# Phillips Community Cultural Landscape Technical Report

*Draft 03 June 25, 2018*

# "Quality of Life":

*A Traditional Cultural Property Study of the Phillips Community, Mount Pleasant Vicinity, Charleston County, South Carolina*

## *SC Highway 41 Corridor Improvements Project*

## *Charleston and Berkeley Counties, South Carolina*

Draft 03 June 25, 2018

Prepared for
Charleston County

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## Acronyms and Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| **AME** | African Methodist Episcopal |
| **APE** | area of potential effect |
| **CCDB** | Charleston County Deed Book |
| **CCPB** | Charleston County Plat Book |
| **CCR** | community characterization report |
| **CIA** | community impact assessment |
| **FAS** | Free African Society |
| **GGCHC** | Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor |
| **IPHC** | Pentecostal Holiness Church |
| **NEPA** | National Environmental Policy Act |
| **NHPA** | National Historic Preservation Act |
| **NPS** | National Park Service |
| **NRB** | National Register Bulletin |
| **NRHP** | National Register of Historic Places |
| **NRIS** | National Resource Information System |
| **OSMC** | Original Sweetgrass Marketplace Coalition |
| **PAS** | Pennsylvania Abolition Society |
| **PCA** | Phillips Community Association |
| **Phillips CL** | Phillips Community Cultural Landscape |
| **ROD** | Register of Deeds |
| **SC SHPO** | South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office |
| **SCAA** | Sweetgrass Cultural Arts Association |
| **TCP** | traditional cultural property |
| **USACE** | United States Corps of Engineers |

# Executive Summary

Charleston County proposes improvements to the SC Highway 41 (SC 41) corridor from US Highway 17 (US 17) to Clements Ferry Road in Charleston and Berkeley Counties, South Carolina (Project). In consultation with the South Carolina Department of Transportation and the United States Corps of Engineers, the latter acting as lead federal agency for the Project, Charleston County is evaluating the benefits and impacts from the Project, in accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act and in coordination with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Under these mandates, federal agencies are required to consider the effects or impacts of their undertakings on National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)-**eligible** or listed cultural resources and take measures to avoid, minimize, or mitigate adverse effects.

The Project extends through the community of Phillips in Charleston County, South Carolina. Phillips is a Gullah community founded by previously enslaved African Americans of nearby plantations after the American Civil War and is part of the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor, a National Heritage Area. In 2010, the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SC SHPO) determined the community to be a cultural landscape that is further defined as a traditional cultural property (TCP). Following an update to the Charleston County inventory of historic resources, in which historic resources in Phillips were recorded (Reed 2016), SC SHPO concluded that Phillips is eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for association with African-American ethnic heritage and due to retaining settlement patterns characteristic of Post-Bellum African-American communities.

Given this background and as part of environmental studies for the Project, HDR documented the Phillips community as a TCP with particular consideration of the community as an ethnographic and historic vernacular cultural landscape, a geographic area reflecting a cultural group's land values and settlement patterns to which that group ascribes traditional cultural importance and/or uses it in traditional ways. The Phillips Community Cultural Landscape (Phillips CL) in its current extent encompasses the community settlement area and several associated features, Papa's Island, the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek that once afforded access to Parker's Island, Horlbeck Creek, an approximate late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century cemetery on a peninsula at the southern extent of Parker's Island, and Greater Goodwill AME Church. All of these resources are within the contiguous boundary of the Phillips CL except Greater Goodwill AME Church, which is south of Phillips on US 17 near its intersection with SC 41 and included as a non-contiguous contributing resource.

Based on previous investigations and the current study, HDR concludes that the NRHP-eligible Phillips CL meets Criteria A and B due to its associations with (1) African-American heritage; (2) settlement patterns developed in the Post-Bellum period; (3) Federal Reconstruction initiatives that nurtured unique local trends from the Reconstruction period to the approximate mid-twentieth century; (4) the traditional culture of Phillips and its members' senses of identity; and (5) the formative members of the community. The Phillips CL also satisfies Criterion D due to having the potential to yield information important to understanding the Phillips community history, its traditional cultural practices, and the influences these practices have had on Phillips' architecture and archaeology; these findings will also significantly contribute to understanding the larger Gullah regional history. HDR will assess the potential for adverse effects to the Phillips CL following selection of the reasonable Project alternatives. The assessment will be based on data collected for this report and its findings. HDR further concludes that the Phillips CL is within a Mount Pleasant-vicinity Gullah cultural landscape that should be fully documented, evaluated, and, if found eligible, assessed for adverse effects in its entirety for future regulatory compliance efforts.

# 1. Introduction

Charleston County proposes improvements to the approximately 4.6-mile-long, 2-lane-wide SC Highway 41 (SC 41) corridor from US Highway 17 (US 17) to Clements Ferry Road in Charleston and Berkeley Counties, South Carolina (Project; **Figure 1**). This portion of SC 41 serves as a minor arterial that has experienced an increase in traffic due to regional growth and currently sustains operations that exceed capacity and are projected to worsen over time. In consultation with the South Carolina Department of Transportation and the United States Corps of Engineers (USACE), acting as lead federal agency for the Project, Charleston County is evaluating the benefits and impacts from the Project, in accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and in coordination with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Under these mandates, federal agencies are required to consider the effects or impacts of their undertakings on National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)-eligible or listed cultural resources and take measures to avoid, minimize, or mitigate adverse effects.

The Project extends through the community of Phillips[1] in Charleston County, South Carolina (**Figure 2**[2]). Phillips is a Gullah community founded by previously enslaved African Americans of the Laurel Hill Plantation and possibly other nearby plantations, such as Boone Hall, Parker's Island, and Snee Farm, after the American Civil War. The culture of Gullah people is distinct from that of many other Post-Bellum African-American communities due to their particular cultural history and associated isolation, and this was officially recognized with the 2006 establishment of the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor (GGCHC), of which Phillips is a part (National Park Service [NPS] 2012). Following a 2010 field visit to Phillips, the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SC SHPO) determined the community to be a cultural landscape that is further defined as a traditional cultural property (TCP), a cultural resource that is eligible for the NRHP. Since that time, Phillips was the subject of an update to the Charleston County inventory of historic resources (Reed 2016). Following the inventory, SC SHPO concluded that Phillips is eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for the community's association with African-American ethnic heritage and due to retaining settlement patterns characteristic of Post-Bellum African-American communities. The report also defines a preliminary NRHP boundary for the community based on historical and current community ownership.

