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The Guillebeau House: An Eighteenth Century Huguenot Structure in McCormick County, South Carolina

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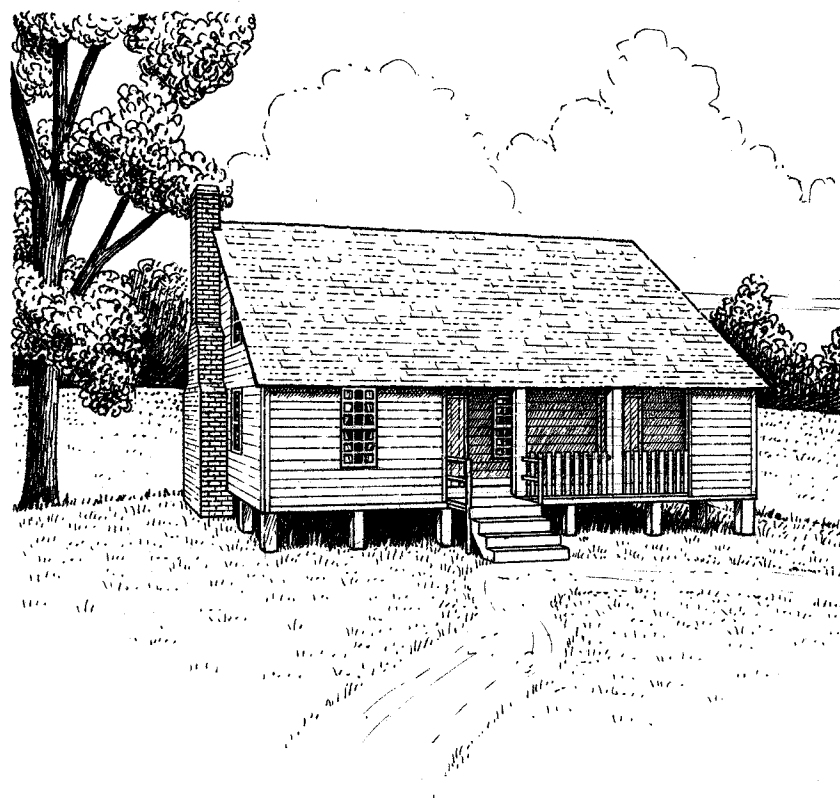
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THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE: AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HUGUENOT
STRUCTURE IN MCCORMICK COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

by

Kenneth E. Lewis
Research Manuscript Series No. 145



Prepared by the
INSTITUTE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
April, 1979

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Pages</i>
LIST OF FIGURES.	<i>iv</i>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	<i>vii</i>
INTRODUCTION	1
PHYSIOGRAPHIC SETTING.	3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.	5
<i>Basic Assumptions</i>	5
<i>Colonization and the Model of Frontier Change</i>	6
THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SAVANNAH RIVER FRONTIER IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SOUTH CAROLINA	9
<i>Introduction.</i>	9
<i>The Background of British Colonization.</i>	9
<i>Early Settlement of the Savannah River Frontier</i>	11
<i>The Expansion of settlement After the Cherokee War.</i>	13
<i>Economic Development of the Huguenot Colony and the Upper Savannah River Region</i>	19
THE DOCUMENTARY BACKGROUND OF THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE SITE.	27
<i>Introduction.</i>	27
<i>The Property Record</i>	27
<i>Past Occupations of the Guillebeau House.</i>	31
THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE SITE.	36
<i>Introduction.</i>	36
<i>Form.</i>	37
<i>Construction Details.</i>	40
ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE SITE.	45
<i>Introduction.</i>	45
<i>Methodological Framework.</i>	45
<i>The Condition of the Archeological Remains.</i>	49
<i>Dating the Past Occupations at the Guillebeau House Site.</i>	51
<i>The Form and Extent of the Twentieth Century Occupation in Area A</i>	52
<i>The Settlement in Area B.</i>	57
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.	58
REFERENCES	60

TABLE OF CONTENTS CONTINUED

	<i>Pages</i>
APPENDIX A - ARTIFACT INVENTORY.	70
APPENDIX B - ARCHITECTURAL DATA "RESCUE" AT THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE BY STANLEY SOUTH	77

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1:	Locator map of the Guillebeau house site in McCormick County, South Carolina (Source: South Carolina Highway Department 1966).	2
FIGURE 2:	Settlement on the Savannah River and central South Carolina prior to 1760. (Source: Hunter 1730; Mouzon 1775.)	12
FIGURE 3:	Settlement on the Savannah River frontier after 1760. (Sources: Mouzon 1775; Meriwether 1940: 116; Petty 1943: 38.)	17
FIGURE 4:	Portion of the Plat of Hillsborough Township in 1765 by Patrick Calhoun showing the settlement of New Bordeaux and the Strother tract on Little River and Mill Creek.	18
FIGURE 5:	Settlement on the upper Savannah River in the early nineteenth century. (Sources: Mills 1965; Phillips 1908: 338-339.)	22
FIGURE 6:	A. South Carolina Circuit Court districts of 1769 B. South Carolina Circuit Court districts of 1800.	23
FIGURE 7:	Frequency distribution of free and slave populations in Abbeville and Edgefield Districts, South Carolina, 1790-1860. (Source: United States Census, Population.)	25
FIGURE 8:	Cotton production in Abbeville District/County, South Carolina, 1840-1890. (Source: United States Census, Agriculture.)	25
FIGURE 9:	Plat of Jane K. Cade estate and property presently owned by the Old Abbeville District Historical Commission. (Sources: MCRCCC/42: 65; /34: 267.)	29
FIGURE 10:	The Guillebeau house in the 1930's viewed from the northwest. (Source Robert Edmunds Collection.)	33

LIST OF FIGURES CONTINUED

	Pages
FIGURE 11: The Guillebeau house in the 1930's viewed from the west northwest with frame outbuilding visible in the background. (Source: Robert Edmunds Collection.)...	33
FIGURE 12: Vertical aerial view of the Guillebeau house site in 1939. (Source: United States Department of Agriculture, ASCS 1939)	35
FIGURE 13: British colonial North American house types. (Source: Newton 1971.)	38
FIGURE 14: French colonial North American house types. (Source: Newton 1971.)	39
FIGURE 15: First floor plan of the Guillebeau house. (Source: Bryan 1978: 27.)	39
FIGURE 16: North side of the Guillebeau house in 1978.	41
FIGURE 17: South side of the Guillebeau house in 1978.	41
FIGURE 18: Full dovetail notched corner timbering at the Guillebeau house.	43
FIGURE 19: East side of the Guillebeau house in 1978. The purlins in the roof of the original log structure are visible as is the pyramidal chimney	43
FIGURE 20: Map of the Guillebeau house site in 1978.	47
FIGURE 21: Plan of excavations in Area A of the Guillebeau house site.	48
FIGURE 22: Plan of excavations in Area B of the Guillebeau house site.	50
FIGURE 23: Eroded surface at the northeast corner of the Guillebeau house. The foundation stone upon which the original log house rests is visible to the right of the scale. The scale measures one foot.	50
FIGURE 24: Eroded surface at the southeast corner of the Guillebeau house. One of the sills of the log structure may be seen resting on the foundation stone. The surface upon which the one foot scale rests has been elevated by the addition of modern fill.	50

LIST OF FIGURES CONTINUED

	Pages
FIGURE 25: SYMAP of Area A showing the distribution of brick fragments by weight with concentrations of structural artifacts by count superimposed.	55
FIGURE 26: SYMAP of Area A showing the distribution of non-structural artifacts.	56

The drawing on the title page, by Darby Erd, is of the Guillebeau House as it may have appeared in the 19th century.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACRCCC	Abbeville County, Records of the Clerk of Court, Conveyances.
ACRPJW	Abbeville County, Records of the Probate Judge, Wills.
MCASC	Manuscript Census, Agriculture, South Carolina.
MCPSC	Manuscript Census, Population, South Carolina.
MCRCCC	McCormick County, Records of the Clerk of Court, Conveyances.
MCSPSC	Manuscript Census, Slave Population, South Carolina.
SCDACI	South Carolina, Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries.
SCDACIC	South Carolina, Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industries and Clemson College.
SCOSGCP	South Carolina, Office of the Surveyor General, Colonial Plats.
SCRCHAJ	South Carolina, Records of the Commons House of Assembly, Journals.
SCRHMCJ	South Carolina, Records of His Majesty's Council, Journals.
SCSBA	South Carolina, State Board of Agriculture.
USDASCS	United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service.
USDAASCS	United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

INTRODUCTION

In August 1978 archeological investigations were carried out in the area surrounding a log and frame structure in McCormick County, South Carolina, which is purported to have been the home of Andre Guillebeau, an eighteenth century Huguenot colonist, and his descendents. The investigations at the Guillebeau house site (38MC2) were funded through the Historic Preservation Program of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History with the assistance of a matching grant from the Department of the Interior under provision of the Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This work was intended to aid in the planning and development of the Guillebeau house site, which is co-sponsored by the Old Abbeville District Historical Commission and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

The immediate goals of the project were to determine the spatial and temporal limits of past settlement at the site and to assess its potential for further archeological research. Basic information obtained from these initial investigations would aid in planning future work aimed at more specific objectives. Because of the French origin of the site's assumed early occupants, it was hoped that the archeological remains they left behind would provide information about material patterning in French colonial agricultural settlements on the British North American frontier. Information gained from such patterning might be useful in understanding the role played by such settlements in the larger sociocultural milieu of the South Carolina frontier and how they reflect processes that are common to frontiers in general. Because this project was intended to explore both descriptive and behavioral aspects of settlement at the Guillebeau house site, this report will address problems relating to each.

Early settlement at the Guillebeau house site would have formed a locus of isolated agricultural activity on the eighteenth century frontier. As such a frontier settlement, it should be amenable to investigation utilizing models constructed to describe and explain the roles of various types of settlement on frontiers in general. This report will be organized around an anthropological model of frontier development which should permit an examination of the colonial system in which the settlement existed as well as of the function of the latter in that system. By approaching the study of a past settlement in terms of its larger cultural and historical context, it is hoped that the settlement's role in the development of the South Carolina frontier will not only be clarified, but also explained in terms of the operation of the larger system.

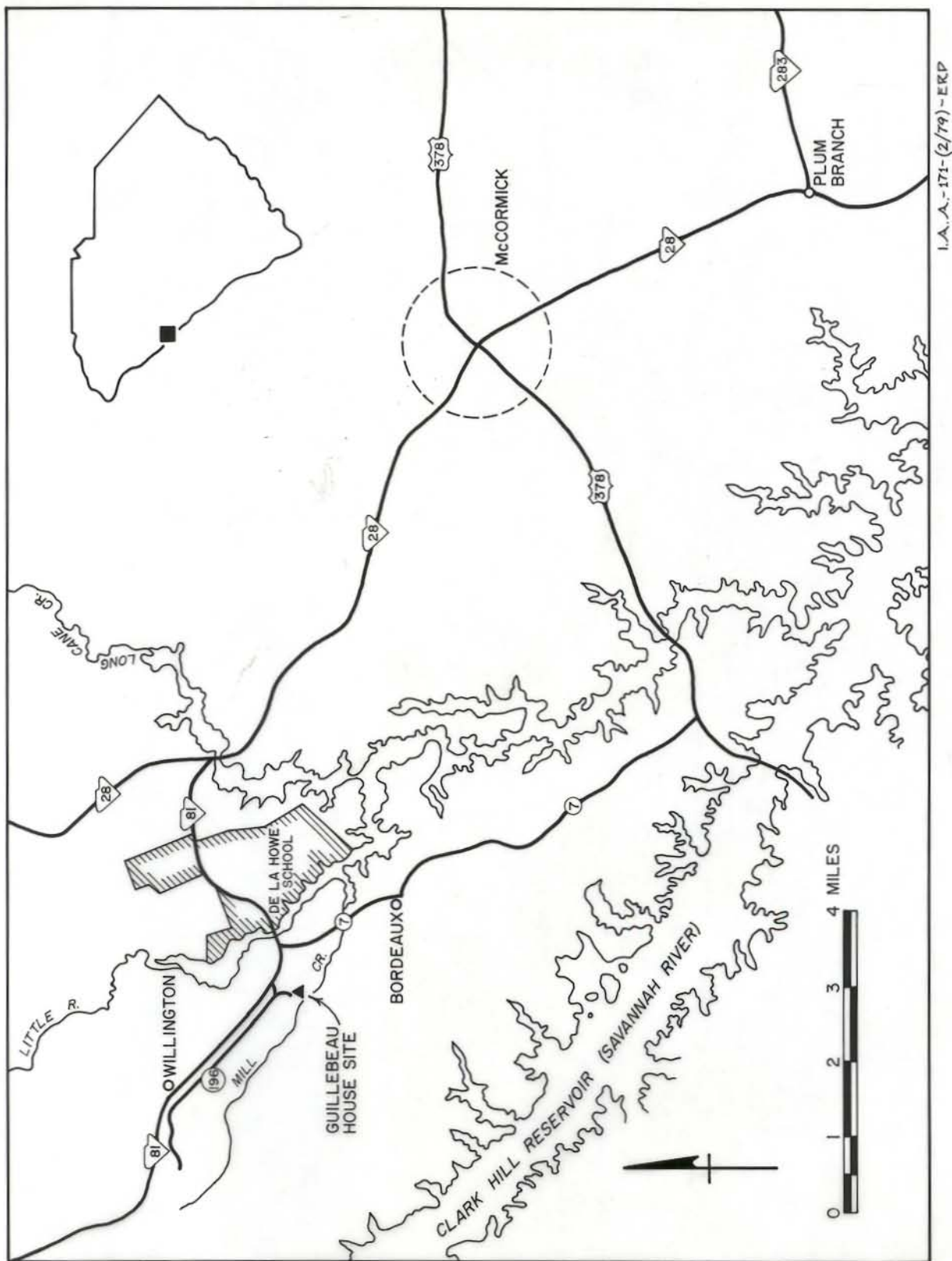


FIGURE 1. Locator map of the Guillebeau house site in McCormick County, South Carolina.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC SETTING

McCormick County, in which the Guillebeau house site is situated, lies in the Piedmont Upland Province, a physiographic region comprising that part of South Carolina lying between the Coastal Plain and the Blue Ridge Province. In general, the Piedmont Plateau is composed of deeply weathered crystalline rock covered with a thick residual mantle. It is a southeastwardly sloping upland dissected by streams which have produced variations in its relief. Steeper slopes and deeper relief occur near the larger streams while the inter-stream areas form broad flat-topped or gently rolling ridges (Petty 1943: 7). The Guillebeau house site lies on a ridge slope above Mill Creek, which flows into Little River, a tributary of the Savannah River, just above its confluence with Long Cane Creek (Fig. 1).

The Guillebeau house site is located in an area characterized by the Cataula-Cecil-Davidson soil association which contains deep to moderately deep, well-drained, gently-sloping soils with red subsoils (Craddock and Ellerbe 1966). The Cataula sandy loam upon which the site is situated typically consists of a dark brown sandy loam 5 to 7 inches deep, underlain by a coarse red clay extending to a depth of up to 75 inches. Angular quartz fragments are scattered throughout both the soil and subsoil (USDASCS 1973, 1978). Where Cataula sandy loam occurs on slopes, as in the area of the Guillebeau house site, it is highly susceptible to erosion, and this process has been accelerated by the clearing of land for agriculture (Taylor and Rice 1902: 280). Cecil soils were among the first to be tilled in the South Carolina Piedmont and their long use has caused them to suffer severely. Much of the sandy soil has been removed by sheet erosion. Gullying is common because the deeply weathered bedrock offers little resistance to down-cutting (Ireland, *et al.* 1939: 28-29).

Because of extensive past cultivation, little remains of the pre-colonial vegetation at the Guillebeau house site. A map of Hillsborough Township, drawn by surveyor Patrick Calhoun at the time of the initial Huguenot colonization in 1765, indicates that the immediate region of the site was covered with a mixed pine-hardwood forest. The plat refers to pine, white and red oak, poplar, chestnut, and hickory. With regard to the environment Calhoun (1765) wrote:

The whole township may be said to abound with hills, springs, and valleys (altho in general plain enough for tillage) with plenty of wild game such as deer, turkeys, etc. In the large creeks are plenty of fish, viz. rock, shad, perch, cat, trout, etc.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the expansion of agriculture, especially during the period following the American Civil War, had removed nearly all of the original forest growth from the area. This vegetation was replaced by longleaf pine, scrub oak and underbrush in areas

not under cultivation. By this time the chestnut had nearly succumbed to disease (Taylor and Rice 1902: 275).

At present the Guillebeau house site lies within the Sumter National Forest. The cleared grassy area on which the house is situated is surrounded by pine forest and underbrush that has grown up on land formerly under cultivation. In low lying areas south and west of the site some regeneration of hardwood forest has occurred.

Three wildlife habitats are found in the vicinity of the Guillebeau house site. The mixed forest habitat supports a variety of fauna including black bear, white-tail deer, bobcat, eastern grey squirrel, chipmunk, porcupine, wild turkey, ruffed grouse, and red cockaded woodpecker. The interspersed grasslands, croplands, and woodlots habitat is characterized by the presence of white-tail deer, skunk, fox, groundhog, chipmunk gopher, mouse, rabbit, grouse, quail, woodcock, snipe, and mourning dove. Finally, the selected freshwater habitat provided by the Clark Hill Reservoir supports trout as well as warm water fish including shad, sunfish, and bass (United States Army, Corps of Engineers 1972: 10).

The climate of this part of the South Carolina Piedmont is continental and mild. It is characterized by an average annual precipitation of about 47 inches and a mean annual temperature of 61.5° F. Its mild winters and long warm summers produce few cloudy days, moderate to high evaporation of moisture, prevailing westerly winds, and only slight snowfall in the winter. The average length of the frost-free season is 231 days, from March 23 to November 9. Rainfall is well distributed throughout the year and extended periods of drought are rare (Lesh, et al. 1937: 3-4).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Basic Assumptions

This study will look at the nature of past occupations at the Guillebeau house primarily through the examination of its archeological remains. Archeology may be defined broadly as that branch of anthropology that deals with the material remains left behind by man. It seeks to expand knowledge of human behavior into situations where the latter is not directly observable. Thus, its chief goal is to understand the relationship between past behavior and the material remains left behind. Archeology has a unique ability to study behavior in that its subject matter can extend far into the past, allowing the study of both long- and short-term processes of cultural change.

The archeologist's ability to relate past behavior to material remains is based on the following set of basic assumptions, which are implicit in this report.

1. Culture may be viewed as those learned patterns of human behavior by which man adapts to his physical and social environment. Rather than a sum of traits, culture is a series of interacting components which are continually acting and reacting to one another, resulting in constant variation and change.

2. This interaction implies the existence of a system within which certain cultural mechanisms operate to regulate change or to maintain behavior within certain limits or boundaries. In order to deal with a phenomenon as complex as human culture it is necessary to adopt an approach that stresses the interrelationship of all variables in the system rather than between isolated characteristics of man and his environment (see Geertz 1963: 9-10; Buckley 1967: 41).

3. Just as human behavior may be seen as part of an interrelated system, separate activities not involving all parts of the system or all members of the society may be defined as subsystems. The number of subsystems increases with the level of complexity of the cultural system and, concomitantly, with the degree of specialization within it (Binford 1965: 205).

4. Because behavior is not random, it is possible to observe patterns in human activities. A recognizable structure may be seen to appear in the systemic organization of technology, economics, religion, social organization, and other specialized activities. Changes in these patterns may be traced through time and variation in systemic structure viewed as a historical phenomenon.

5. Of crucial importance is the final assumption that the archaeological record will exhibit particular patterns reflecting those in the cultural system which produced them (Longacre 1971: 131) and will reflect temporal changes occurring in those patterns and the system. In order to understand more clearly the relationship between a living behavioral system and the material record it leaves behind, recent studies have investigated those processes governing the transfer of artifacts from the former state to the latter (Schiffer 1972, 1977).

It is also presumed that a comparative study of systemic cultural change will lead to the recognition of regularities which, in turn, may be formulated into processes of human behavior (Steward 1949: 2-3; Binford 1968: 8). A number of such processes have been proposed by anthropologists including the process to be examined in this report. It concerns the adaptation of complex cultures to the dramatic environmental and social obstacles encountered in frontier colonization. A model, hereafter called the frontier model, describing these changes will serve as a framework within which to analyze the archeological material from the Guillebeau house site. Together with the archeological evidence, this analysis will consider documentary data regarding the function of this settlement relative to the French colony in Hillsborough Township and the upper Savannah River frontier in general. Its results should demonstrate the ability of archeological methodology not only to provide answers to questions regarding past behavior, but also to increase our knowledge of the particular type of frontier settlement represented by the Guillebeau house site.

Colonization and the Model of Frontier Change

European expansion involved the spread of various states throughout a large part of the earth in order to bring a variety of foreign resources into the developing world economy of Europe (Wallerstein 1974: 348). This process brought about the extension of European control into new lands and the utilization of these colonial territories in diverse ways depending upon the manner in which their resources were to be exploited. One use of such territories was as the location of resettlement for European populations, who would produce raw agricultural and other commodities for export to the homeland or its possessions. As such colonies were opened to settlement, frontiers inevitably came into existence.

Frontiers may be defined as those regions separating the settled and uninhabited portions of a territory that lie under the effective control of a state. They serve as zones of transition in which a newly-occupied area is integrated socially, politically, and economically into a larger state system (Kristof 1959: 274; Weigert, et al. 1957: 115). A frontier is also an area within which the attenuation of ties between the pioneer society and the state from which it originated results in a temporary breakdown of complex institutions. This condition persists until the frontier evolves into an integral part of the state. Although outward differences are present in the appearance of individual

settlement frontiers, their adaptive similarity is reflected in a number of common functional characteristics. These characteristics are encompassed in a general model of frontier change, hereafter called the frontier model (Lewis 1975, 1977: 153-155).

The process of change described in the frontier model is underlain by several assumptions. These assumptions are: that complexly-organized societies adapt in a patterned way to the conditions encountered at the periphery of the larger socio-economic entity to which they belong; that adaptation to a frontier environment requires organizational simplification; and that the frontier society, as the population of a colonial territory, remains tied to the state or "metropolitan area" (Casagrande, et al. 1964: 311) from which it sprang. Five characteristics of frontier change are specified in the frontier model. These may serve as the basis for organizing and examining data relating to particular frontier situations. The first characteristic is that prolonged contact must be maintained between the intrusive society and the parent society. Second, as a result of its relative isolation and the attenuation of trade and communications links with the homeland, the intrusive culture exhibits a marked loss of complexity. Third, the colony's settlement pattern becomes more geographically dispersed than that of the homeland, unless particular conditions temporarily impede it.

