little David, Big David, Cyrus, Passage and Gray, - ship Carpenters and Caulkers; Stafford and George, Blacksmith's; my wenches, Sue, Phillis, and Chloe, and my two House Carpenters Sam and George…" (Houmes 1986: 171).
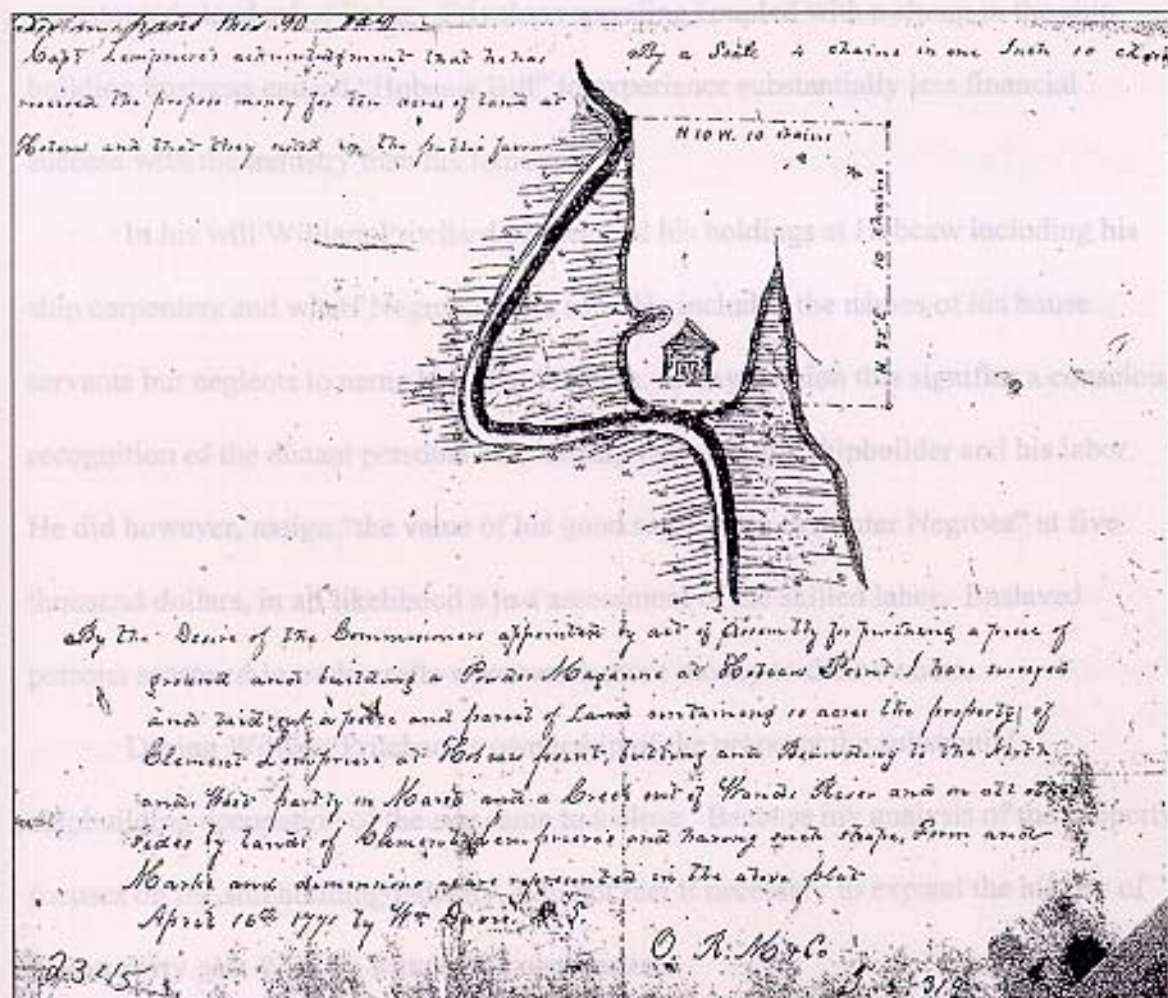
Figure 2: The navy's purchase of Lempriere's property for the "Hobcaw" powder house (McCrady Plats).

Undoubtedly, Pritchard owned more enslaved Africans than those mentioned here. These enslaved workers were passed to his son William for the purpose of continuing the Hobcaw shipyard. This said, who specifically resided and worked on the Hobcaw plantation can not be undeniably verified, it seems likely however, that those enslaved laborers passed to William along with the Hobcaw Plantation lived on the site.

After Pritchard's death in 1791, the property including all of the outbuildings and shipbuilding tools passed to his eldest son William. Affectionately referred to as "Hobcaw Bill," William Pritchard spent most of his father's fortune on sustaining an

accustomed standard of living. Frivolous spending coupled with a slump in the ship building business caused "Hobcaw Bill" to experience substantially less financial success with the industry than his father.

In his will William Pritchard bequeathed his holdings at Hobcaw including his ship carpenters and wharf Negroes to his son. He included the names of his house servants but neglects to name his other laborers. In my opinion this signifies a conscious recognition of the distant personal relationship between this shipbuilder and his labor. He did however, assign "the value of his good sound ship carpenter Negroes" at five thousand dollars, in all likelihood a just assessment of the skilled labor. Enslaved persons seasoned in trade-crafts were worth more money to their owners.

During William Pritchard's ownership of the property the substantial shipbuilding occupation of the site came to a close. Because my analysis of the property focuses on the shipbuilding industry, I do not feel it necessary to expand the history of the property past William Pritchard's occupation.

Enslaved Africans and life at the Shipyard:

After providing a sound historical chronology for the shipyard the context needs to expand in order to include the enslaved occupants of the site. History is well aware of the circumstances surrounding the successes and failures of the shipyard's owners. My focus shifts to include the experiences of the enslaved labor living in the shipyard community. The historical record supplies us with the names of the shipyard's residents but provides nothing about their lives and the ideologies at work within the yard.

Many shipbuilders along the coast employed labor hired out from nearby plantations. "There are Carpenters [sic] Widows here who have slaves to hire where we can get as many as we have Occasion…" (Dalguise Muniments November 23, 1752). What makes Pritchard's shipyard a sound choice for examining enslaved labor interactions within the shipbuilding industry is the recorded ownership and boarding of the yard's workers. Stewart and Rose and all subsequent shipbuilders on the Hobcaw property privately engaged in the sale and purchase of their laborers.

Historical documents record the interactions between the shipyard owners and the enslaved African Americans. Like Rose and Stewart, Pritchard began to amass competent labor before establishing his shipyard at Hobcaw, "Presently he needed two stalwart slaves and visited the slave mart to procure them" (Houmes 1986: 22). No doubt adding to the success of his enterprise Pritchard sustained a reputation as a respected shipwright who "understands the management of Negroes" (McNeil 1942: 19).

It is necessary to deal with the enslaved labor at this site not as complementary scenery to the shipyard but as competent and interactive individuals, without which the shipyard could not have sustained its respected reputation. It was felt by certain members of the shipbuilding community that "he who has the most Slaves' has the best chance of being engaged by captains who come here" (Dalguise Muniments 1752). Despite the skills amassed by the enslaved Africans they were never regarded as equal in judgment or skill to their white counterparts.

"Mr. John Rose who performed the work upon your ship *Betsy* has offered to make affidavit that she was totally unfit for the Sea before such work was done to her but as he has not another White

person in his employ who can confirm the same…" (Hamer 1972:

186).

In spite of their clear qualifications the opinions of enslaved workers were held in low

regard, and whites needed confirmation from other whites and not their black workers.

What needs to be challenged is the conciliatory theory that life for skilled

enslaved workers was more agreeable than that for unskilled slaves. Within the shipyard

the intensified relationship between owners and enslaved labor beyond a bounded

agricultural plantation may have in fact reduced potential freedoms that some say were

afforded to unskilled field hands (Vlach 1993). The closer relationship between

shipbuilders and their labor supply may have indirectly added to an increased

surveillance of daily activity. On the other hand the social invisibility of enslaved

persons in general may have countered this theorized surveillance (Herman 1999).

To date there has been little investigation into the labor dynamics of skilled

enslaved Africans. Often historians have attributed contentment and quiescence to the

"improved" conditions of skilled enslaved laborers. Historians claim that skilled

workers were "respected." The actions of Henry Laurens demonstrate this "respect," he

"paid not just a neighbor for the use of his carpenters but also the tradesmen themselves

in both money and rum for working on a Sunday" (Morgan 1998: 347). But is this really

respect? Were the enslaved workers given the choice of whether or not to work on the

observed day of rest?

Physical evidence of discontentment is visible even for the shipbuilders profiled

here. Listed in the *South Carolina* and *American General Gazette*, December 12-19,

1776 is an advertisement for a runaway "Negro" from Mr. Pritchard's shipyard, signed

George Smith. While this advertisement predates Pritchard's ownership of the Hobcaw shipyard it is still significant in highlighting the resistance and dissatisfaction felt by Pritchard's enslaved workers. "Most artisans had to live with the contradiction of a measure of freedom and a heightened awareness of the constraints of being black" (Morgan 1998: 353).

Additional South Carolina Shipyards:

The legacy of shipbuilding at Pritchard's shipyard beginning in the days of Rose and Stewart gives the reader a window into the world of South Carolina's industry. Though certainly some of Charleston's most prominent shipwrights, the craftsmen at the Hobcaw property were by no means the only ones. South Carolina fostered a-rich and diverse industry built on enslaved labor. In order to make an argument based on the historical continuity of South Carolina shipbuilding I need to expand my focus to encompass some of the many shipwrights that took advantage of southern mercantilism.

Pritchard's shipyard is not an isolated example in its successful employment of enslaved labor and to demonstrate this I will briefly discuss some additional South Carolina shipyards. These shipwrights, like Pritchard, Stewart, and Rose successfully employed skilled enslaved labor in the manufacture of vessels. As can be gleaned from this brief overview enslaved laborers were viewed as secondary components of the shipbuilding industry. Evidence of the foundation they comprised is veiled by the histories of their prominent owners.

As mentioned earlier Hobcaw Creek was a hotbed of shipbuilding activity supporting a number of successful shipyards. During the middle to late 18th century,

David Lynn ran a contemporary shipyard just across the creek from Paul Pritchard. It is likely that Lynn's shipyard engaged a similar labor dynamic as Pritchard's. Historical records record Lynn's purchase and sale of enslaved labor. His will also reveals a specific relationship between him and the enslaved Africans he employed at the shipyard.

It is curious that Lynn, a bachelor, bequeathed freedom to a certain female slave. "Item, I will and direct that my Wench named Cloe be free and discharged from Slavery immediately after my decease, and hereby give and bequeath to her, her said freedom, and also the sum of Fifty pounds sterling to be paid to her at such times and in such proportions as my Exeuors hereafter named shall think fit and proper" (Probate Court Records 16-A: 278).

I do not intend to imply an indelicate relationship between the shipbuilder and Cloe there is no direct evidence to support this, but it is none the less an interesting comment on the relationships between certain shipbuilders and their enslaved laborers. After Lynn passed away his property was sold to Andrew McMillage and shipbuilding at the yard ended.

