

- 1840a Compendium of the sixth census of the United States (1840). On file at the Robert W. Woodruff Library for Advanced Studies, Emory University, Atlanta.
- 1840b Sixth census of the United States, 1840. Microfilm on file at the on file at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 1850 Seventh census of the United States, 1850. Microfilm on file at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 1963 *U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. 1. Characteristics of the population (part 42), South Carolina.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Published compendium available at Documents Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library for Advanced Studies, Emory University, Atlanta.

Acculturation and the Archaeological Record in the Carolina Lowcountry*

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INTRODUCTION

Acculturation studies have received much more attention from cultural anthropologists than archaeologists. Redfield *et al.* (1936:149) defined acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." Those authors not only defined acculturation, but also summarized those aspects of the process that deserved attention by anthropologists. Subsequent anthropological literature has therefore been devoted to the acculturation of nonmaterial/ideational systems versus material/behavioral systems; to the relative speed of acculturation of different aspects of culture; and to how varying degrees of social integration of both societies determine which society changes most and how rapidly. Articles on acculturation have included discussions of the types of acculturation (Freed 1957), of specific cases (Bruner 1956), and of ethnic groups in the United States (Spiro 1955). Aspects of acculturation have been examined archaeologically on several occasions as part of larger discussions, but

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rarely has acculturation been addressed exclusively or in detail (Henry 1980; White 1975).

The literature on Afro-American archaeology probably can be best characterized by repeated attempts to archaeologically define aspects of acculturation, although no single work in the existing literature can be accurately characterized as an acculturation study. The earliest substantive effort in the area of Afro-American archaeology was the Black Lucy's Garden site reported by Bullen and Bullen (1945). That project did not represent an attempt to study acculturation, but the search for artifacts that were distinct from those found on Euro-American sites appears to have been inherent in that project. The pioneering work conducted by the University of Florida had the stated goal of identifying African "survivals" (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1974). The Parting Ways excavations conducted by Deetz (1977) studied differences between Afro-American architecture and the architecture of Euro-American sites, while research by Handler and Lange (1978) on Barbados and by Combes (1974) in coastal South Carolina dealt with changing burial practices among persons of African descent. A number of investigators have studied colonoware ceramics as distinct expressions of Afro-American potters (Anthony 1979; Ferguson 1978, 1980; Henry 1980; Lees 1978; Lees and Kimery-Lees 1979). Distinct differences among Afro-Americans as expressed by the material culture surrounding food preparation and service have been studied by Otto (1975). Perhaps the most comprehensive study of a site presumed to be occupied by Afro-Americans published to date has been the Spiers Landing report authored by Drucker and Anthony (1979). Many other studies (cf. Geismar 1982; Mullins-Moore 1979; Schuyler 1974; and Singleton 1979) in Afro-American archaeology have become available in recent years, and differences between Afro-American and Euro-American occupied sites have been dealt with at some level within each of those studies.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The archaeological investigations of Yaughan and Curriboo, conducted in Berkeley County, South Carolina (Figure 11.1), were carried out under a research design (Wheaton *et al.* 1983:5-7) that did not explicitly state that acculturation of Afro-Americans would be an integrative feature of the research. Instead, as in the case of virtually all other Afro-American studies, the study of acculturation and its effects were inherent in the research hypotheses stated for the project. The research hypotheses employed for this investigation dealt with site architecture, colonoware ceramics, and artifact patterning within and among the sites. Two possible lines of inquiry were posited for the site architecture. Under one hypothesis, the observed changes in architectural modes on the plantations were explained as reflections of the gradual acculturation of the Afro-American slave residents. Under the second hypothesis, which was not supported by analysis and research, the unusual architectural modes found within the plantations were attributed to differences in frontier and nonfrontier settings. Two research hypotheses were also devoted to the study of

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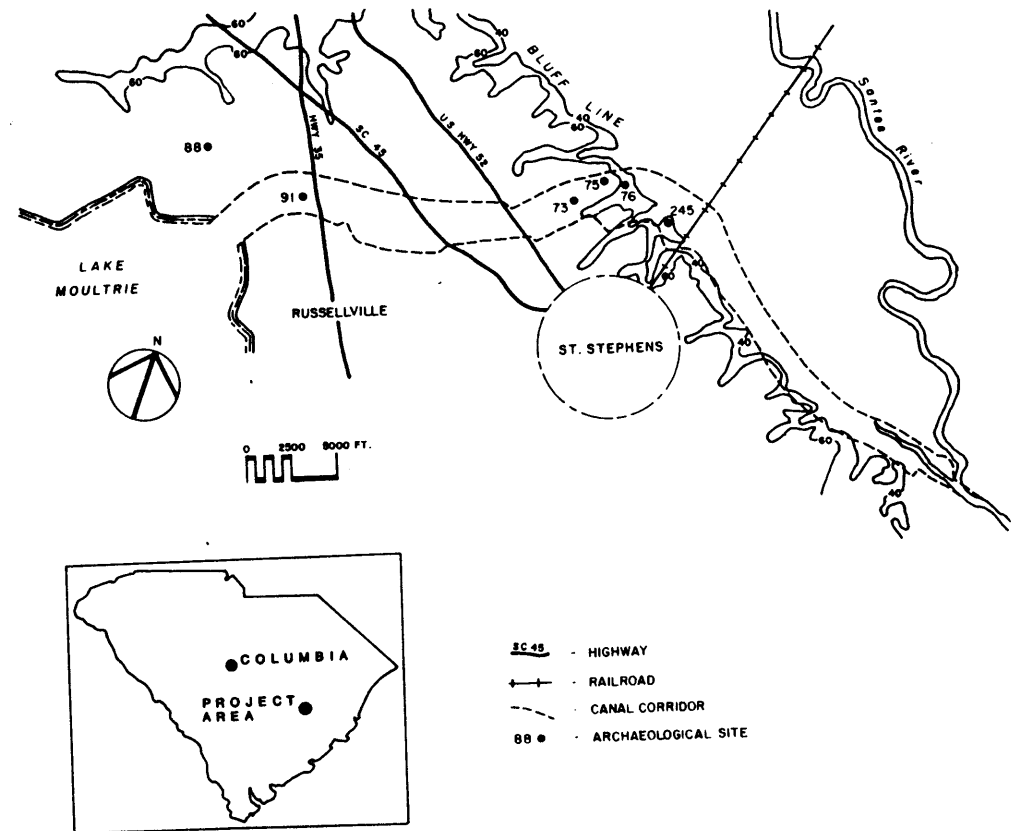


Figure 11.1 Location Map of Yaughan (75 and 76) and Curriboo (245) in Berkeley County, South Carolina.

the colonoware ceramics recovered from the sites. The first colonoware hypothesis stated that those ceramics were made by the residents of Yaughan and Curriboo plantations for their own use, and that the colonoware ceramics recovered from those plantations would be typical of colonoware ceramics produced elsewhere in the South Carolina lowcountry. The second colonoware hypothesis stated that those ceramics declined in importance from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and were gradually replaced by nonlocally produced ceramics. The single hypothesis devoted to artifact patterning stated that sites occupied by Afro-Americans should produce different artifact patterns than sites occupied by Euro-American.