Associated with this dispersal is a simplification of the settlement hierarchy on the frontier. It has been observed that population density is directly related to the function of communities with regard to the areas they serve. Normally in a settled area a hierarchy of community types is present, each of which performs certain functions. As the population density of the area drops, an upward shift in these functions occurs so that services performed by a community at a lower level in the hierarchy must be performed by one at a higher level. As the population increases the opposite effect occurs (Berry 1967: 33-34). In a frontier area the population density is initially too low to support an elaborate settlement hierarchy. Most social, political, and economic functions are concentrated in key settlements called "frontier towns." These settlements function as centers of trade and communications within the colony, and through their direct connection with the colony's entrepot, link the colony with the metropolitan area. Apart from the frontier towns, most settlement within the area of colonization is dispersed. Small nucleated and semi-nucleated settlements may also be present and sometimes function as sites of specialized activities related to their position within the colony (Casagrande, et al. 1964: 313-314; Lewis 1978: 51). The presence of this hierarchy of settlements constitutes the fourth characteristic of the frontier model.

The fifth characteristic is the occurrence of the "colonization gradient" which reflects the progressive cultural attenuation that accompanies increasing distance from the metropolitan area. The colonization gradient is manifested spatially in the hierarchy of settlements found within the area of colonization, with the entrepot, frontier town, nucleated and semi-nucleated settlements, and dispersed settlements respectively exhibiting progressively more tenuous links with the national political, economic, and social institutions (Casagrande, et al. 1964: 311).

As an area of colonization expands with time, older portions of it begin to achieve a level of sociocultural integration comparable to that of the metropolitan area while new areas are brought under settlement. As a consequence, the colonization shifts spatially through time and individual settlements within it acquire new, often more complex roles as a result of the restructuring of the frontier trade and communications system and the shift in the pattern of central place settlements. Other settlements may be by-passed by such change and decline, often becoming "ghost towns."

The shift in settlement pattern accompanying the evolution of an area of colonization from a frontier to an integrated part of the metropolitan area has been explored by Hudson (1969) who has constructed a model defining three developmental stages covering the period from earliest settlement to the close of the frontier period. The model is based mainly upon analogies drawn from ecological-spatial distribution theory and postulates that three stages of development characterize the morphology of rural settlement during times of rapid expansion. The first stage is one of colonization in which the new area is first occupied by the intrusive population. Population density at this time is low and the settlement pattern random. The second stage is one of spread in which settlement density increases as the result of population growth. Because settlement now tends to spread out from early population centers, its distribution assumes a clustered pattern. Finally, with increased population expansion the vacant exploitable land is occupied and a readjustment in the pattern of growth is necessary in order to achieve a state of equilibrium with settlements of optimum size. The process marks a stage of competition between settlements over the finite resources of the area of colonization. Settlements occupying disadvantageous positions are likely to decline or be abandoned at this time. With regard to population distribution, the result of competition is an even spacing of settlements.

The following chapter will examine the historical milieu in which the French settlement on the upper Savannah River frontier took place. By defining the nature of this occupation in general, it should be possible to hypothesize the type of frontier settlement the Guillebeau house site represents. As a particular type of component in the frontier system, the Guillebeau house is likely to have functioned in a predictable manner relative to other components. Activities associated with its function are likely to have produced a material by-product discernible in the archeological record. The task of identifying the function of the Guillebeau house on the basis of the patterning exhibited by the archeological evidence is intended to serve as the focus of research at the Guillebeau house site.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SAVANNAH RIVER FRONTIER IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SOUTH CAROLINA

Introduction

Huguenot movement into the Upper Savannah River frontier is intimately tied to the development of this region as an area of colonization. As such, it is expected to have developed in a manner similar to migration frontiers as described in the frontier model. An important aspect of this evolutionary process is the differential appearance of settlement types in time and space, settlement whose form and function vary according to their positions within the trade and communications system of the area of colonization. As a settlement component on the frontier, the Guillebeau house site may be expected to have fulfilled the role of at least one of the types mentioned in the model. An examination of documentary evidence relating to the development of the Huguenot colony, as well as to the Guillebeau house itself, should reveal information that should permit us to postulate the functions of the latter. Conclusions derived from this information may then be examined in light of the archeological data recovered from the site of this past settlement. The archeological analysis should provide a means of not only scrutinizing the results of the documentary study, but also of amplifying and expanding them through the examination of a separate data base.

The Background of British Colonization

The movement of European settlement into the upper Savannah River region may be seen as an integral part of the larger expansion of the European "world economy" during the eighteenth century. Wallerstein (1974: 7) has suggested this term to characterize the system within which the European nations of the post-medieval period participated because of the particular nature of its organization. In this system individual nation-states were tied together by a web of mutual interdependence. The self-contained development of the world economy likens it to an empire, but its capitalistic economic mode, based on the fact that the economic factors operated within an arena larger than any political entity could completely control, prevented domination by a single nation. This situation gave capitalist entrepreneurs a structurally-based freedom of maneuver and allowed a continual expansion of the world economy (Wallerstein 1974: 348). The role of commercial forces in the initiation of British colonization in Scotland, Ireland, and America is well-known. The flexibility of privately-organized, economically-oriented ventures proved the key to the successful establishment of many early sustained British colonial settlements (Cheyney 1961; Rowse 1957).

Of particular significance to a discussion of British colonial North America is the nature of the relationship between an expanding world system and those areas outside its boundaries. Because of the system's economic orientation this relationship is largely one of exchange. This exchange is of two types: (a) that involving trade with external areas dominated by other world systems and (b) that with areas inside the system's own periphery. The latter consists of

... that geographical area ... wherein production is primarily of low-ranking goods (that is, goods whose labor is less-well rewarded) but which is an integral part of the overall system of the division of labor, because the commodities involved are essential for daily use (Wallerstein 1974: 302).

Exchange between the periphery and the "core" states at the center of the system tends to have a "vertical specialization" involving the movement of raw materials from the former to the latter and the movement of manufactured goods and services in the opposite direction (Gould 1972: 235-236). Such was the case in much of colonial North America, especially in the agricultural South (Sellers 1934: 302).

Due to the fact that the world economy of the eighteenth century was expanding, it was inevitable that its geographical structure would not remain indefinitely intact. A process integral with colonial expansion is the formation of "semi-peripheral" areas that function as collection points of vital skills and serve to deflect political pressures aimed at the core states from the frontiers of the periphery. Because they are still located outside of the political arena of the core states, however, semi-peripheral areas are prevented from entering into political coalitions in the same manner as the states (Wallerstein: 1974: 350) and thus remain dependent upon them. In the last half of the eighteenth century the British North American colonies were approaching semi-peripheral status, at least in certain coastal areas, and localized political and economic centers exerted influence into the interior as the foci of regional pre-industrial urban systems (Earle and Hoffman 1976: 67).

In the early years of the eighteenth century settlement in the British colony of South Carolina was primarily confined to the coast. Charleston had arisen as the major southern port town, providing a direct link to the metropolitan area of Great Britain as well as to other British colonial ports in the New World. Its location at the mouth of the Cooper River greatly facilitated the emergence of a plantation economy on the lower Coastal Plain and it served as a collecting point for colonial export commodities and a redistribution center for imported commercial goods and plantation slaves (Sellers 1934: 5). In addition to supplying its own inland settlements, Charleston developed as a re-export center for the West Indies (Earle and Hoffman 1976: 17). Not only was Charleston the focus of the coastal plantation economy but it also served as the terminus of the British Indian trade in the Southeast (Crane 1956: 108). As the eighteenth century progressed the South Carolina colony expanded following its period of initial confinement caused by the threat of nearby Spanish

colonies. The proprietary government was replaced by a royal administration in 1719, integrating the colony more closely within the rapidly expanding and increasingly centralized politico-economic system of Great Britain (John 1962: 371-372).

The inland expansion of the colony was given official sanction and encouragement by the township act of 1730 which projected a series of frontier settlements, to be occupied by small farmers, stretching from the North Carolina border to the Savannah River. Each was laid out along one of the major rivers linking this frontier region with the coast. Settlements in these locations were intended not only to strengthen Britain's control of the interior and increase the production of raw export materials, but also to counterbalance the rising slave population of the coastal plantations (Brown 1963: 2; Petty 1943: 34-35).

Early Settlement of the Savannah River Frontier

Prior to 1730 the impact of European expansion in the interior of South Carolina mainly took the form of the Indian trade. This trade had begun in the late seventeenth century and soon had expanded into a network that extended from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River. Charleston served as the focus of the Carolina Indian trade and was the hub of a system of roads and trails that connected the Indian settlements of the interior with this coastal entrepot (Sellers 1934: 25).

The earliest European settlement of the upper Savannah River is associated with the route to the Cherokee country that ran from Charleston to a point on the river opposite the present site of Augusta and then northeastward to Tugaloo (Fig. 2). This settlement also served as the terminus to the southern and western trade routes that led to the Creek towns in the Altamaha, Chattahoochee, and Alabama valleys, and further west to the Chickasaw and Choctaw settlements, and even to those of the Natchez and Yazoo on the Mississippi (Crane 1956: 132-133). Fort Moore was built at the point where this trail intersected the Savannah in 1715 as a trading center and outpost against the Indians.

Settlement in the vicinity of Fort Moore was initially dependent upon the Indian trade. After 1721 Savannah Town arose nearby as a result of government inducement to settle in the area and in 1735 New Windsor Township was laid out there. New Windsor failed to develop, however, because of the gravitation of the Indian trade to the new settlement of Augusta on the Georgia side of the river. It was to remain a thinly settled area until the second half of the eighteenth century (Petty 1943: 40; Meriwether 1940: 72).

The second thrust of European expansion into the upper Savannah region was associated with the Cherokee trading path that passed from Charleston through the Congarees to Keowee (Fig. 2). By 1740 this shorter route had attracted much of the Cherokee trade and a trading

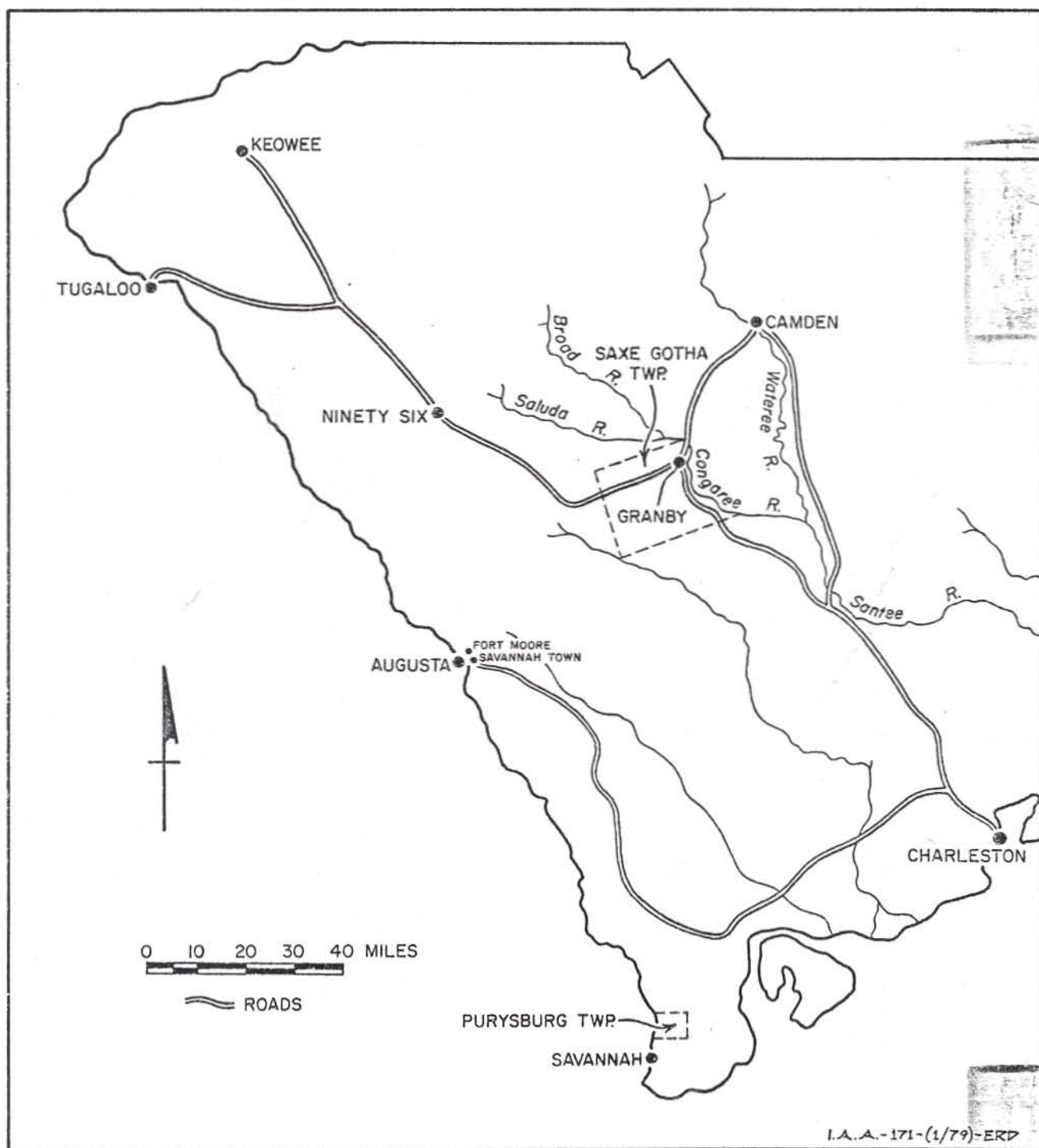


FIGURE 2. Settlement on the Savannah River and central South Carolina prior to 1760.

post was established along the path at Ninety Six. Scattered settlement of the Ninety Six-Saluda River area, encouraged by the purchase of Cherokee lands and government inducements, was beginning to take place by mid-century (Meriwether 1940: 123-124).

Among the lands laid out were those included in "Hamilton's Great Survey" of 1751. This survey of 200,000 acres encompassed good agricultural land on the headwaters of Stevens and Long Cane Creeks, two tributaries of the Savannah (Fig. 3). The proximity of these streams to the Cherokee Path encouraged settlement there in the 1750's (Meriwether 1940: 127). The first settlement in the Long Cane valley occurred in 1758, but was abandoned two years later at the outbreak of the Cherokee War (Cook 1923: 6).

The close of the war in 1761 found the interior of western South Carolina thinly populated with Europeans. The inability to defend this area during the war made it clear that it did not contain settlement sufficiently dense enough to serve as an effective buffer against attacks that might imperil the plantation economy of the low country. Realization of this potential threat brought about a change in official government settlement policy, a change that was to alter the nature of colonization on the upper Savannah frontier (Meriwether 1940: 242).

The Expansion of Settlement After the Cherokee War

In response to the Cherokee War, frontier expansion in South Carolina received a new impetus. An act passed by the provincial Commons House intended to increase frontier settlement by funding the passage of poor Protestants from Europe to South Carolina and providing them with initially tax exempt lands there (SCRCHAJ/ August 1, 1761). The movement of new immigrants into the upper Savannah region occurred slowly at first because of hostile conditions on the seas created by the Seven Years War and because of warfare with the Creek Indians. In 1762, however, Governor Boone granted the sites two new townships on the Savannah. These were Boonesborough at the head of Long Cane Creek and Belfast, or Londonborough, on Hard Labor Creek (Fig. 3). Two years later a third township, called Hillsborough, was laid out on Little River in the vicinity of the two earlier settlements (Meriwether 1940: 251-252).

The settlement of the upper Savannah as an agricultural frontier marked a drastic change in the economy of a region that had previously been engaged in trading as its basic economic activity. Unlike the Indian trade that did not require an extensive network of settlements to provide logistical support, an agricultural frontier, though dispersed, required the development of a more complex settlement system centered on the frontier town. Earle and Hoffman (1976: 11, 67) have recently proposed that the size and spatial patterning of hinterland settlements in an area of colonization are related to the type of staple crop produced there. Each staple, because of the particular nature of its bulk, weight, and perishability, necessitates distinctive commodity flows and processing demands that differentially encourage the development of

various urban functions within the area of colonization. These functions include staple packaging, associated industrial procedures, transportation services, and the provisioning and repair facilities related to freight shipment. When expansionary markets result in increased staple flows and where the commodity is bulky, weighty, and perishable enough to require forward linkages* in the transport, manufacturing, and service sectors, elaborate settlement systems emerge (Earle and Hoffman 1976: 11, 62).

The major staple crops grown on the frontier in colonial South Carolina were wheat and corn (Drayton 1802: 138-139; Meriwether 1940: 166-167; Sellers 1934: 31). Because these crops are perishable, high in bulk, and are capable of being grown in a wide range of ecological zones, their production dictates the presence of relatively complex system of transport involving storage facilities, in-transit processing and packaging industries, and shipping services. The presence of such an extensive transportation system on the upper Savannah frontier required the existence of numerous settlements there to carry out these related activities. Here, as elsewhere in colonial South Carolina, settlements would have been arranged linearly along the overland trade and communications network focused on the entrepot of Charleston.

Camden on the Wateree River (Fig. 2) dominated the economy of the backcountry frontier as the commercial center for the eastern and central portions of the province (Schulz 1972: 23; Mills 1826: 589). Its influence, however, did not extend into the upper Saluda or Savannah River drainages (Schulz 1976: 95). In 1761 Ninety Six was the most significant settlement in the western backcountry of South Carolina, yet it failed to develop as a frontier town. Its failure to develop as a focus of economic activity is very likely to have been the result of its geographical location which placed it in a disadvantageous position within the trade and communications system of this region. Access to the entrepot is a key variable in the location of a frontier town, especially one that serves as a collection point for a bulky, perishable staple commodity. Ninety Six, situated originally to provide a link to the Cherokee country for the shipment of relatively light, nonperishable commodities, was distant from Charleston. This distance and the courses followed by the routes of trade and communications linking it with the entrepot permitted Ninety Six's potential role as a frontier town to be assumed by other settlements. The reasons for this may be seen if one examines the two major overland routes leading from Charleston to the upper Savannah frontier, both of which converge at Ninety Six (Fig. 2).

The first of these is the Cherokee Path which ran from Charleston to the Santee River and followed its southern bank upstream to the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree. It then paralleled the latter

*The term "forward linkages" here refers to the impact on economic activity created by the movement of staple exports from the production sites to consumption sites outside the area of colonization. Conversely, "backward linkages" refer to that impact resulting for consumer demand within the region.

to its origin where the waters of the Broad and Saluda Rivers flow together. From this point the path followed the Saluda River to Ninety Six (Hunter 1730; Faden 1780). The course of the Cherokee Path along the Congaree carried it through Saxe Gotha Township, where the settlement of Granby was situated. As early as 1760, before substantial settlement had occurred on the upper Savannah, Granby had become the site of a subsidiary store of Camden's largest commercial firm, Joseph Kershaw and Company, and thus fell within that settlement's economic sphere (Sellers 1934: 89; Ernst and Merrens 1973: 562-563; Schulz 1976: 94). The placement of the major transportation route to Ninety Six through Camden's economic hinterland is likely to have prevented this road from becoming a significant avenue for the movement of goods directly to and from the entrepot. Camden's earlier development and expansion as a center of economic activity appears to have cut off the direct access that would have permitted Ninety Six to become a frontier town for the newly-settled upper Savannah region.

The second route by which Ninety Six and the upper Savannah region were connected to Charleston passed through Savannah Town (Fig. 2). Opposite this settlement on the Savannah River was Augusta, founded in 1736 to serve as a center for the Creek Indian trade in Georgia. Because of its closer proximity to the Creek towns, it replaced Savannah Town as a trading center (Phillips 1908: 33). Augusta's direct links by water and land to Savannah on the coast permitted the latter to develop as an entrepot in competition with Charleston (Coleman 1976: 215). The position of Augusta on this major trade and communication route tying the Savannah River region to both Charleston and Savannah permitted this inland settlement to develop as an economic center when the settlement frontier on the upper Savannah expanded in the 1760's. Augusta's growth precluded Ninety Six from assuming this role for the newly-occupied area. By 1773 Bartram (1958: 201) could remark that, "... without a competitor, [Augusta] commands the trade and commerce of vast fruitful regions above it, and from every side to a great distance. ..." Thus, Augusta, while not within the political boundaries of South Carolina, was to become the frontier town serving the South Carolina settlements on the upper Savannah frontier (Drayton 1802: 213).

When the South Carolina backcountry was divided into judicial districts for administrative purposes in 1769, the northwestern portion of the province was designated Ninety Six District and the district court was established at Ninety Six. Despite its political role, the settlement failed to attract commercial activity and remained essentially an isolated nucleated political settlement until its destruction in 1781.

The settlement of the upper Savannah frontier was characterized by an ethnic diversity among the groups granted lands there under the act of 1761. One group was composed of Huguenots who had emigrated from France under the leadership of Jean Louis Gibert in 1764. South Carolina had accepted Huguenot settlers since its beginning and by the mid-eighteenth century contained substantial Huguenot populations in six areas around Charleston and in Purysburg Township on the lower Savannah River (Hirsch 1928: 19-28). This, however, was the first group of Huguenots to settle in the backcountry. They were allotted a township of 24,000 acres on

Little River just northwest of Londonborough Township, created two years before and populated thinly by Irish colonists (Fig. 3). The township was named in honor of Lord Hillsborough, British minister of the American Department, and the townsite within it was to be called New Bordeaux after the French port through which the colonists had emigrated (Gibert 1976: 37).

As surveyed (Fig. 4), New Bordeaux consisted of 800 acres. It was to have 200 lots of one half acre each situated below the junction of Long Cane Creek and Little River, a vineyard plot of 175 acres divided into 44 four acre lots on both sides of the river, a 200 acre common, a glebe of 300 acres for the support of an Anglican minister, and 25 acres for a fort, churchyard, parsonage, marketplace, public mill, and streets (SCRHMCJ/July 13, 1764/30: 263). The first settlers arrived in August 1764 and by the following month they had erected six frame houses and had 14 others under construction (Gibert 1976: 30). The following summer they built a palisade enclosure for defense named Fort Bonne (Moragne 1857: 23). Much of the land surveyed for actual settlement in Hillsborough Township was situated in small groups of plots along Long Cane Creek and Little River and their tributaries at or near locations where the latter were intersected by roads (Meriwether 1940: 254), indicating an initial dispersal of settlement. By 1770 the townsite itself had been largely abandoned in favor of scattered settlement despite the potential danger of Indian attack (Moragne 1857: 25).