Given this background and as part of environmental studies for the Project, HDR documented the Phillips community as a TCP with particular consideration of the community as an ethnographic and historic vernacular cultural landscape, a cultural resource that consists of several natural and cultural resources in near proximity to which a community ascribes traditional cultural value. The TCP study involved background research, data collection, and analysis. Findings were synthesized for this report and also contributed to the community characterization report, per Federal Highway Administration directives found in *Community Impact Assessment: A Quick Reference for Transportation* (FHWA 1996). The findings will also inform the NEPA analysis for the Project, which will involve consideration of adverse effects; an analysis of direct, indirect, and cumulative impacts to the TCP; and overall community impacts. These findings will be summarized in the NEPA environmental document for the Project.

[1] The Phillips community is spoken by community members as "Phillip." However, when the community name is spelled, "Phillips" is preferred by the community historian, as that is the community's historical name. This report utilizes the historical community name while also including quotes from community members that refer to the community as "Phillip."

[2] The community settlement area shown on Figure 2 and subsequent figures includes some parcels that have been annexed into the Town of Mount Pleasant and may be redeveloped in ways that attract non-community members into the community. While this is the case for some areas of the Phillips community, the parcels are part of the traditionally settled area and considered part of the Phillips community by community members (Habersham, March 7, 2018).

Project Study Area

Area of Detail

Moultrie
Moncks Corner
Francis Marion National Forest
Goose Creek
Ladson
North Charleston
Mount Pleasant
Charleston
Stono
N US-17
bing

Hagan Ave
Cainhoy Rd
Charity Church Rd
Frost Ln
Highway
Bennett Branch Rd
Hoover Rd
Rec Rd
Wando Rd
Amoco Dr
Brick Church Rd
Highway 41
Halfway Creek Rd
Guerin Landing Rd
Guerin Creek
Beech Hill Dr
Wando
Rivers Reach Dr
Hopewell Ln
Cape Island Dr
Chandler Rd
Mount Pleasant Regional Airport
Faison Rd
Bessemer Rd
Rivertowne Country Club Dr
Nobels Creek
Horlbeck Creek
Wando
Whitehall Terrace
Long Marsh Rd
Natural Dr
Capers Creek
Copahee Sound
Capers Inlet
Rathall Creek
Wando Park Blvd
Egypt Rd
Mount Pleasant to Highway
Long Point Rd
Rifle Range Rd
Port of Charleston-Wando Welch
Whipple Rd
Hamlin Sound
Dewees Island
Hungryneck Blvd
Six Mile Rd
Isle of Palms Connector
Venning Rd
Eagle Island
Long Creek
Pine Island
Wild Dunes
Mathis Ferry Rd
Bowman Rd
Branch
Johnnie Dodds Blvd
Seven Reaches Creek
Grays Sound
Goat Island
Palmetto Dr
Mount Pleasant
W Coleman Blvd
Chuck Dawley Blvd
Coleman Blvd
Waterway Blvd
41st Ave
Isle of Palms
Palm Blvd
King St
McCants Dr
Center St
Ben Sawyer Blvd
Royal Ave
Isle of Palms
Inlet Creek
Conch Creek
Jasper Blvd
The Cove
Sullivans Island
bing

PATH: \\CLTSMAIN\GIS_DATA\GIS\PROJECTS\4595_CHARLESTONCO\10060074_SC41PRELIMDESIGNNEPA\7.2_WORK_IN_PROGRESS\MAP_DOCS\MXD\CL\CL_FIG1.MXD - USER: AZIMBA - DATE: 1/25/2018

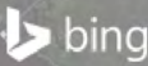
HDR

**SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA**

**GENERAL PROJECT LOCATION**

**FIGURE 1**

Community Settlement Area
Project Study Area



**SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA**

**COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT AREA VICINITY**

**FIGURE 2**

PATH: \\CLTSMAIN\GIS_DATA\GIS\PROJECTS\4595_CHARLESTONCO\10060074_SC41PRELIMDESIGNNEPA\7.2_WORK_IN_PROGRESS\MAP_DOCS\MXD\CL\CL_FIG2_3-26-18.MXD - USER: MSPENRATH - DATE: 3/26/2018

# 2. Regulatory Context

In accordance with NEPA (42 USC 4321 et seq.) and the NHPA (54 USC 300101 et seq.), federal agencies **must consider** the effects or impacts of their undertakings[3] on NRHP-eligible, -listed, or otherwise significant cultural resources **and take measures** to avoid, minimize, or mitigate any adverse effects. Cultural resources are properties and places that represent significant aspects of the Pre-Contact or Historical periods or have long-term associations with cultural groups. Cultural resources may include archaeological sites, unmodified landscapes and discrete natural features, modified landscapes, human-made objects and infrastructure, and buildings and groups of buildings. Officially, the NRHP recognizes five property types which cultural resources can be defined as, consisting of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects. Cultural resources that are either listed or eligible for listing in the NRHP are defined in the NHPA as *historic properties*.

Considering an undertaking's possible effects on historic properties is accomplished through the four-step Section 106 process outlined in federal regulations titled "Protection of Historic Properties" (36 CFR Part 800). These steps involve (1) initiation of the process by defining the undertaking and the area of potential effect (APE) and identifying the parties to be consulted; (2) identification of any cultural resources present in the APE and determining whether they qualify as historic properties; (3) assessing whether the undertaking would affect the qualities that make the property eligible for the NRHP; and (4) resolution of any adverse effects by avoidance, minimization, or mitigation. Throughout the Section 106 process, the lead federal agency must consult with the appropriate State Historic Preservation Officer, federally recognized Tribes that have an interest in the undertaking, and any other party with a vested interest in the undertaking.

In the Section 106 process, identified cultural resources are evaluated to determine whether they constitute historic properties. The evaluation varies among the types of cultural resources, primarily due to the kind of significance a cultural resource possesses. The primary guidance for the documentation and evaluation of potential TCPs is provided in National Register Bulletin 38: *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (NRB 38; Parker and King 1998). The publication of NRB 38 was intended to broaden understanding and consideration of cultural resources exhibiting cultural significance that may differ from that of the nation as a whole (King 2003; Parker and King 1998). NRB 38 explains that TCPs possess traditional cultural significance due to their "association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community" (Parker and King 1998:1). NRB 38 advises that identification of TCPs should proceed through consultation with those who ascribe cultural significance—i.e., the traditional communities, themselves. While this study relies on an NRHP-eligible determination from the SC SHPO and does not formally evaluate the property, the steps in determining the NRHP eligibility of a potential TCP are provided for informational purposes in the paragraphs that follow.