The research design did not contain a formal hypothesis concerning the subsis-

tence base of the inhabitants of Yaughan and Curriboo plantations. Faunal and floral studies were conducted on recovered bone and seed samples, and upon completion of those studies it became evident that the subsistence base on the plantations varied from that described for Euro-American sites. The subsistence evidence was then combined with data gained from the archaeological and historical research on the project to conclude that the variance in the archaeological record at Yaughan and Curriboo plantations, and the manner in which the record changed through time, could best be explained through the process of acculturation.

Yaughan and Curriboo plantations were established in the 1740s by descendents of French Huguenots who came to the colonies to escape religious persecution. Curriboo Plantation operated until around 1800, while occupation of Yaughan by Afro-American slaves continued until the 1820s. The historical research established a number of factors that were key to the interpretation that acculturation was indeed reflected by the archaeological record. First, the slave populations of both plantations were remarkably stable during the study period. Slaves were passed on within an extended family system, and there was a strong tendency for inherited slaves to be kept within the area where they had always lived. Second, there was no evidence for mass infusions of slaves through time and, except at Yaughan, for the period immediately after the Revolutionary War, the numbers of slaves on the plantations appeared to remain at the same level throughout the study period. Third, the historical record indicates that the slave populations on the plantations were overwhelmingly, if not totally, Afro-American slaves. Fourth, the historical evidence indicates that prior to the Revolutionary War the slaves at Yaughan had very little contact with whites, and that that same situation existed at Curriboo to a lesser extent. Significantly, the research indicated that prior to the Revolutionary War there was little interference from whites, and slaves were allowed to develop and maintain their own family structures.

The historical record did, in summary, confirm that conditions existed on both plantations for the establishment and maintenance of a society based on African or Caribbean models. It is not possible to determine with great accuracy if the artifact and architectural forms originated in Africa or were based on a creolized culture that developed when individuals of different tribal backgrounds were thrown together in the Caribbean. Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (1976) have presented an impressive case to support the development of creolized slave culture in the Caribbean during early settlement, but their argument has been countered to a degree by Ira Berlin (1980), who has built an equally impressive case for preservation of strong African traits in the Carolina lowcountry. The disagreement between those researchers is germane to the study of Yaughan and Curriboo plantations since most of the slaves in that area of South Carolina appear to have been imported into the state by way of the Caribbean. That disagreement does not change the fact, however, that the slaves who inhabited Yaughan and Curriboo maintained a material culture that was distinct from that extracted from Euro-American sites. The historical record does indicate that there was an infusion of whites as well as changes in the economy of Berkeley County following the Revolutionary War, and that this time period also

exhibited accelerated acculturation of the slaves who inhabited Yaughan and Curriboo plantations.

ARCHITECTURAL REFLECTIONS OF AN AFRO-CARIBBEAN ORIGIN

Archaeological criteria for studying acculturation necessarily relate to material culture. Keesing and Keesing (1971:353-354) have noted that some segments of material culture are more easily changed than others, and that some artifact changes may indeed be superficial indicators of acculturation. It is possible to establish a relative scale based on that concept, under which one end of the scale is replacement of an artifact with a new type that fills the same functional niche, while the opposite end of the scale represents the acceptance of a wholly new world view with rejection of the original world view and all or most of its material and nonmaterial associations. This means that any attempt to study acculturation archaeologically must go beyond individual artifacts (what Ascher and Fairbanks [1971] and Fairbanks [1974] termed *survivals*), and build a case for acculturation based on the total material culture expression recovered from a site.

The acculturation of the Afro-American slaves from an Afro-Caribbean (or West African, or Afro-Caribbean-American Colonial) cultural model within Yaughan and Curriboo plantations to a more Euro-American cultural model can be demonstrated through a study of architectural evidence, recovered artifacts, and subsistence data. Further, change in the artifact assemblages within the study units can be viewed in totality through use of the South (1977) artifact pattern model concept.

The archaeological investigations of Yaughan and Curriboo centered on three distinct slave quarters. Unfortunately, the plantation main houses were not available for excavation because the main house at Curriboo had been destroyed before the fieldwork, and the Yaughan main house fell outside the Army Corps of Engineers' boundary. The earliest slave quarter at Yaughan Plantation (38Bk76) spanned the period from the 1740s to the 1790s. The younger Yaughan slave quarter (38Bk75) was established immediately after the Revolutionary War, and was occupied until the 1820s. The single slave quarter at Curriboo was occupied from the 1740s to shortly after 1800.

The earliest slave quarter at Yaughan was occupied at a time when Euro-American influence within the plantation was minimal. The plantation was run by a series of white overseers from the 1740s to around 1775, when Thomas Cordes took possession of the plantation from his father's estate. Thomas Cordes married Charlotte Evance in 1784, and had apparently constructed the main house by that time. His influence within the plantation was probably minimal until the close of the Revolutionary War since he was actively engaged in that struggle. The earliest Yaughan slave quarter was occupied until the 1790s; Thomas Cordes doubled the number of slaves on the plantation in the 1780s, but after financial reverses, cut the number in half in the 1790s. The second Yaughan slave quarter was constructed

during the time the number of slaves was increased, and the earliest slave quarter was abandoned in favor of the second when the slave force was reduced.

The earliest Yaughan slave quarter was completely excavated through a combination of hand-excavated blocks and machine stripping. Nine structural areas were found at the early Yaughan slave quarter (Figure 11.2), while 13 structures, including structural replacements and apparent nondomestic structures were identified. One structure (76D-M) was interpreted as an overseer's house, on the basis of the size of the structure, the recovered artifacts, and the strategic position of the structure within the slave quarter. This left 8 structural areas for occupation by slaves. Assuming 3-4 slaves per structure or 50 square feet per slave (Morgan 1977:47, 49), approximately 30 slaves could have been housed in this slave quarter. This agrees with the historical record, which indicates that 20-30 slaves were present by the 1750s.