The Huguenot colony grew steadily through immigration. About 200 settlers comprised the original group arriving in 1764 (Gibert 1976: 13). They were followed by 59 the following year and an undetermined number of French and German Protestants who had been stranded in South Carolina on their way to Nova Scotia. Their leader, M. Dumese de St. Pierre, brought an additional 27 French and German colonists to the New Bordeaux area in 1772 (Hirsch 1928: 41-43).

In addition to the French settlement at Hillsborough Township, 500 Germans had been transported to Londonborough Township by the crown (Bernheim 1872: 165). The provincial assembly of South Carolina allotted them lands east of Hillsborough between Hard Labor and Cuffytown Creeks (Fig. 3) upon their arrival in 1765 (Cook 1923: 10). Although a town was surveyed, it was never settled. Like the French, the Germans adopted a dispersed pattern of settlement and spread out along all the upper branches of Stevens Creek (Meriwether 1940: 256).

British settlement on the upper Savannah increased in the 1760's. Lands were granted on Long Cane Creek, Little River and Stevens Creek and their tributaries. Immigration into the Saluda River region also rose following the Cherokee War, with much of the settlement occurring on the Little Saluda and the streams south of Ninety Six Creek (Meriwether 1940: 259).

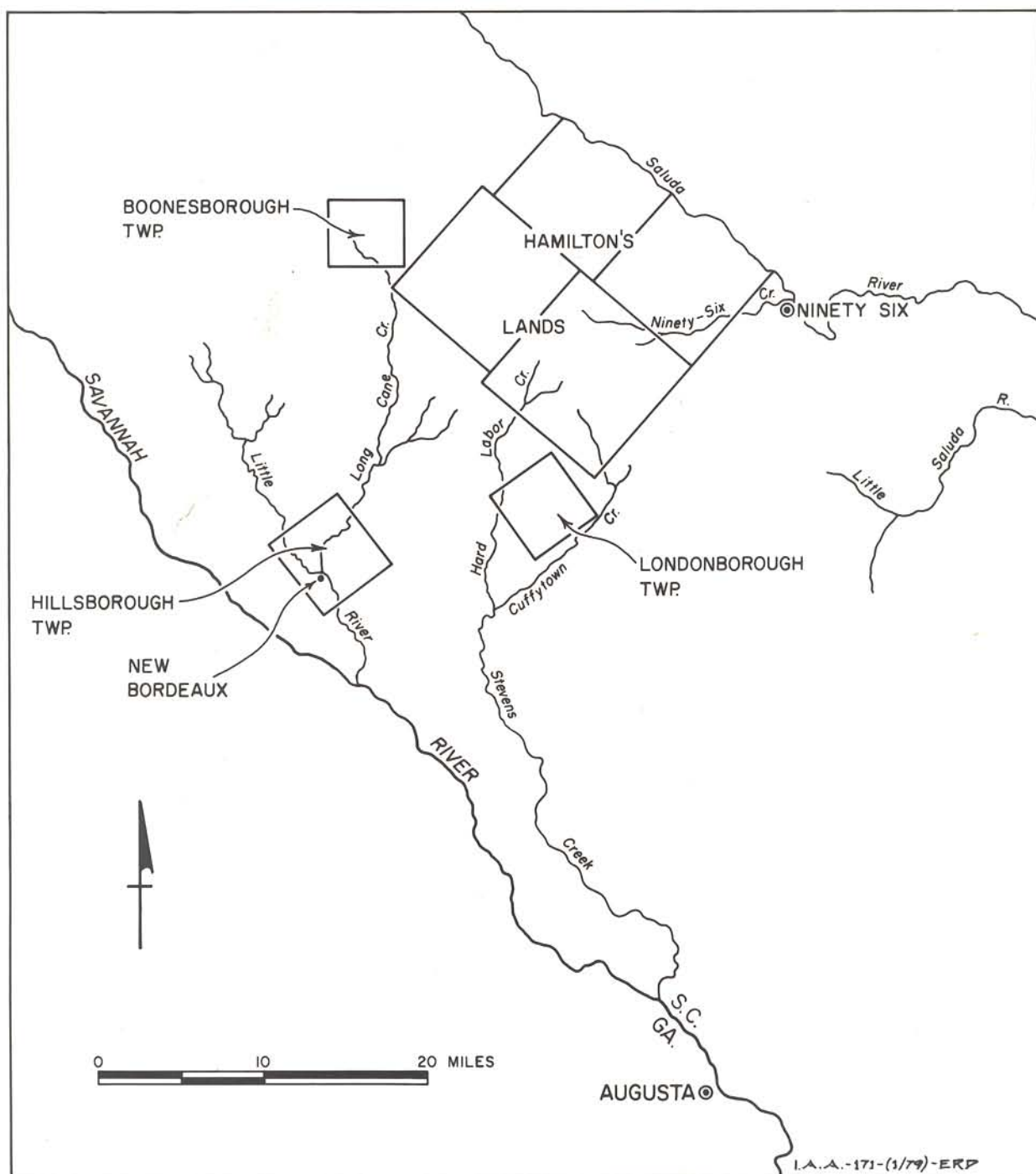


FIGURE 3. Settlement on the Savannah River frontier after 1760.

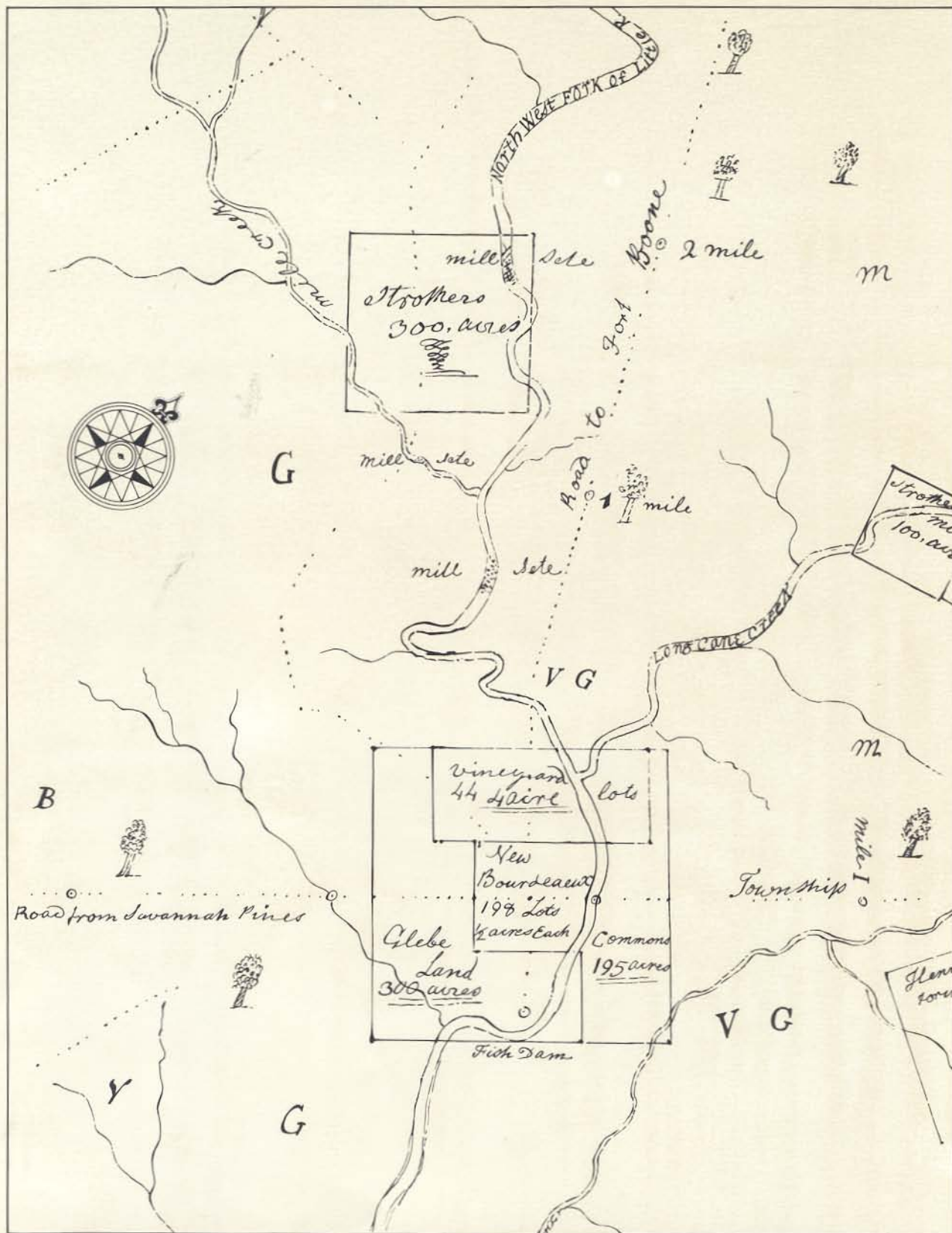


FIGURE 4. Portion of the Plat of Hillsborough Township in 1765 by Patrick Calhoun showing the settlement of New Bordeaux and the Strother tract on Little River and Mill Creek.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the upper Savannah frontier was inhabited by French, German, English, and Irish settlers. Despite this ethnic diversity, the dispersed nature of settlement in the area made it difficult for the groups to remain separate and avoid acculturation. Intermarriage among these groups became common and English became the dominant language (Gibert 1976: 73; Hirsch 1928: 44). Although independent Huguenot and Lutheran churches were established (Hirsch 1928: 85; Bernheim 1872: 166), by the close of the 18th century most of the population had become affiliated with the Presbyterian Church of the English Calvinists (Gibert 1976: 53). Even by the time of the American Revolution the upper Savannah settlements appear to have no longer been ethnically separate communities (Hirsch 1928: 102).

*Economic Development of the Huguenot Colony
and the Upper Savannah River Region*

As part of a wider area of colonization, the Huguenot settlements in Hillsborough Township underwent a course of economic development similar to that for the upper Savannah region as a whole. For this reason any discussion of the colony and its antecedents must be made with reference to this larger area. The economic success of a frontier is generally measured by its ability to survive, and the key to survival is tied to its production of a commercially viable staple crop (Thompson 1973: 18). In the South Carolina backcountry the staple crops of the eighteenth century were wheat and maize. Other crops grown on the upper Savannah were oats, hemp, indigo, flax, and tobacco (Cook 1923: 24). On the Georgia side of the river tobacco appears to have constituted the early staple crop (Jones and Dutcher 1890: 144).

In the Huguenot settlements the French colonists grew the basic crops (Bartram 1958: 257) and their success here paralleled that of the region in general. In addition, other crops were grown experimentally in the hope that they would become lucrative staples.

The first of these commodities was silk, which had been produced in South Carolina experimentally since the beginning of the 18th century. Encouraged by government bounties after 1722, silk production rose in the Huguenot settlements on the coast and at Purysburg Township (Gray 1932: 185-186). Jean Louis Gibert, leader of the New Bordeaux colonists, was a major promoter of silk in South Carolina and was successful in gaining financial support for silk spinning factories at Charleston and in Hillsborough Township in 1766 (Hirsch 1928: 201). After reaching its peak in 1767, silk production began to decline, a trend encouraged further by the removal of fixed prices two years later (Gray 1932: 188). The failure of silk as a commercial crop was largely the result of conditions characteristic of frontier areas. Access to large amounts of relatively inexpensive land and the shortage,

and consequent high cost of labor that accompanies a dispersed population (see Thompson 1973: 11, 17), favored the production of non-labor intensive commodities that could be grown at lower cost (Sellers 1934: 117). The higher cost of silk production made it a less profitable crop than grain, hemp, or indigo (Hirsch 1928: 205; Gray 1932: 188). Silk production for domestic use continued into the early nineteenth century (Mills 1826: 348), but appears to have ceased by 1840 (U.S. Census, Population 1840: 191-193).

The second experimental crop was the grape for the making of wine. Although early attempts at grape growing in South Carolina met with little success, the cultivation of this crop on a wide scale was tried at Hillsborough Township (Hirsch 1928: 206). Two early settlers are associated with grape growing. John Lewis Gervais in partnership with Henry Laurens cultivated a vineyard on their "Herrinhausen" plantation on Hard Labor Creek in the 1760's in addition to their major commercial crops (Gibert 1976: 33). By 1773 Gervais had developed a thick-growing vine that would stand without support (DeBrahm 1971: 70). An extensive grape growing venture was planned by Jean Louis de St. Pierre, who imported vines from France and Madeira in an attempt to establish vineyards on Little River (Davis 1951: 48). Failing to obtain adequate support, his project collapsed. In 1775, the year before his death, his vineyards consisted of only five acres (Hirsch 1928: 208; Bartram 1958: 237).

Grape growing failed in part for the same reasons as silk. It was a labor intensive crop that would not produce an immediate yield (Sellers 1934: 117). In addition, the *Vinifera* vines imported from Europe, although initially successful, soon fell victim to plant diseases and insects to which they had no resistance (Adams 1973: 19-20). In the nineteenth century wine grapes derived from native stock were successfully grown in South Carolina (Adams 1973: 49).

Although the American Revolution largely by-passed the upper Savannah frontier, it involved many of the region's inhabitants in the accompanying partisan conflict. Residents of Hillsborough Township formed the company of New Bordeaux Militia that fought on the rebel side until the cessation of hostilities in 1782 (Gibert 1976: 43, 47).

The period immediately following the war was marked by significant changes in the economic system of the region. Independence from Great Britain brought an end to the bounties on such crops as indigo and silk and a disruption of the export of other commodities (Gray 1932: 593-594). The development of the Whitney gin in the last decade of the century, however, permitted a new cash crop to be grown extensively in South Carolina. Soon cotton superseded grain as a commercial crop on the upper Savannah in South Carolina (Hirsch 1928: 217) and tobacco in Georgia (Jones and Dutcher 1890: 145). The rise of cotton gave even greater importance to the frontier town of Augusta as a commercial center. The settlement's position on the navigable Savannah

River permitted it to easily assume the role of an inland transshipment center for this new commodity whose bulk lent itself to water transportation. Augusta grew in importance as an inland economic center, supplying much of the upcountry east of the Oconee River, even as far as Tennessee (Phillips 1908: 123).

The shipment of cotton from Augusta by water naturally favored the port of Savannah at the river's mouth and drew business away from Charleston. By 1820 Charleston's economy was in a slump because of its decline in exports, particularly cotton, and its loss of retail trade to the inland settlements (Derrick 1930: 3). This situation was enhanced by a reorganization of the trade and communications network that accompanied the closing of the frontier in South Carolina. The canalization of the state's major rivers facilitated the switch to cotton as a staple crop and these new transportation routes bypassed most of the older frontier towns. Columbia, the new capital situated in the center of the state, became the focus of internal trade in South Carolina (Mills 1826: 699).

In order to regain the interior trade in the western part of the state, attempts were made to promote settlements on the eastern side of the Savannah River (Fig. 5). Vinenna, established opposite the mouth of the Broad River of Georgia, failed to attract trade and was soon deserted (Mills 1826: 349-350). Hamburg, situated directly across from Augusta, succeeded in taking away only some of Augusta's trade in cotton, which it shipped by boat to Charleston (Mills 1826: 523; Lockwood 1832: 86). A further attempt to divert trade from Augusta took the form of the South Carolina Railroad, constructed in 1833 from Charleston to Hamburg (Derrick 1930: 121). Its partial success prompted a similar project in Georgia and led to a rapid expansion of railroads in both states (Jones and Dutcher 1890: 482). By mid-century South Carolina had a complex rail network linking the interior of the state of the port of Charleston in a dendritic pattern similar to that exhibited by the earlier network of overland routes (Logan 1859/I: 326). This new system of transportation encouraged the expansion of cotton agriculture in South Carolina by providing an efficient means of bulk transport. In doing so it helped to bring about further changes in the landscape of the old frontier, including that part of it bordering the upper Savannah.

The post-Revolutionary War period also saw the division of the South Carolina backcountry into smaller political units. In 1785 the large circuit court districts created six years earlier were subdivided into counties which, in turn, became separate districts in 1800 (Fig. 6). The new districts reflect the evolution of the evenly spaced distribution of settlement characteristic of the stage of "competition" (see Hudson 1969) that marks the close of the frontier. The upper Savannah frontier was largely incorporated into Abbeville and Edgefield Districts, with the former Cherokee lands annexed in 1777 being assigned to Pendleton District. Hillsborough Township fell within Abbeville District. Its seat, also called Abbeville, did not develop as a commercial center prior to the coming of the railroad in 1853 (Phillips 1908: 344), and regional commodities were still shipped through Hamburg in Edgefield District as well as Augusta (Mills 1826: 349, 525).

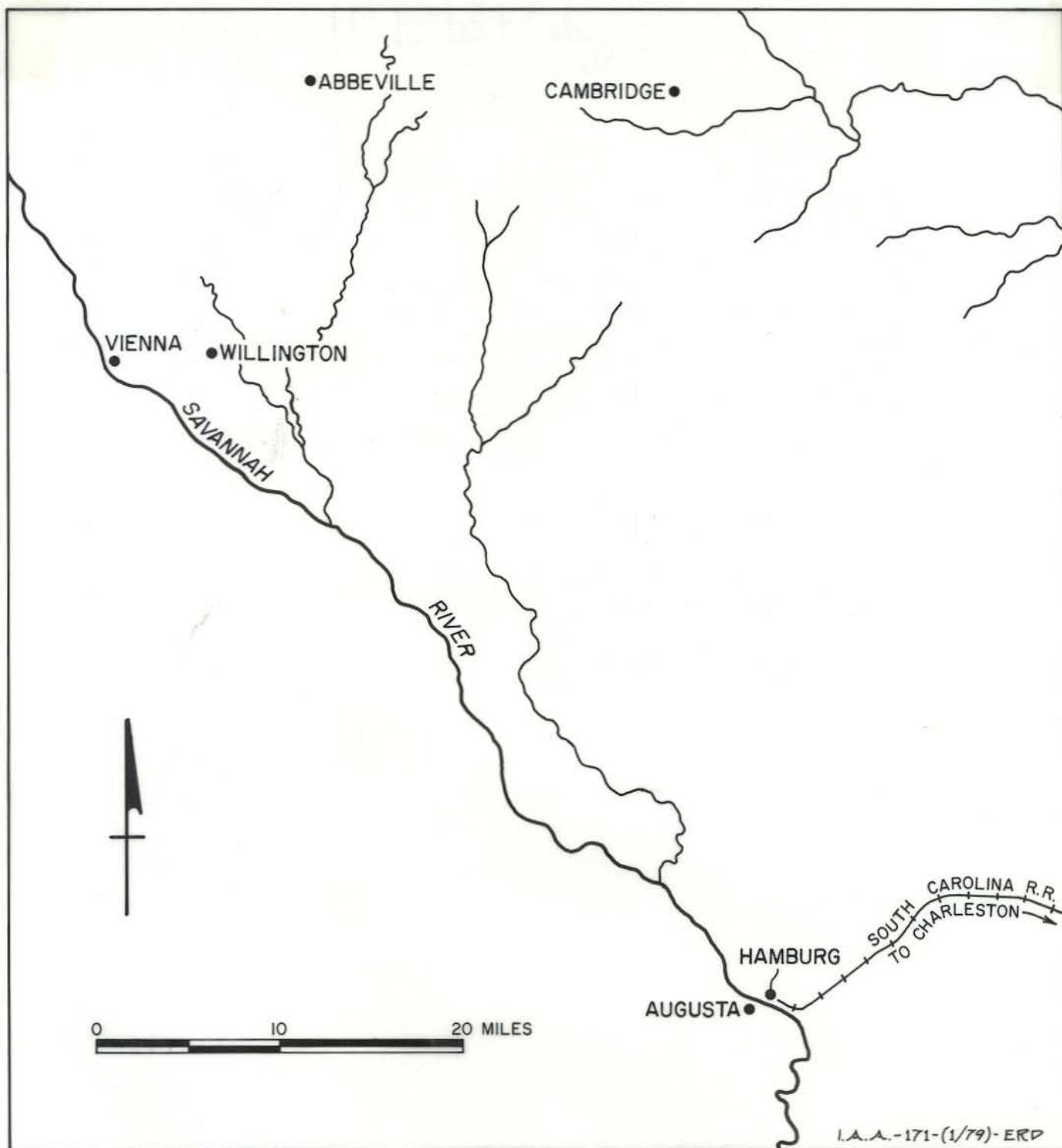


FIGURE 5. Settlement on the upper Savannah River in the early nineteenth century.

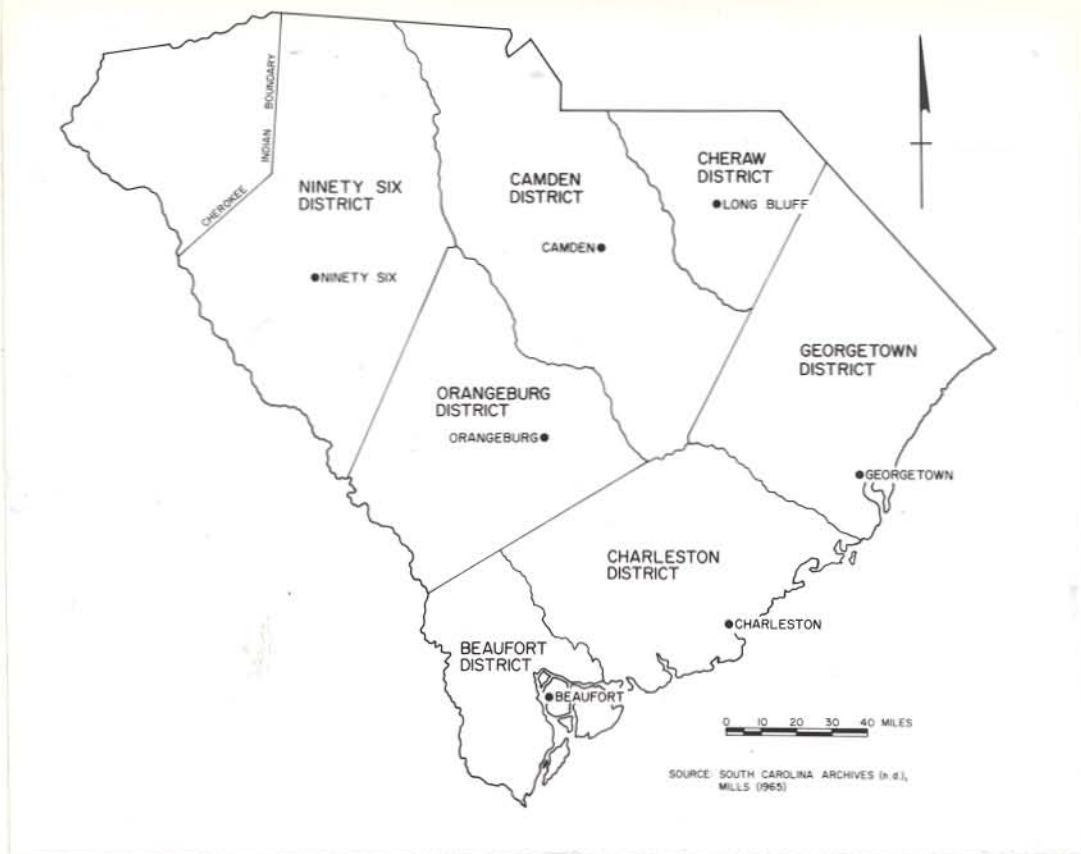


FIGURE 6. A. South Carolina Circuit Court districts of 1769.
B. South Carolina Circuit Court districts of 1800.