The shipyard of Captain Lempriere was also located on Hobcaw creek contemporary with Rose and Stewart, Begbie and Manson, and Paul Pritchard, @ the mid- 18th century. Lempriere, like Rose, married one of Daniel Maybank's granddaughters, Sarah Bond and acquired additional acreage on Hobcaw through family connections. Lempriere was responsible for a number of ships including the *Betsy and Elfy* in 1769 (SC Gazette May 2, 1769). He was eventually lost at sea on December 28,

1778 (Temple 1964: 5). Little is known about Lempriere's enslaved Africans, a neighboring community to the one living on Pritchard's shipyard.

The enslaved Africans on Lynn's, Lempriere's, and Pritchard's shipyards would have more than likely fostered some sort of relationship. With three such similar communities nearby it is a strong possibility that Lempriere's and Lynn's slaves visited or traded with Pritchard's. They may have been hired out when one shipyard or the other needed additional hands.

William Tweed, like Rose and Steward was a shipbuilder from Scotland during the mid-18th century. Tweed had refused the oath of allegiance and aided the British during the war, he was tried for treason and hung on March 17, 1779. The unfortunate circumstances of his death nonetheless alerts history to the skilled enslaved Africans that comprised his successful shipyard. His estate valued at £6000 sterling included 12 Negro shipwrights, a houselot in Charleston and a ferry from Trott's Point (Rogers 1981). The names of these enslaved Africans have been lost to time, but their legacy lives on in the industry they were forced to support.

During the early 19th century Paul Pritchard's younger son, also Paul Pritchard ran a successful shipyard and plantation named Fairbanks on Daniel's Island. The Fairbanks shipyard like the property on Hobcaw Creek employed enslaved Africans. No doubt like his father before him, Paul Pritchard valued his skilled slaves. In his will the laborers are listed and their skills outlined. "The following Negros, To Wit, Gray, Cyrus, Tom, Mamoda, Dick, Ship-Carpenters, say five in number, and my ship joiner Sam, also my blacksmith York with his wife Salley and her two children Alexander & Phillip…"(Probate Court Records v32: 817). Fairbanks shipyard serves as an example

of the continuing influence of enslaved labor on the industry well into the 19th century.

The 378-acre plantation and all the enslaved Africans were left to Pritchard's wife Lydia.

After the industry began to take root in Charleston aspiring white shipwrights sought apprenticeships under established builders. Stephen Shrewsbury apprenticed under Charles Moncreif as a carpenter and joiner, an indenture that lasted seven years. While instances such as these are well documented, the apprenticeships of enslaved workers, no less impressive, have slipped through the cracks of time. Rose and Stewart and many others were forced to train their first laborers what could have the apprenticeship been like for these enslaved men?

Enslaved shipbuilders, caulkers, and carpenters, were an established group of laborers, doing the same jobs for white laborers apprenticed seven or more years. Their skill was recognized but not legitimized by the white population. No doubt ship carpenters such as George Powell in 1759 worked alongside enslaved carpenters. What were the dynamics between the skilled slaves and their white coworkers? How did they negotiate the social ramifications of their relationship? These are the kinds of interactions that cause shipbuilding as an industry to expand and complicate the relationship between whites and skilled enslaved laborers.

It is important to recognize that Charleston was not South Carolina's only home to shipbuilding nor the only place that enslaved labor was used. Eventually Beaufort and Georgetown established similar, albeit smaller, industries. Little is known about the yards in Beaufort and Georgetown and even less about the enslaved Africans employed at these remote locations. Shipwrights, such as James Black who worked in Beaufort

from 1766-1778 (Rogers 1981) began to expand South Carolina's industry along the coast. Shipbuilding was a colony wide undertaking and its influence and the influences of its enslaved workers stretched up and down the Carolina coast.

Shipbuilding in the state experienced a rich and varied history. I have firmly contextualized Pritchard's shipyard and have provided a sound historical setting. Again I would like to reemphasize the historically marginalized residents and to focus attention on the microcosm of black and white communities embodied in the shipyard. What did it mean to be part of that community to the enslaved Africans who were forced to work on the site and to the white owners who fought to establish their own credibility? The broader examples of South Carolina shipyards strengthen my arguments concerning the place of enslaved labor in the industry. Like many South Carolina enterprises shipbuilding in the state was based almost solely on enslaved labor.

Chapter Three:
Method and Practice: Pritchard's Shipyard

I used a variety of techniques in my investigations of Pritchard's shipyard. What resulted was a comprehensive synthesis of cultural ideologies visible in the ideal layout emphasized by white owners and the prospect for yet uncovered negotiations practiced by the enslaved workers. In the following section I retrace the steps of investigation and provide the methodological basis of my analysis. Historical maps were critically examined heeding the cultural bias of their makers. They are as valuable for what they do not include as for the information they provide (Higman 1988). In addition to the maps, ground penetrating radar (GPR) and traditional archaeological investigations were applied in a physical examination of the site. I combine venues and use historical maps, GPR, and traditional excavations in my spatial analysis of Pritchard's shipyard.

The Archaeological History of Pritchard's Shipyard:

Seven and a half acres is all that remains of the original 340-acre tract that produced some of Charleston's greatest vessels. Current owners Pepe and Cyndy Hernandez have maintained a genuine interest in their property's heritage and have encouraged on-going archaeological investigations at the site. They have been more than generous with their facilities and have nourished a close working relationship with archaeologists from the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and

Anthropology (SCIAA). The Hernandez's have been active participants in all aspects of field research on their property.

Archaeologists were first attracted to the site in 1989 in response to the construction of a private dock along the foreshore of the historic property. A reconnaissance survey conducted by SCIAA confirmed the presence of 18th and 19th century materials. These included: "ballast rock, brick and ship frames eroding out of the bank, and two distinct areas on the foreshore containing wood cribbing and pilings- the remains of two of the three slipways and a wharf. The third slipway is believed to lie beneath a concrete boat launching ramp" (Amer and Naylor 1996).

The removal of a live oak to make way for the construction of the Hernandez's 5000 sq. foot home uncovered the remains of a brick structure entangled within its roots (Figure 3). The area was the focal point of intensive investigations during the summer of 1993. Excavations resulted in over 28,000 artifacts. These include among other things: pipe stems and bowls dating mostly from 1750-1800, ceramics and glass bottles from the 18th and 19th centuries, wrought iron and brass fasteners, wound and drawn glass beads, gun flints, buckles, thimbles, buttons, ax heads, a pair of dividers, a broken chainplate, and an unusually large assemblage of burnt faunal remains (Amer and Naylor 1996). Results indicate that the structure consisted...

> "of the lower remains of three brick walls forming an approximately seven-meter square enclosure. Only the south wall remains intact to its 7.35-meter length. While the west wall extends 6.9 meters to the north, the east wall has been all but

Figure 3. 1993 map of excavated structure (SCIAA).
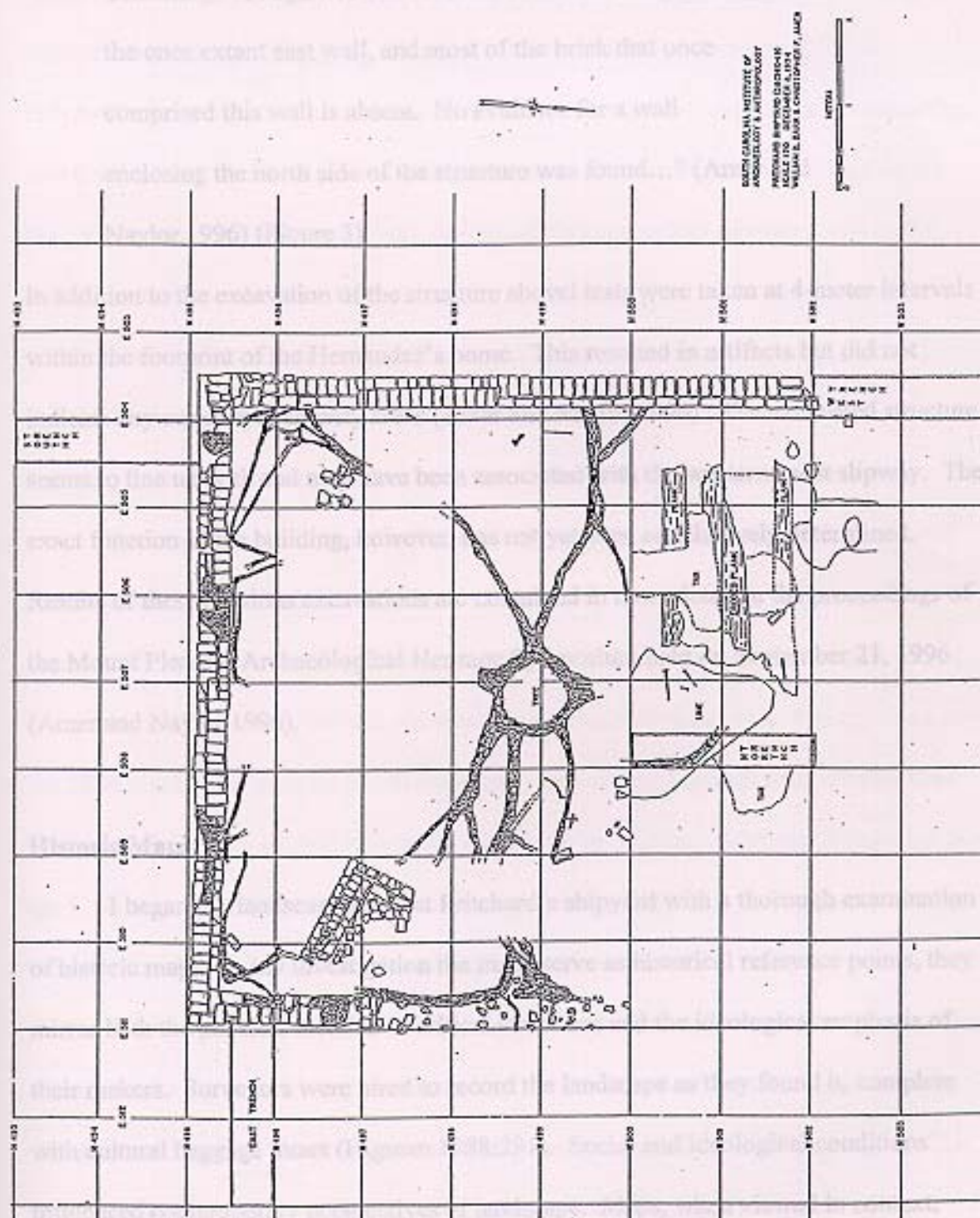
destroyed, with only the southernmost 2 meters of structure remaining. A large live oak root had deflected along the inside of the once extant east wall, and most of the brick that once comprised this wall is absent. No evidence for a wall enclosing the north side of the structure was found..." (Amer and Naylor 1996) (Figure 3).

In addition to the excavation of the structure shovel tests were taken at 4-meter intervals within the footprint of the Hernandez's home. This resulted in artifacts but did not indicate any conclusive activity areas (Amer and Naylor 1996). The excavated structure seems to line up with and may have been associated with the western-most slipway. The exact function of the building, however, has not yet been conclusively determined. Results of these previous excavations are contained in more detail in the proceedings of the Mount Pleasant Archaeological Heritage Symposium held on September 21, 1996 (Amer and Naylor 1996).