The later slave quarter at Yaughan Plantation was constructed in the 1780s, when the slave population was increased to approximately 80. That slave quarter was partially excavated (Figure 11.3), using a combination of hand-excavated blocks and machine stripping. The later slave quarter was apparently abandoned in the 1820s.

The excavations at Curriboo Plantation revealed a portion of a much larger slave quarter (Figure 11.4), remnants of a brick kiln (not illustrated), and a brick pier structure interpreted as a plantation office overlying an earlier naval store warehouse (not illustrated). Curriboo Plantation was occupied from the 1740s to shortly after 1800, and represented the holdings of a much more affluent planter than did Yaughan Plantation.

The architectural sequence noted at Yaughan and Curriboo indicates that the earliest structures were of wall trench construction, while the later buildings were of post construction. The wall trenches were relatively long and narrow features that were excavated into subsoil. The trenches varied from 0.8 feet to 1.5 feet wide, and were vertically sided and flat-bottomed in profile. The trenches varied from 1.5 feet to 2.5 feet below ground surface in undisturbed areas, and the trenches normally extended at least 1 foot into subsoil. The trench fill appears to have been carefully selected, and consisted of fine red clay subsoil at the early Yaughan slave quarter, with an unusual fine gray clay used at Curriboo. In many cases the trench fill appears to have been puddled, that is, placed in while wet with some mixing while in the ground. Posts were present in the trenches, and averaged 2.2 feet apart where measurements could be taken. The trench structures appear to have mud-walled huts, and evidence of interior fireplaces was absent in all cases.

Post structures predominated at the latest slave quarter at Yaughan, and a post replacement structure was found superimposed over a trench structure at the earlier Yaughan slave quarter. Further, small post-constructed sheds—probably for storage or some other nondomestic function—were also found in the early Yaughan slave quarter. The post molds in all cases were filled with topsoil, and graded clays were absent. The post structures were apparently frame buildings—the postholes averaged approximately 3.75 feet apart and represent a familiar building style on sites of the period occupied by Euro-Americans.

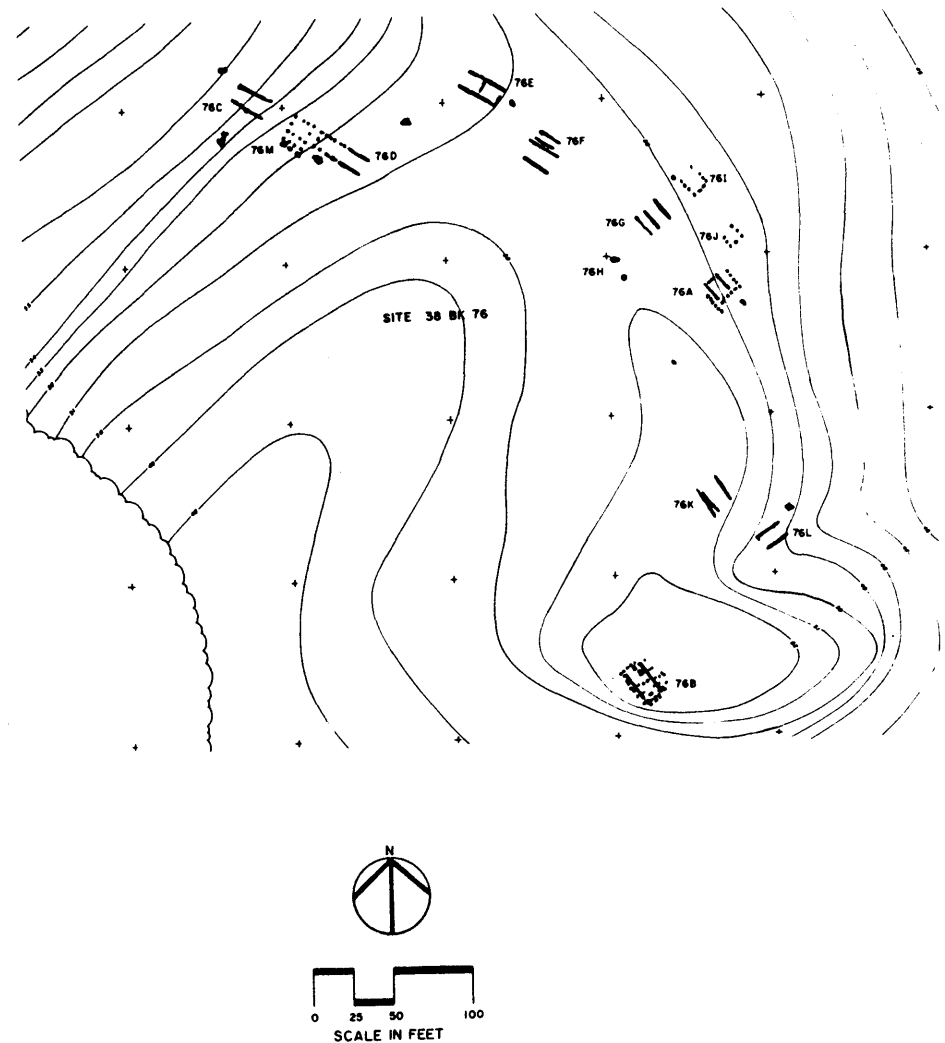


Figure 11.2 Early Yaughan slave quarter.

The only brick pier construction encountered on the sites occurred at Curriboo Plantation. The dearth of artifacts around this structure, and the presence of brick pier construction with an attached fireplace, led to the interpretation of that ruin as a plantation office building. The brick pier building was outside of the slave quarter and it contained the only fireplace found on either plantation.