The spread of cotton agriculture in the early nineteenth century brought a rapid growth in South Carolina's population to meet the increased labor demands of production. Because of the intensive nature of this activity, these demands were satisfied by an increase in the slave labor force (Petty 1943: 68). The transition to a cotton economy in Abbeville and Edgefield Districts during this time may be seen by a comparison of the frequencies of free and slave populations in these districts before 1860 (Fig. 7). The marked increase in the slave labor force contrasts with the leveling off and slight decline in the free population that occurred largely as a result of the out-migration that accompanied the expansion of plantation farming in the Piedmont (Gibert 1976: 92; Petty 1943: 80-81). A continued reliance upon agriculture as a principal economic activity discouraged the formation of large nucleated settlements (Gibert 1976: 54) and the adoption of cotton as a staple crop favored the creation and maintenance of large rural landholdings, or plantations, on which it could be grown efficiently. Despite the dominance of cotton, grain and maize production also expanded during the antebellum period (Lockwood 1832: 85) and remained important agricultural commodities in Abbeville District throughout the nineteenth century (SCSBA 1883: 10-11; SCDACI 1907: 255-256). In addition to agriculture, quarrying of grindstones and millstones was carried out throughout the district (Lockwood 1832: 85) and a gold mine near present-day McCormick was successfully worked in the decade prior to the Civil War (Gibert 1976: 90).

Settlement in Abbeville and Edgefield Districts remained largely dispersed in the antebellum period. Robert Mills' Atlas of 1825 shows only the settlements of Willington, a small town that grew up around an academy (Lesesne 1972: 7), and Vienna in the vicinity of the old townships. The site of New Bordeaux had been completely abandoned well before this time and the earlier Huguenot occupation of the area is noted only by the words "Old French Town" near the junction of Little River and Long Cane Creek (Mills 1965). By 1854 when the Savannah Valley Railroad* began to extend its tracks through this area, the railway company's map still noted Willington as the only nucleated settlement (Tuttle 1854). The settlements that grew up following the completion of the railroad in the post-Civil War period were all essentially railroad towns and grew up at points along the Savannah Valley right-of-way (SCDACIC 1927: 331).

The Civil War forced a change in the system of labor utilization as a result of the abolition of slavery. In the post-war period various forms of tenant farming evolved that permitted the plantations to remain intact while retaining a reliable labor force (Petty 1943: 87). The effect on plantation settlement distribution was drastic, for tenant farming essentially fragmented the compact plantation settlement

*The route of the Savannah Valley Railroad was later to become that of the Charleston and Western Carolina which, in turn, became part of the Atlantic Coast Line system. At present the railroad is operated by the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad; however, much of the line, including that passing through the present town of Bordeaux, has been abandoned.

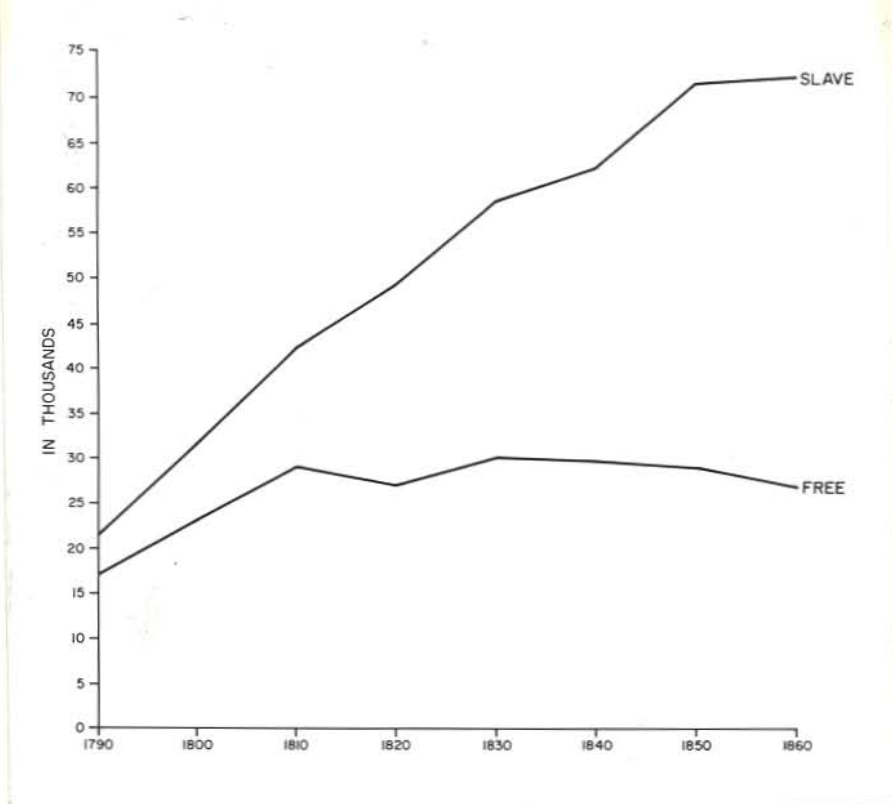


FIGURE 7. Frequency distribution of free and slave populations in Abbeville and Edgefield Districts, South Carolina, 1790-1860.

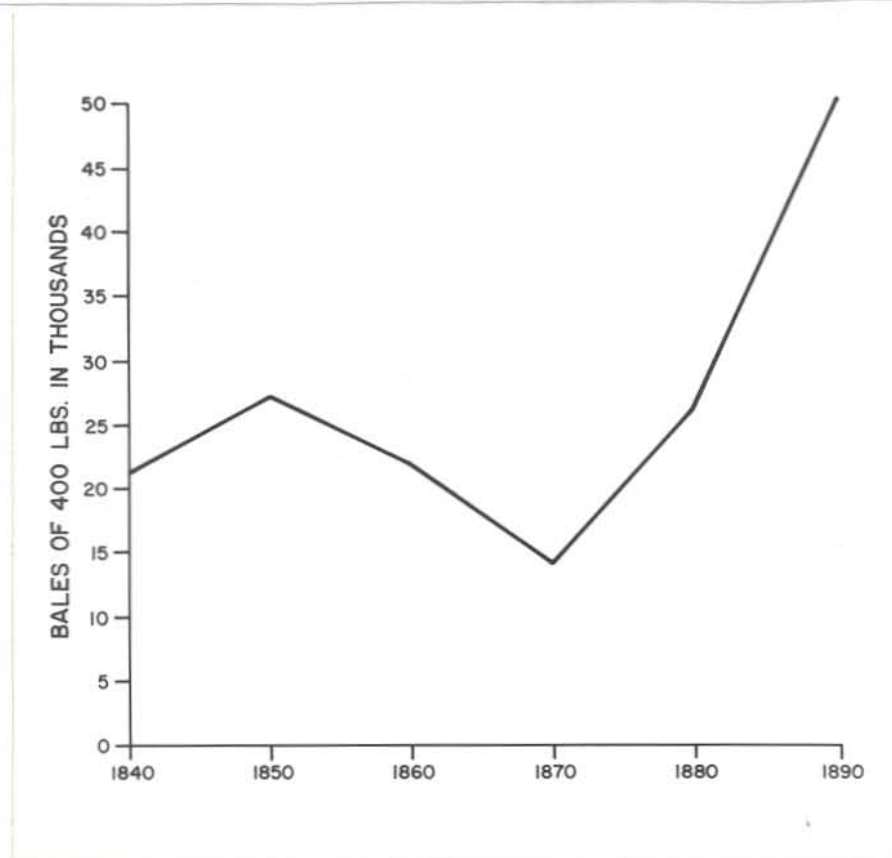


FIGURE 8. Cotton production in Abbeville District/County, South Carolina, 1840-1890.

into individual farmsteads scattered more or less uniformly over the cropland (Prunty 1955: 469). In the Abbeville-Edgefield area much of the land was worked by tenants in the late nineteenth century (SCSBA 1883: 155). The redistribution of the former slave population added enormously to the number of dispersed farms and increased the amount of land under cultivation and the quantity of cash crops produced. The latter is illustrated in Figure 8 showing the marked rise in cotton production after 1870.

In 1916 McCormick County was created from portions of Abbeville, Edgefield, and Greenwood Counties (Gibert 1976: 92). The area of the early townships was encompassed within this new political unit. Overuse of land and declining agricultural productivity in the early twentieth century, accompanied by an out-migration of labor, led to a decline in the importance of agriculture. With the loss of population (see Petty 1943: 229) many of the settlements that served the area declined and some were abandoned. At present pulpwood growing, textile manufacturing, and recreational activity associated with the nearby Clark Hill reservoir are the major industries in the area that was once part of the upper Savannah frontier.

THE DOCUMENTARY BACKGROUND OF THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE SITE

Introduction

The Guillebeau house site is situated within the limits of Hillsborough Township and is associated by tradition with Andre Guillebeau, one of the original Huguenot immigrants who settled in the vicinity in 1764 (Gibert 1976: 101). Andre and his heirs are purported to have occupied the site during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after which it passed out of the hands of the immediate family. In order to investigate the historical background of the site and demonstrate its affiliation with the Guillebeau family, two lines of evidence will be examined. The first consists of property records. These will permit land ownership to be traced backward from the present owner and may provide a general description of the property. By utilizing property records pertaining to the Guillebeau house site, it should be possible to confirm the presence of an early Guillebeau family occupation there. Once the basic ownership chronology is established, it will then be possible to utilize documents relating to individual occupants of the site in order to gain further information about the settlement's overall function and about the nature of individual activities carried out there in the past.

The Property Record

In order to identify the Guillebeau house site as the settlement occupied by Andre Guillebeau and his descendents, its location may be compared to those of Guillebeau family properties shown on early maps. Such sources permit past cultural features to be correlated directly with those on the modern landscape. The only document showing the location of Guillebeau land is the plat of Andre Guillebeau's original land grant (SCOSGCP/8: 134). Unfortunately this tract does not include the present house site. Andre's grant contained 100 acres adjacent to the southern boundary of New Bordeaux and was bordered on the north by Little River. This would place the land below the confluence of Long Cane Creek and Little River, a point at least three miles southeast of the Guillebeau house site.

Because of the absence of early plats showing the Guillebeau house site, it is not possible to identify the latter directly as Guillebeau family property. For this reason it will be necessary to rely on property transfer records to demonstrate an indirect link between them. By tracing these transfer records back from the site's present owners, it should be possible to link the site and the material remains on it to a specific group of past occupants.

The Guillebeau house site is presently owned and maintained by the Old Abbeville District Historical Commission. The Guillebeau house structure is situated on a 2.735 acre tract (Fig. 9) that was received as a gift from Robert W. Hawes on December 13, 1976 (MCRCC/42: 65). Hawes had purchased this property from its other two co-owners, Phillip Ulmer Savage and Mrs. Ina Guillebeau Savage, ten days earlier (MCRCCC/42: 64). The 2.735 acre tract was separated from a larger tract of 21.03 acres (Fig. 9) that Hawes, and the Savages had purchased in November 1973 from Mrs. Mallie Cade Abercrombie, Mrs. Jayne Cade Smith, Guilford W. Cade III, John B. Cade, and Mrs. Margaret Cade Godfrey, the heirs of Mrs. Jane K. Cade (MCRCCC/34: 267).

Jane K. Cade had come into possession of this piece of land in May 1927 when she purchased it from her husband Guilford W. Cade II as part of a larger tract of 434 acres (MCRCCC/12: 117). Twenty-one acres of this tract, including the house site*, were briefly sold to Robert and Helen Guillebeau in September 1955 (MCRCCC/22: 150), but were later re-purchased by Jane Cade the following March (MCRCCC/22: 211).

The 434 acre piece of property transferred to Jane K. Cade by her husband included a tract of 49 1/2 acres bounded by Mill Creek on the west and on other sides, by portions of the estate of Peter L. Guillebeau and other lands belonging to Cade. The proximity of this property to Mill Creek suggests that it would have been the portion of Cade's land that contained the Guillebeau house site. Cade had purchased this tract from Cornelius Guillebeau in January 1902 (ACRCCC/22: 617). Guillebeau had bought this land as part of a larger parcel totaling 97 1/5 acres only a month before from J.C. Klugh, Master in Equity, who oversaw the distribution of the Peter L. Guillebeau estate (ACRCCC/13: 563). Peter L. Guillebeau, a bachelor and direct descendent of Andre Guillebeau, had died in 1891, leaving his estate in three equal parts to his brother John J., his nephew Champion, and the heirs of his deceased sisters Martha and Mary. The estate was liquidated and the lands sold in a number of tracts (ACRPJW/Box 238/Pack 5952).

Because Abbeville County conveyance records prior to 1875 have been destroyed, it is not possible to document the previous purchase and sale of lands comprising the Peter L. Guillebeau estate of 1891; however, earlier land ownership within the Guillebeau family may be traced through census and probate records. That the land referred to in these records includes the Guillebeau house site may be inferred from the presence of the Guillebeau family cemetery near the site. This cemetery contains the graves of Peter L. Guillebeau, his father Peter, and his grandfather Andre, as well as other family members who were interred between 1814 and 1891 when the land passed out of family hands. Because it is not likely that the cemetery would have been

*This 21 acre tract was bordered by the U.S. Forest Service lands, the Charleston and Western Carolina Railroad right-of-way, and Mill Creek, the same boundaries as those shown in the Hawes, and the Savages tract shown in Figure 9.

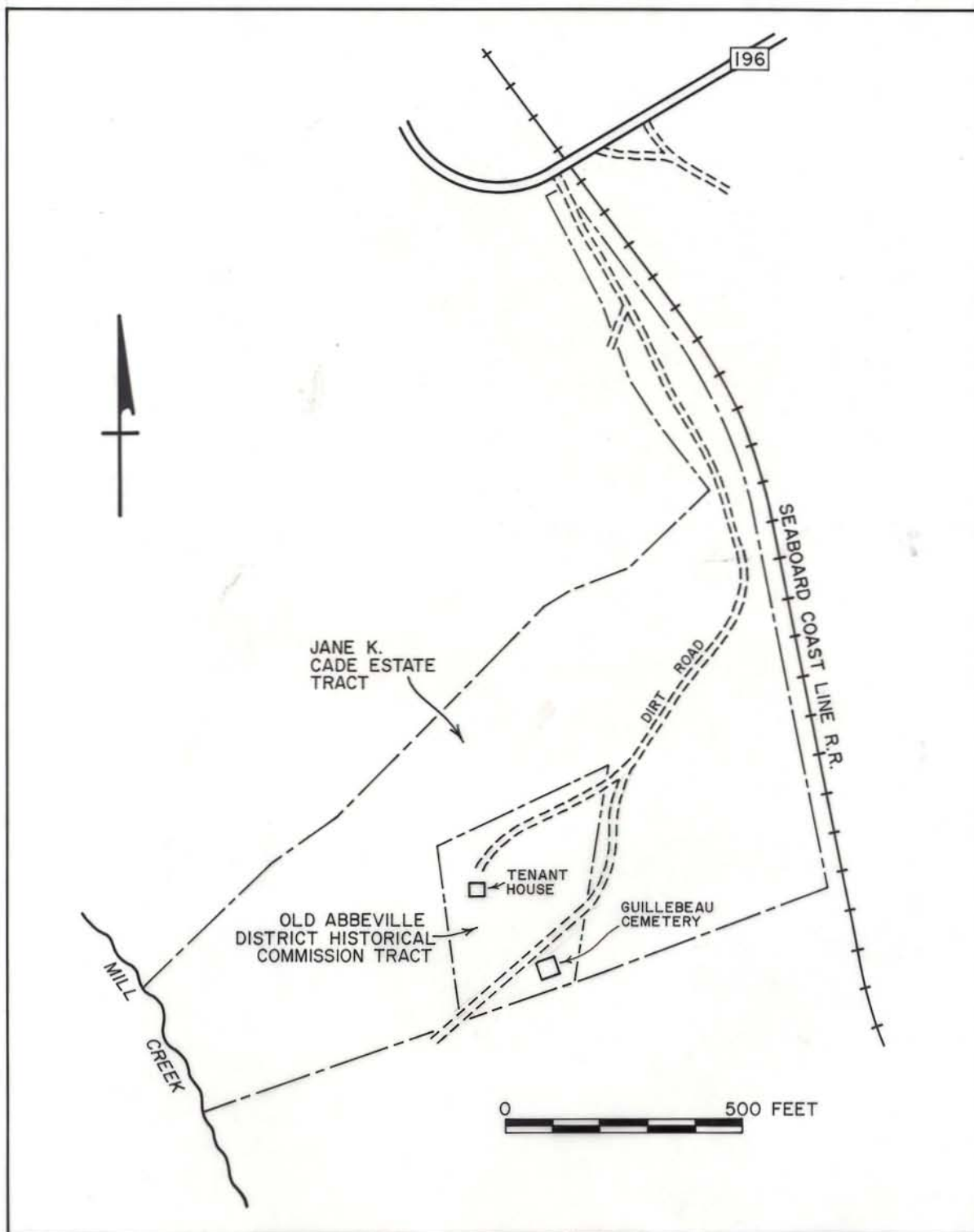


FIGURE 9. Plat of Jane K. Cade estate and property presently owned by the Old Abbeville District Historical Commission.

used for family burials unless it remained Guillebeau property continuously, the presence of these burials indicates that at least this portion of Peter L. Guillebeau's estate had been the property of his father and grandfather.

The will of Peter Guillebeau reveals that his sons Peter L. and John J. received equal shares of their father's 430 acres of land in 1854 (ACRPJW/Box 138/Pack 3907). Presumably Peter L. Guillebeau's 215 acres formed the nucleus of his real estate which had increased to 550 acres in 1860 and 755 acres 10 years later. By 1880, a decade before his death, it had shrunk to 205 acres, less than his original holding (MCASC 1860, 1870, 1880).

Peter Guillebeau's property is shown to have been 430 acres in 1850 (MCASC 1850), the same as at the time of his death four years later. Prior to this time the size of his landholding is unknown. It is likely, however, that his real estate included the land left to him by his father Andre in 1814. Andre Guillebeau's will, dated 1806, conveyed all his land to Peter (ACRPJW/Box 40/Pack 892). Because the family residence is likely to have been situated on this tract, which later passed to Peter L. Guillebeau and was conveyed to the other persons mentioned above, it is possible to establish a Guillebeau family occupation of the Guillebeau house site from the early years of the nineteenth century.

The location of the Guillebeau house site is near a 300 acre tract of land that had been granted to a Strother by 1764 and this tract is shown on Patrick Calhoun's plat of Hillsborough Township prepared in February of the following year (Fig. 4). A road to New Bordeaux is shown traversing the Strother tract in a northwest to southeast direction and two mills appear within or adjacent to the property. The presence of this settled tract possessing good soil, and situated on a road leading to the focus of settlement in the Huguenot colony, would have made it a likely place for early dispersed French settlement to have taken place. If this was the case, then it is not unlikely that an 18th century Huguenot occupation, such as that presumed to have taken place at the Guillebeau house site, would have occurred here.

On the basis of information contained in the property records, it is possible to conclude that the Guillebeau house site is situated on land that was in the possession of the Guillebeau family as early as 1806. These documents provide no clue to the earliest Guillebeau occupation there. The land could have been acquired at any time after Andre's arrival in 1765. This information does suggest, however, that if evidence of an eighteenth century occupation is found at the site, it is likely to represent that of the Guillebeau family.

Past Occupations of the Guillebeau House

In order to investigate the nature of past settlement at the Guillebeau house site, the remainder of this section will present pertinent historical information relating to the site's former occupant and to activities carried out there. Unfortunately documentary data regarding the Guillebeau family is not extensive. Andre Guillebeau was born in 1739 and settled in Hillsborough Township as one of the original Huguenot colonists in 1764 (Gibert 1976: 19). Being a carpenter by profession, he was undoubtedly involved in the construction of the initial settlement. During the first two months at least 20 houses were built in New Bordeaux alone (SCRHMCJ/October 14, 1764/30: 331). As previously noted, Andre was granted a 100 acre tract southeast of New Bordeaux which he may or may not have occupied. During the Revolutionary War Andre Guillebeau served in the New Bordeaux militia and was wounded (Gibert 1976: 49). The rest of his life was apparently spent in the New Bordeaux area as a small farmer. He is listed in the U.S. Census as the head of a family of four in 1790 and five in 1800. In neither year did he own any slaves (MCPSC 1790: 260; 1800: 30). Although still living in 1810, Andre was no longer listed as a head of household, but rather as a member of his son Peter's household of 10 free persons and two slaves (MCPSC 1810: 4). Andre's status as a dependent in later life may be the source of the local tradition that identifies the standing structure at the Guillebeau house site as the home of his son Pierre (Perryman 1930). Tradition places Andre's original house near the road that lies south of the present structure (Gibert 1976: 101).

Peter Guillebeau inherited Andre's property in 1814 and six years later lived there as head of a household composed of 11 members and six slaves (MCPSC 1820: 5). Peter is listed in the census again in 1840, at which time he owned 16 slaves, the maximum number he ever maintained. For the first time, individual vocations are noted and all six Guillebeau family members are listed as farmers (MCPSC 1840).

The agricultural manuscript census of 1850 provides the first detailed look at activity on the Guillebeau farm. Peter Guillebeau, then 81, owned the 330 acre landholding of which 130 acres were devoted to the raising of wheat, corn, oats, cotton, peas and beans, sweet potatoes, and Irish potatoes. In addition to his small stock of horses and working oxen, he maintained a small dairy herd of eight cows together with 12 other cattle, 25 sheep, and 40 swine (MCASC 1850). Five slaves owned by Peter's son, Peter L., made up the non-free work force on the Guillebeau farm (MCSPSC 1850).