Historic Maps:

I began my landscape study at Pritchard's shipyard with a thorough examination of historic maps. In my investigation the maps serve as historical reference points, they mirror both the physical location of critical structures and the ideological emphasis of their makers. Surveyors were hired to record the landscape as they found it, complete with cultural baggage intact (Higman 1988:291). Social and ideological conditions influenced contemporary perspectives of landscape. Maps, when viewed in context, offer genuine insight into the ideological conditions of their manufacture.

Two plat maps of Pritchard's shipyard provide the historical interpretation of the landscape. The earliest, surveyed on the 29th of August 1786, dates to Paul Pritchard's occupation of the site (Figure 4). This plat includes a detailed inventory of Paul Pritchard's property. The main house is designated with a defined yard area connecting it to the wharves. A series of paths, ditches, gates and fences are also included on the plat. Features on the 1786 map were clearly labeled and reflect function, such as the stable and the springhouse. The one unlabeled structure is on the western side of the property jutting into the slat marsh. The lower left-hand corner of the map reveals David Lynn's contemporary shipyard. Despite the attention to detail the discrete industrial features of the yard and the residences of the enslaved Africans were not included.

On March 22, 1918 the Nix Brothers of the Dawson Engineering Co. surveyed the most recent historic plat of Pritchard's Shipyard (Figure 5). The 1918 map is oriented 90% to the left of the 1786 map. The plat includes the main house and designates the "avenue of oaks to old wharf." The unlabeled structure that appeared in the 1786 plat shows up again in 1918 this time proportioned significantly smaller than the main house. The 1918 plat includes the spring but adds an additional component to the 1786 map. The Pritchard family cemetery is located opposite the western marsh where it remains undisturbed to this day (Figure 6).

The historic maps discussed here significantly aid my investigations by providing a blueprint for the expanded physical analysis of the site. Furthermore, they introduce the reader to the ideal landscape of the shipyard as perceived by the white owners. The historical plats do not stand on their own as a comprehensive representation of the

Figure 4: 1786 plat of Pritchard's Shipyard (SC Department of Archives and History).

Figure 5: 1918 plat of Pritchard's Shipyard (McCrady Plats).
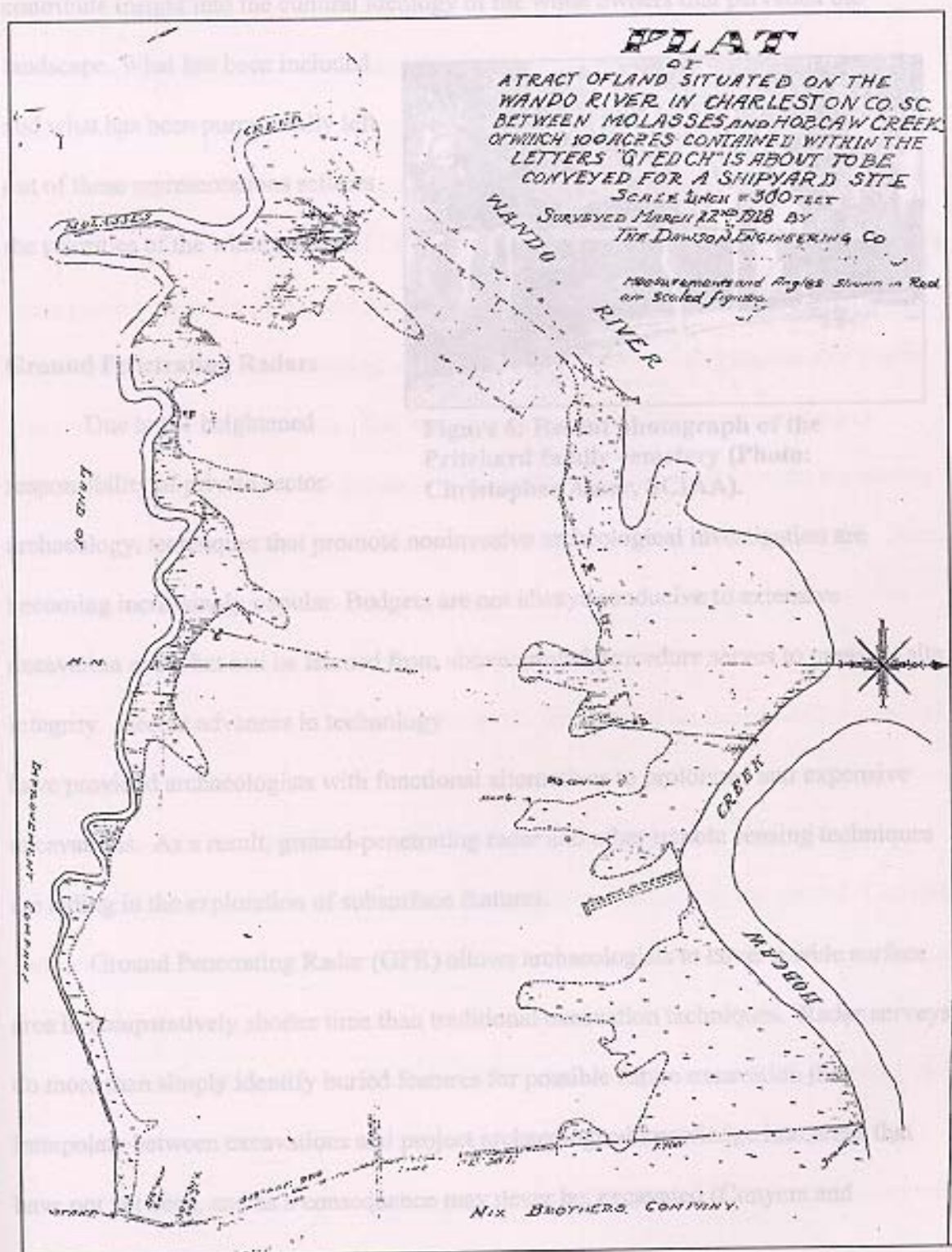
shipyard, when combined with the physical examination of the site, however, they [...] to

contribute insight into the cultural ideology of the white owners that pervaded the

landscape. What has been included

and what has been purposefully left

out of these representations reflects

the priorities of the white owners.

Ground Penetrating Radar:

Due to the heightened

responsibility of private sector
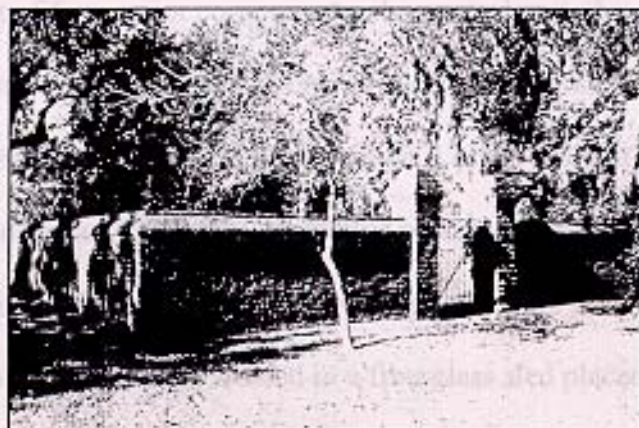
Figure 6: Recent photograph of the Pritchard family cemetery (Photo: Christopher Amer, SCIAA).

archaeology, techniques that promote noninvasive archeological investigation are

becoming increasingly popular. Budgets are not always conducive to extensive

excavation and what can be learned from above ground procedure serves to preserve site

integrity. Recent advances in technology

have provided archaeologists with functional alternatives to prolonged and expensive

excavations. As a result, ground-penetrating radar and other remote sensing techniques

are aiding in the exploration of subsurface features.

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) allows archaeologists to cover a wide surface

area in comparatively shorter time than traditional excavation techniques. Radar surveys

do more than simply identify buried features for possible future excavation they

interpolate between excavations and project archaeological knowledge into areas that

have not yet been, and as a consequence may never be, excavated (Conyers and

Goodman 1997:12). When used accurately GPR effectively manages the time allotted to in-field investigations.

Standard GPR systems consist of four major components: the control unit, the transmitting unit, the receiving unit, and the display unit (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 57). The control unit generates a high-voltage electrical pulse, which it sends through a cable to a transmitter (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 58). Inside the portable-transmitting unit a pulse of radar energy in the form of high frequency electro-magnetic radio pulses, is amplified in a dipole-transmitting antenna. This is located in a fiberglass sled placed directly on the ground's surface. The resulting wave of electromagnetic energy is broadcasted downward into the ground. Portions are reflected back towards the surface when the energy encounters buried discontinuities (Conyers and Goodman 1997). These radar reflections are recorded in two-way time, the time it takes for the radar wave to travel from the surface antenna to the ground and then the time it takes for it to be reflected off a discontinuity and travel back to the surface and be recorded (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 26/27).

All sedimentary levels have specific electrical and magnetic properties that directly affect the rate of electromagnetic energy dissemination into the ground (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 27). The capacity of material to store and then allow the passage of electromagnetic energy when a field is imposed upon it is called Relative Dialectic Permitivity (RDP) (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 32). Simply stated RDP indicates "the velocity of the radar waves through the material" (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 33). When RDP changes within two adjoining subsurface features a significant reflection will be observable from the GPR data.