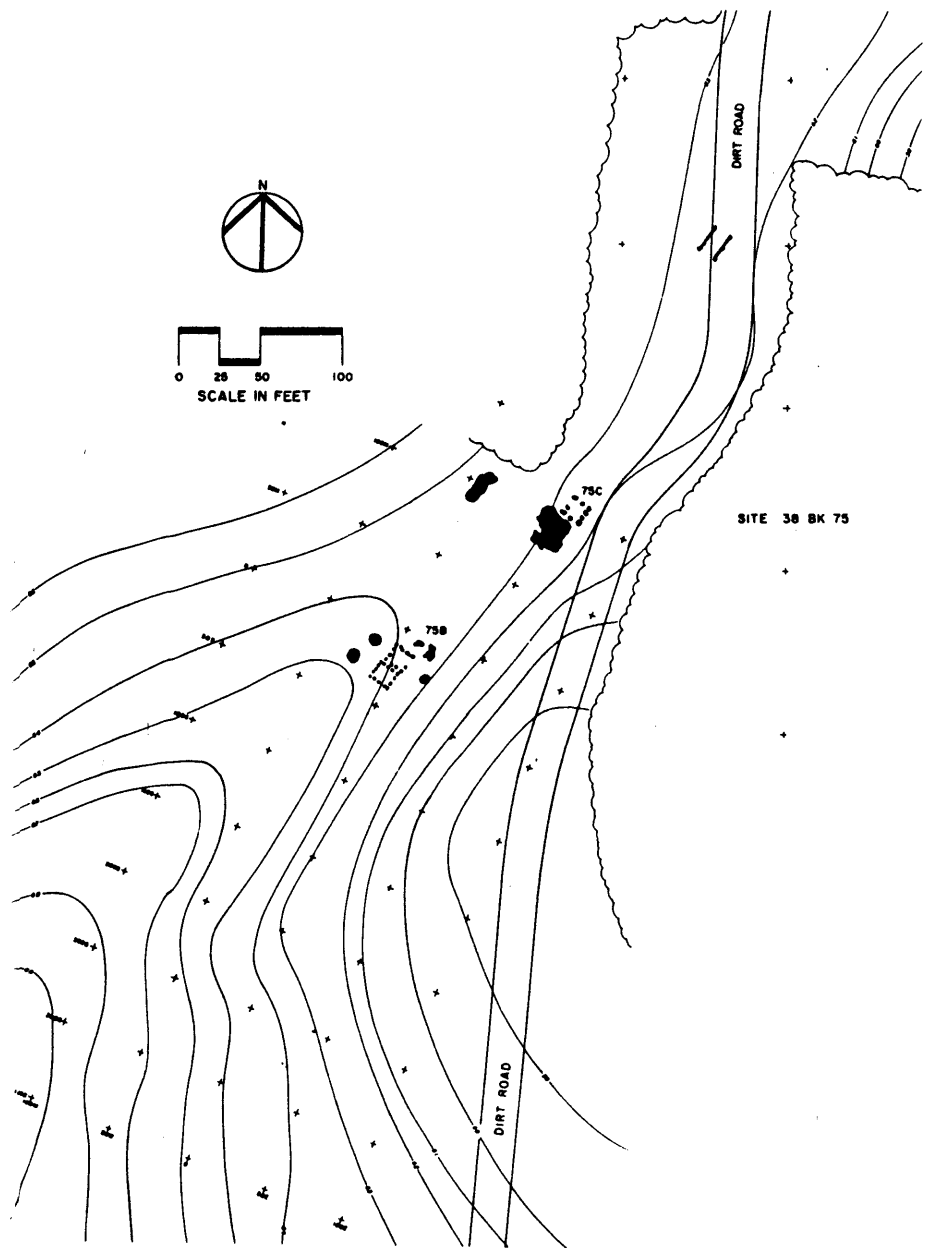


Figure 11.3 Excavated portion of late Yaughan slave quarter.

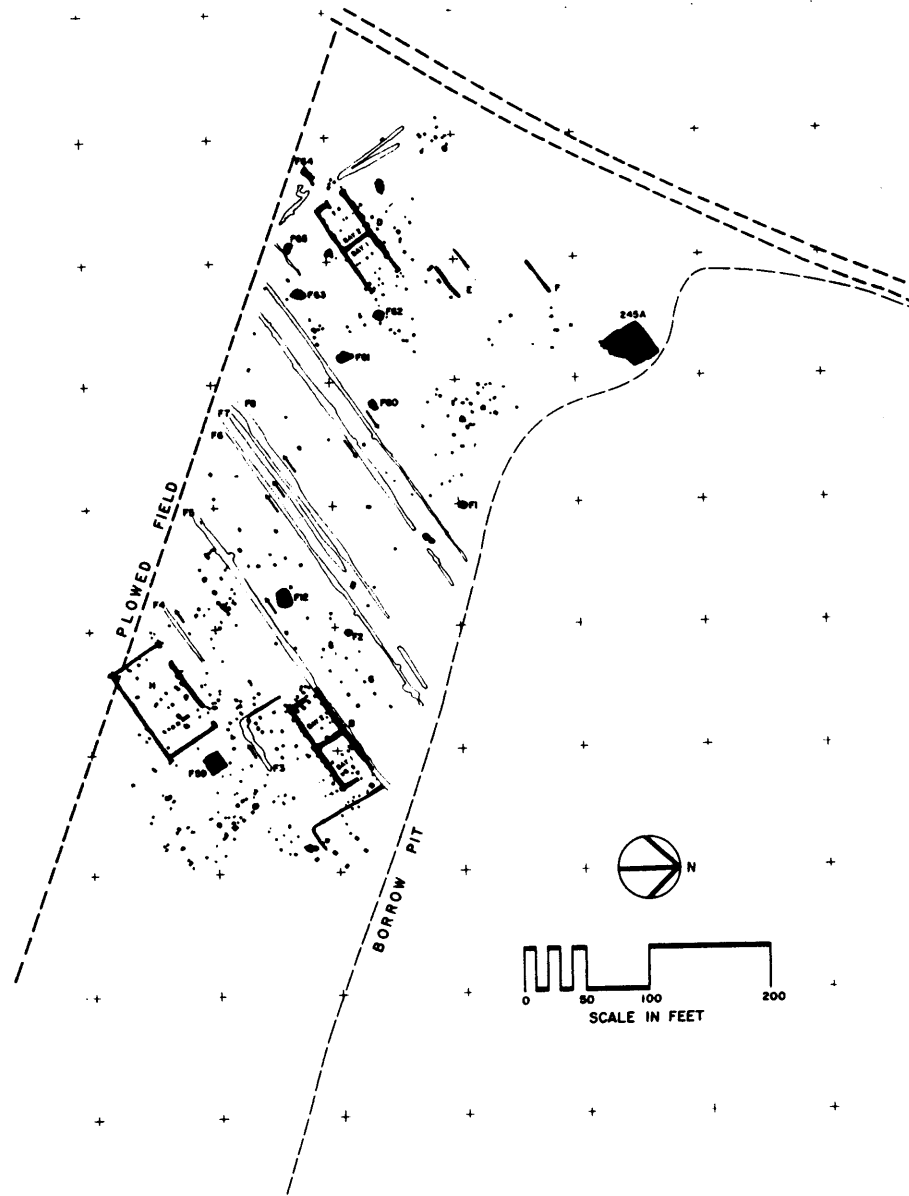


Figure 11.4 Excavated portion of the Curriboo slave quarter.