The first step in determining the NRHP eligibility of a potential TCP is to confirm that the cultural resource is a tangible property and categorize it as a particular NRHP property type, either a district, site, building,

[3] In the NHPA, *Undertaking* is defined as "a project, activity, or program funded in whole or in part under the direct and indirect jurisdiction of a Federal agency, including—(1) those carried out by or on behalf of the Federal agency; (2) those carried out with Federal financial assistance; (3) those requiring a Federal permit, license, or approval; and (4) those subject to State or local regulation administered pursuant to a delegation or approval by a Federal agency."

structure, or object. NRB 38 states that "[c]onstruction by human beings is a necessary attribute of buildings and structures, but districts, sites, and objects do not have to be the products of, or contain, the work of human beings in order to be classified as properties" (Parker and King 1998:11). For example, a site may be the location of a significant event where no physical evidence of that event is present, or it may be a stand of marsh grass used by cultural participants in the maintenance of certain traditional cultural practices. Likewise, an object could be a natural feature such as a tree under which people gather. A district could be a concentration of any of the property types, whether human-constructed or of natural origin.

While not an officially designated property type, a cultural landscape is a special type of district that reflects the cultural values and traditions of the cultural group that associates with it (NPS 1998). The NPS recognizes four types of cultural landscapes, any of which may possess traditional cultural significance for cultural groups (NPS 1998:88):

- *Historic designed landscapes*: artistic creations that reflect certain styles and may be associated with important people, cultural trends, or events important to landscape architecture;
- *Historic vernacular landscapes*: rural, suburban, or urban areas reflective of a particular cultural group's land values and settlement patterns;
- *Historic sites*: relatively finite areas associated with important events, activities, or people;
- *Ethnographic landscapes*: geographic areas to which a cultural group ascribes traditional cultural importance or which is used in traditional ways.

Of the various cultural landscape types, ethnographic landscapes differ most markedly given the frequent lack of distinction between natural and cultural resources in their conceptualization by cultural groups and their significance centered almost entirely on traditional cultural values and practices (NPS 1998:160). Ethnographic landscapes, perhaps more so than other types of cultural landscapes, are often further defined as TCPs. Historic vernacular landscapes, which reflect a cultural group's values and long-term settlement patterns, are another cultural landscape type that may have traditional cultural significance and, thus, be further defined as TCPs.

After determining the property type, the second step presented in NRB 38 is consideration of the property's integrity. The integrity of a TCP is related to the property's ongoing association with traditional cultural practices or beliefs (integrity of relationship) and the property's overall condition, with consideration as to how the condition may affect the cultural relationship (integrity of condition). To assess a property's integrity of relationship, a researcher considers whether and how a cultural group continues to associate with the property and whether that association is essential to continuation of the cultural practices or beliefs associated with the property. A property's integrity of condition is also considered in relation to how a cultural group associates with the property. In this case, integrity is assessed through the perspectives of the cultural group and the extent to which those perspectives allow for alterations to the property in regards to its location, setting, design, or materials, as relevant. Traditional cultural values and worldviews are important considerations in assessing whether a property retains integrity of condition. For example, a cultural group's values or worldviews regarding change may influence how that group perceives the effects of change on their association or relationship with that property.

To be listed in or considered eligible for the NRHP, a property must meet at least one of the four following criteria for evaluation:

- The resource is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad pattern of our history (Criterion A).
- The resource is associated with the lives of people significant in our past (Criterion B).
- The resource embodies distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represents the work of a master; possesses high artistic value; or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction (Criterion C).
- The resource has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history (Criterion D).

As alluded to above, when evaluating potential TCPs, interpretation of some aspects of the NRHP eligibility criteria are unique to properties potentially possessing traditional cultural significance. In general, the use of "our" in the criteria can be interpreted as the cultural group associated with the property. When assessing significance in regards to Criterion A, "history" could refer to the cultural group's particular accounts and narratives. "Events" could refer not only to historical events but also to occurrences in the cultural group's narratives or ongoing cultural practices that partly define the cultural group. Regarding Criterion B, "persons" could refer to actual people or important characters in the cultural group's accounts and narratives. Significance pertaining to Criterion C could relate to traditional cultural architectural styles; master craftspeople or artists, whether known or unknown, within the cultural group; traditional cultural art or crafts; or groupings of traditional cultural resources that are more important as a whole than they are individually. In considering significance based on Criterion D, the type of information derived from the property could relate to studies of many varieties, including ethnographic, archaeological, sociological, and folkloric. However, NRB 38 cautions that the property's traditional cultural significance is typically primary to any information the property might yield.

The fourth and final step in evaluating a potential TCP for listing in the NRHP involves determining whether any NRHP criteria considerations render the property ineligible. This includes the following criteria considerations:

- Consideration A: Ownership by a religious institution or use for religious purposes;
- Consideration B: Relocated properties;
- Consideration C: Birthplaces and graves;
- Consideration D: Cemeteries;
- Consideration E: Reconstruction;
- Consideration F: Commemoration;
- Consideration G: Significance achieved in the past 50 years.

In applying these considerations in evaluating a potential TCP, a researcher must closely consider the traditional cultural values the cultural group ascribes to the property and avoid ethnocentrism in considering their significance to the cultural group. For example, making a distinction between religion and other aspects of culture is centered on Euro-American values and not necessarily the traditional cultural values of the culture group ascribing significance to the property. The basic consideration is whether a property holds, embodies, or retains traditional cultural significance—as defined by the cultural group—despite fitting one of the criteria considerations. Further, and particularly relevant to cultural landscapes, individual contributing resources within a district that fit one or more of the criteria considerations will not render the overall district ineligible if those individual resources are considered integral to the whole property.

Data collected for the Phillips TCP study also informs the community characterization report (CCR) and the community impact assessment (CIA), the latter of which utilizes data from the CCR to evaluate effects of the proposed transportation action on communities and their qualities of life, as directed by the Federal Highway Administration (1996). Community characterization results are reported in the CCR for the Project (HDR 2018). Results of the CIA are reported in the NEPA document for the Project.