Figure 7: Topographic map including 1993 excavation, GPR survey, and STPs.
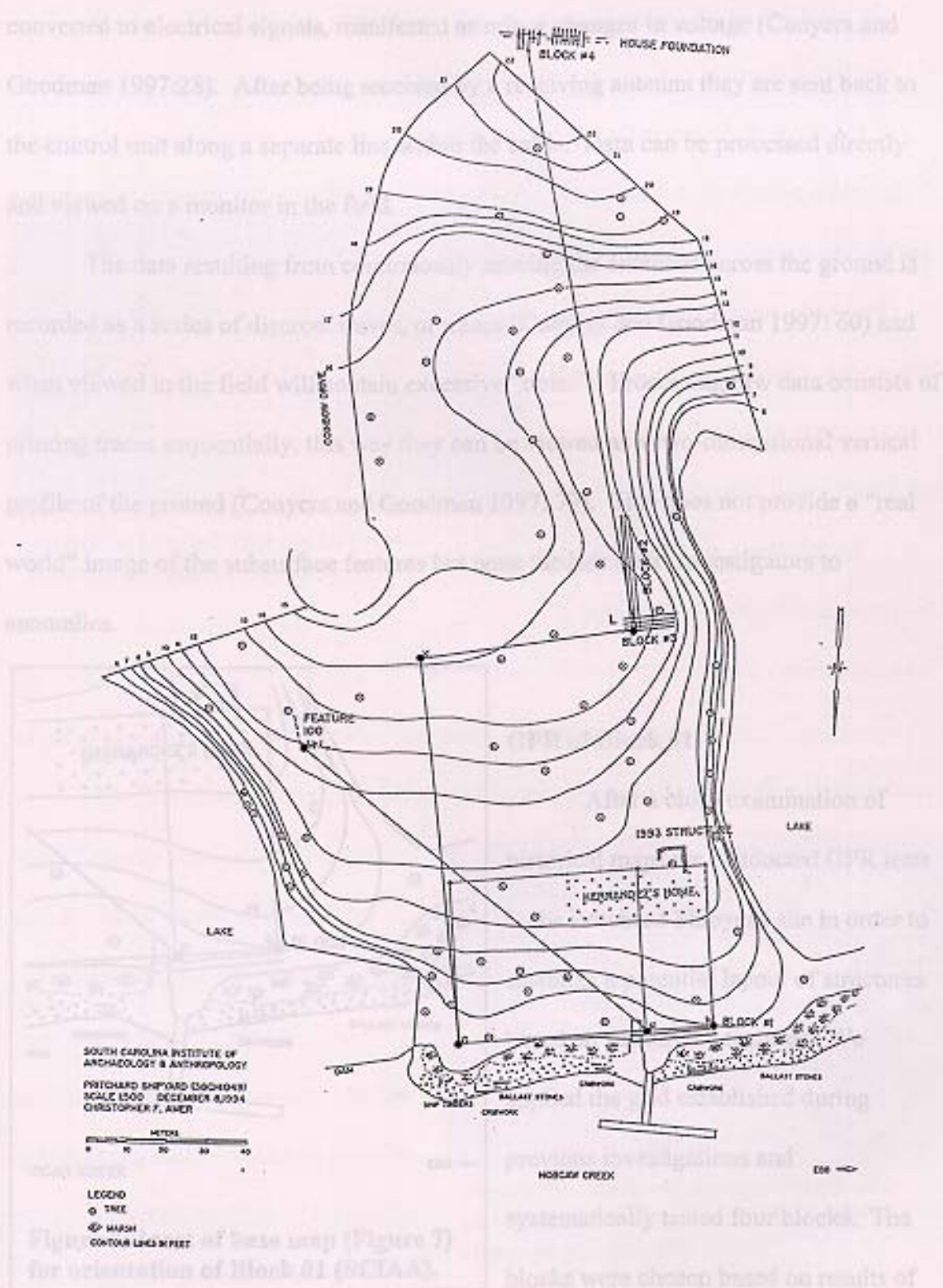
Once the radar waves are reflected they are received back at the surface and are converted to electrical signals, manifested as minor changes in voltage (Conyers and Goodman 1997:28). After being received by a receiving antenna they are sent back to the control unit along a separate line within the cable. Data can be processed directly and viewed on a monitor in the field.

The data resulting from continuously moving the antennas across the ground is recorded as a series of discreet waves, or traces (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 60) and when viewed in the field will contain excessive "noise". Processing raw data consists of printing traces sequentially, this way they can be viewed as a two-dimensional vertical profile of the ground (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 77). This does not provide a "real world" image of the subsurface features but none the less alerts investigators to anomalies.

Figure 8: Inset of base map (Figure 7) for orientation of Block #1 (SCIAA).
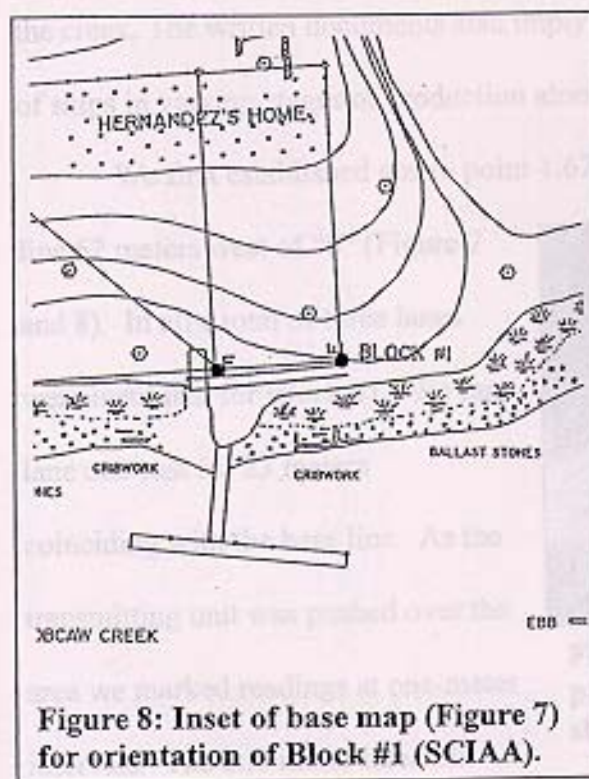
GPR of Block #1:

After a close examination of historical maps we conducted GPR tests at the Pritchard Shipyard site in order to establish a potential layout of structures based on subsurface features. We applied the grid established during previous investigations and systematically tested four blocks. The blocks were chosen based on results of

the 1993 shovel test pits (STPs) (Figure 7).

We initially set up test rows along the shoreline (Figure 8) with the hope of substantiating the extent of slipways along the water's edge. It is presumed that the shipyard had the facilities to launch up to three ships simultaneously. Even today

Figure 9: Eroded timbers in former location of shipyard slipway.

portions of these slipways are still visible as eroded timbers protruding from the embankment (Figure 9). Based on the magnitude of the ships launched by Rose and Steward and Begbie and Manson it is inferred that the slips had the capability of launching large vessels sideways into

the creek. The written documents also imply that Pritchard would have a given number of ships in varying stages of production along his wharf (Figure 10).

We first established a zero point 1.67 meters NW of subdatum G and ran a base line 62 meters west of "0" (Figure 7 and 8). In all a total of three lanes were instituted for Block #1. We ran lane one east for 23 meters coinciding with the base line. As the transmitting unit was pushed over the area we marked readings at one-meter intervals. The one-meter intervals
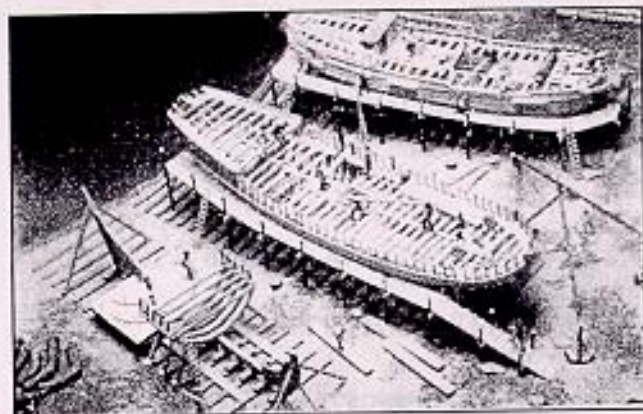
Figure 10: Model of various stages of production for shipyard with multiple slipways (Coker, 1987).

made the correlation between the raw data and physical features immediate and allowed for the on-site location of potential anomalies. We marked all subsequent GPR readings for each block in this manner.

Lane two we located one meter north of the base line and ran it 24 meters east. We set up lane three two meters north of the base line and ran it 22 meters east. The inconsistency of the eastern boundaries was in direct response to a cement boat ramp located at the eastern-most edge of the block. We ran all lanes in Block #1 and all subsequent blocks through twice in order to insure consistent readings.

Our results were varied and indicate a high reflectivity, this is probably due to the water saturation of the soil near the shoreline. Freshwater has a RPD of 80 and salt water has a RPD of 81-88 (Conyers and Goodman 1997: 33). The high RDP of water results in the reflection of the radar pulses transmitted by the GPR. The GPR data from this block reflects the inter-tidal composition of the soil and provides no negotiable results. Based on this outcome we were unable to locate the subsurface remains of the slipways.
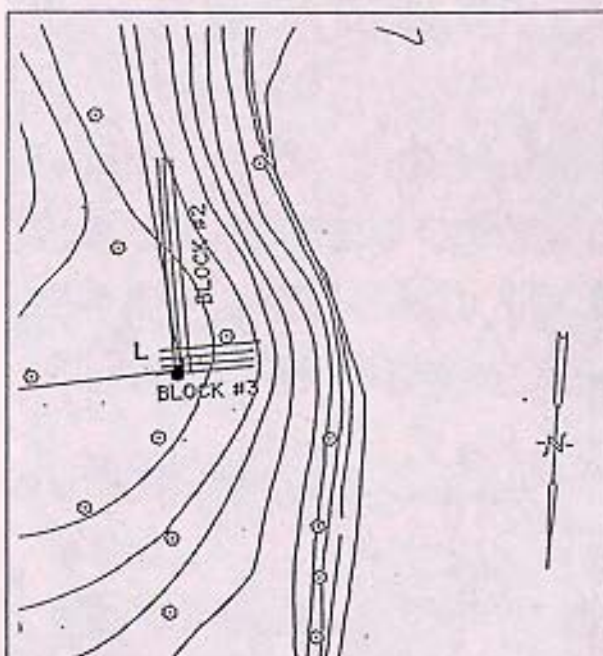
Figure 11: Inset of base map (Figure 7) for orientation of Block #2 (SCIAA).

GPR of Block #2:

We set up Block #2 (Figure 11) parallel to the avenue of oaks in the heart of an area characterized in 1993 by a high concentration of slag. We

Figure 12: GPR of Block #2, lane 3, bright spots correspond to slag, point "A" represents possible subsurface brick wall (SCIAA).
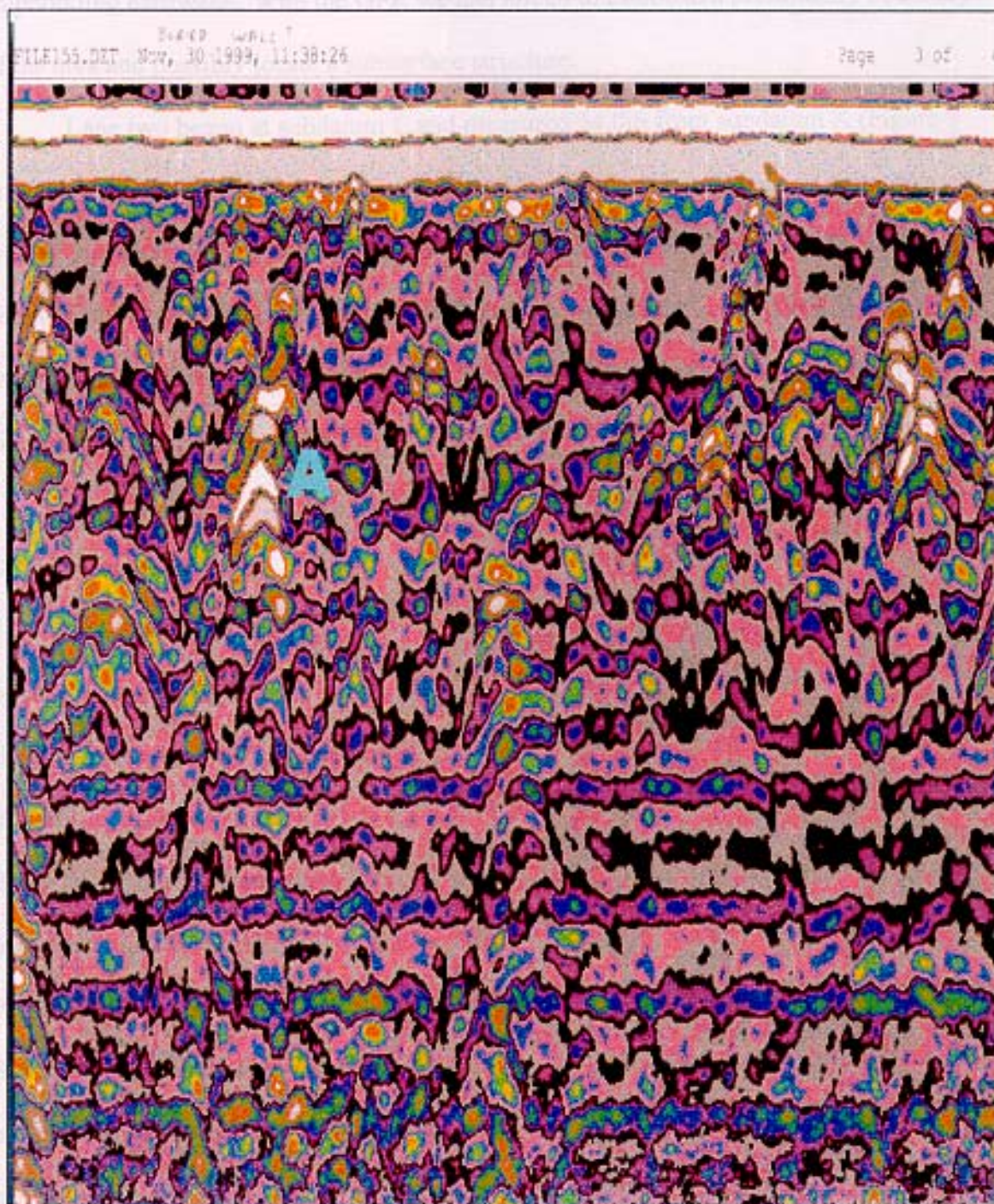
hypothesized that the feature in Block #2 represented a blacksmith activity area. Such areas would have been necessary to the functioning of the shipyard in the manufacture of shipbuilding hardware. With the GPR we had hoped to establish a preliminary boundary of the area and possibly locate a subsurface structure.