On the eve of the Civil War, six years after Peter L. Guillebeau had inherited the family property, the farm consisted of 550 acres, 100 of which were under cultivation. The variety and amount of crops grown were substantially lower than in the previous decade despite the fact that the total acreage had been reduced by only a fourth.

The main cash crops were corn, cotton, peas and beans, and sweet and Irish potatoes. Dairy cattle, horses, sheep, and swine were still present, although the working oxen had been replaced by mules (MCASC 1860). At this time the Guillebeau household consisted of Peter L., two female residents (presumably his sisters Catherine and Susan), and five slaves (MCPSC 1860).

The absence of military activity in the upper Savannah region during the Civil War spared the area the destruction that occurred elsewhere in the state. The war's effect on the Guillebeau family also appears to have been minimal. Five years later Peter L. Guillebeau had increased his holdings to 755 acres, although his cultivated land had actually shrunk to only 80 acres. On this land he grew corn, wheat, and some cotton as cash crops and maintained the same animals as before, with the exception of the sheep which were absent (MCASC 1870). The Guillebeau household at that time consisted of Peter L., who remained a bachelor, and his two sisters, Susan and Catherine who also remained unmarried, as well as three black domestic servants and one black farm hand. Peter L. Guillebeau's vocation is still listed as that of farmer (MCPSC 1870).

The most recent available census data reveal that in 1880 the Guillebeau household remained the same as in the decade before, except that only one black laborer was employed (MCPSC 1880). The total extent of the landholding, however, had dropped markedly to only 205 acres, with only 40 under cultivation. Sheep had been reintroduced into the livestock maintained on the farm and poultry were raised extensively for the first time. Cash crops had been reduced in quantity and consisted of only corn and oats. Cotton is noticeably absent (MCASC 1880). Presumably the reduction in cultivated land and volume of crops produced reflects Peter's advancing age and the absence of younger family members to operate the farm; however, it is also possible that it reflects abandonment of cropland due to soil degradation resulting from the effects of erosion. Given the extensive erosion that occurred in this part of the South Carolina Piedmont in the decades following the Civil War (see Trimble 1974: 73), soil degradation could well have been a significant factor in the decrease in farming activity at the Guillebeau house site.

The nature of post-Guillebeau family occupations of the site is not well documented. Guilford W. Cade, the next owner of the property, was a merchant in Bordeaux (ACRPJW/Box 283/Pack 6592) who did not live on the site, although it was part of the property which he referred to later as "my home tract" (ACRCCC/12: 117). Local tradition indicates that the house was rented out as a tenant house following Peter L. Guillebeau's death.

During Jane K. Cade's ownership this structure was used as a tenant house. This period provides the first graphic views of the actual Guillebeau house structure taken in the early 1930's (Figs. 10 and 11). It appears as a large story-and-a-half building. In



FIGURE 10. The Guillebeau house in the 1930's. Viewed from the north-west.



FIGURE 11. The Guillebeau house in the 1930's viewed from the west northwest with frame outbuilding visible in the background.

Figure 10 an outbuilding is visible to the side of the house. This and several other structures are visible in a vertical aerial view of the site taken in 1939 (Fig. 12).

The buildings in the photograph are arranged in a rectangle on the north side of the house, forming an enclosed yard. This layout is characteristic of that found on farms after the mid-eighteenth century, by which time organizational changes in farming aimed at greater output had resulted in the compact arrangement of the various components of the farmyard. A square or rectangular form facilitated the storage of fodder, the housing of animals, and the collection of manure (Nigel 1970: 76-77). The farmyard was situated to the rear of the house and kitchen. Ideally it faced south to catch the sun and was protected on its north side by its most substantial structure, the barn (Downing 1850: 223).

The placement of the farmyard on what is today the front side of the Guillebeau house appears peculiar unless the building originally faced in the opposite direction. This would also have been the orientation of the house if it faced the road lying south of it which also borders the Guillebeau cemetery. This appears to be a portion of the early road connecting Willington and the northern branch of the main road paralleling the Savannah River, a road likely to have existed when the Guillebeau house site was first occupied by Europeans. Its position relative to this road, the location of the farmyard, and the house and yard's southern exposure suggest that the house originally faced southward and that sometime later, presumably during one of its reconstruction stages, its orientation was changed to its present northerly direction.

The aerial photo also reveals that most of the land west and south of the house was wooded. Several small field clearings are present, however, indicating some recent cultivation. Agricultural fields lie east of the house and exhibit extensive terracing, a good indicator that at least by that time soil erosion had become a serious threat. None of the areas adjacent to the house appear to have been under cultivation in 1939. These areas exhibit small trees characteristic of secondary succession in old fields, presumably abandoned after being worn out or extensively eroded. During the last 40 years the land around the Guillebeau house has been permitted to grow up in pine woods, leaving only the house and its immediate yard area open.

In summary, the available documentary evidence regarding the Guillebeau house site indicates that it was the location of the Guillebeau family farm throughout the nineteenth century and probably earlier. After this time it was occupied by a series of tenants. The cultivated area associated with the house has declined since 1840, and in recent years, no agricultural activity has taken place on the site. Evidence of terracing and abandoned fields suggests that the process of agricultural abandonment was at least in part a result of erosion.

Documents reveal that mixed farming activity took place at the Guillebeau house site during the nineteenth century. The cultivation of several cash crops in addition to livestock implies a diversified subsistence pattern that contrasts with the extensive cultivation of cotton in the Piedmont during the post-Civil War period.

The absence of documentary evidence pertaining to the appearance of past settlements at the site prior to the 1930's provides little help in ascertaining the spatial extent and form of its early occupations. Such information must be based on an examination of the physical remains, both architectural and archeological, present on the site itself. Perhaps the most obvious piece of material evidence at the Guillebeau house site is the house. An analysis of the Guillebeau house will comprise the next part of the discussion.



FIGURE 12. Vertical aerial view of the Guillebeau house site in 1939.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE SITE

Introduction

The Guillebeau house site is dominated by a log and frame tenant house. In order to determine whether or not this structure represents a Huguenot house, dating from the period of the early Guillebeau settlement in this area, it will be necessary to examine the physical attributes of the house with regard to those that might be anticipated in an eighteenth century Huguenot frontier dwelling built in this area. Unfortunately there are no other known Huguenot structures remaining in the Piedmont with which to compare the Guillebeau house. Therefore, it will be necessary to base an examination of this structure on comparative data from structures elsewhere that are likely to have been similar to it.*

As a frontier structure, the houses built by the Huguenot settlers might be expected to reflect the architectural tradition of the society from which the colonists originated. These structures are likely to represent "folk" house types in that they were built without benefit of architects by people following traditional plans rather than formal schooling (Newton 1971: 2). Such structures would also exhibit adaptive modifications made necessary by conditions encountered in the physical and cultural environment of the area of colonization.

With regard to the evolution of folk housing Newton and Pulliam-DiNapoli (1978: 363-366) have recently proposed that the house, as a finished artifact, reflects the varying experience of its builders. Because an artifact on the scale of a house would rarely have been the product of a single individual's work, its construction involves more than the interaction of one person's set of beliefs regarding an ideal house and his observations as to the limitations imposed on these beliefs by his environment. Its outcome, therefore, is directly affected by the agreement of these two factors among the participant builders. The house, as the product of their work, is likely to combine the greatest variety of diverse elements when the backgrounds of its builders are most diverse. Conversely, the greater the number of shared beliefs among the builders, the narrower the range of diversity will be.

The Guillebeau house is likely to have been built in the eighteenth century either by Andre Guillebeau or by his son Peter. Because the structure was built some distance from the New Bordeaux settlement and on land not originally allotted to Andre, it was probably not one

*This discussion will cover only those aspects of architecture that pertain directly to the identification of the Guillebeau house as a colonial French structure. It is not intended as a definitive study of this building. Further, more detailed information pertaining to the house may be found in John M. Bryan's (1978) architectural report and Stanley South's appendix to this report.

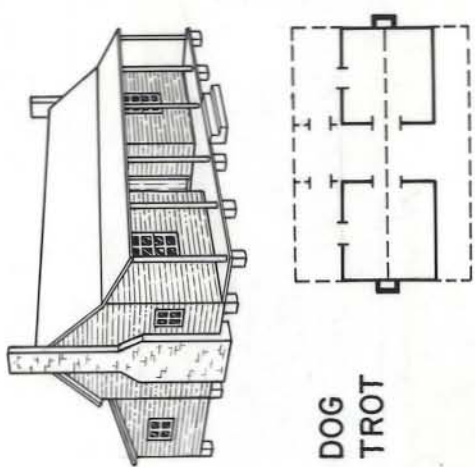
of the structures erected during the initial occupation in 1764. Its location on land in close proximity to a previously allotted tract also suggests that it was not built in the midst of a French community, but rather in an area inhabited at least in part by earlier Scots-Irish settlers. The construction of a house in what is likely to have been a relatively culturally heterogeneous area implies that in addition to the Guillebeaus and their fellow Huguenot colonists, persons of non-French background may also have been involved in the work. Such a structure would be expected to exhibit a diversity of architectural elements reflecting the separate backgrounds of its builders. On the other hand, if the structure represents a building not associated with the Guillebeau occupation of the site, then it is likely to conform to one of the house types found in British colonial settlements in North America and exhibit no French architectural influence.

In order to substantiate the French colonial affiliation of the Guillebeau house, it will be necessary to examine its architectural characteristics in light of those normally associated with French and British structures in North America. This discussion will be divided into two parts: first the overall form and layout of the house, and second the materials and techniques used in its construction.

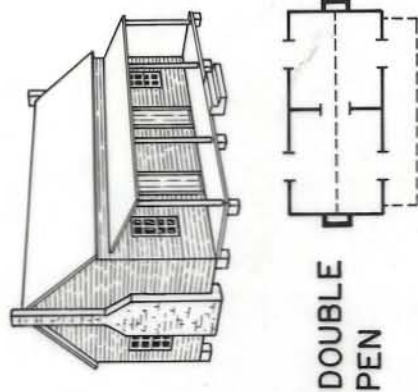
Form

Two traditions of log building construction were present in the eighteenth century colonial America South. The most prevalent of these was British. Although construction of log buildings was not introduced into North America by English colonists, it was adopted by Scots-Irish immigrants from the Germans and Swiss who had settled in Pennsylvania. These British colonists brought the tradition into the South along the Piedmont frontier. Log construction became widespread in all areas of the South except those coastal areas previously settled (Zelinsky 1953: 185-186; Kniffen and Glassie 1966: 58).

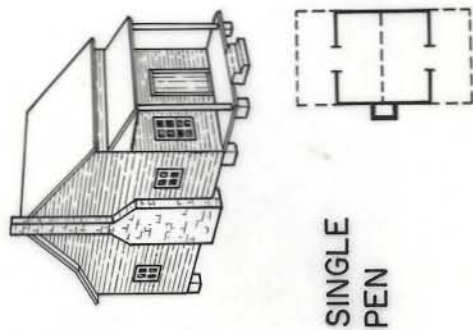
British log architecture in the Piedmont South is characterized by rectangular pen structures with gable ends facing sideways and the roof ridge parallel to the front. Such structures were usually single story in height and were raised above the ground on log or stone piers. Enlargement of such structures was almost always horizontal, usually by the addition of another log frame or pen (Zelinsky 1953: 175). Common types of British log or frame houses are: the single pen containing a single room with a chimney at one end; the double pen, composed of two single pen structures joined at the gable end with chimneys at opposite ends; the saddlebag, a double pen with a single chimney in the common wall; the dogtrot, a double pen with a raised central hall separating the pens; and the Carolina I house, a two story structure one room deep with a central hall (Fig. 13). All of these types may contain attached ells added to increase their size (Newton 1971: 6-11).



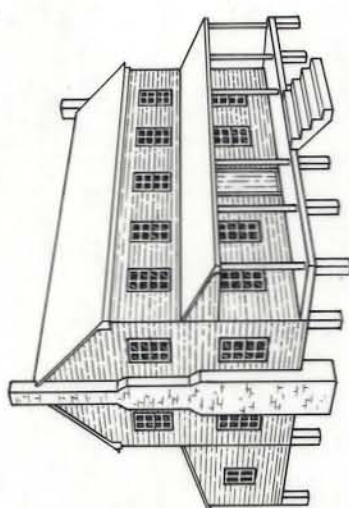
DOG
TROT



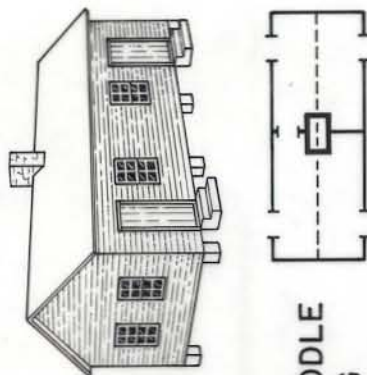
DOUBLE
PEN



SINGLE
PEN



CAROLINA "I"
HOUSE



SADDLE
BAG

FIGURE 13. British colonial North American house types.

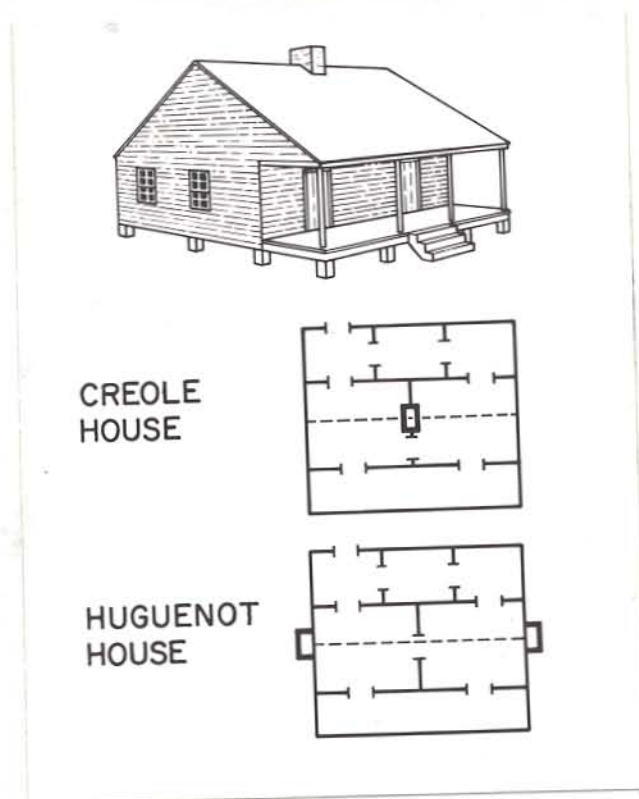


FIGURE 14. French colonial North American house types.

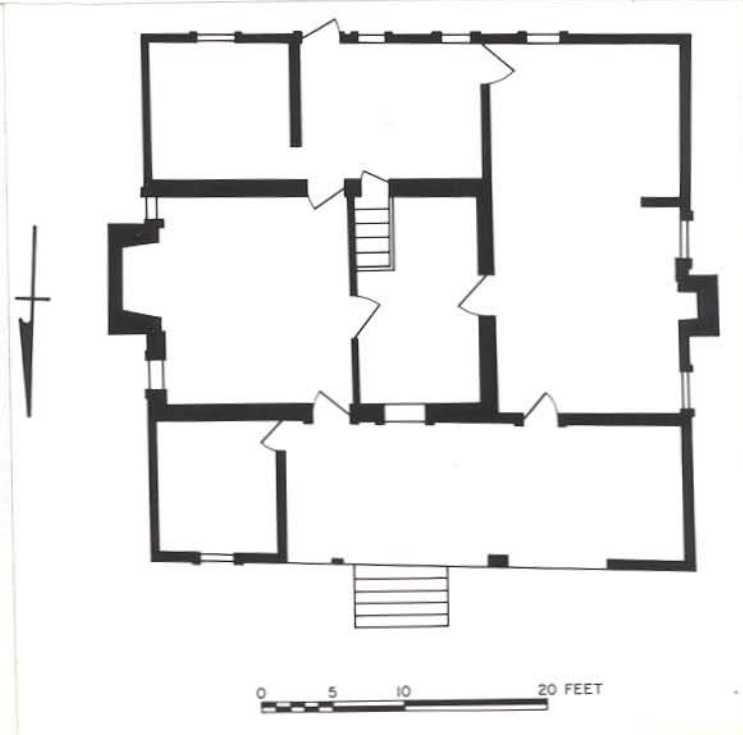


FIGURE 15. First floor plan of the Guillebeau house.

French architecture is less common in North America, yet French colonial house types have been described in Louisiana and to a lesser extent, in Canada and in the British colonies of the eastern seaboard. Waterman (1950: 32, 201) has noted that houses constructed by Huguenot immigrants in New Jersey, Maryland, and North and South Carolina began as two room structures with gables at each side. These were expanded by the addition of a rear room and then a full width extension to produce a deep rectangular shape. This extension usually consisted of a square stairwell with a square room on either side. This description agrees remarkably well with the plan of Creole houses in Louisiana which often undergo a similar evolution in form. The Creole houses are also characterized by a continuous pitch roof extending over the front and rear porches and an outside door opening into each of the two front rooms (Newton 1971: 13). These two types differ, however, in that the chimneys on Creole houses were placed in the center, while those on the Huguenot structures were located at the rear or gable ends (Fig. 14). Both types seem to have been derived from structures in France and the French West Indies and, like the British house types, appear to have been adapted to conditions in the New World environment (Kniffen and Glassie 1966: 49; Newton 1971: 13; Waterman 1950: 31).

The Guillebeau house is a composite structure (Fig. 15). Its original part is a two-story log building with gable ends, 26 feet wide by 17 feet deep, to which several frame sections have been added to produce a final structure 38.4 feet by 37.8 feet deep (Bryan 1978: 10). The original cabin is a two room structure with an exterior chimney in the east wall. It appears to have contained full length porches on its northern and southern sides. Frame additions have placed another two rooms on the west side of the log structure, and the south porch has been enclosed to form two more rooms along the south side of this building. A stairway leads to the second floor from the center rear room (Fig. 15). The roof slope of both porches is continuous with that of the house. The eastern end of the north porch has been enclosed to form a small room accessible from the outside. Two doors are located in the front of the house and one leads outward from the center rear room (Figs. 16 and 17).

In overall form the Guillebeau house is similar to other French structures in North America. It shares the general plan common to both Creole and Huguenot houses, and its continuously sloping roof and front door arrangement parallel those found in the French colonial structures. The placement of the chimney at the gable end follows Huguenot practice in the British colonies and may represent an influence of British architecture. On the basis of form the Guillebeau house appears to be a typical example of French colonial North American architecture.

Construction Details

Just as overall form is related to the cultural affiliation of the builders, the use of certain techniques of construction may also reflect different building traditions. For this reason, it is likely that certain construction details found in the Guillebeau house might



FIGURE 16. North side of the Guillebeau house in 1978.



FIGURE 17. South side of the Guillebeau house in 1978.

provide evidence relating to its origin. Unfortunately comparative data regarding French colonial architecture in the South are scanty because of the relative absence of these structures. British architecture, on the other hand, is well documented and details of construction are much better known. The proximity of the New Bordeaux colonists to British settlers on the upper Savannah probably influenced their choice of architectural techniques and it is likely that the houses built by the Huguenots incorporated many details of British colonial construction.

With regard to its frame, the Guillebeau house may be described as a structure composed of square logs laid in alternating tiers and joined at the corners by full dovetail notching (Fig. 18). The structure rests atop stone and log piers. All of these attributes are typical of British log construction in the South, although the full dovetail notching is less common than the ubiquitous saddle notching (Zelinsky 1953: 174).

French log construction in the South has not been described because of the virtual absence of French colonial architecture in the area. Huguenot structures in South Carolina and elsewhere in the British colonies were of frame construction or were built of brick or stone (Waterman 1950: 32, 201). Even in frontier settlements like Purysburg on the lower Savannah River, most colonists, including the sizable Huguenot group, adopted frame construction despite the presence of a lengthy tradition of log architecture among the Swiss immigrants (Zelinsky 1953: 186). Horizontal log construction without corner-notching is common in the architecture of French Canada (Kniffen and Glassie 1966: 50; Peattie 1918: 117; Noble 1973: 74); however, it was not employed in Louisiana where techniques of half-timbering and vertical log construction prevailed (Newton 1971: 13; Kniffen and Glassie 1966: 47). It is likely that horizontal log construction with corner-notching employed at the Guillebeau house reflects British rather than French influence.

The roof structure of the Guillebeau house exhibits a method of construction that is French in origin. The roof is supported by purlins which are anchored in and protrude through the gable walls (Fig. 19). The rafters are laid directly on the purlins and are fastened to a ridge-pole. This type of roof is found extensively in French rural architecture and has been employed primarily in wooden structures (Doyon and Hubrecht 1964: 52). It contrasts markedly with the roof supported by rafters alone which was the technique employed in British architecture, particularly in the South (Zelinsky 1953: 180). The purlin roof is notably absent in brick and frame Huguenot structures in coastal South Carolina and elsewhere in the British North American colonies (Waterman 1950: 32, 201), and does not appear to be common in French log architecture in Canada (Newcomb 1950: 21; Kniffen and Glassie 1966). The use of the purlin roof at the Guillebeau house, then, represents the direct incorporation of a French construction technique on the American frontier.



FIGURE 18. Full dovetail notched corner timbering at the Guillebeau house.



FIGURE 19. East side of the Guillebeau house in 1978. The purlins in the roof of the original log structure are visible as is the pyramidal chimney.

One of the most striking features of the Guillebeau house is the large pyramidal brick chimney situated at the east gable end (Fig. 19). This chimney, 7.5 by 3.0 feet at its base, is composed of low-fired bricks set in clay mortar. The bricks are laid in common bond, with belt courses at each of the two shoulders and "shedder" bricks protecting the diagonal faces of the shoulders (Bryan 1978: 12-15).