# 3. Study Impetus and Methodology

The community of Phillips in Charleston County, South Carolina, was settled by emancipated African Americans and their descendants over a period of several decades beginning in the 1870s. The original 25 parcels associated with Phillips were surveyed and subdivided in 1875 from a portion of the Laurel Hill Plantation "for the purpose of sale." Earlier plats document that the property was originally granted to Robert Fenwick in 1694 and 1701 and had been sold or willed to eleven other entities by 1874 (McCrady Plat 6101, Charleston County [CC] Register of Deeds [ROD] Office; see **Appendix A** for this and other maps not included as figures in the report). Brothers John S. and Frederick H. Horlbeck, who owned Boone Hall Plantation and Parker's Island, bought Laurel Hill from Behrend Bollman in June 1874 and proceeded to subdivide it a few months later. The Horlbecks' actions may have been spurred by regional Reconstruction efforts to make land available to newly freed African Americans. African Americans formerly of nearby Antebellum plantations purchased the parcels and, in this way, created the Phillips community.

The culture of Phillips and other Gullah communities is distinct from that of many other African-American communities in the Southeast because of the particular cultural history and relative isolation of Gullah peoples (NPS 2012). Partly for this reason, the GGCHC was designated in October 2006 by the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Act (Public Law 109-338). The GGCHC is a national heritage area encompassing a 30-mile-wide linear area extending between Pender County, North Carolina, and St. Johns County, Florida, including the community of Phillips and other African-American communities of Mount Pleasant. The corridor is the home area of descendants of enslaved Africans brought to North America from parts of central and western Africa during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. According to the GGCHC Management Plan, the passing of the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Act was done "to help preserve and interpret the traditional cultural practices, sites, and resources associated with Gullah Geechee people" (NPS 2012).

At the request of community members, SC SHPO visited the Phillips community in 2010 and determined the community to be an NRHP-eligible cultural landscape that is further understood to be a TCP. SC SHPO correspondence regarding the community and their determination of its NRHP status stated:

> The Phillips Community, as we have learned, is a post-bellum freedman's community near Mount Pleasant. The community was carved from the Laurel Hill plantation after the Civil War, and parcels within the community were sold to newly-freed slaves for $63 to $100.[4] Phillips, along with several other freedman's communities in the Mt. Pleasant area, became the epicenters for sweetgrass basket making and other cultural activities related to the Gullah community along the coast of South Carolina.
>
> Today, about 85% of the residents in the Phillips Community are descended from the original owners of land within the community. Although the land has been subdivided somewhat among descendants, the original plat lines can still be seen within the current plats. This tradition of division of the land is reflected today in the "family compounds" throughout the community.

[4] These amounts are erroneous. According to research in the Charleston County and Berkeley County Register of Deeds offices, the original parcels sold for $10 to $29.76 per acre, amounting to totals between $85 and $418.75 per parcel.

> The significance of Phillips as a continuing Gullah community is made stronger when considered along with other traditionally rural Gullah communities in the Mt. Pleasant area, including Scanlonville, Snowden, Green Hill, and Hamlin. While each community has its unique characteristics related to its particular founding and development, the presence of multiple Gullah communities in the area makes the historic significance of each community that much greater.
>
> Although hardly any "historic" buildings remain today in the Phillips Community, it is the opinion of our office that Phillips meets the criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places as a cultural landscape and a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). … Since the Phillips Community is linked to the Gullah community and its traditions (agricultural, sweetgrass basket making through generations, fishing, etc.), we believe that Phillips and most likely other communities in the Mount Pleasant area are excellent examples of TCPs. They seem, in our view, to meet Criterion A for the National Register, under Community Planning and Development and Black [African American] Ethnic Heritage. [Andrew Chandler, SC SHPO, to Richard Habersham, Phillips Community, letter, April 12, 2010, brackets in original]

SC SHPO later concurred with findings of Charleston County's updated inventory of historic buildings and structures, which partly focused on Phillips. The county conducted the update in 2016 due to increased development in unincorporated areas and in an effort to ensure consideration of the county's rural historic resources (Reed 2016). During a public workshop for the effort, members of African-American communities expressed concerns for rapid development and the subsequent reduction in community footprints and erosion of culture. This led to a more directed focus of the update on the history, culture, and potential significance of African-American communities in unincorporated areas of Charleston County. Inventory researchers concluded that the SC SHPO eligibility determinations for Phillips should be expanded to encompass several other African-American communities in the county and also provided detailed reasoning for their collective eligibility, as follows:

> The historic African American communities of unincorporated Charleston County appear to be eligible under Criterion A in the area of community planning and development for retaining various settlement patterns that were established in the decades following Emancipation. Many of these communities have developed in similar, yet distinctive ways. … While the built environment has changed over time, the historic patterns of African American landownership are still visible through comparison of historic and current mapping and in the arrangement and use of land in the communities today.
>
> The county's historic African American communities, strongly rooted in their Lowcountry Gullah traditions, appear to be eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for black ethnic heritage. With social values founded on landownership, extended family ties, and religion, Gullah communities are known for their self-sufficiency and self-reliance. The communities maintained a localized economy through the 1970s, growing food for themselves and community members and fishing and shrimping in nearby creeks or rivers. Although few practice agriculture today, connections to the land remain strong, in some instances, extending back to the period of slavery, and land ownership among families has been maintained over the generations through conveyance as heirs' property. [Reed 2016:117]

Inventory researchers also proposed a preliminary NRHP boundary for Phillips based on historical and current community ownership. In the South Carolina ArchSite GIS database (accessed September 7, 2017), the Phillips community is identified as a historic area, delineated based on parcel limits, and coded as eligible for the NRHP.

In order to assess any adverse effects for the Project, HDR documented the Phillips community as a TCP, with particular attention to the community as a cultural landscape exhibiting traditional cultural significance. As mentioned in **Section 2.0**, HDR considered the Phillips community to be eligible for the NRHP based on the existing SC SHPO determination and, thus, did not conduct a formal NRHP evaluation of the community. However, HDR did find additional rationales for Phillips being eligible for the NRHP, and these are offered in **Section 7.1**. The subsection that follows details the methodology used in the Phillips community documentation and that planned for the effects assessment.