Lane two began at subdatum L and measured 54.0m from subdatum K (Figure 7 and 11). Lane one was one meter to the east of lane two and lane three one meter to the west of lane two. We extended each lane south 30.0 meters. Our results indicated a potential subsurface structure (Point A in Figure 12), so an additional Block (Block #3) was established across the northern end of Block #2 in order to include the anomaly discovered in lane 3 (Figure 13).

GPR of Block #3:

We instituted Block #3 perpendicular (90 degrees) to Block #2 and 1 to 5 meters south of subdatum L (Figure 13). Lanes were label A-D for Block #3 in order to distinguish them from the originally numbered lanes in Block #2 which overlapped the lanes in Block #3. We ran lane A west from 65
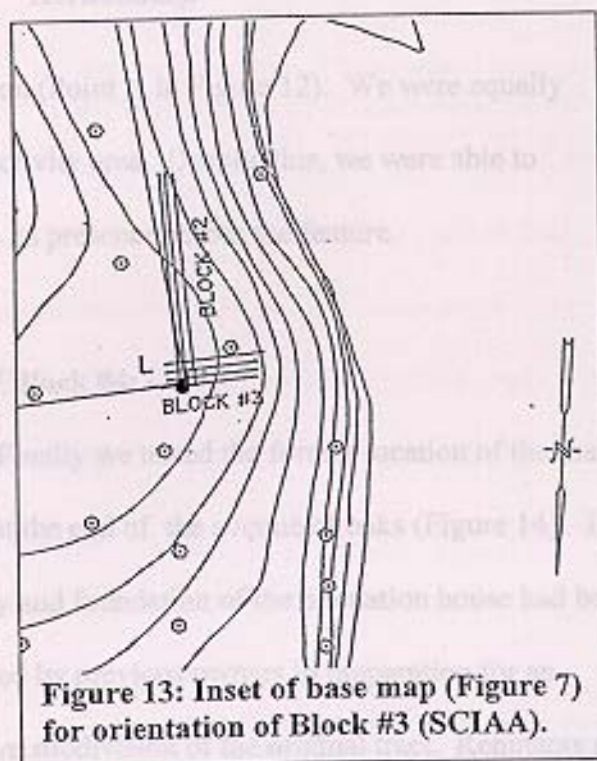
Figure 13: Inset of base map (Figure 7) for orientation of Block #3 (SCIAA).

meters west of subdatum F to 54 meters west of subdatum K. In all we ran four lanes 13 meters east to west. Lane B, 1 meter south of lane A, lane C, 1 meter south of lane B, 2 meters south of lane A, and lane D, 1 meter south of lane C and 3 meters south of lane

A. The data indicated a large surface concentration of slag. Metal objects do not absorb radar pulses and consequently reflect GPR transmissions. "Radar energy will not penetrate metal. The bright spots near the top of the printout correspond to subsurface slag concentrations (Figure 12). We were unable to determine the extent of the possible subsurface structure first located in northern half of Block #2. Certain reflections, however, may represent the

Figure 14: 1912 photograph of old plantation house (Photo courtesy of Cyndy Hernandez).

deteriorated remains of a brick foundation (Point A in Figure 12). We were equally unable to determine a boundary of the activity area. Despite this, we were able to confirm its presence across the feature.

Figure 15: Foundation visible in neighbor's driveway.

GPR of Block #4:

Finally we tested the former location of the main house, at the end of the avenue of oaks (Figure 14). The chimney and foundation of the plantation house had been bulldozed by previous owners in preparation for an extensive subdivision of the original tract. Remnants of the former brick foundation are visible in the driveways of the Hernandez's and their western neighbors (Figure 15). We ran the GPR perpendicular to the visible foundation in order to determine a preliminary size and

orientation of the plantation big house (Figure 16). We established a zero point 153.30

meters from subdatum L at an 81.10°

angle from the subdatum K to L axis

(Figure 7 and 16). We ran the GPR three

meters north across the visible foundation

remains. In all we ran seven lanes west of

zero each 1-meter apart, the farthest lane

measuring a total of 8 meters west of zero.

Modern fencing prevented us from

extending the lanes directly east of zero.

Subsequently, we resumed 5 meters east

Figure 16: Inset of base map (Figure 7) for orientation of Block #4 (SCIAA).

and continued them 1 meter apart for 4 additional meters. We ran the GPR three meters

north across the assumed foundation area consistent with lane zero. For the last four

lanes east of zero we extended the GPR transmissions an additional meter north in an

attempt to catch rubble fall from the toppled structure. Our results indicate a rough

foundation boundary, and the subsurface toppling of the structure's main walls (Figure

17). The subsurface rubble fall becomes apparent as the foundation continues to extend

east of zero (Figure 18). Modern disturbances prevented us from extending the tests far

enough west to firmly establish a discrete boundary. It should be noted that the

construction of the two driveways that overlay the probable location of the foundation

may have also had an impact on the subsurface structure.

Figure 17: GPR Block #4, lane 3. Light colored strip indicates foundation (SCIAA).
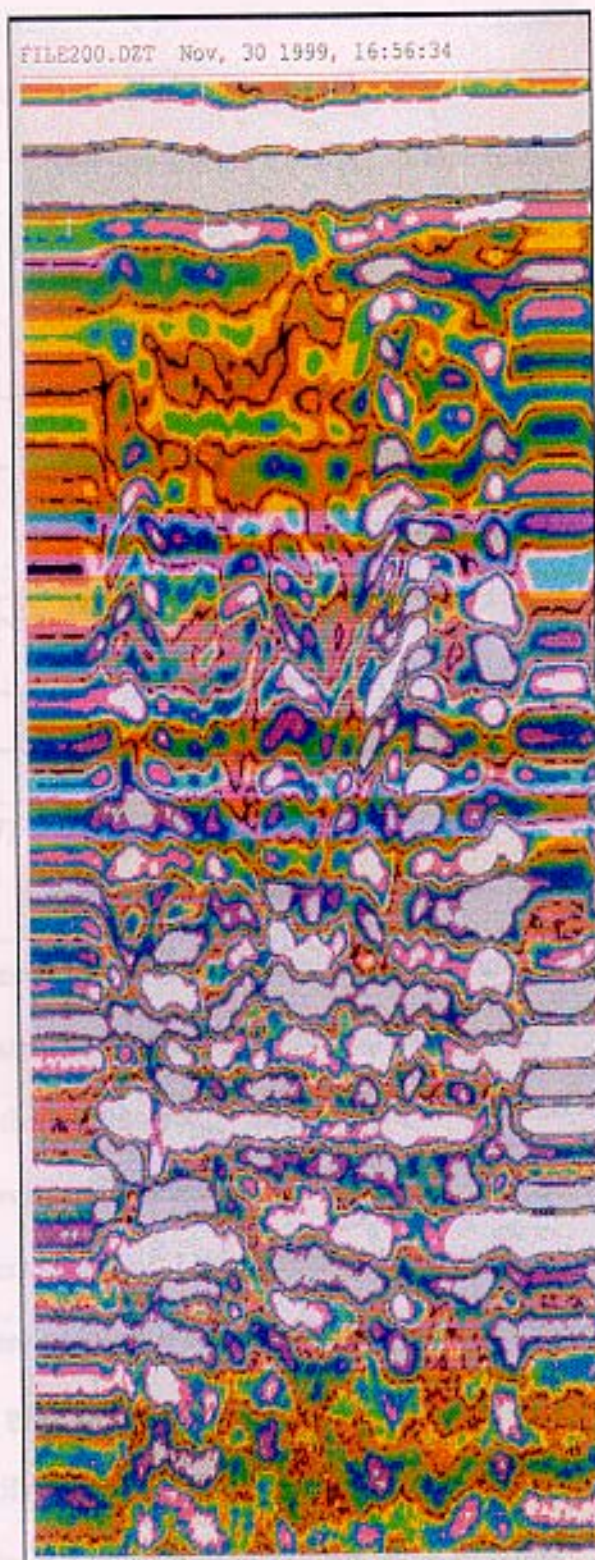
Figure 18: GPR Block #4, lane 9 exhibiting toppling of subsurface wall (SCIAA).

Feature 100:

After conducting the GPR surveys of Blocks #1, #2, #3, and #4, we sunk shovel test pits around a visible surface feature on the eastern side of the avenue of oaks in order to determine if it was an industrial component of the site. We initially established subdatum M (Figure 19) near a visible foundation on the eastern side of the property 105.18 meters from subdatum F at an angle of 44° 17' from the base line. The base line for Feature 100 angled at approximately 135° 43' from the subdatum F to M axis
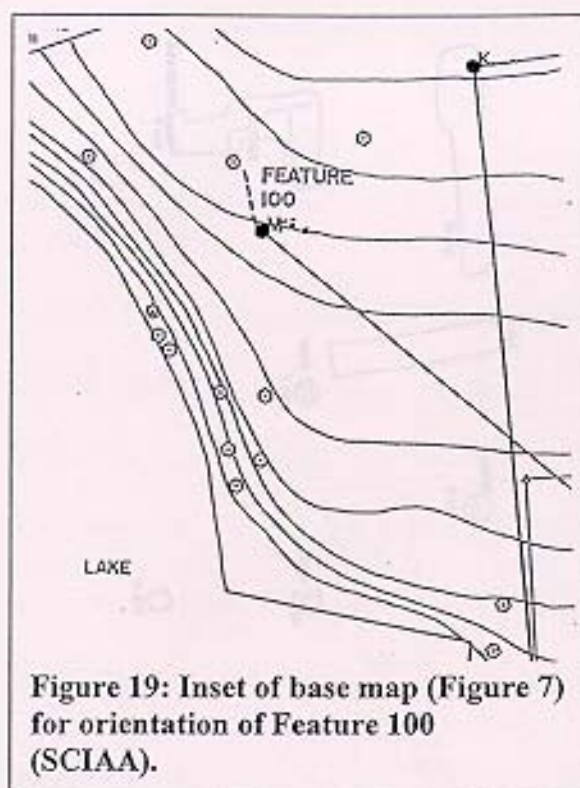
Figure 19: Inset of base map (Figure 7) for orientation of Feature 100 (SCIAA).