Foreman (1948: 102) has remarked that the pyramidal chimney is an important element of the medieval tradition that persisted in English colonial American architecture as late as the nineteenth century. A chimney of this type occurs on the Adam Thoroughgood house in Princess Anne County, Virginia, built about 1640, and on numerous other seventeenth and eighteenth century structures in Virginia and Maryland (Foreman 1948: 42, 44, 89, 93, 126), as well as in New England (Isham and Brown 1900: 193) and the South (Waterman 1950: 29, 40). This type of chimney is absent in French colonial architecture. Instead, French structures usually contained internal chimneys made of brick, stone, or mud and sticks (Newton 1971: 13; Glassie 1968: 118; Peattie 1918: 117). However, French houses built in the British colonies did employ the pyramidal chimney and one is present on the frame house of the Huguenot colonist Pierre de St. Julien built in 1720 in Berkeley County, South Carolina (Waterman 1950: 33). While primarily a British architectural attribute, the pyramidal chimney appears to have been adopted by French settlers in South Carolina and its use at the Guillebeau house is entirely appropriate.

In summary, the Guillebeau house is a structure whose overall form corresponds to that of the French Creole type of the lower Mississippi area. Both the original log structure and the manner and layout of its frame extensions mirror those of structures built in French colonial Louisiana, except for the placement of the chimney. English influence may also be seen in the framework of the log structure and the form of the chimney. The only distinctly French architectural element apart from the overall form is the purlin roof. The mixture of English and French architectural details to produce a structure basically French in appearance conforms to our expectations for a Huguenot house on the upper Savannah frontier. Situated close to earlier British settlements, the French builders appear to have incorporated those features of the established English colonial architectural tradition that met their needs while retaining a basic French form.

ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE SITE

Introduction

Documentary evidence has revealed that the Guillebeau house site is situated on land that belonged to the Huguenot colonist Andre Guillebeau as early as 1806. Architectural data indicate that the standing structure probably dates from the second half of the eighteenth century (South, appendix), and though basically a house of French design, incorporates many English architectural elements. Based on these data it is possible to conclude that this house is an early dwelling constructed and inhabited by the Guillebeau family not long after their arrival in Hillsborough Township in 1764.

As an early Huguenot structure on the upper Savannah frontier, the Guillebeau house and the site it occupies represent one of the earliest known French colonial domestic settlements in the interior of South Carolina. It is also the only one so far to have been explored archeologically. For this reason it was thought that the archeological work would produce significant information regarding the form, extent, and layout of such settlements, as well as indicate relationships in the patterning of activities within them. The archeological work conducted in 1978 was intended as an initial examination of the Guillebeau house site, designed to establish its form and spatial boundaries as well as its temporal position. It was hoped that information obtained archeologically would also aid in deriving statements concerning descriptive and functional aspects of the various historic occupations at the site.

Methodological Framework

Because the archeological investigations at the Guillebeau house site were intended as an initial exploration of the site and its contents, they constituted a discovery stage of research. The results of this phase of work should allow not only the investigation of the problems at hand but should also permit the compiling of data upon which to formulate problems for future research at this site. In the discovery phase of investigation it is possible to recognize only broad patterning in the archeological record. Consequently the questions to be asked at this point must deal with phenomena that relate to general behavioral variables and will not seek to elicit information concerning specific aspects of the past settlement.

The discovery phase of archeology at the Guillebeau house site required the use of an exploration technique designed to gather a representative sample of the archeological materials distributed over the area to be surveyed. In order to achieve a maximum dispersal of the sample units within this area, a stratified systematic unaligned

sampling technique was chosen (Haggett 1966: 196-198). Redman and Watson (1970: 281-282) have suggested that this technique is the best for revealing overall artifact patterning because it prevents the clustering of sample units and assures that no parts of the survey area are left unsampled. It is capable of discovering patterning in the archeological record occurring both at regular and irregular intervals. It accomplished this by dividing the area to be sampled into a series of square units (strata) based upon the coordinates of the site grid and then sampling a smaller unit within each stratum. The positions of the smaller units are determined by the intersection of coordinates selected along both axes of the grid from a random numbers table. The relative sizes of the units involved determine the percentage of the site area sampled. Naturally the greater the size of the sample the more reliable will be the results; however, the difficulty of enlarging the sample increases in direct proportion to the size of the site.

The Guillebeau house site is composed of two areas that were separately explored (Fig. 20). The first, Area A, measures approximately 140 by 130 feet and encompasses the entire cleared area surrounding the Guillebeau house. The second, Area B, is a 100 by 40 foot area adjacent to the road that runs by the Guillebeau family cemetery to the south of the house. Area B is the traditional site of an early Guillebeau occupation (see Gibert 1976: 101). An area of 22,200 square feet was explored at the Guillebeau house site.

The discovery phase of archeological investigations was designed to determine the form and spatial limits of the site as a whole, to obtain a representative sample of its content in order to arrive at dates for its occupation, and to roughly ascertain the relative distribution of behaviorally significant classes of material remains within the site. Because these goals were concerned with identifying general areas of interest rather than specific activities, only a small sample of the entire contents of the site was collected. The sampling design used here was designed to obtain a 1% sample of the archeological remains by excavating 52 shovel test pits measuring 2 x 2 feet. Each of the pits was situated within a larger 20 x 20 foot square.

In order to maintain horizontal control for the excavations, a grid system composed of 20 x 20 foot squares was superimposed on Area A. Individual sample points within these squares were assigned consecutive numbers as shown in Figure 21. To take advantage of the axis upon which the Guillebeau house was laid out, the grid was offset 3.5° west of north. Vertical control was maintained with a transit, measuring all elevations above mean sea level from permanent datum stations.

Because of the limitations imposed by heavy vegetation in Area B, the sample units here were laid out roughly parallel to the slope which bordered the northern edge of this area. The excavated units were situated at 20 foot intervals along two rows to comprise a systematic sample (Fig. 22).

The contents of the excavated units were screened by hand utilizing a sifter with a 1/4 inch hardware cloth mesh. All units were dug by natural stratigraphy. The small size of the sample units precluded the exploration of extensive features; however, those exposed in the

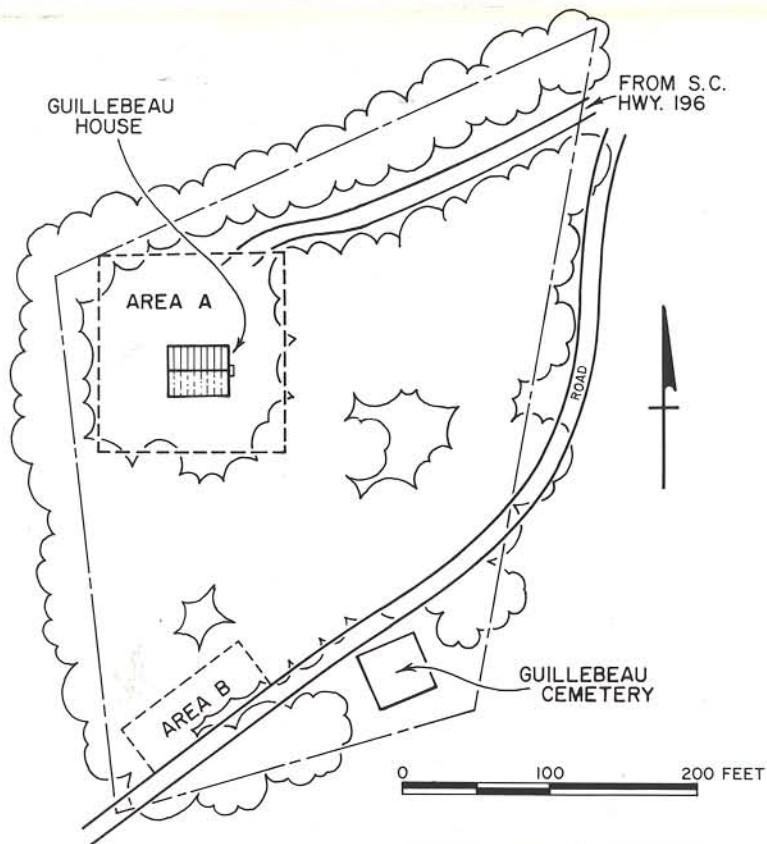


FIGURE 20. Map of the Guillebeau house site in 1978.

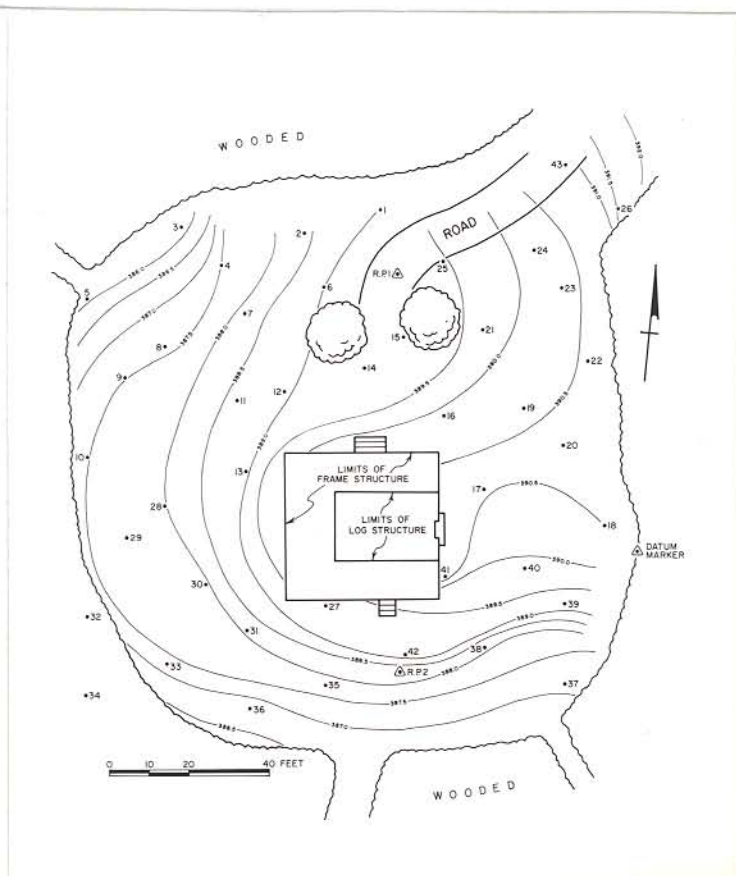
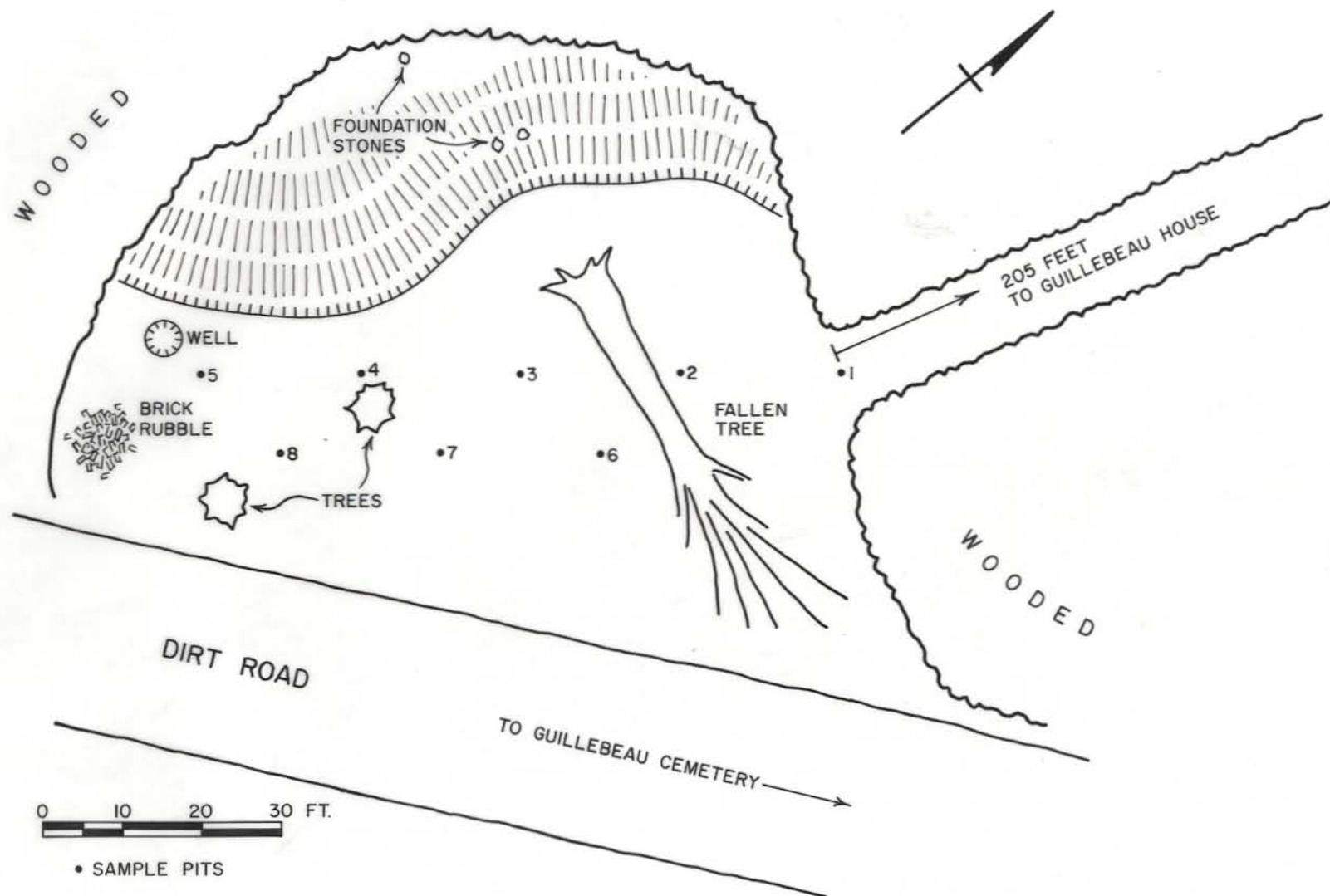


FIGURE 21. Plan of excavations in Area A of the Guillebeau house site.

FIGURE 22. Plan of excavations in Area B of the Guillebeau house site.



excavations were recorded and sealed so as to protect them until further, more intensive work, if desired, could properly explore them.

The Condition of the Archeological Remains

The Guillebeau house site is located in a region that is extremely prone to erosion, a process that can drastically affect the condition of archeological remains deposited on the surface. Before examining the material evidence obtained in the archeological investigations, it is necessary to determine first the extent to which erosion and other natural forces are likely to have altered the contexts in which such materials were deposited.

It will be recalled that the Guillebeau house is situated on Cataula sandy loam, a soil that is extremely subject to washing and gullyng. If these processes of erosion have occurred here extensively in the past, then it is possible that archeological remains deposited on the site have been greatly disturbed or removed entirely. An examination of the surface of the site as well as its subsurface contents should permit a determination about the extent to which evidence of past occupations has been affected by natural forces.

Perhaps the most obvious evidence of erosion is visible at the Guillebeau house itself. Figures 23 and 24 clearly show that the foundation stones upon which the log structure rests lie on a pedestal of earth nearly a foot above the present ground surface. At the southeast corner of the house the surface is underlain by a 1.6 foot layer of loose clay fill containing modern debris. Its presence suggests that erosion here was much greater and necessitated filling to prevent the undermining of the structure. The pedestal of earth extends under the entire log structure and several feet to the south of it. The vertical profile of the pedestal reveals a narrow surface layer of yellowish-red sandy clay approximately 0.2 foot in depth underlain by a red sandy clay extending below the present surface.

An examination of the surface of the pedestal on which the log house stands reveals that the surface of the former is lower at its western end and that wooden shims have been used here to level the foundations of the structure. Beneath the frame additions of the house the effects of erosion are much more visible. Not only is the level of the present surface well below that on which the house foundations rest, but the supports for the frame additions indicate an on-going process of levelling occasioned by the settling of the structure on the unstable eroding surface.

The archeological investigations in Area A indicated that over most of the site the red sandy clay subsoil was exposed at the surface just below the modern humus. The same situation was present in Area B. Evidence of severe gullyng was apparent on the slope separating Areas A and B as well as on those slopes to the west of the site. A stratigraphic test pit excavated at the lowest point between Areas A and B revealed that the red clay subsoil was exposed at the surface here also.



FIGURE 23. Eroded surface at the northeast corner of the Guillebeau house. The foundation stone upon which the original log house rests is visible to the right of the scale. The scale measures one foot.



FIGURE 24. Eroded surface at the southeast corner of the Guillebeau house. One of the sills of the log structure may be seen resting on the foundation stone. The surface upon which the one foot scale rests has been elevated by the addition of modern fill.

Evidence of the severity of soil erosion in the vicinity of the Guillebeau house site may be seen in the 1939 aerial photo of this area (Fig. 12). It clearly shows extensive terracing in the fields east, south, and west of the site and suggests a generally westward runoff in the direction of Mill Creek.

Dating the Past Occupations at the Guillebeau House Site

The archeological investigations at the Guillebeau house site recovered materials that reflect an almost entirely modern occupation. No artifacts that date from the eighteenth century were found apart from those in the house itself (see South, appendix). Of the total 1099 datable artifacts recovered from Area A, 838, or 76%, are almost definitely twentieth century in origin: ~~open top tin cans, radio and~~ automobile parts, glass marbles, soda bottle glass, aluminum pull tops, wire nails, linolium, phonograph record fragments, bottle caps, asphalt shingling material, and various plastic items. Of the remaining artifacts, 159, or 15% of the total, could be either nineteenth or twentieth century in origin. One hundred and two items, or 9% of the total, are likely to have been deposited in the nineteenth century. Those materials common to either century include ironstone-whiteware ceramics, manganese glass, mason jar lid liners, milk glass, cartridge and shotshell cases, and metal clothing fasteners. The nineteenth century group contains alkaline glazed stoneware and shell-edged ironstone-whiteware ceramics, cut nails, and dark green wine bottle glass. All of these artifacts were found in mixed context and would appear to represent an accumulation of surface discard.

An examination of the function of the artifacts recovered reveals that, ~~of the nineteenth century material, 55% represent construction~~ materials, almost entirely nails. These very likely were associated with structures at the site, such as the Guillebeau house and the outbuildings shown in the aerial photo. As such, these artifacts represent the abandonment refuse (see Schiffer 1972: 160) of an occupation that survived the nineteenth century and did not become part of the archeological record until later. This leaves only 15 artifacts, or 1% of the total, to reflect the discard that is likely to have occurred prior to the twentieth century.

In Area B the occurrence of modern material was even greater, accounting for 94% of the 200 datable artifacts recovered. A total of four artifacts, or 2%, date from either the nineteenth or twentieth centuries and only seven items, just 4% of the total, are definitely nineteenth century in origin. Although there is structural evidence for an occupation in this location, the material associated with it is nearly all recent. Much of it is likely to be the result of modern discard along the side of the adjacent road.

The near absence of early artifacts at the Guillebeau house site is probably a result of extensive erosion that has removed nearly all of the original surface from the area. This erosion apparently continued well into the twentieth century, obliterating almost all trace of

materials deposited on the site in the past. What remained was mixed with new refuse accumulating there. Only when the land passed out of agricultural use and was stabilized by the establishment of permanent surface vegetation did refuse begin to accumulate. To this deposit were added debris from older structures that were demolished during this time as well as refuse generated by periodic repairs on the house.

The Guillebeau house itself contains artifacts that identify it as a colonial period structure that was enlarged during the nineteenth century. The log structure contains several types of artifacts that are of eighteenth century origin and their presence as integral parts of the house points to its construction during that time. These artifacts include wrought iron nails, both rose and T-headed, throughout the structure; wrought iron latches and "HL" hinges on the doors; and a plate stock lock on the cellar door (see Noel Hume 1970: 236, 245, 252). The additions to the house contain cut iron nails which did not come into use until after 1800. The use of cut nails to hold the weatherboarding in place over the enlarged structure indicates that the expanded Guillebeau house was completed in the nineteenth century (Appendix B).

Because of the destructive effect of extensive erosion during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, material evidence of an occupation before 1900 is largely absent apart from the structural remains on the site. The remainder of the archeological evidence consists of refuse associated with the site's modern residential occupation. Consequently, an analysis of the archeological remains at the Guillebeau house site must be concerned with the interpretation of this recent settlement.

The Form and Extent of the Twentieth Century Occupation in Area A

The archeology at the Guillebeau house site was intended to identify large-scale patterning in the archeological record left behind by its past residents. Erosion appears to have removed nearly all non-structural evidence of a pre-twentieth century occupation and, therefore, the archeological remains represent chiefly the activities carried out since that time. On the basis of these data it should be possible to explore basic questions of settlement form and size, although it must be recognized that the site and the archeological patterning within it reflect behavior related primarily to the recent past.

At present only one structure stands on the Guillebeau house site, yet 40 years ago, near the end of the agricultural period, several outbuildings lay in close proximity to the house. Although they may not have been in use in recent times, all remained standing until demolished during the modern period. For this reason the outbuildings constitute a part of the post-agricultural occupation of the Guillebeau house site, both as loci of recent activity and as abandoned structural relics of an earlier time, that outlasted the archeological deposits originally associated with them. This phenomenon may be summarized in

the following archeological hypothesis. Archeological evidence will be able to reveal the locations of the Guillebeau house and other structures within the sampled area and can identify which structures were in use during the post-agricultural period of settlement there. If this hypothesis is valid, two test implications must be satisfied. First, the distribution of structural artifacts (i.e. those associated with a building and usually not reused upon its abandonment, such as nails, broken window glass, and brick rubble) should reveal clusters at locations approximating those of structures indicated on the 1939 aerial photo of the site. It is likely that many of these artifacts, like those in the Guillebeau house, will pre-date the twentieth century because they represent structures that remained intact from an earlier period.

A small sample such as that conducted at the Guillebeau house site is not intended to provide evidence capable of permitting separate intra-site activities to be spatially defined. Rather, it is designed to allow the recognition of their collective occurrence and distribution on a site to provide a general guide for further, more intensive investigation that, in the future, might be aimed at such tasks. The archeological evidence recovered from the Guillebeau house site is capable of defining activity there as a whole.

Activities associated with the post-agricultural period at the Guillebeau house site would have been deposited near the recently-used activity areas. Consequently, discard generated by such activities is likely to have been confined to these areas. South (1978: 12) has noted a pattern of refuse discard associated with recent lower socio-economic class dwellings in the Southeastern United States that is characterized by a central concentration of refuse under the house surrounded by an oval midden of lesser intensity resulting from the sweeping of the yard (see Cothram 1973: 72). Although the Guillebeau house yard is today in grass, an early photograph (Fig. 10) suggests that it may originally have been swept. Therefore, a pattern such as that noted by South is likely to be present here. The second test implication is that the remains of domestic activities (composed of artifacts associated with household loss and discard) will be concentrated in the immediate vicinity of those structures that were utilized during the recent period.