## 3.1 Study Methodology

HDR conducted ethnohistorical, ethnographic, and archival research regarding the Gullah people, generally, and the Phillips community, specifically. Following NRB 38, the research focused on the long-term development of the community in order to gather information on its cultural history, prominent cultural practices and traditional values, and places rooted in the community's history and its members' sense of identity. HDR drew from several National Park Service studies on Gullah people (e.g., NPS 2005, 2012, 2017a, and 2017b), recent studies on the relationships of Gullah people with natural resources (e.g., Brabec and Goetcheus 2015), as well as a variety of other sources identified in a thorough review of digital, library, and archival resources and in collaboration with experts and community stakeholders. A portion of the deed research pertaining to the Phillips community and surrounding area was completed by Brockington and Associates historian Charlie Philips, and the pre-Phillips land ownership information provided in **Section 4.1** was summarized from Philips' findings, which are more fully presented in Baluha et al. (2018).

In preparing for field visits to the Phillips community, HDR synthesized findings from the background research and developed discussion themes that emphasized collection of information from community consultants on the community's cultural history, cultural practices and traditional values, and places rooted in the community's history and identity. Themes were designed to gather insights from community consultants on past impacts and how the Project may affect the community (**Appendix B**). An informed consent process was developed to ensure community consultants understand Project plans, the reasons for a TCP study, how collected data will be used, and where the data will be archived (**Appendix C**). A Project-specific TCP form and associated ArcGIS Collector project was also designed, based closely on National Register Bulletin 16 Part A, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (NPS 1997). The Project-specific TCP form for the overall cultural landscape is provided in **Appendix D**.

During two visits to the Phillips community, occurring in September and November 2017, HDR participated in public involvement events to inform the community of the TCP study and gather input and direction regarding the study. During the public events, HDR engaged community members in exploratory discussions about community history, knowledgeable people, and key places of importance within the natural and built environment. Subsequent to the events, HDR met with leadership from the community and the greater Gullah Geechee region to share information on the study and gain a better understanding of the Phillips community, its history, and the members' senses of identity. HDR also conducted in-depth, ethnographic interviews with six community members. **Table 1** provides a list of the individuals consulted during the field visits who signed informed consent forms and their affiliation(s) as relevant to the study.

Using interview data, HDR visited identified places in the community to make observations; document the resources through maps and photographs; and engage in focused conversations on the individual resources, where possible. Finally, a Project-specific TCP form was completed for the overall cultural landscape, to gather direct field observations on the relationships of the various natural and cultural resources that comprise the cultural landscape.

**Table 1. Participants in the Phillips Community Cultural Landscape Study**

| Name | Known Affiliation(s) | Participation Date |
|---|---|---|
| Debra Coaxum Foreman | • Phillips community member;<br>• Greater Goodwill AME Church member | September 21, 2017 |
| Richard Habersham | • Phillips community member and historian;<br>• Phillips Community Association President;<br>• Greater Goodwill AME Church member | September 23, 2017;<br>March 7 2018;<br>March 19, 2018 |
| Reverend Elijah Smalls | • Phillips community member;<br>• Greater Goodwill AME Church clergy | September 26, 2017 |
| Reverend Harry Palmer | • Phillips community member | November 14, 2017;<br>March 7, 2018 |
| Michael Allen | • Phillips community stakeholder;<br>• Former Fort Moultrie (National Park Service) staff person | November 15, 2017 |
| Thomasena Stokes-Marshall | • Phillips community stakeholder;<br>• African American Settlement Community Historic Commission;<br>• Sweetgrass Cultural Arts Festival Association<br>• Former Town of Mount Pleasant councilwoman | September 23, 2017;<br>November 16, 2017;<br>March 7, 2018 |
| Pat Sullivan | • Phillips community stakeholder;<br>• African American Settlement Community Historic Commission | November 16, 2017;<br>February 26, 2018 |
| Beatrice Coleman | • Phillips community member;<br>• Greater Goodwill AME Church member | November 17, 2017 |
| Hilda Rouse | • Phillips community member;<br>• Greater Goodwill AME Church member | November 17, 2017 |

HDR processed the collected data by transcribing relevant portions of each interview and organizing all data files for analysis and archival purposes. HDR coordinated with the archaeological and architectural history team for the Project to gather details on any archaeological sites or architectural resources to which the community attributes traditional cultural value. All information was compiled into a GIS database containing textual and spatial information on key places and areas in the Phillips Community cultural landscape. Through qualitative and visual assessment, cultural themes and spatial patterns were determined and then integrated with information derived through background research in the final analysis. HDR then authored this report, which details the regulatory background and the culture-specific context; provides an ethnohistorical and ethnographic overview of Gullah Geechee people and the

Phillips community, in particular; and describes the Phillips community as a cultural landscape exhibiting traditional cultural significance. Information from both anonymous participants and those identified in **Table 1** is employed in the report. Those who signed informed consent forms are identified by name and the date of the interview or discussion, while informal conversations with anonymous community members are noted as such and not associated with individuals' names.

In February and March 2018, all participating community members and stakeholders were provided the report for their review and comment as to their agreement with it or the need for revisions. Those who provided comment are reflected in **Table 1** by February or March participation dates. A copy of the report was also provided to Heather Hodges, Director of GGCHC, for her review and comment. Adjustments were made to the report based on the comments received, and the Phillips community historian, Richard Habersham, conducted a final review and approval in mid-March 2018, after revisions were made. HDR applied community-specific findings from the TCP study to the community characterization report.

# 4. Environmental Context

The Project is proposed in an estuarine setting within the outer coastal plain of South Carolina and the Wando River watershed. The area is characterized by tidal salt marshes, two tidal creeks (Horlbeck Creek and Mill Creek), tidally influenced Wando River, extensive freshwater wetlands, and some upland areas. The salt marshes are estuaries of the Wando River and the two creeks. The salt marsh throughout the surveyed project area is a mosaic of high marsh; dominated by sea oxeye (*Borrichia frutescens*) and black needlerush (*Juncus roemerieanus*) and fully inundated or low marsh; dominated by smooth cordgrass (*Spartina alterniflora*) and mud flats. Common macrobenthic species in the salt marsh include fiddler crabs (*Uca pugnax*), ribbed mussels (*Geukensia demissa*), and periwinkle snails (*Littoria irrorata*).