(Figure 7 and 19). A series of ten STPs were dug in order to establish its function and determine a preliminary boundary for the structure (Figure 20). The STPs measured approximately 24-cm in diameter unless otherwise noted. We sifted the soil by hand through a quarter-inch screen in order to recover artifacts.

We located the first STP 3.65 meters south and 1.95 meters east of subdatum M (Figure 20). Remnants of a brick floor were uncovered with 2-cm thick wooden planks resting on its surface (Figure 21). A light gray ashy material was mixed between the planks and brick with the entire area heavily inundated with creosote. The STP was extended to a depth of 24-cm following the eastern termination of the brick flooring.

Figure 20: Inset of base map (Figure 7) and scale drawing of STPs @ Feature 100 (SCIAA).

PRITCHARD SHIPYARD 13CH3049I
FEATURE 100
FEBRUARY 28-29,2000
CHRISTOPHER AMER AND SARAH MORBY

PLAN OF SHOVEL TEST PIT LOCATIONS

METERS

0   2   4
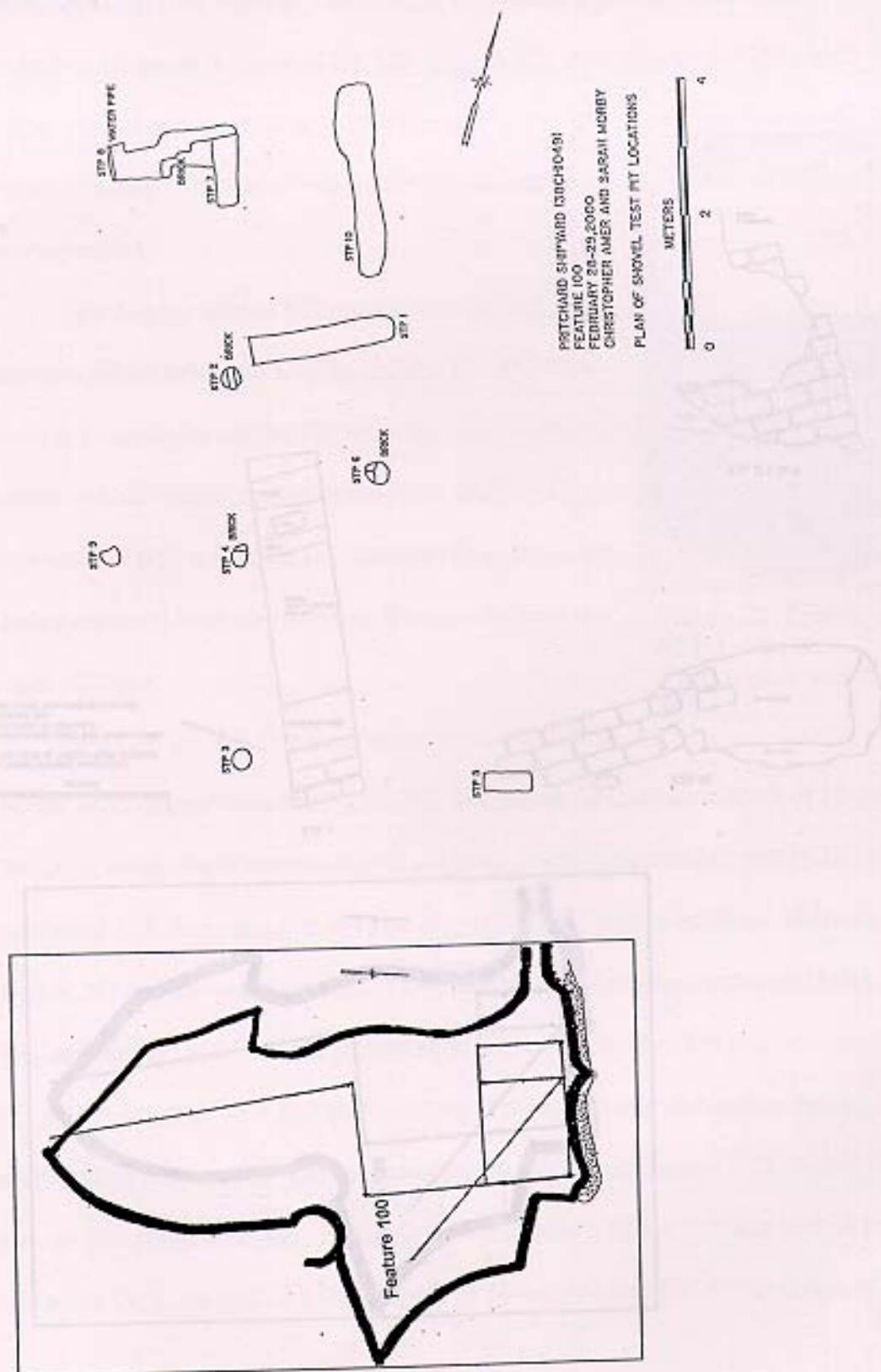
Feature 100

Figure 21: Inset of base map (Figure 7) and scale drawing of brick flooring @
Feature 100 (SCIAA).

STP 7/ STP 8

STP 1

PRITCHARD SHIPYARD (38CH0451)
FEATURE 100
FEBRUARY 28-29,2000
CHRISTOPHER AIKEN AND SARAH MOREY
PLAN VIEW OF ARTICULATED REMAINS
OF BRICK FLOORED STRUCTURE

METERS

STP 10

Feature 100
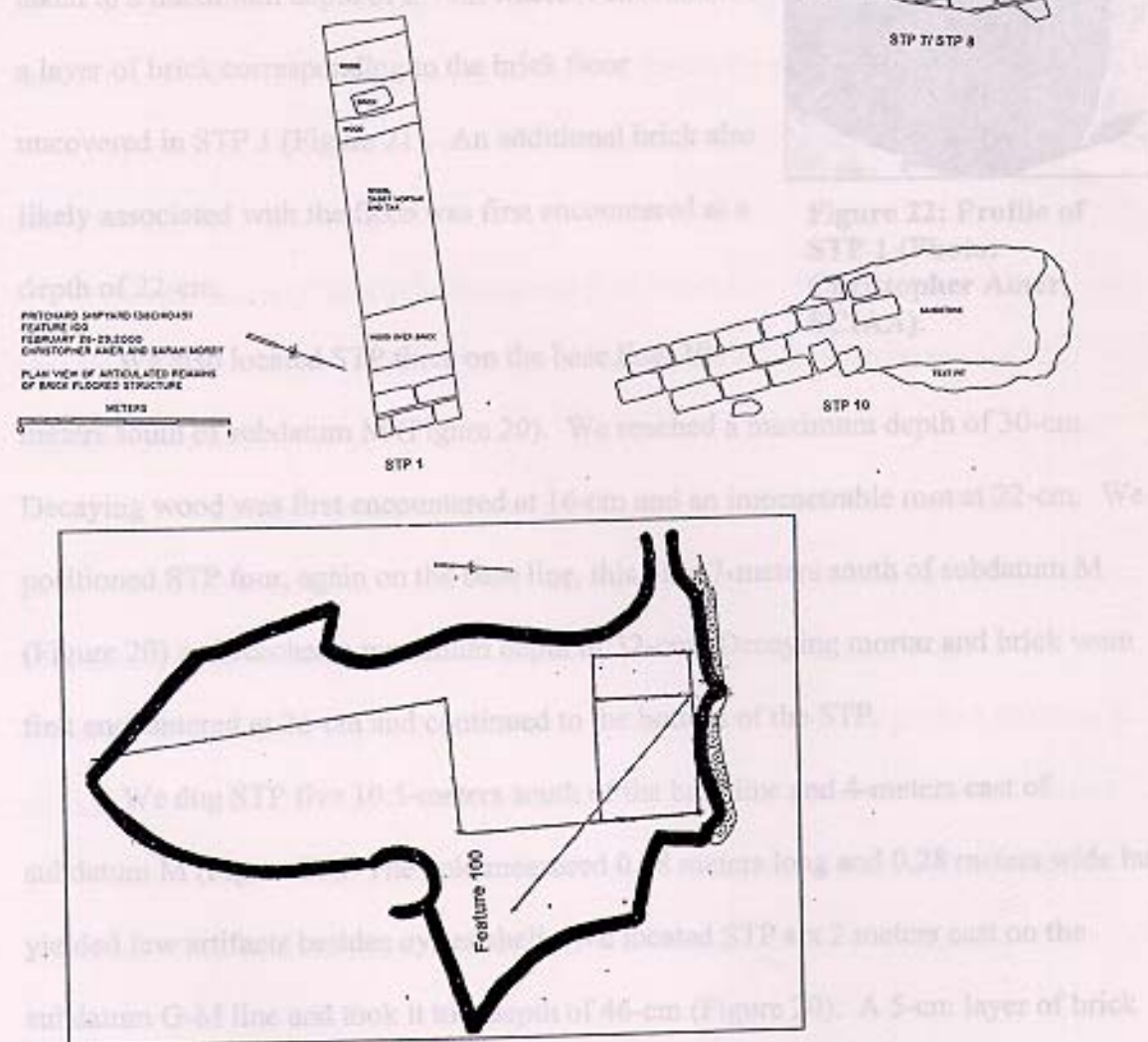
The profile first revealed a dark brown soil with charcoal inclusions approximately 7-cm thick, then a layer of tan sand 12-cm thick, and finally a distinct layer of brown sand taken down 5-cm to the base of the STP (Figure 22). Artifacts ranged from nails and copper sheathing fragments to glass and a pipe stem. (A complete listing of artifacts from all STPs is located in the Appendix).

We dug the second STP on the base line 4.5 meters south of subdatum M (Figure 20). The STP was taken to a maximum depth of 27-cm where it encountered a layer of brick corresponding to the brick floor uncovered in STP 1 (Figure 21). An additional brick also likely associated with the floor was first encountered at a depth of 22-cm.

Figure 22: Profile of STP 1 (Photo: Christopher Amer, SCIAA).

We also located STP three on the base line, 10-meters south of subdatum M (Figure 20). We reached a maximum depth of 30-cm. Decaying wood was first encountered at 16-cm and an impenetrable root at 22-cm. We positioned STP four, again on the base line, this time 7-meters south of subdatum M (Figure 20) and reached a maximum depth of 32-cm. Decaying mortar and brick were first encountered at 26-cm and continued to the bottom of the STP.

We dug STP five 10.5-meters south of the base line and 4-meters east of subdatum M (Figure 20). The hole measured 0.78 meters long and 0.28 meters wide but yielded few artifacts besides oyster shell. We located STP six 2 meters east on the subdatum G-M line and took it to a depth of 46-cm (Figure 20). A 5-cm layer of brick

began at a depth of 18-cm and extended down the northern side of the STP an additional 6-cm. Under the bricklayer sat 13-cm of black soil with gray charcoal inclusions. Finally, at a depth of 36-cm, we reached gray soil with charcoal inclusions.