In the above discussion a hypothesis has been set forth predicting particular conditions in the archeological record, the occurrence of which would provide evidence to support the contention that the Guillebeau house site represents the material remains of a recent settlement that existed on the site of an earlier farm. Both test implications involve the spatial distribution of certain classes of artifacts on the site, each of which reflects a separate type of past activity. In order to observe the occurrence of past activity at the site of a settlement it is helpful to display the frequencies of the archeological evidence of such activities on a map. A Synagraphic Computer Mapping Program (SYMAP) was employed in the analysis of the Guillebeau house site data because this program has the ability to graphically depict disposed quantitative variables, in this case artifact classes, by weight or count, and qualitative variables, such as the presence or absence of particular classes. It accomplishes this by taking the assigned values for the

coordinate locations of data points, here positions of the archeological test units, and interpolating a continuous surface in the regions where there are no data points, basing these interpolated values on the distances to and the values of the neighboring data points (Dougenik and Sheehan 1976/I: 1). The result is a contour map of the intensity of a particular archeological variable's occurrence over the area of the site. It is important to remember, however, that the patterns produced by the SYMAP are not pictures based on the entire contents of the site, but rather projections based on the sample gathered. Although some distortions may be present, it is emphasized that the patterns displayed on the SYMAP are true reflections of actual patterns in the archeological record.

The distribution of structures at the Guillebeau house site is reflected by the occurrence of structural artifacts by count and brick fragments by weight. The distribution of these two artifact groups reveals five concentrations (Fig. 25). The first is associated with the Guillebeau house structure. Another is located just east of it, with a third situated almost north of the house. The fourth area lies northwest of the house and the fifth is south of it. A comparison of these structural artifacts with the structures shown in the 1939 aerial photo (Fig. 12) reveals that the concentrations east, north, and west of the house correspond to the locations of three structures. The fifth concentration south of the house is enigmatic, for no structure is shown to have been located there. It is possible, however, that it represents debris from repairs on the Guillebeau house that was washed or discarded downslope from the building. It may also represent an earlier structure that no longer existed in 1939.

The patterns of activity occurrence indicated by the differential appearance of non-structural artifacts are illustrated in Figure 26. It reveals a general dispersal of material over the surface of the site with three main concentrations. The first of these is centered on the Guillebeau house structure and extends southeast, northwest, and west of it. The western concentration encompasses a modern midden still in use. Another concentration of non-structural artifacts occurs to the north of the house and the third to the south of it.

A comparison of the patterning of non-structural and structural artifacts indicates that a close spatial association exists between these two artifact classes in two locations. This implies that evidence for activities exists at the Guillebeau house as well as at the two structures lying north and west of it. The occurrence of non-structural materials south of the house in the vicinity of the structural artifact concentration there does not support the contention that an early structure existed in this location. Rather, in the absence of evidence for a modern occupation here, it is more suggestive of discard that has washed downslope from the Guillebeau house. No concentration of non-structural artifacts was associated with the structure east of the house. This implies that, unlike the other structures, it appears to have been abandoned during the recent period in which the activities that generated the non-structural debris took place.

SYMAP GUILLEBEAU HOUSE 1978
 STATISTICAL SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF SUBSURFACE SAMPLES
 SECTION 100000 000000

DATA VALUE EXTREMES AND 0.0 2133.00

ABSOLUTE VALUE RANGE APPLYING TO EACH LEVEL
 INDICATORS INCLUDED IN PRESENT LEVEL (ONLY)

MINIMUM 1.00 000.00 300.00 100.00 100.00 100.00
 MAXIMUM 1.00 000.00 300.00 100.00 100.00 100.00

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ABSOLUTE VALUE RANGE APPLYING TO EACH LEVEL

0.00 0.00 1.00 1.00 1.00 1.00

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF DATA POINT VALUES IN EACH LEVEL

LEVEL 1 2 3 4 5

SYMBOLS

FILE

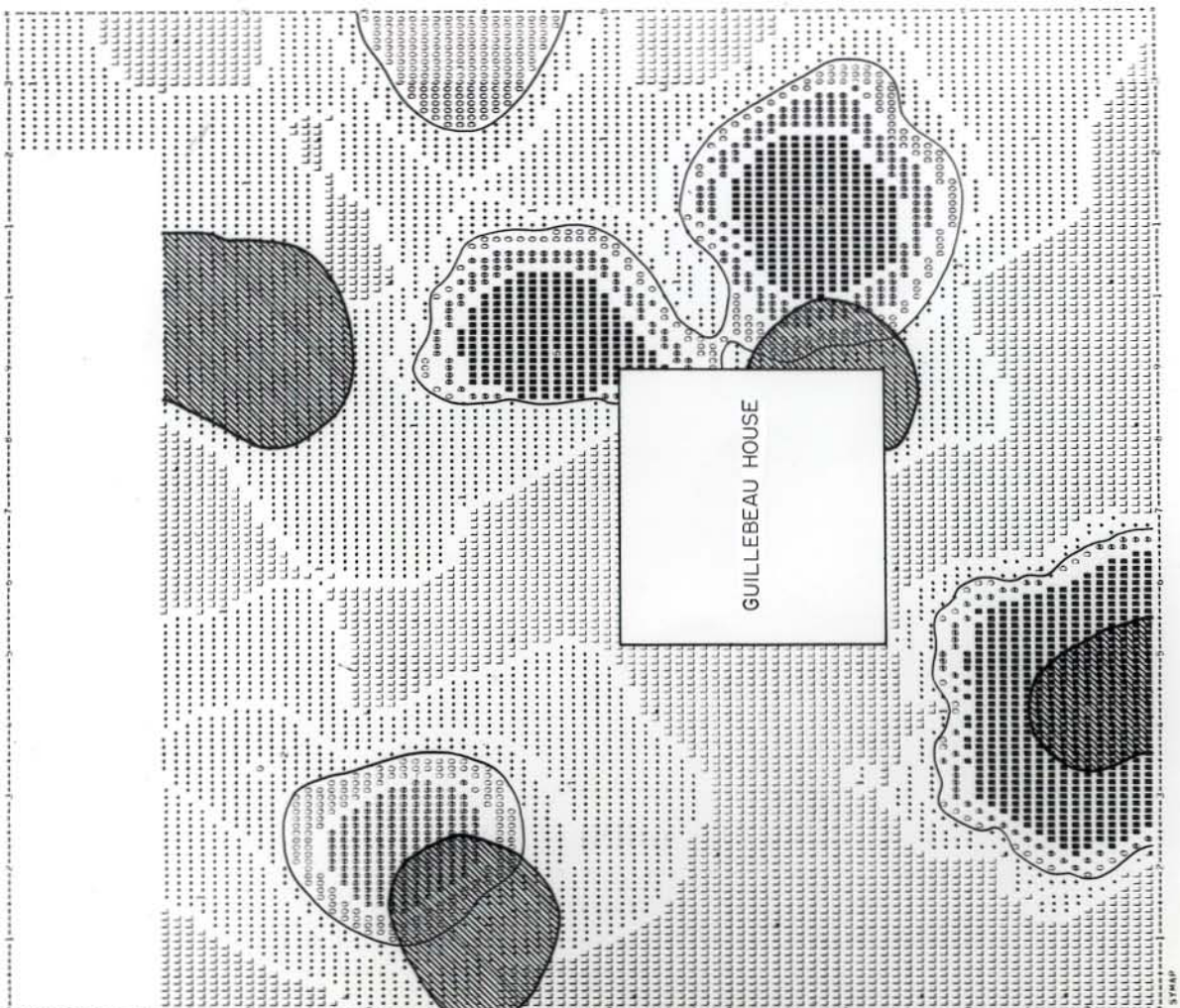


FIGURE 25. SYMAP of Area A showing the distribution of brick fragments by weight with concentrations of structural artifacts by count superimposed.

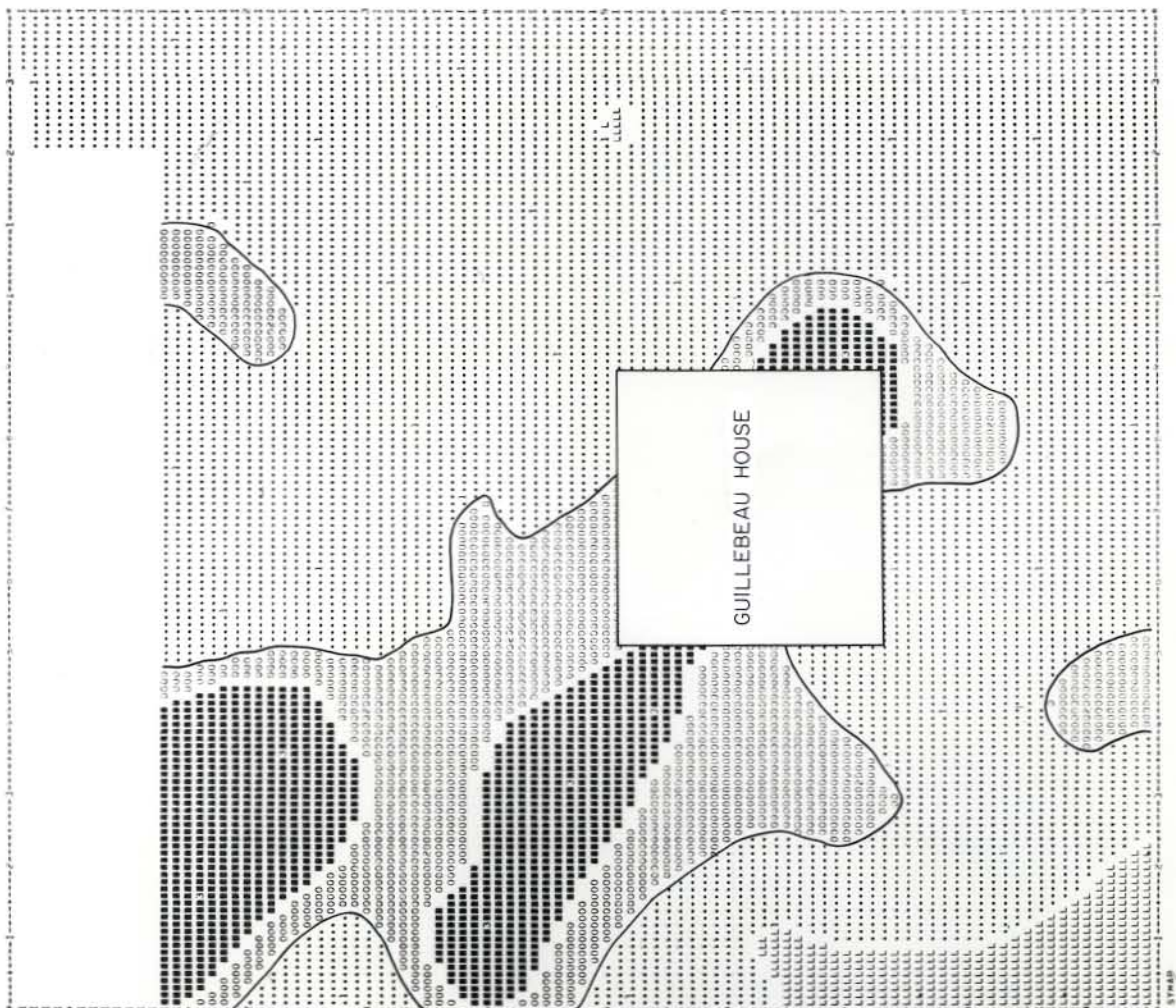


FIGURE 26. SYMAP of Area A showing the distribution of non-structural artifacts.

384CZ GUILLEBEAU HOUSE 1970
STATISTICAL SYSTEMATIC UNPAIRED SURVEY SAMPLE
NON STRUCTURAL ARTIFACTS

DAYS VALUE EXTREMES ARE 0.00 70.00

ABSOLUTE VALUE NAME APPLYING TO EACH LEVEL
(SYMBOLS INCLINED IN HIGHEST LEVEL ONLY)

MINIMUM 1.00 1.00 33.00
MAXIMUM 1.00 1.00 33.00

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ABSOLUTE VALUE NAME APPLYING TO EACH LEVEL

00.00 20.00 50.00

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF DATA POINT VALUES IN EACH LEVEL

LEVEL 1
SYMBOLS
FREQUENCY

LEVEL	SYMBOLS	FREQUENCY
1	1.00	10000000
2	1.00	10000000
3	1.00	10000000
4	1.00	10000000
5	1.00	10000000
6	1.00	10000000
7	1.00	10000000
8	1.00	10000000
9	1.00	10000000
10	1.00	10000000
11	1.00	10000000
12	1.00	10000000
13	1.00	10000000
14	1.00	10000000
15	1.00	10000000
16	1.00	10000000
17	1.00	10000000
18	1.00	10000000
19	1.00	10000000
20	1.00	10000000
21	1.00	10000000
22	1.00	10000000
23	1.00	10000000
24	1.00	10000000
25	1.00	10000000
26	1.00	10000000
27	1.00	10000000
28	1.00	10000000

In summary, the hypothesis predicting that archeological evidence would reveal the locations of documented structures and indicate which of those were used during the recent, post-farming phase of settlement at the Guillebeau house site has been supported by the archeological evidence recovered during the survey of this site. Five concentrations of structural debris, including that generated by the Guillebeau house itself, are present. Of these, four, including the house, are associated with concentrations of non-structural materials deposited as a byproduct of recent activities in the area. A deposit south of the house may represent an accumulation of refuse dumped or washed down the slope behind it.

These conclusions regarding structure location and activity distribution in Area A are, of course, general at this time. They do, however, permit us to gain some idea of the form of the settlement that existed within the accessible portion of the Guillebeau house site and the condition of the archeological remains there. The extremely disturbed condition of the site severely limits the results that may be obtained from further archeological work here.

The Settlement in Area B

There is no evidence in the 1939 aerial photo that Area B contained a twentieth century occupation. The preponderance of modern material here is likely to have accumulated as a result of dumping activity along the adjacent road. The presence of nineteenth century artifacts, however, indicates an earlier occupation here. This occupation is further indicated by the occurrence of the circular depression of a filled well, a concentration of brick rubble, and at least three large oak trees planted in a row (see Fig. 22). No colonial period artifacts were recovered, but such material has probably been removed by sheet erosion on the sloping surface of the site.

In the absence of adequate architectural or archeological evidence it is not possible to draw conclusions about either the form or nature of the past settlement in Area B. It is also impossible to identify it as the site of Andre Guillebeau's original eighteenth century house which local tradition has placed there. Because of the extremely eroded condition of this slope, it is probable that little evidence for an early historic occupation exists here. As in Area A, the archeological evidence here reflects largely the output of twentieth century activities. Unlike Area A, however, the materials do not appear to be associated with structures occupied during this period. Although Area B was undoubtedly occupied during the nineteenth century, or possibly earlier, and was very likely associated with the Guillebeau house occupation of that time, the effect of natural forces has destroyed almost all material trace of this occupation and made its size, form, extent, and function impossible to determine.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Archeological investigations at the Guillebeau house site have revealed the locations of several nineteenth century outbuildings associated with the Guillebeau house, a structure which documentary and archeological evidence has shown to date from the late eighteenth century. The archeology has also provided evidence of extensive sheet erosion that has removed much of the historic period surface from the site, and carried away the artifacts that were not contained in standing structures that persisted into a later time. Very little evidence of discard generated by early activities carried out at the site was present. Those non-architectural artifacts found represent a modern occupation of the site, presumably one which has taken place since the cessation of agricultural activities and the accompanying effects of erosion.

The settlement revealed by the archeological survey contains three structures lying to the northwest, north, and east of the Guillebeau house. These are situated in approximately the same positions as structures shown in the 1939 aerial photo of the site. Several other structures also appear on this photo, but these lie outside of the survey area. The arrangement of these buildings forms an enclosed rectangle to the north of the house, a layout typical of small farms, and suggests that this area constituted the farmyard of the Guillebeau house. The original front of the house, then, would have faced the road situated to the south of the site.

Near the edge of this road evidence of a second settlement is present. It is represented by structural remains and lies in the location that local tradition placed the original structure built by Andre Guillebeau. However, the absence of closely datable archeological material makes it impossible to identify this site as the early settlement.

The Guillebeau house itself, on the other hand, contains architectural features and artifacts that identify it as a late eighteenth century structure, built on its present location. Despite its age and constant use, the original structure has remained intact, providing an excellent example of early colonial Huguenot architecture that has combined elements of both French and British building traditions on the American frontier.

The Guillebeau house site as a whole appears to hold only a very limited potential for further archeological research. Because the original surface of the site has been destroyed by erosion, intensive excavations designed to discover evidence of early activities there would be largely unproductive. Evidence of structures at the site was uncovered within the survey area, and if land modification is to be conducted outside of this area, similar evidence will be encountered in those places where the aerial photo shows structures to have been located. For this

reason archeological sampling should accompany any site development outside the area surveyed in 1978. The locations of these structures, though impossible to correlate with particular activities on the basis of archeological data alone, might be used in the interpretation of settlement layout as the site is developed.

In order to gain a representative sample of its contents, only a small portion of the site was examined in the present survey. It was not intended to uncover small, isolated archeological features that might have escaped the destructive effects of erosion. To do so would require an excavation of large portions of the site, a task not feasible at this stage of research. Although it is unlikely that many such features exist at the Guillebeau house site, an intensive search for them should proceed the modification of any land surfaces at the site. An integral part of this examination should be the excavation of archeological units designed to explore the stratigraphy as well as to discover evidence of subsurface features.

It is also recommended that archeological sampling be conducted in those areas now covered by the additions to the Guillebeau house if such additions are removed as part of the restoration of the house. Such areas are now inaccessible to excavation and may contain some evidence of materials or features associated with the early occupation. In addition, loose dirt now in the cellar of the house should also be sifted to determine if any isolated archeological material is present there.

While the Guillebeau house site contains a structure of historical importance with regard to the study of Huguenot colonial architecture and material culture, its potential for providing additional information about the settlement associated with the house is very limited. Apart from revealing the locations of other structures, the eroded landscape of the site appears unable to provide evidence either of past activities that would identify its function or provide descriptive information about its former inhabitants and their way of life. Therefore, further archeology at the Guillebeau house site should be conducted only in those areas to be disturbed or in those now covered by portions of the present house.

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1939 Vertical aerial photograph, ASY-5-35, McCormick County,
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APPENDIX A

ARTIFACT INVENTORY

AREA A			
Sample Unit			
1	Ironstone-Whiteware		
2			
3			
4			
5	1		
6			
7			
8	1		
9			
10	1		
11			
12			
13			
14	1		
15			
16	1		
17			
18	1		
19			
20			
21			
22			
23	2		
24			
25			
	Albany Slipped Stoneware		
	Shell-edged Whiteware		
	Alkaline Glazed Stoneware		
	Dark Green Wine Bottle Glass		
	Modern Drinking Glass		
	Modern Clear Jar Glass		
	Modern Dark Blue Bottle Glass		
	Modern Bottle Glass		
	Manganese Glass		
	Milk Glass		
	Glass Marble		
	Window Glass		
	Cut Nails		
	Wire Nails		
	Roofing Nails		
	Screws		
	Staples		
	Bolts		
	Curtain Hooks		
	Hasps		
	Plate Hinges		
	Wire		
	Total		

ARTIFACT INVENTORY

AREA A																									
Sample Unit	Ironstone- Whiteware	Albany Slipped Stoneware	Shell-edged Whiteware	Alkaline Glazed Stoneware	Dark Green Wine Bottle Glass	Modern Drinking Glass	Modern Clear Jar Glass	Modern Dark Blue Bottle Glass	Modern Bottle Glass	Manganese Glass	Milk Glass	Glass Marble	Window Glass	Cut Nails	Wire Nails	Roofing Nails	Screws	Staples	Bolts	Curtain Hooks	Hasps	Plate Hinges	Wire	Total	
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	16	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	
-71-	31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	
	33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3		
	35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14		
	36	1	1	1	1	1	18	1	1	1	1	1	23	1	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	50		
	37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10		
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18		
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9		
41	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14	1	1	1	1	18	6	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	54		
42	4	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	17		
43	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	10	1	1	1	4	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	28		
Feature 1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	16	18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	37		
Totals	25 M	2 O	1 O	7 O	2 O	7 N	111 N	7 N	291 N	4 M	3 M	5 N	31 N	87 O	216 N	9 N	2 M	1 M	4 M	1 M	1 M	1 M	10 M	828	

APPENDIX A

ARTIFACT INVENTORY

AREA A																								
Sample Unit		Springs	Shoe Eyelets	Clothing Snaps	Cosmetic Tubes	Pencil Eraser Tubes	Tin Can Fragments	.22 Cartridge Cases	Shotshell Bases	Can Openers	Iron Scrollwork	Zinc Mason Jar Lids	Auto Antenna Fragments	Auto Rotors	Metal Buttons	Plastic Buttons	Suspenders Clips	Bottle Caps	Pop Top	Misc. Iron Fragments	Plastic Spoon Handle	Plastic Jar Lids	Misc. Aluminum Fragments	Total
1		1																		1				1
2			1																	3				4
3																								1
4																				3				3
5																								0
6																								0
7																								1
8																								1
9				1		1																		4
10							1																	12
11							2									3						1		6
12							1															2		11
13																1						2		7
14								2								1								4
15														1										6
16							40																	40
17			1																					1
18																								0
19							26		1	1										2				28
20																								2
21											1					1								2
22												1												1
23																								0
24																				18				18
25																				1				2

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

ARTIFACT INVENTORY

AREA A		Sample Unit			
26	1	Springs			
27	1	Shoe Eyelets			
28	1	Clothing Snaps			
29	1	Cosmetic Tubes			
30	1	Pencil Eraser Tubes			
31	1	Tin Can Fragments			
33	1	.22 Cartridge Cases			
35	1	Shotshell Bases			
36	1	Can Openers			
37	1	Iron Scrollwork			
38	1	Zinc Mason Jar Lids			
39	1	Auto Antenna Fragments			
40	1	Auto Rotors			
41	1	Metal Buttons			
42	1	Plastic Buttons			
43	1	Suspenders Clips			
Feature 1	1	Bottle Caps			
Totals	1	Pop Top			
	4	Misc. Iron Fragments			
	4	Plastic Spoon Handle			
	4	Plastic Jar Lids			
	1	Misc. Aluminum Fragments			
	3	Total			

APPENDIX A

ARTIFACT INVENTORY

AREA A	Sample Unit	Plastic Beads	Plastic Toy Parts	Misc. Plastic Fragment	Phono Record Fragments	Weather Stripping	Linoleum	Asphalt Shingle Fragment	Tar	Plaster	Charcoal	Mortar	Brick (Weight in Grams)	Und. Bone	Quartzite Flakes	Chert Flakes	Slate Flakes	Late Woodland Chert Projectile Points	Plain Sherd	Sub-total	Totals
1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
2	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	13
3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	56
4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	75
5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
6	6	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
7	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	116	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	24
8	8	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	49
9	9	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	97
10	10	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	16
11	11	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	49
12	12	1	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	11	42
13	13	-	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	39
14	14	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	6	26
15	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	20
16	16	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	400	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	54
17	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	7
18	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
19	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	5	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	38
20	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	26
21	21	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11
22	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
23	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	4
24	24	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	39
25	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	62

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

ARTIFACT INVENTORY

AREA A	Sample Unit	Plastic Beads	Plastic Toy Parts	Misc. Plastic Fragment	Phono Record Fragments	Weather Stripping	Linoleum	Asphalt Shingle Fragment	Tar	Plaster	Charcoal	Mortar	Brick (Weight in Grams)	Und. Bone	Quartzite Flakes	Chert Flakes	Slate Flakes	Late Woodland Chert Projectile Points	Plain Sherd	Sub-total	Totals
--------	-------------	---------------	-------------------	------------------------	------------------------	-------------------	----------	--------------------------	-----	---------	----------	--------	-------------------------	-----------	------------------	--------------	--------------	---------------------------------------	-------------	-----------	--------

26	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14
28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	38
29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5
30	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	36
31	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
33	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	26
35	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	3	2133	-	-	-	1	-	-	14	28
36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	59
37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	32
38	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	7
39	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	57	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	22
40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	322	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	23
41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	1	16	-	28	1	-	-	-	1	-	31	105
42	-	-	5	-	2	-	-	6	-	-	5	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	23	46
43	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	11	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	48
Feature 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	43
Totals	2	2	57	4	5	2	56	2	X	1	100	12	-	4	3	1	1	1	1	254	1311

APPENDIX A CONTINUED
ARTIFACT INVENTORY

AREA A	Sample Unit	Cut Nails	Wire Nails	Ironstone-Whiteware	Blue and White Modern Porcelain	Modern Green Glazed Earthenware	Modern Clear Jar Glass	Manganese Glass	Iron Buckle	Pennies	Misc. Iron Fragments	Misc. Plastic Fragments	Coal	Charcoal	Brick (Weight in Grams)	Flower Pot	Totals
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	1	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	7
3	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	6
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6	2	2	4	1	2	2	171	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	52	1	188
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
9	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3800	-	6
Totals	7	7	2	2	2	2	175	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	3854	1	208

APPENDIX B

ARCHITECTURAL DATA "RESCUE" AT THE GUILLEBEAU HOUSE

by Stanley South

At the request of Kenneth Lewis, I accompanied him to the Guillebeau House on September 21, 1978 as a consultant with experience recording architectural data as basic procedure in the process of historic house restoration (South 1967). As in archeology, the process of restoration of structures of historic interest requires detailed recording of data, analysis of those data, synthesis of patterns relevant to the data, and reconstruction of the historical evolution of the structure as revealed by the details and patterns dealt with in the analysis. Data recording involves making drawings, taking photographs of significant details, discussion of details revealing alterations to the structure as it was used through time, as well as the relevance of the particular patterns of the structure as seen in comparable examples.