Freshwater wetlands identified within the Project study area are characterized by a tree canopy consisting of laurel oak (*Quercus laurifolia*), sweet gum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*), red maple (*Acer rubrum*), and slash pine (*Pinus elliotti*). The shrub strata consists primarily of dwarf palm (*sabal minor*), wax myrtle (*Morella cerifera*), Chinese privet (*Ligustrum sinense*), and sweetgum. The herbaceous strata is composed of bladder sedge (*Carex intumescens*), royal fern (*Osmunda regalis*), netted chain fern (*Woodwardia areolata*), and slender spike grass (*Chasmanthium laxum*).

Terrestrial or upland habitats adjacent to the salt marsh primarily consist of SC 41 and the surrounding residential and commercial developments. Upland habitats associated with the undeveloped forests include a tree stratum consisting of water oak (*Quercus nigra*), loblolly pine (*Pinus taeda*), sweet gum, and red maple with a shrub stratum of wax myrtle and Chinese privet. The herbaceous/woody vine stratum in these habitats is primarily composed of yellow jasmine (*Gelsemium sempervirens*), common green briar (*Smilax rotundifoila*), muscadine (*Vitis rotundifolia*), and Japanese honeysuckle (*Lonicera japonica*).

Where available and accessible in the Project study area, the people of the Phillips community make particular use of dwarf palmetto (*Sabal minor*), longleaf pine (*Pinus palustris*), and sweetgrass (*Muhlenbergia sericea)*. These plant resources are harvested for weaving into coiled baskets. The baskets were employed in rice production and domestic needs in the Antebellum period and, since the early twentieth century, have been primarily constructed for retailing on the local tourist market. Phillips community members also make use of various seafood resources, including crabs, finfish, and shrimp, available from Horlbeck Creek and, when necessary, the Wando River.

# 5. Cultural Context

The community of Phillips, Charleston County, South Carolina, was founded by previously enslaved African Americans of the Laurel Hill Plantation and possibly other nearby plantations, such as Boone Hall, Parker's Island, and Snee Farm, following the American Civil War. The people of Phillips and similar coastal communities of South Carolina and North Carolina are known as Gullah people (NPS 2005). People of the same ethnicity living in coastal Georgia and the Atlantic Coast of Florida refer to themselves as Geechee. Gullah/Geechee people are descendants of enslaved Africans who were brought to North America to labor on Atlantic Coast plantations between the mid-seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. Like other enslaved Africans, Gullah/Geechee ancestors endured the excruciating journey across the Atlantic Ocean, often referred to as the Middle Passage of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Once on the Atlantic Coast plantations, they developed a unique culture from a fusion of the many different cultural traditions they had practiced in Africa. Many aspects of this culture survive to the current period, having flourished primarily due to the relative isolation of Gullah people for long periods both before and since the Civil War.

This section utilizes ethnohistorical, ethnographic, and archival sources to present information regarding this unique culture. In doing, the cultural history and traditional cultural practices of Phillips and other Gullah communities of coastal South Carolina are discussed.

## 5.1 Cultural History of the Gullah of South Carolina

Ancestors of the Gullah people of South Carolina largely came from portions of western and central Africa, including areas between present-day Senegal and Sierra Leone and the Congo River region to the south (NPS 2005, 2017a). These people were frequently of the indigenous Ibo, Luango, Mende, Ndongo, Nupe, Wolof, or Yoruba peoples, and they were brought to the North American mainland via the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. During the earliest years of settlement in the English colonial region known as Carolina, the southern portion of which later became South Carolina, most enslaved Africans originated from Angola and a kingdom known as The Kongo, which encompassed portions of present-day Angola, Cabinda, the Republic of the Congo, Gabon, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo along the western coast of central Africa (NPS 2017b). After 1750, people from the Windward Coast and Rice Coast regions of Africa, approximately present-day Senegal, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and possibly Côte d'Ivoire, formed the majority of enslaved Africans arriving in Carolina (Carney 2001; NPS 2017b).

In the subsections that follow, attention is given to the cultural history of South Carolina Gullah with particular emphasis, where possible, on the Mount Pleasant vicinity and the community of Phillips.

### 5.1.1 Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade followed a triangular route beginning in England. English slave ships traveled to various ports along the western coast of Africa to exchange firearms, ammunition, and fabric for human beings (NPS 2005). Many people were held captive in the ports, while their captors awaited the arrival of English traders with whom to do business. From Africa, the people took the journey known as the Middle Passage, the second journey in the triangular route. Enslaved Africans were treated as cargo during the trip and kept in the holds of ships in inhumane conditions that frequently led to disease and death. They were often "chained together head to foot, and forced to lie back to belly in their own excrement and vomit" in areas having little more than two or three feet of vertical clearance (NPS

2005:17). Those who perished during the voyage—perhaps as many as two-thirds—were thrown overboard to reduce the chance of the spread of infection (NPS 2005). Modern-day African-American accounts stress the quantity of such deaths by indicating, "if it were possible to view the floor of the Atlantic Ocean, there would be a trail of human bones that stretches from Africa to the Americas" (NPS 2005, quoting Clarke 1995). Those who survived the Middle Passage were traded again in tropical or sub-tropical parts of the New World, called such due to its then recent entry into the world economy.

In the New World, humans were exchanged for commodities that had value on European markets, such as indigo, naval stores, molasses, and sugar (NPS 2005). The commodities returned on the slave ships to England via the third portion of the triangular trade route. Many of the enslaved people destined for Carolina were initially taken to the Caribbean islands, where they were exposed to the conditions and diseases also common in coastal Carolina. This process has been referred to as "seasoning," and the Africans who first landed in the Caribbean and later came to Carolina were considered more valuable due to its strengthening effects. Many of the early English colonists of Carolina also spent time in the Caribbean, often the island of Barbados, and they understood firsthand that the island system was applicable training for Africans purchased for work in Carolina. Barbados, known for its sugar cane production, was also where the plantation systems eventually established in Carolina first developed (NPS 2017a).