The type of construction reflected by the Yaughan and Curriboo plantations (Figure 11.5) is a familiar architectural mode in West Africa, where it is referred to as "cob-wall construction" (Williams-Ellis and Eastwick-Field 1919, cited in Greene 1983). It is interesting to note that the hypothesized overseer's house within the early Yaughan slave quarter (Fig. 11.2, 76D-M) included a wall trench section, but was primarily constructed of posts. The significance of that factor is not known at this time, but it does reflect that the major portion of the building thought to have been occupied by white overseers was indeed constructed in a style familiar on Euro-American sites, and had doubtless been a frame dwelling. In short, the archaeological evidence within the plantations supports the idea that an architectural shift took place through time in which West African styled mud-walled huts were replaced by more familiar Euro-American style frame buildings.

THE ARTIFACT EVIDENCE

Colonoware ceramics (Ferguson 1980) were the most common artifacts recovered from the Yaughan and Curriboo slave quarters. One of the stated research goals of this project was to determine if indeed colonowares were being made at the plantation by slaves for their own use. Proof that the ceramics were made on the plantations was found during the analysis. Two unfired sherds were recovered from the Curriboo slave quarter, while a fired lump of clay with finger marks was recovered from the early slave quarter at Yaughan. Further, three lumps of fired clay with colonoware paste were also recovered from the early Yaughan slave quarter. Perhaps the best argument, however, for local manufacture was the sheer bulk of colonoware sherds recovered from the slave quarters. Colonoware sherds accounted for more than 50% of all artifacts at the early slave quarter at Yaughan and Curriboo, and made up 40.6% of all artifacts at the late slave quarter at Yaughan.

A persistent problem that has plagued colonoware studies has been differentiating between those wares made by Afro-Americans and Indians (Ferguson 1980). Analysis of the artifacts from Yaughan and Curriboo indicated that it is indeed possible to

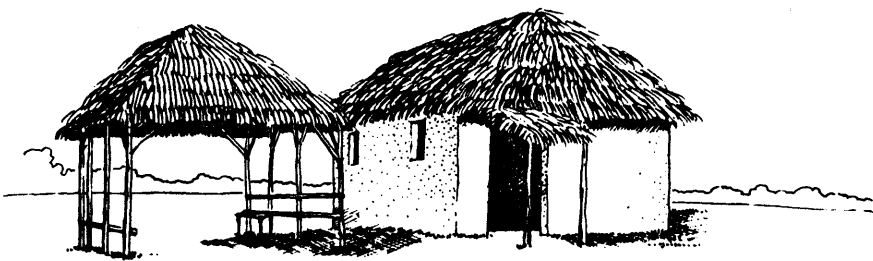


Figure 11.5 Conjectural view of a structure from Curriboo Plantation with associated shed.

Table 11.1
DIFFERENTIATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN (COLONOWARE) AND INDIAN (CATAWBA)
WARES AT YAUGHAN AND CURRIBOO

	Colonoware	Colono-Indian (Catawba)
Thickness	Average 0.725 cm thick up to very uneven on individual vessels and even single sherds.	Average ± 0.5 cm thick; 1.1 cm, regular and even.
Form	Generally open, incurving bowls and small flared-mouth jars; lips were crudely rounded, or flattened with a finger or stick.	Generally straight-sided, open, outflaring bowls, and small well-made jars; lips were tapered and well finished.
Body	Wide variation in size, amount, and type of nonplastics; generally various water-washed sands, oxidation was usually not complete leaving a dark core.	Limited variety of nonplastics; generally fine particle size and completely oxidized or completely reduced.
Surface	Ranged from crudely smoothed to polished with obvious evidence of the polishing tool; generally interiors of bowls and exteriors of jars were polished; color ranged from black to dark brown to reddish-orange; great variation on individual vessels and sherds.	Usually highly polished on interior and exterior of bowls and wide-mouthed jars, polish marks were often evident; color ranged from black to gray to buff; little variation on individual sherds, some vessels were intentionally reduced.
Decoration	0.3% had decoration on interior of bowls including prefiring notched rims, reed punctate, thimble-impressed, incised lines; postfiring incision in the form of a cross in a square and a circle occurred on the interior bottoms of a few bowls.	3.5% of Catawba had undulating "day-glo"-red painted lines on the exterior of jars and the interior of bowls applied after preliminary or final firing of the vessel; occasionally red dots were placed around the undulating line, or around small regular facets taken out of the interior lip, or both.
Method of manufacture	Bases occasionally coil-made and body was hand-modeled; poor control over firing temperature and firing time; handles appeared to be attached to the surface of the vessel.	Evidence supports hand-modeling but sample is too small for definite conclusions; firing temperature and time were well controlled; reduction when it occurs was intentional; handles had plugs on the end that were inserted in the wall and smoothed from the inside.

differentiate those types based on sherd thickness, vessel forms, temper, surface finish, and decoration. Table 11.1 summarizes the traits that were employed to separate the two types of wares at Yaughan and Curriboo, while Figure 11.6 illustrates rim and vessel profiles from the two types. Further, study of the collections from the three slave quarters indicated that the smallest percentages of colono-Indian sherds (in this case Catawba-made) occurred at the early slave quarter at

Yaughan, while the greatest percentage occurred at the latest slave quarter at Yaughan.

The non-Indian colonoware recovered from Yaughan and Curriboo plantations bears a striking resemblance to Afro-Cruzan wares as defined in the Virgin Islands by Richard Gartley (1979:47-61). Gartley links those wares to similar ceramics recovered from Barbados, Jamaica, St. Kitts, St. Vincent, and St. Martin. In all cases, those ceramics are attributed to African or African-descent potters. It is doubtful that colonoware (or Afro-Cruzan, Afro-Jamaican, or its other Caribbean types) developed in place in that area. Instead, it appears that the many forms of colonoware (not including that directly attributable to American Indian groups) may have derived from West Africa or from an amalgam of West African cultures.