After examining the house and reading the architectural report prepared for its interpretive development (Bryan 1978), it became apparent that the document was inadequate, in my opinion, given the standard criteria outlined above for use in examination of an historic structure. A major problem was seen in the lack of recording of detail which is necessary as a basic data gathering procedure in any architectural study. To provide some record in the form of "salvage" or "rescue" architectural study I returned to the structure with Gordon Brown, photographer for the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, who photographed important details of the evolution of the house before contractors could begin their process of "restoration," during which many such details might be destroyed forever. Photographs taken on this short trip are presented here as an appendix to Ken Lewis' report to document a few of the observations made at that time. A more comprehensive study should certainly be done before any contracting for restoration of the structure is carried out, since it is only through such a study that the evolution of the structure can be accurately determined.

A detailed critique of the existing architectural report will not be undertaken here, but two problems with that report will be mentioned. The first is that a number of observations were made relative to the house itself, then a leap was made to broad generalized statements without, in my opinion, adequate linking of the specific observations to the broader picture. For example, an evolutionary sequence for the house is shown in a series of drawings. The data on which this sequence is based is not presented, and the reader must take this apparently intuitive information on faith.

The second problem is that details such as hardware, nails, saw marks, etc., which are very revealing in terms of the evolution of a structure are dealt with superficially if at all. For example, not even the difference between a pre-1800 wrought nail and a post-1800 cut

nail was used in the study (Nöel Hume 1970: 252-254; Nelson 1963). This difference is important when an historic structure is being dissected and recorded for purposes of restoration.

The photographs accompanying this summary of a few hours observation and recording constitute merely a sample of the type of study absolutely necessary before documented statements relating to the evolution of a structure can be made. Careful analysis of clues provided in various parts of a house must be made in order to locate, for instance, the position of an original stairwell as opposed to a later stairwell and to demonstrate through documentation of those clues the evidence on which the interpretive judgement was made. If a recommendation is made to remove a portion of a structure such as a porch, for instance, that recommendation must be documented by detailed drawings and photographs of the appropriate data on which such a recommendation was made. Only through such a procedure can the evolutionary development of a structure be determined and demonstrated. All decisions as to evolution and restoration must be predicated on such data observation and recording. This point has been repeated to emphasize its importance since, as excavation is in archeology, the process of house restoration is destructive. Once the contractor is put to work with specifications much data invaluable to the understanding of the history of that structure is destroyed forever.

The captions accompanying the figures are self explanatory, but from these few observations, several areas of interest are pinpointed in the house, and suggest that further detailed study is certainly required before the evolutionary development of the house can be understood. The room designations for the two floors are the same as those used by Bryan, and copies of his floor plans where the various rooms and areas are designated are included here for reference (Fig. 1).

Questions and observations that arise as a result of this quick look at the Guillebeau House are: The corner cupboard in Room 1 on the first floor (Fig. 4) is an original eighteenth century feature of the room, not a nineteenth century one, based on the nails used to fasten it together. The door between Rooms 1 and 2 is an original eighteenth century door, as documented by the hardware shown in Figure 3. The paneling in Room 1 is eighteenth century paneling as demonstrated by the wrought nails (Fig. 2).

The stairwell to the second floor was fastened in place after the introduction of cut nails dating after 1820 (Nöel Hume 1970;; Nelson 1963). Cut nails were used to fasten the stairwell paneling in place, with wrought nails being reused to fasten the handrail into position over the cut-nail fastened paneling (Fig. 5). The question arises as to why such major work was done on the stairwell after 1820 if the stairwell was originally? Clues elsewhere in the house must be examined with this question in mind. Does this question relate to the eighteenth century door nailed in place against the ceiling joists of Area 4, second floor, at a time also postdating 1820 as indicated by the nails (Fig. 7c)? Does this combination of clues suggest that the original stairway to the second floor was in Area 6, first floor?

Room 1, second floor is in such an untouched condition since the eighteenth century that it is one of the rare prizes in eighteenth century architecture in South Carolina. Hopefully this room will not be damaged by restorationists who may feel that a painted room would look nicer. More drastic violation of the integrity of original fabric has been witnessed by this writer in a number of projects undergoing "restoration."

Room 3 is seen to have some wrought nails used in its flooring, suggesting an eighteenth century period for its use. This feature was not recorded photographically in this study and further examination of the porches must be made to record relevant data before any attempt is made to remove these as suggested in the restoration report. The evolutionary sequence shown in the restoration report (Bryan 1978) assumes that no porches were present on the original house. This assumption must be clearly documented to demonstrate its validity before action is taken to remove the porches on the basis of this assumption.

The major central part of the house has had a nineteenth century floor installed, at which time some original floor joists were then used to support the house itself! The reason for this situation must be explored. Was the house moved from another site at one time, sometime after 1820? Was it simply jacked up at that time? Do the porches (north and south) date from this time also? A necessary step that must be taken when such a house is moved is to remove the floor. Do logs beneath the main house reveal skid marks from having rolled along on round log rollers? (There is some evidence to support this, but further detailed observation should be done with this question in mind.) Why are major timbers beneath the house reused timbers from some other (or the same) structure? Again, why were original floor joists used to support the main body of the Guillebeau House? (See Fig. 8 for documentation for the nineteenth century saw marks on floor joists beneath the house.) Was the house simply raised to allow more head room beneath it and to allow the cellar to be dug? This is certainly a reasonable explanation for several clues seen when the house is examined from beneath rather than simply from above.

The cellar door is an eighteenth century door as evidenced by the wrought "HL" hinges and wooden box lock typical of the eighteenth century porch. It was fastened in place in the nineteenth century, however, and the question arises as to where this door was located originally, the same question we ask of the working "trap door" or stairwell door fastened in place, also by nineteenth century cut nails. One of these doors may be an original stairwell door at the top of the stairs and the other at the bottom. Close examination is necessary to determine if either has been cut off to make a shorter door than was originally the case. This eighteenth century door, as well as the one fastened in place on the second floor joists above Area 6, were not even mentioned in the architectural study. The question of their original position is an important one to the understanding of the eighteenth century appearance of the house.

This superficial study of the Guillebeau House conducted in a few hours by an archeologist is merely a sample of the type of study that must be done by architectural historians in order to gather data for the proper restoration of the structure according to modern standards. Such a study should be done by an historical architect aware of the needs such as have been pointed out here, that must be met before a restoration is undertaken.

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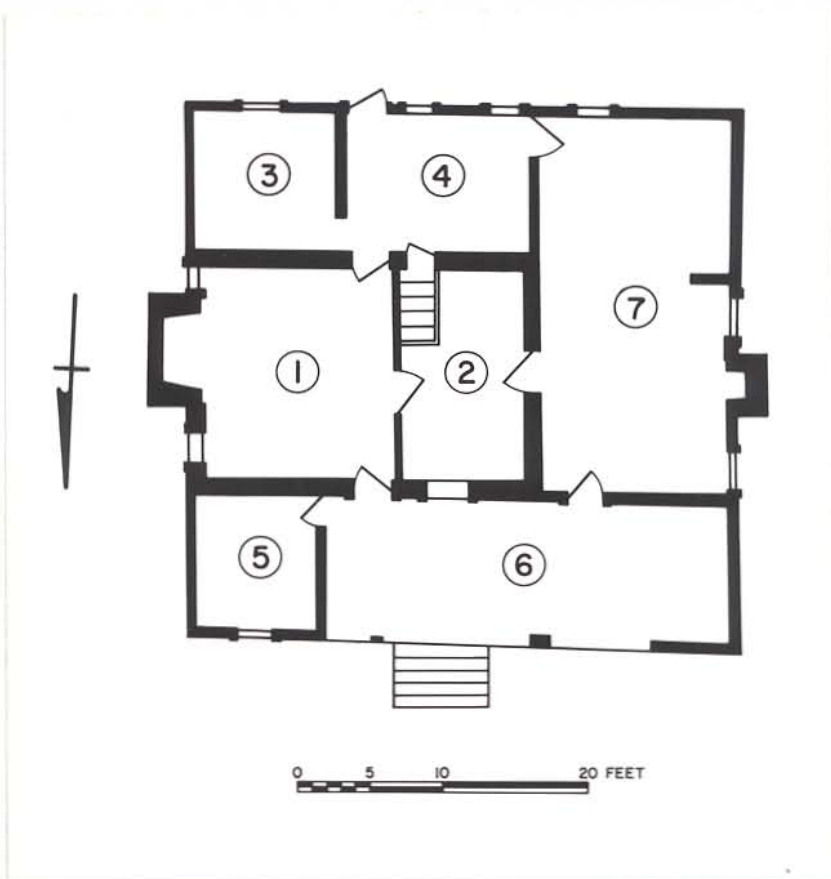
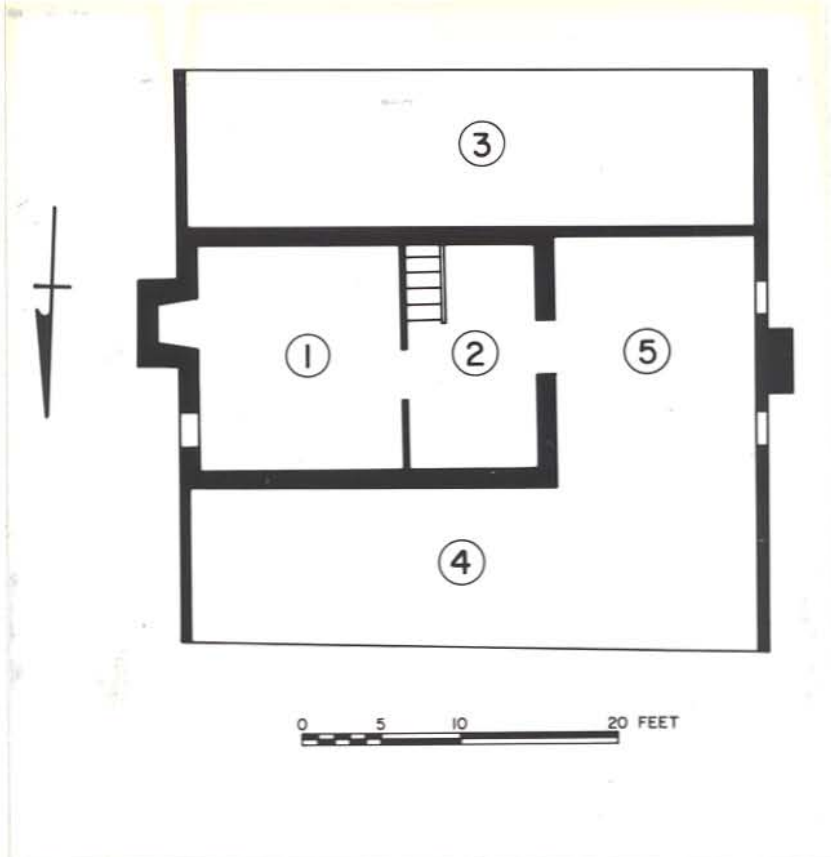


FIGURE 1. Top, second floor of Guillebeau House;
bottom, first floor of Guillebeau house.

FIGURE 2

FIRST FLOOR, ROOM 1

Fig.

- 1a Left edge of fireplace arch in Room 1, first floor.
- 1b Right edge of fireplace arch in Room 1, first floor.
- 1c Left edge of fireplace arch in Room 1, first floor, showing paneling and replacement baseboard.
- 1d Original eighteenth century wrought nail and cut nail addition to paneling at the left of the fireplace in Room 1, first floor.
- 1e Original eighteenth century wrought nail in paneling, Room 1, first floor
- 1f Wrought nails in paneling in Room 1, first floor.



a



b



c



d



e



f

FIGURE 2

FIGURE 3

FIRST FLOOR, ROOM 1, DOORS

Fig.

- 2a Exterior door handle, first floor, between Room 1 and Area 6, fastened with wrought nails.
- 2b Upper "HL" hinge fastened with wrought nails and leather bushings on the door between Rooms 1 and 4.
- 2c Upper "HL" hinge on door between Rooms 1 and 6.
- 2d Exterior door handle, first floor, between Rooms 1 and 4.
- 2e Detail of wrought nail and leather bushing on upper hinge on door between Rooms 1 and 6.
- 2f Upper hinge on door between Rooms 1 and 2.



a



b



c



d



e



f

FIGURE 3

FIGURE 4

FIRST FLOOR, ROOM 1

Fig.

- 3a Corner cupboard in Room 1, first floor.
- 3b Eighteenth century wrought nail holding cupboard support in Room 1, first floor.
- 3c Eighteenth century wrought nails holding cupboard and paneling in Room 1, first floor.
- 3d Door frame detail, log support spike holes and wrought nails holding "HL" hinge, between Room 1 and Area 6.
- 3e Door frame detail showing log support spike holes, between Room 1 and Area 6.
- 3f Race knife marks for Roman Numeral "III" used to number the hewn logs of the original structure. Note dovetail joint of logs at the right. All logs were numbered, from the bottom up.



a



b



c



d



e



f

FIGURE 4

FIGURE 5

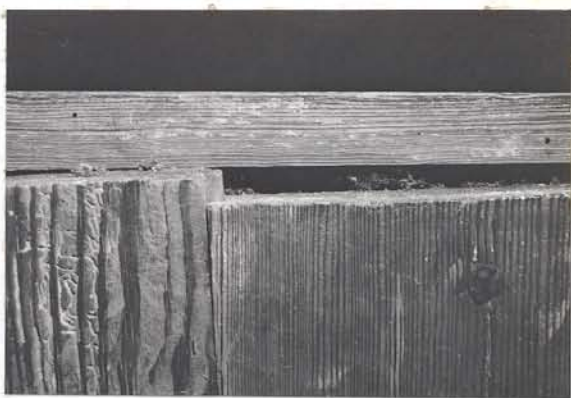
STAIRS TO THE SECOND FLOOR

Fig.

- 4a Wrought nail holding handrail to paneling which is fastened with cut nails, revealing reuse of these nails and handrail from its original position against paneling fastened with wrought nails.
- 4b Upper edge of stairwell paneling showing unevenness resulting from reuse of the paneling in this location.
- 4c Post-1820 cut nail used to fasten stairwell paneling in place.
- 4d Post-1820 cut nail used to fasten stairwell paneling in place.
- 4e Ladder rail in Room 2, second floor, fastened in place by original eighteenth century wrought nails. This ladder allowed access to the floored area above Room 2, second floor.
- 4f Handrail in stairwell with cut nail holding paneling in place. This evidence clearly indicates the paneling was installed here after around 1820. The handrail was reused using the same wrought nails originally used to fasten it in place in the original location of the stairs to the second floor.



a



b



c



d



e



f

FIGURE 5

FIGURE 6

SECOND FLOOR, ROOM 1

Fig.

- 5a Ceiling beams at upper corner of Room 1, second floor. Note planed ceiling boards, planed paneling, and the fact that this room has never been painted. White marks come from dirt dauber nests. Note wrought nail in place, probably for hanging objects from it.
- 5b Unaltered fireplace in Room 1, second floor.
- 5c The only window in Room 1, second floor. Note hewn logs showing below the window where someone recently has removed the paneling, apparently to examine the logs. The sash is a recent replacement. Note hinge marks at left of window for original interior shutter.
- 5d Wrought strap hinge (upper) on the door to Room 1, second floor. Note wrought pintle, wrought nails in board and batten door, and leather bushings beneath the nails on the hinge.
- 5e Rose headed wrought nails holding paneling in Room 1, second floor. Note sheen on nail heads from eighteenth century hammer blows that fastened the paneling in place. Note the room has never been painted.
- 5f Buckled ceiling and ceiling beam in Room 1, second floor, showing wrought nail used to fasten ceiling boards to overhead beams.

This untouched room is in the most pristine condition of any this writer has ever seen, not having been buggered up by tenants or restorationists.



a



b



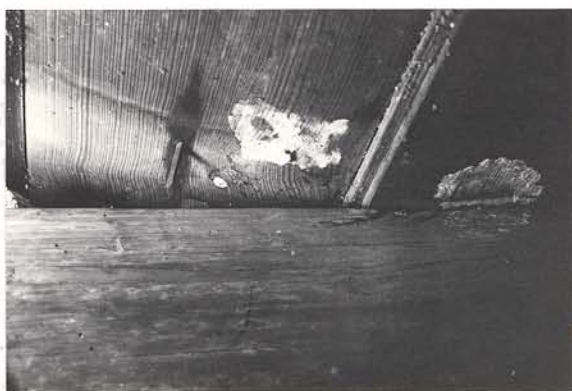
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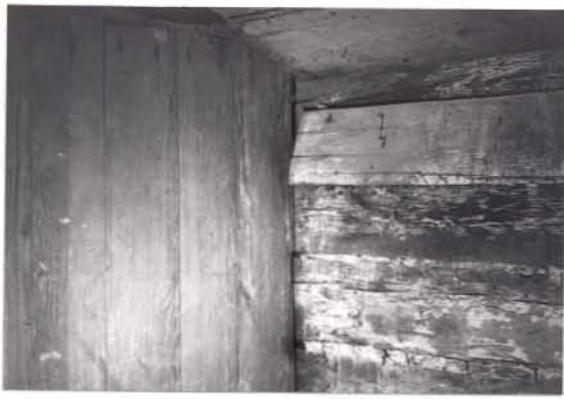
FIGURE 6

FIGURE 7

SECOND FLOOR

Fig.

- 6a Partition wall in Room 2, second floor. Note no paint has been applied to the eighteenth century partition wall.
- 6b Upper left corner of the door frame to Room 1, second floor. Note plane marks and eighteenth century wrought nails holding it in place.
- 6c Eighteenth century door fastened in place with nineteenth century nails in area 4 of the second floor. This door is nailed in place in such a manner as to suggest that the original stairway to the second floor area may have been here. Detailed study of this feature and related clues must be carried out to locate the position of the original stairwell.
- 6d The exterior face of Room 2, second floor.
- 6e View of exterior of Room 2, second floor, showing purlins of roof.
- 6f Dovetail joint of logs at corner in Area 4 of second floor showing socket that may have been intended originally for roof support for porch, but no evidence of these sockets having been used for this purpose is seen.



a



b



c



d



e



f

FIGURE 7

FIGURE 8

CELLAR

Fig.

- 7a Present entrance access to cellar on the south side of the building.
- 7b Part of a privy seat nailed to the eighteenth century cellar door to provide strength.
- 7c "HL" hinge holding eighteenth century door to cellar in place. Note that the door was hung in the nineteenth century in its present location, however, as evidenced by the cut nails holding it to the door frame for the cellar entrance. The door should be studied in detail to look for clues to its original location.
- 7d View of cellar beneath the house, showing bricks for the hearth support beneath Room 1, first floor.
- 7e Nineteenth century circular saw marks on the floor joists beneath the main house floor. The floor was replaced entirely in the nineteenth century, with some of the original floor joists being placed beneath the main logs of the structure for support. This suggests a major alteration of the structure in the nineteenth century, with the house being leveled or perhaps moved at that time. Further study of the clues provided in the cellar must be done to answer questions relating to this renovation period. Major reuse of timbers is seen beneath the house, used to support the present structure in its present location.
- 7f Eighteenth century wooden box lock with iron parts on the cellar door. This cellar door would likely be one of the first items to be destroyed by contractors beginning work on "restoration" of this structure.