### 5.1.2 Colonial South Carolina

In the sixteenth century, portions of the South Carolina coast and other parts of the Gullah region were visited by Spanish, Italian, and French explorers (NPS 2012). Settlements associated with these explorations were short-lived, and the Spanish primarily focused on more southerly interests in Florida (NPS 2012; Twining and Baird 1980). In part to thwart Spanish expansion, English charters for future Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee as well as parts of Florida and Louisiana—collectively referred to as Carolina—were made in the name of various English proprietors between 1629 and 1665 (Lewis 2007; NPS 2012). South Carolina was part of English Carolina from 1663 to 1707. Following the establishment of Great Britain in 1707, Carolina became a British colony. In 1712, South Carolina formally separated from North Carolina and remained a British colony until the Revolutionary War (Kickler 2016; NPS 2012). The vicinity of the Project, as proposed in Charleston County, became part of Christ Church Parish in 1706, and its land areas, bounded by the Wando River, Awendaw Creek, and the Atlantic Ocean, were officially recognized in 1708 (Southerlin et al. 1988).

In 1669, the lords and proprietors of Carolina that were established by the English grants of 1663 and 1665 implemented what they called the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. In addition to recognizing the authority of the English monarchy and organizing a provincial government, the document established that slaves were under the "civil dominion" and "absolute power and authority" of their masters (Locke 1669). A year later, in 1670, an English settlement at Charleston, then called Charles Towne after King Charles I, was formed along the west bank of the Ashley River (NPS 2012, 2017c). Among others originating from England, English plantation owners from Barbados and other Caribbean islands came to the new settlement to establish agricultural operations (NPS 2005, 2012, 2017b).

By the early eighteenth century, Charleston had become the center of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in the British colonies of the North American mainland (NPS 2005). Many enslaved Africans bound for the market in Charleston first came ashore on Sullivan's Island, east of Charleston Harbor, approximately 11 miles from the Phillips community. On the island, Africans and other ship passengers were quarantined, either on the docked ship, in residences, or in buildings known as pest houses (NPS 2005, 2017a). The

island served this purpose from approximately 1707 to 1796 and, in this time, may have been the port of entry for ancestors of around 40 percent of modern-day African Americans. After 1796, quarantine locations moved to James Island and then Morris Island, both located south of Charleston Harbor.

In the earliest years of settlement, cattle was established as an important Carolina export, and a free-range grazing system was devised for feeding the livestock (NPS 2005). Many of the English who relocated from Barbados as well as the enslaved Africans were familiar with free-grazing large herds. The imported Caribbean and African husbandry and herding methods are thought to have "creolized" into a distinctly Carolinian tradition (NPS 2005:22). Timber and associated naval stores, including pitch, rosin, tar, and turpentine, were other successful exports of the time. These products were harvested by enslaved Africans from the vast pinelands of Carolina (NPS 2005). Enslaved Africans also processed hides obtained from Native Americans for export. Other products, including barrel staves and salt meats, were traded in the Caribbean for items such as sugar and additional slaves. Money earned through these exchanges was reinvested in arable land in Carolina and, by the early eighteenth century, in the production of rice (Southerlin et al. 1988; NPS 2005). In Christ Church Parish, prominent early plantations were concentrated along the Wando River and its tributaries, perhaps for proximity to marshlands, where the growth of rice was restricted (Southerlin et al. 1988).

Around 61 percent of enslaved Africans brought to South Carolina and Georgia originated in the African continental region known as the Rice Coast, and as such, many had foreknowledge of rice cultivation (NPS 2005). While initially production was attempted in damp soil without the input of irrigation, other rice-growing methods were soon implemented with better success. Reservoirs fed by natural waterways and wetlands were first designed to irrigate rice fields, as needed, through manual means. Around the 1750s, natural processes were harnessed through human ingenuity to employ the more sophisticated "tidewater method" (NPS 2012:43; also NPS 2005). In this system, a complex of canals, dikes, sluices, and trunks was engineered to bring fresh water into the fields during high tides (Carney 2001). The tidewater method was apparently an agricultural tradition imported from Africa. Late sixteenth century observations by a Portuguese-African trader on the Upper Guinea coast document that people in those areas were using a similar method: "[T]he residents were growing crops on the riverain [*sic*] deposits, and by a system of dikes had harnessed the tides to their own advantage" (Carney 2001:386, quoting Rodney 1970).

Not only was the tidewater system likely engineered by enslaved Africans (Carney 2001), the traditions practiced during the planting and processing of rice were also of African origin (NPS 2005). Rice seeds were coated with clay to prevent them from floating during irrigation, as they had been in Africa. Enslaved African children fulfilled their traditional role of scaring away birds from fields with ripe product prior to their harvest. The planting method of "pressing a hole with the heel and covering the seeds with the foot," the work songs performed during group tasks, and the processing method of separating the grain in the wind using winnowing baskets were all African traditions practiced in Carolina (NPS 2005:28, quoting Wood 1974:61).

Indigo was another successful venture of Carolina plantations that has an origin in Africa. The crop was produced in South Carolina between the 1740s and the Revolutionary War in order to diversify the economy and make use of lands not suited to rice production (NPS 2005, 2017b). As with rice, the cultivation and processing of indigo were well known to many enslaved Africans (NPS 2017b). Prior to

and during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, Africans of Sierra Leone and land areas associated with the Bight of Benin[5] were cultivating and processing indigo and trading textiles dyed with the plant.

These associations with the major exports produced on Carolina plantations worked in the favor of the New World economy and made the enslaved Africans—and their indigenous knowledge systems—critical to its success. According to NPS (2017a),

> [f]rom the beginning, Africans were the backbone of Carolina's economy. English colonists brought a plantation system perfected on the sugar island of Barbados. Africans cleared the land for agricultural production. They made tar and pitch to keep ships afloat. They stirred the indigo pots, herded cattle, and fished the waters. But their labor and ancient ingenuity growing rice was prized the most. They skillfully tamed the freshwater swamps to grow a fickle crop that required a balanced flow of water for profitable yields. The Africans grew the "white gold" that made Carolina rich.

Enslaved Africans brought other skills to Carolina plantations, as well. In Africa, many had been blacksmiths, caretakers, carpenters, coopers, fishermen, healers, midwives, miners, and potters, and these skills were often employed on plantations and contributed to their overall success (NPS 2005).