It is evident that the importance of colonoware in the overall artifact assemblages of the slave quarters declined through time. The earliest slave quarter at Yaughan yielded an artifact assemblage that included 67.4% colonoware ceramics. Curriboo Plantation—which began at the same time as the early Yaughan slave quarter, but lasted longer—yielded 56.9% colonoware sherds. The later slave quarter at Yaughan, and the youngest site in the sample, contained 40.6% colonoware sherds. Significantly, while nonlocal (mainly British) ceramics increased in percentage of occurrence at the later slave quarters, so did almost all other items of material culture. That increase was at the expense of colonoware. The decrease in colonoware and the increase in virtually all other categories of nonlocal artifacts again points to increased acculturation of the Afro-American slaves through time.

ANALYZING THE DATA

The artifact patterns (Table 11.2) from the three slave quarters add further substantiation to the idea that the slaves' culture changed to something closer to a Euro-American model through time. The earliest slave quarter returned the highest kitchen group percentage, and conversely the lowest architecture figure. All nonlocally produced items and bottle glass increased in percentage of occurrence within the kitchen group from the earliest to latest slave quarter. Further, the lowest percentage of occurrence of all architecture group classes was found at the earliest slave quarter. The furniture group percentages showed a small increase from the earliest to latest slave quarter, but in that instance the numbers of artifacts involved were too small to support a conclusive statement. The arms group artifact classes remained fairly constant from the earliest to latest slave quarter, but again the numbers of artifacts were exceedingly small. The total percentage of clothing group artifacts nearly doubled from the earliest to latest slave quarter, and nearly one-third of the clothing group artifacts from the earliest slave quarter were glass beads. Strangely, one of the most unusual artifacts found in the entire project—a solid gold button—came from the earliest occupation. Very few personal group artifacts were found during the project, but it may be significant that the only coin came from the late Yaughan occupation. The tobacco pipe group percentages did not follow the general trend

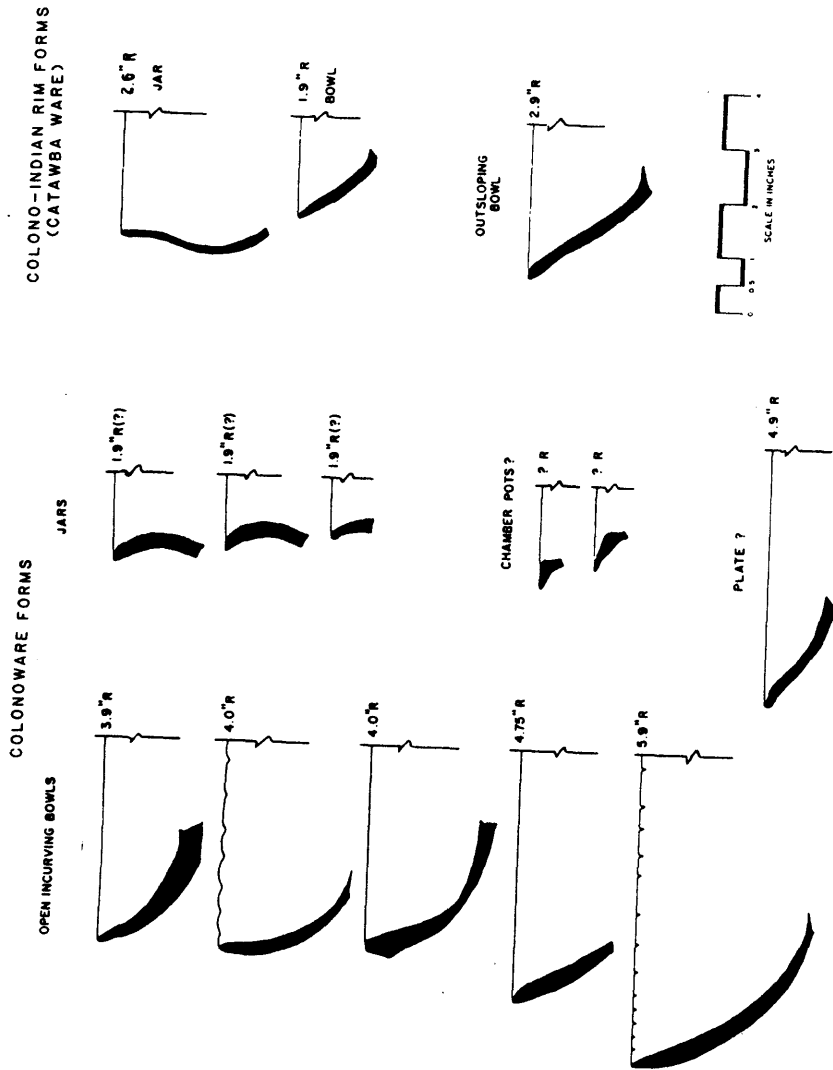


Figure 11.6 Colonoware and Catawba rim forms.

Table 11.2
THE YAUGHAN AND CURRIBOO SLAVE ARTIFACT PATTERNS

	Early Yaughan (1740s to 1790s)		Curriboo (1740s to ca. 1800)		Late Yaughan (1780s to 1820s)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Kitchen group						
Nonlocal ceramics	1,627	7.29	445	7.64	1,022	16.28
Colonoware ceramics	15,043	67.38	3,316	56.92	2,545	40.55
Catawba ceramics	141	0.63	17	0.29	295	4.70
Bottle glass	1,946	8.72	685	11.76	544	8.67
Tumbler	3	0.01	0	0.00	3	0.05
Glassware	13	0.06	4	0.07	10	0.16
Tableware	7	0.03	7	0.12	7	0.11
Kitchenware	20	0.09	6	0.10	13	0.21
Total	18,800	84.2%	4,480	76.90%	4,439	70.73%
Architecture group						
Window glass	101	0.45	114	1.96	72	1.15
Nails and spikes	2,529	11.33	844	14.49	1,489	23.73
Construction hardware	10	0.04	4	0.07	5	0.08
Door-lock parts	0	0.00	3	0.05	3	0.05
Total	2,640	11.82%	965	16.65%	1,569	25.00%
Furniture group	12	0.05%	4	0.07%	5	0.08%
Arms group						
Balls, shot, and sprue	2	0.01	8	0.14	10	0.16
Gunflints, spalls	2	0.01	8	0.14	1	0.02
Gun parts	1	0.01	1	0.02	0	0.00
Total	5	0.02%	17	0.29%	11	0.18%
Clothing group						
Buckles	6	0.03	2	0.03	2	0.03
Thimbles and pins	2	0.01	1	0.02	0	0.00
Buttons	38	0.17	13	0.22	29	0.46
Bale seals	0	0.00	2	0.03	0	0.00
Glass beads	20	0.09	3	0.05	1	0.02
Total	66	0.30%	21	0.36%	32	0.51%
Personal group						
Coins	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.02
Keys	3	0.01	2	0.03	0	0.00
Personal	2	0.01	0	0.00	3	0.05
Total	5	0.02%	2	0.03%	4	0.06%
Tobacco pipe group						
Pipe parts	774	3.33	306	5.25	182	2.90
Colonopipes	8	0.03	4	0.07	0	0.00
Total	782	3.37%	310	5.32%	182	2.90%
Activities group						
Construction tools	15	0.07	14	0.24	11	0.18
Farm tools	3	0.01	4	0.07	7	0.11
Toys (colonoware)	4	0.02	0	0.00	1	0.02
Fishing gear	5	0.02	0	0.00	0	0.00
Horse tack	3	0.01	4	0.07	2	0.03
Miscellaneous hardware	10	0.04	1	0.02	9	0.14
Other	6	0.02	4	0.07	4	0.06
Total	46	0.21%	27	0.46%	34	0.54%
Grand totals	22,327	99.99%	5,826	99.99%	6,276	100.00%