STP seven consisted of a surface scrape exposing brick running 338° (Figure 20 and 21). STP eight is an extension of STP seven 0.85 meters south of subdatum M and 1.65 meters west of the baseline. We ran this STP 1.5 to 3-meters south of subdatum M and 2 meters east of the base line (Figure 20 and 21). The edge of the structure as revealed in STP seven/eight appears to have been post-depositionally disturbed (Figure 21). The bricks exhibit a roughened post-manufactured edge but do not appear to be buttressing a wall. How and why this effect was created is undetermined at this point. It is very possible that the structure could have extended north past the rough boundary determined in STP seven/eight.

We located STP nine 6.5-meters south of subdatum M and 1-meter west of the base line. In view of the paucity of artifacts we assume this STP to be west of the original structure (Figure 20).

STP ten consisted of a surface scrape, which exposed the simple patterning of the brick floor (Figure 21). Refer to Figure 21 for its exact dimensions. The eastern edge of the floor extends past the last row of bricks uncovered in STP one (Figure 21). The brick exposed in STP one, STP two, STP seven/eight and STP ten, is all part of the same flooring (Figure 20 and 21). The floor, however, does not extend past the uncovered bricks in STP one or STP ten, making the eastern-most boundary unreliable. This said, an exact boundary for the feature was not determined.

Discussion:

Based on artifact composition through pattern recognition we were able to attribute Feature 100 to an industrial component of ship manufacture (Appendix). A comprehensive artifact pattern does not exist in shipyard contexts, so the categories I elaborate on were derived from South's (1977) work on pattern recognition. Elements of South's artifact patterns (1977) were used to create my own categories applicable to the shipyard contexts. Artifacts were categorized according to association, domestic, industrial, and social. Attributing Feature 100 to the industrial sphere of shipyard life is justified by the frequency of industrial versus domestic artifacts. Clearly Feature 100 exhibits a utilitarian function instead of domestic activity.

It is my conjecture that Feature 100 may have been the site of pitch manufacture. The wood on top of the brick flooring would have supplied a stable platform for the heavy iron pitch pot. Further evidence is provided in the creosote soaked wooden planks covering the brick floor. Creosote is a byproduct of tar manufacture. Feature 100 would have provided an ideal location for such manufacture; summer winds generally blow from the southwest and would have carried the odor away from the plantation main house and the remainder of the shipyard. Then again some shipyards did not make, but instead purchased pitch for their ships- Feature 100 could have been where the pitch was stored until it was needed on the yard. Time did not permit an extensive excavation, which in the future could possibly reveal an exact function.

Despite the advances in non-invasive archaeological techniques they are not a substitute for traditional excavations. Archaeologists must still get their hands dirty in order to uncover artifacts. However, it should be apparent that GPR contains significant

applications within archaeology. It is an appropriate tool that alerts archaeologists to subsurface anomalies. It is by no means a substitute for digging but it can and does point archaeologists in the right direction.

Chapter Four:

A Final Look at Landscape: Pritchard's Shipyard

A close examination of landscape reveals an ideologically influenced spatial arrangement. The same ideologies that determine layout are in turn reinforced through the landscape that they are responsible for instituting. This complex relationship between spatial layout and society on a whole highlights the importance of a comprehensive landscape analysis.

Landscape is not a static backdrop upon which history happens, instead it is an active participant. Landscape is both shaped by and responsible for shaping ideology. The competing negotiations of landscape result in opposing interpretations and reflections by different members of society. Layout does much to reveal the entrenched inequalities felt by the dominated. The manipulation of landscape by the subjugated reveals both aspects of their ideology and the ideology of the socially dominant. Unfortunately the renegotiation of landscape by the marginalized members of the shipyard community is beyond the scope of my analysis. What I can discuss with confidence is the ideal layout imposed by the white owners and the social responses the landscape had been designed to implement.

The structural layout of Pritchard's shipyard, Charleston, South Carolina provides an opportunity to see the model landscape as imposed by the white owners. From a synthesis of archival and archeological data the complex social relationships

between the skilled enslaved and skilled white labor begins to unfold. When viewed comprehensively the data confidently addresses the intended outcome of the layout.

The information gleaned from plat maps confers not only an elementary layout of the shipyard but starts to expose the cultural influences of white owners. It should come at no surprise that certain features within plantations were valued more than others (Higman 1988: 79). The accurate representation of select components of a property comments on the priorities of white owners. Of less concern to planters and owners, were the private spaces of enslaved workers. Quarters were often inaccurately portrayed or omitted completely (Higman 1988). Plats directly reflect the evolving concerns of landowners, and the omission of particular features reveal significant insight into changing influences.

The plats of Pritchard's shipyard (Figures 4 and 5) include a number of selected features, revealing a sense of hierarchy within the yard. On the 1786 plat (Figure 4) the main house is labeled along with a number of additional structures. The feature on the western side of the property jutting into the marsh (Figure 23) however, remains anonymous. Why was this structure included but not labeled? Was it important that Paul Pritchard have a record of the building's location but recording function was considered secondary? Was this building with its two-end chimney's an additional residence? The historical dual ownership of

Figure 23: Land jutting into salt marsh, now a dammed fresh water pond.

the yard in Rose and Steward, Begbie and Manson, and Pritchard and Livingston may indicate its function as complementary housing for an established partner.

Could the unknown structure have been the quarters for the enslaved Africans on the site and does its namelessness reflect a devaluing of the enslaved labor and their private quarters? The structure was important enough to include but it was not important to know why.

The 1918 plat (Figure 5) indicates a similar unlabeled structure in approximately the same location. The structure as illustrated from this map lies in direct view of the main house and is proportionately smaller. The former opportunities for surveillance, and the structure's size opens an interpretation for dominance based on Higman's (1988) discussion of plantation layout. This leads me to further consider its function as housing for the enslaved Africans who used to live on the property.

If not there then where? Assuming this marginalized structure is not the housing for the enslaved African component of the site, then both maps would be omitting the residences all together. It is possible that the social invisibility of enslaved Africans, as expressed by Bernard Herman (1999) eliminated them completely from any in-depth consideration by their white owners.

In addition to the plat maps the GPR data from the site begins to inform assumptions concerning the impetus behind the structured layout of the shipyard. White owners were influenced by the managerial techniques of the day and general issues of inequality pervaded the conditions of enslaved laborers in every context. The skilled enslaved labor on the yard added to the social dynamics at work, and a patterning

complementary to proscribed plantation layout should be visible within the shipyard context.

Shipyard layout in turn follows certain aspects of generalized plantation patterning as described by Lewis (1985). The plantation main house (Figure 14) was perched atop a gentle slope extending down to the wharves. A majestic avenue of stately oaks lined the impressive walkway leading to the water's edge (Figure 24). The walkway represented the formal entrance to the property, accessible by boat. The history of the yard reinforces this apparent formal ambiance. Pritchard hosted a number of notable receptions. His finished
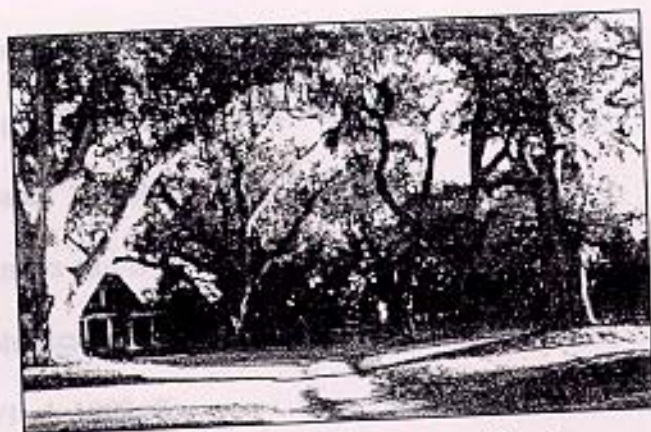
Figure 24: View up the avenue of oaks towards the former location of the plantation house.

ships were launched with all the appropriate grandeur. Paul Pritchard would parade down the avenue to his waiting guests gathered at the water's edge (Zeigler 1954).

The main house had been constructed from "hand hewed ship timbers," with an impressive view of Hobcaw Creek (Zeigler 1954: 14). The GPR survey of the house (Block #4) was able to confirm the orientation of the structure. The building sat perpendicular to the avenue on a slight angle to the creek (Figure 7). It faced ever so slightly northwest up the creek towards Charleston affording a spectacular view of incoming vessels and the setting sun. Its position atop the knoll with a view of shipbuilding activity reaffirmed its place as a central and ubiquitous component of the shipyard. It was no accident that the main house graced the highest point from the creek

and served as a visual culmination of the yard's activity. The focused and formal presentation of the main house was an element common on most plantations of Pritchard's time, where neatness and order prevailed. "The world was, in their view, suitably improved only after it was transformed from its chaotic natural condition into a scene marked by strict, hierarchical order (Vlach 1993: 5).

> "According to architectural historian Dell Upton, the highly
> formalized layout of showplace plantations constituted an
> "articulated processional landscape," a spatial system designed to
> indicate the centrality of the planters and to keep them aloof from
> any visitors behind a series of physical barriers that simultaneously
> functioned as social buffers" (Vlach 1993: 8).

This showplace idea extends into the layout of Pritchard's shipyard. The formal presentation drew one's gaze down the grand avenue of oaks to the home on top of the slope. In conjunction with this perspective of the shipyard main house, the placement of the home separated the owner from the industrial components of the yard. Instead of living near the water's edge the distance afforded a full view of the activity while maintaining an intended separation and elevation of the owner and his family.

Aside from the formal presentation of the main house, the layout of the industrial components of the yard deserves discussion. The 1786 plat (Figure 4) of the shipyard indicates a rectangular area located between the plantation house and the wharves. This area is simply labeled "yard." When taken in conjunction with the GPR data the plot characterizes an activity area associated with the industrial mechanics of the shipyard. I solicit the GPR data from Block #2, which clearly establishes the industrial function of

this area (Figure 12). Block #2 and Block #3 are characterized by a high concentration of metal artifacts (Figure 12), presumably byproducts of hardware manufacture.

The shovel test excavations of Feature 100 record the presence of the industrial components of the yard on the eastern side of the property as well (Figure 20, Figure 21 and Appendix). The artifacts from Feature 100 were divided into three categories, domestic, industrial, and social (Appendix) derived from Stanley South's work on pattern recognition (1977). The artifacts were heavily biased towards industrial activity and confidently associate Feature 100 with the industrial component of the shipyard. However, at this time a confirmed function for Feature 100 can not be positively established. It is possible that the Feature indicates the location of pitch manufacture or storage. The wooden planks resting on top the patterned brick (Figure 21) would have provided a stable ground for the support of a heavy iron pitch pot. The creosote soaked planks and bricks further this hypothesis. Shipyard owners used pitch to seal vessels and would either manufacture their own or purchase it for later use. The area could have been used as a storage facility for shipbuilding supplies. This may have included pitch, and would account for the creosote-soaked planks. Distanced from the shore this facility would have been protected from local scavengers.