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established for the other artifact groups, but this is hardly surprising in view of the eccentric nature of that group. The percentage of activities group artifacts more than doubled from the earliest to latest component, although once again the numbers and percentages of artifacts present were small.

The trend exhibited by the comparison of the artifact patterns from early Yaughan, Curriboo, and late Yaughan seems to indicate that the slaves consumed and discarded proportionately larger percentages of Euro-American produced goods as time passed. That trend, coupled with a direct increase in consumption and discard of African-related goods, appears to further reinforce the interpretation that the slave inhabitants of Yaughan and Curriboo were undergoing accelerated acculturation to a Euro-American cultural model as time passed. The triggering mechanism for this trend may have been increased Euro-American presence in Berkeley County following the Revolutionary War, which decreased the isolation of the slaves and placed pressure on them to conform to Euro-American cultural models.

The differences between the slave material culture and Euro-American material culture of the same period can be delineated through application of a revised version of the Carolina Artifact Pattern Model proposed by Stanley South (1977:83-139). The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern Model, as proposed by Garrow (1982:57-58) incorporates three of the sites used by South, and shifts certain artifact classes from group to group to produce a more functionally aligned model. Garrow's shift of colonoware ceramics from South's activities group to the kitchen group has particular meaning for the Yaughan and Curriboo artifact patterns. The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern Model, summarized at the group level, is presented in Table 11.3. The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern Model exhibits a lower set of kitchen group percentages than the Yaughan and Curriboo sites, with higher representations of the architecture group artifacts. Perhaps most significant, however, is that the average combined representation of kitchen, architecture, and tobacco pipe groups among the three sites of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern Model is 94.94%, which leaves 5.06% of the recovered artifacts distributed among the remaining groups. The combined average representation of kitchen, architecture, and tobacco pipe groups among the Yaughan and Curriboo contexts is 98.93%, which leaves a mere 1.07% to be distributed among the remaining groups. Further, the percentages of artifacts not incorporated within the three major artifact groups totaled 0.61% at the early Yaughan slave quarter, 1.22% at Curriboo, and 1.37% at the late Yaughan slave quarter. Those gradual shifts in the artifact percentages are consistent with the other available archaeological and historical data that indicate that acculturation was indeed perceptively increasing during the study period. That trend appears to have continued into the nineteenth century, and Afro-American and Euro-American domestic artifact patterns probably became indistinguishable during that century.

The artifact pattern data extracted from Yaughan and Curriboo plantations appear to be strong enough to suggest that a distinct slave artifact pattern existed in the South Carolina lowcountry during the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. That pattern was characterized by a very high kitchen-to-architecture percentage, with a fraction of the artifact assemblage represented in groups outside of the kitchen, architecture, and tobacco pipe groups.

Table 11.3
THE REVISED CAROLINA ARTIFACT PATTERN^a

Artifact group	Brunswick S25 (1732 to 1776)		Brunswick S10 (1728 to 1830)		Cambridge 96 (1783 to 1820)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Kitchen ^b	22,710	61.77	6,795	51.80	12,916	64.97
Architecture	9,620	26.17	4,116	31.38	5,006	25.18
Furniture	83	0.23	82	0.63	35	0.18
Arms	34	0.09	45	0.34	27	0.14
Clothing	1,070	2.91	72	0.55	1,069	5.38
Personal	71	0.19	20	0.15	108	0.54
Pipes	2,830	7.70	1,829	13.94	349	1.76
Activities ^c	347	0.94	159	1.21	370	1.86
Total	36,765	100.00	13,118	100.00	19,880	100.01

^aModified from South (1977:83-139).

^bIncludes colonoceramics.

^cColonoceramics deleted.

Fortunately, at least some comparative data do exist within the literature that can be used to cross-check the Yaughan and Curriboo artifact pattern data. Those data come from the Spiers Landing site which was excavated and reported by Drucker and Anthony (1979). Spiers Landing was apparently a single slave cabin that was also located in Berkeley County, South Carolina. The dating evidence for that site was not clear-cut, but it is probable that the site was occupied between 1790 and 1830. The site excavation included a post-constructed dwelling (which may have been superimposed over a wall trench structure) and associated features. The excavation methods employed on that site were comparable to those used within Yaughan and Curriboo, and the resultant artifact pattern derived from the site does appear to have comparative value.

The Spiers Landing artifact pattern, summarized at the group level, is presented in comparison with the Yaughan and Curriboo artifact patterns in Table 11.4. The kitchen and architecture groups from Spiers Landing were intermediate to those from Curriboo and the late Yaughan slave quarters, and the combined kitchen, architecture, and tobacco pipe groups accounted for 98.03% of all artifacts. That left 1.97% to be distributed among the other artifact groups, which is slightly higher than the Curriboo or Yaughan examples. That figure is still significantly lower than the 5.06% among the Euro-American occupied sites of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern Model.