By flanking the avenue of oaks with the various industrial components of the shipyard, shipowners who were having vessels constructed or repaired were required to pass through these areas on their way to the main house. In typical plantation contexts enslaved housing would often flank entranceways leading to a plantation big house, as a way for owners to display their property to guests (Lewis 1985). It is reasonable to assume that a similar display of property was at work on the shipyard. I make this

conjecture based on the proliferation of the standard plantation layout within Carolinian culture. There was the perpetual desire by wealthy owners to simultaneously assert their dominance over nature and society (Vlach 1993:4-6). It is very unlikely that the enslaved housing flanked the avenue at the shipyard, modern construction and a series of shovel tests (1993) did not turn up artifacts to that would support that possibility. The shipyard employed a variation of the theme, the property on display was the industrial component of the shipyard, and the impressive manufacture that visitors had to pass in order to arrive at the main house.

The 1993 excavations of the property established the presence of a third industrial structure (Figure 3). A thorough analysis of the 28,000 artifacts from the 1993 structure has not been completed, however the available data from those excavations preliminarily associates the structure to the western-most slipway (Figure 7). The open-side of the three-sided building was oriented toward the slip and may have served as a storage facility during various stages of ship manufacture.

The archaeologically discovered features, Block #2 and Block #3, Feature 100, and the 1993 feature can be associated with the industrial workings of the yard. None of these structures however were included on the plats of the property. This omission presumes a secondary status or possibly the fluidity of specified activity areas. Falling under the auspices of "yard" the areas do confirm industrially related activity.

Limitations in the survey prevented us from examining the entire tract flanking the avenue. Despite this, I feel it is reasonable to associate the industrial shipyard activity to areas on either side of the avenue, and assign the location of domestic activities elsewhere. If this is in fact the case the domestic activities of the enslaved

Africans were separate from the official presentation of the industrial components of the shipyard.

The 1786 plat of the shipyard (Figure 4) also includes the property of David Lynn across the creek from Paul Pritchard. The localized concentration of ballast stone served as the initial indicator of shipyard activity (Figure 1). My low tide investigations of the shore near Lynn's shipyard resulted in the location of two possible slipways, or perhaps the remains of one slipway and a dock eroding from the shoreline (Figure 1). The inter-tidal structures correspond to the wharves illustrated on the 1786 plat of the property (Figure 4).

Two anonymous structures are included on the 1786 plat of Lynn's property (Figure 4). The layout of these structures is significant when considered in conjunction with the landscape of Pritchard's shipyard. Lynn located these structures close to the shore, adopting a remarkably different approach to layout than Pritchard. How did this effect the management of his yard, was it run notably different from Pritchard's? Lynn, as evidenced in the historical record, owned and employed enslaved Africans as well. Housing for his labor supply is similarly left unnamed but I hypothesize that it may have been located in one of the two structures indicated on the 1786 plat (Figure 4). There have been no archaeological investigations of Lynn's shipyard, so my conclusions are based solely on archival evidence. It is beyond the scope of my study, but I can not help but mention the unique opportunity in landscape analysis offered by Lynn's shipyard. Lynn's shipyard provides the occasion to negotiate the differences in layout within the same industry. An expanded analysis could pursue the varying effects of landscape by comparing the layout of Lynn's shipyard to the layout of Paul Pritchard's yard.

Despite the omission of enslaved housing on both the 1786 and 1918 plats (Figures 4 and 5) they do include some of the property's outbuildings. The layout as described in 1786 (Figure 4) also contained a stable and a springhouse. What does it mean when the plat of Pritchard's property clearly defines the stable and springhouse but makes no mention of the housing for the over 14 enslaved residents? Again is this a comment on Pritchard's priorities or did the social invisibility of enslaved workers justify their omission (Herman 1999)?

The 1918 plat (Figure 5) also includes the Pritchard family cemetery (Figure 6). The graves of Paul Pritchard and his wife Ann are still surrounded by a brick wall and an iron gate. On the other hand the plat does not include the graves of the Pritchard's enslaved Africans who spent their lives living and working on the shipyard. Their final resting-place has been lost and may never be recovered.

Traditional plantations afforded an opportunity for enslaved Africans to forge a sense of identity and community. "Plantations, albeit unintentionally, served as the primary sites at which a distinctive black American culture matured" (Vlach 1993: 12). This unique culture was nurtured within viable communities of fifty or more enslaved Africans, living on the outskirts of agricultural plantations. The condition of the skilled enslaved workers at Pritchard's shipyard was quite different from this common plantation theme. The historic records never mention more than 15 enslaved Africans at the site. How did this smaller community foster a sense of self? If the slave quarters were in the structure west of the main house how did the enslaved workers negotiate the landscape under the close watch of their masters? It may have in fact been easier for the typical plantation slave beyond their master's immediate scrutiny, at the margins of the

plantation to create their own landscape (Vlach 1993: 13). Then again the social invisibility of enslaved Africans (Herman 1999) may have afforded the enslaved workers at Pritchard's shipyard privacy under the direct surveillance of their owner. Robinson had conspired in the Denmark Vessy revolt despite what his white owner thought was a constant surveillance (Herman 1999).

Not only was the enslaved community at Pritchard's shipyard smaller than most plantation communities, the workers skills increased their dollar value and their marketable skills if free. Surly this had an impact on the layout of the yard. Plantation layout became a social symbol for white owners, the spatial arrangement of one's property served as direct reflection of power. Viewed as a convention spaitial layout may have risen purely from habit, or contemporary tastes. None the less when held up against the plantation ideal, the nuances within shipyard layout begin to emerge.

I have been able to assert shipyard layout as an extension of a more generalized plantation landscape. The shipyard employed many of the same conventions as agricultural plantations including the formal presentation of the main house and the reassertion of the planters place within the shipyard community. However, I have emphasized the specificity of Pritchard's shipyard and by doing so I have begun to uncover the ideological basis of the landscape. I reasserted layout as a social tool, for the implementation and reinforcement of social hierarchy.

As in all landscape studies it is difficult to arrive at the ideology and renegotiating of space of those historically marginalized, in this case the enslaved Africans living at the site. By focusing more on the industrial components of the shipyard and less on the domestic aspects it is even more difficult to say anything

conclusive concerning their negotiation of space under the hegemonically imposed landscape. An exhaustive analysis of the entire shipyard would be necessary for a cohesive picture of landscape seen through the lens of the enslaved workers.

The project was successful in ascertaining certain aspects of the ideal landscape and maintained by its white owners. By examining spatial layout I uncovered an imposed hierarchical system, with the plantation house at the apex. "Slaves knew they were being humbled by their master, who owned a big mansion -- or at least a bigger house—that often was located on the highest ground available" (Vlach 1993: 13). Unfortunately, many aspects of how the enslaved workers renegotiated space are beyond the scope of my fieldwork. This is an aspect that none the less needs to be explored in more detail on all industrial sites.

When considering the ideology behind the imposed layout it is necessary to stay open to competing negotiations by enslaved workers. The shipyard owners maintained the division of labor within the industrial workings of the shipyard through the negotiation of site-specific activity areas related to disparate aspects of the industry. It has been established from archival evidence that the enslaved workers at the yard maintain specific specialties and were valued accordingly.

Historical records confirm that Paul Pritchard died a very rich man. He is buried next to his wife in their family cemetery (Figure 6). What ever happened to the enslaved Africans that worked for Pritchard, did they eventually die on the yard as well? How did they negotiate the imposed landscape for their convenience, were they able to make it "their domain"? It is critical in landscape studies to of course examine the Paul Pritchard's, but to also never lose site of the bigger picture. I was able to confirm the

presence of a diverse community at the shipyard and future investigations can expand my analysis to include, not only the ideal landscape imposed by Paul Pritchard but the realities of that landscape as experienced by his enslaved laborers. Pritchard's shipyard provides a model of an African American community different from traditional plantation communities and landscape provides the means of expanding the enslaved African experience in the American South.

Appendix A:

Pritchard's Shipyard 38CH1049 Feature 160

STP #1

Domestic
18   burnt faunal fragments
1   faunal fragment
11   oyster shell fragments
1   wheel thrown ceramic

Industrial
5   brick fragments
7   charcoal fragments
4   copper sheathing fragments
4   copper sheathing fragments with nail holes
1   copper tack nail
11   corroded iron nail fragments
1   flint cobble
3   flint fragments
37   mortar fragments
1   window glass
20   wood fragments

Social
1   modern bottle glass
1   pipe stem fragment
9   wine bottle fragments

STP #2

Domestic
3   burnt long bone
7   oyster fragments

Industrial
1   brick fragments
3   charcoal fragments
2   copper sheathing fragments
1   copper tack nail
2   corroded iron nails
1   quartz
4   wood fragments with creosote

Social
1   brown glass

Appendix A:

Pritchard's Shipyard 38CH1049 Feature 100

STP #1

Domestic
18   burnt faunal fragments
1   faunal fragment
11   oyster shell fragments
1   wheel thrown ceramic
Industrial
3   brick fragments
7   charcoal fragments
4   copper sheathing fragments
4   copper sheathing fragments with nail holes
1   copper tack nail
11   corroded iron nail fragments
1   flint cobble
3   flint fragments
5   mortar fragments
1   window glass
20   wood fragments
Social
1   modern bottle glass
1   pipe stem fragment
9   wine bottle fragments

STP #2

Domestic
3   burnt long bone
7   oyster fragments
Industrial
1   brick fragments
3   charcoal fragments
2   copper sheathing fragments
1   copper tack nail
2   corroded iron nails
1   quartz
4   wood fragments with creosote
Social
1   brown glass

1	green glass
1	musket ball

STP #3

Domestic

4	oyster shell fragments

Industrial

1	gray stone (?)
1	metal chip
1	quartz
3	wood fragments

STP #4

Domestic

25	charcoal/burnt faunal (?)
11	oyster shell fragments

Industrial

2	brick fragments
2	brick with mortar fragments
1	corroded iron nails
1	lead piece (?)
1	metal fragment
3	mortar fragment

STP #5

Domestic

1	low fired handmade earthenware
19	oyster shell fragment
1	white ware early 20th century
1	white ware/ white granite mid to late 19th century

Industrial

1	brick fragment
1	water worn rock/ not flint

Social

1	wine bottle glass

STP #6

Domestic

1	cream ware(?)
5	oyster shell fragments
1	pig tooth
1	white ware mid 19th century

Industrial

5	brick fragments
11	corded iron nails
4	flint fragments

2	mortar fragments
1	wood fragments

STP #7

Domestic

3	clear glass fragments
12	faunal fragments
2	oyster shell fragments

Industrial

1	brick fragment
1	Flint fragments
1	large metal (fastener?)
1	metal fragment
2	mortar fragments
1	wood fragments

Social

2	pipe bowl fragments

STP #8

Domestic

1	clear glass
5	faunal fragments
1	green glass

Industrial

3	pebbles (smooth and round @ penny size)
2	copper sheathing fragments
4	copper tacks
8	corroded iron nails
3	flint fragments
1	green stone (?)
1	lead nail (?)
1	odd shaped cobblestone

Social

1	pipe stem

STP #9

contained no significant artifacts other than oyster shell

STP #10

Industrial

2	brick fragments with mortar
3	brick fragments
1	copper sheathing
1	copper tack

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