The artifactual evidence from Yaughan and Curriboo plantations provide consistent results at the level of both individual artifacts and combined assemblages. Again, ample evidence of cultural change is present from the artifact studies, and it

Table 11.4
THE CAROLINA SLAVE ARTIFACT PATTERN^a

Artifact group	Yaughan 38Bk76 (1740s to 1790s)		Curriboo 38Bk245 ^b (1740s to ca. 1800)		Yaughan 38Bk75 (1780s to 1820s)		Spiers Landing ^c (1790s to 1830s)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	18,800	84.20	4,420	79.77	4,439	70.73	2,275	74.84
Architecture	2,640	11.82	757	13.66	1,569	25.00	631	20.76
Furniture	12	0.05	4	0.07	5	0.08	2	0.07
Arms	5	0.02	15	0.27	11	0.18	6	0.20
Clothing	66	0.30	20	0.36	32	0.51	24	0.79
Personal	6	0.03	2	0.04	4	0.06	2	0.07
Pipes ^d	752	3.37	300	5.41	182	2.90	74	2.43
Activities ^e	46	0.21	23	0.42	34	0.54	26	0.86
Total	22,327	100.0	5,541	100.0	6,276	100.0	3,040	100.0

^aColono included in kitchen group.

^bDoes not include structure 245C.

^cModified from Drucker and Anthony (1979).

^dIncludes colonopipes.

^eUnidentified metal deleted.

further supports the idea that acculturation was taking place within the plantations under study.

A study of the subsistence base of the slave inhabitants of Yaughan and Curriboo plantations was conducted through an analysis of recovered faunal and ethnobotanical remains. The soils within both plantations were quite acidic, with an average pH of 6.17 at the early Yaughan slave quarter, 3.78 at Curriboo, and 5.78 at the late Yaughan slave quarter. This factor probably biased the faunal and ethnobotanical samples, but it was possible to draw at least some conclusions about the subsistence base of the occupants.

The excavations returned a very small amount of bone from all three slave quarters. Surprisingly, however, the largest amount of bone was returned from Curriboo, which had the most acidic soils. Curriboo also had the widest range of species represented of any of the slave quarters, with cow, pig, dog, snake/lizard, opossum, quahog clam, and the common oyster present in varying amounts. The early Yaughan slave quarter yielded cow, pig, snake/lizard, and the common oyster. The late Yaughan slave quarter contained cow, pig, freshwater catfish, goose, and white-tailed deer. The oyster and clam shells were in all cases found in association with architectural debris, and apparently had been used as constituents in a mortar mix, consequently those species should be regarded as nonfood items. Dog and snake/lizard may have been used as food sources, but it is more likely that they were nonfood species.

Cows and pigs outweighed all other edible animal species in terms of both bone weight and the minimum number of individuals present. Those animals were the major sources of meat within the plantations, but considering the small numbers of bones present, meat must have been a rare constituent of the diet.

Extensive flotation samples were taken and processed from each slave quarter. The ethnobotanical analysis produced relatively small numbers of identifiable seeds. Seeds from plant species that could have been used in the diet included rice, maize, peach, walnut, and hickory from the early Yaughan slave quarter. The Curriboo site yielded rice, maize, peach, hawthorn, bramble, walnut, and hickory. Rice, maize, peach, hawthorn, sumac, walnut, and hickory were all identified from the late Yaughan slave quarter. The small amount of edible plant seeds in the collections from the three slave quarters led to the conclusion that seeds such as rice and maize were thoroughly milled before cooking, and that that factor reduced the likelihood that they would be represented in the archaeological record.

The diet of the slaves within the three slave quarters appears to have been primarily vegetal, and there appears to have been a heavy dependence on rice and maize. Wild species were present but rare in the collections, and the hunting and gathering of wild animals and plants appears to have made relatively minor contributions to the subsistence base.

The subsistence base conclusions drawn for the Yaughan and Curriboo slave quarters contrasts with the high bone-to-artifact counts found on Euro-American sites (South 1977:126-128). Animal protein was apparently much less important in the Yaughan and Curriboo diets than among Euro-Americans of that period. The

contrast noted between the subsistence base at the study plantations may well be further proof of cultural level differences between Afro-American slaves and Euro-Americans of that period. If that is indeed the case, those differences were apparently not maintained far into the nineteenth century, as later Afro-American-occupied sites appear to reflect subsistence patterns that are more similar to Euro-Americans (Fairbanks 1974).

CONCLUSIONS

The archaeological and historical data derived from the Yaughan and Curriboo slave quarters clearly indicate that the inhabitants of those sites were going through culture change from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. Further, the material culture evidence recovered from those sites stands in sharp contrast to the material culture of Euro-American sites of that period.

The architecture of the early Yaughan, Curriboo, and late Yaughan slave quarters presents a clear picture of the processes that took place within those plantations from the 1740s to the 1820s. Mud-walled huts, evidenced by wall trenches with cob-wall construction, were the earliest slave/domestic structures on the plantations. This architectural form does have antecedents in West Africa, and probably represents a West African architectural form. The presence of iron nails and small amounts of window glass and construction hardware recovered within the area of those structures bears testimony to the fact that some alteration of that architectural form had taken place in response to contact with Euro-Americans. This architectural form appears to have begun to change around the Revolutionary War, and by the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, post-constructed frame houses were in use as dwellings. This change appears to have taken place in response to greater contact with Euro-Americans after the Revolutionary War, and because more influence on architectural mode was exerted by the plantation owners or managers.

The changes that took place within the slave quarters were not restricted to architectural expressions. Colonoware ceramics, which appear to have been as distinctly West African as the architecture, declined in importance after the Revolutionary War, and the material culture inventory was broadened by more and more nonlocal artifact types. The artifact patterns extracted from the slave quarters appeared to reflect a change from what can be recognized as a purely slave artifact pattern model to models more similar to those gained from Euro-American sites.

The subsistence data from the three slave quarters appear to add support to the idea that acculturation was ongoing during the time the slave quarters were occupied. The subsistence base of the slaves at Yaughan and Curriboo reflected a heavy dependence on vegetal food sources, with little utilization of animal species. This stands in sharp contrast with subsistence data available from Euro-American sites. Perhaps it is significant that no great degree of change was noted in the subsistence base from the earliest to latest slave quarter since the subsistence base should be one of the most conservative expressions of a culture, and thus highly resistant to change.

This chapter represents an attempt to chronicle evidences of acculturation within three slave quarters in coastal South Carolina. Ample evidence of change was found within the archaeological record of the three slave quarters that were studied, but it is not known at this time if those slave quarters were typical for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The results of this study are probably applicable for the South Carolina lowcountry of that period, but validation of that assumption must await future research.

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