Such contributions to economic success suggests that enslaved Africans of colonial Carolina had at least some agency and were not passive subjects only able to *react* rather than act and create. Agency among enslaved Africans can also be noted in attempts to gain freedom, whether successful or not. Freedom attempts in the early to mid-eighteenth century were spurred by slaves' own dissatisfaction regarding their situations and also triggered by strategic political moves by the Spanish colonial government in their efforts against England and, later, Great Britain. In 1693, the Spanish king decreed that freedom be granted to enslaved Africans who converted to Catholicism (Landers 1988). A subsequent edict was passed in 1733 that allowed religious sanctuary for slaves who escaped British colonies and fled to Florida (NPS 2005). In a bolder move, Spanish authorities next established a safe haven for freed British slaves named Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose and known as Mose. According to Landers (1988:28),

> A priest was assigned to the convert village and the men organized themselves into a militia. Approximately thirty-eight families were living in the town by the following year. In gratitude, the freedmen vowed to "shed their last drop of blood in defense of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith, and to be the most cruel enemies of the English."

While obviously formed as a strategic move by Spain against the British, Mose was the "first legally sanctioned free black settlement on the North American continent" (NPS 2005:23).

Seeming tolerance in Spanish Florida led a group of enslaved men, women, and children from Port Royal, South Carolina, to escape by boat and journey successfully to Mose. This spurred South Carolina officials to demand that Spanish Florida return the group. However, the Spanish governor explained that the people had been granted religious sanctuary, based on the 1733 edict. In turn, South Carolina passed legislation in April 1739 offering bounties for escaped slaves—and even requested slave scalps to use as deterrents to escape and revolt. Despite these actions, however, escape attempts and uprisings by enslaved Africans continued.

[5] The Bight of Benin is a bay-like waterway along the coasts of modern-day Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria.

The Stono Rebellion of September 9, 1739, is perhaps the best known slave uprising, as it is understood to be the largest slave revolt in the New World colonies prior to the Revolutionary War (NPS 2005). The rebellion started when approximately one dozen enslaved Africans entered a store near Charleston, killed the storekeepers, and stole all the guns and ammunition the store had in stock. From there, the group proceeded to raid plantations, burn houses, and kill European colonists they encountered. As they advanced in a southerly direction, perhaps towards Mose, the group gathered more slave participants along the way. Soldiers sent by the South Carolina governor intersected the group near Jacksonboro, and approximately 40 enslaved Africans and 20 Europeans were killed during the ensuing fight. The enslaved Africans who managed to escape death that day were soon found and executed for their actions. The one-day revolt substantially increased tensions between slaves and the British—making the risks taken with attempted escape even less of a deterrent to enslaved Africans.

### 5.1.3 Early Gullah Cultural Development

Just as they well nurtured the early economy of Carolina, enslaved Africans also came together on plantations to develop and nurture a unique culture. According to the NPS (2017b),

> The early generation of people from the Kongo and Angola shared many aspects of Kongo culture, language, and customs. The Senegambians and Sierra Leone people arriving in the eighteenth century, shared Mandekan language, Mande culture, and customs. This multicultural group of Africans and their descendant generations lived together, mostly on plantations and, in comparison to African people in the Chesapeake, lived in relative isolation from Europeans. …
>
> … Over time, the descendants of the early South Carolina Kongo and Angola Africans merged with the people from Senegambia and Sierra Leone as they formed family, kin networks and community. Their African languages and English melded into a distinctive African American language called Gullah or, in Georgia, Geechee. By these names, the people and their cultural heritage came to be known.

Development of the Gullah culture of South Carolina was in part the natural result of people of varying, yet similar ethnicities coming together in a shared life experience, as the above quote imparts. However, it was also due to plantation owners' use of the task system to organize and motivate slave labor in the agricultural fields. The task system was commonly employed on the plantations of South Carolina and other areas of the Gullah/Geechee region, whereas outside of the region, the gang system was more prominent (NPS 2005). Rather than laboring as long as daylight would support efforts, under the task system, enslaved African agricultural workers were given a certain amount of work to complete each day. Depending on an individual's age and capabilities, tasks generally ranged from working approximately one-eighth to one-half of an acre each day.

Under the task system, enslaved Africans could engage in other activities once their assigned task was completed for the day. In their off-time, some labored on other plantations for cash and were allowed to keep all or a portion of their earnings. Others assisted family members in achieving their task for the day or engaged in subsistence activities such as hunting, fishing, raising livestock, or tending their own gardens. Enslaved Africans who were unable to provide hard labor could care for children and perform other chores within the slave community. Generally, the task system supported some amount of autonomy within slave villages and allowed more time for singing, playing music, dancing, and maintaining traditional skills and crafts. According to the NPS (2005:37), the task system "encouraged family, religious, and community activities by which the slaves were able to carry on their African-derived

customs and practices without fear of interference." For the most part, however, the task system was only liberating for the agricultural workers of the Gullah/Geechee slave communities. Domestic workers were largely removed from the slave community and made to devote entire days to the needs of plantation owners and their families.

The tendency for Carolina planters to be absent from their plantations for long periods of time was another aspect of the Carolinian plantation system that supported development of Gullah/Geechee culture (NPS 2005). Owner absenteeism was a factor throughout the Colonial period in South Carolina. Many planters and their families left Carolina during the "sickly" summer months, for example, when mosquitos contributed to yellow fever and malaria (NPS 2012). At these times of relative autonomy, enslaved Africans operated the plantations with no supervision and were able to closely nurture their own communities. Major events such as the Revolutionary War further encouraged the practice of absenteeism. During the Revolutionary War, isolation increased between the European settlers and slaves of coastal South Carolina due to many leaving to join the war effort (NPS 2005). Following the war, the importation of new African slaves increased, and owners were frequently absent to attend to those details. According to the NPS (2005:39), in the late eighteenth century, "Gullah/Geechee language and culture took firm root and became the embodiment of the coastal region's cultural distinctiveness." Such isolation bred a sense of independence, necessitated self-sufficiency, and naturally supported the deep cultural and spiritual connections with the coastal environment that are characteristic of Gullah/Geechee culture.

Interestingly, connections with the land developed within an environment largely created through the forced labor of Gullah/Geechee ancestors (NPS 2005). Thus, rather than adaptations related to the native Cypress-Gum swamp forests, the Gullah people of South Carolina adapted subsistence and other cultural practices within the abundant marshlands formed for the express purpose of rice cultivation. The expansive, human-created marshes came to nurture wild grasses that in turn supported a key cultural tradition among Gullah people: basketmaking. Originally a tradition practiced in Africa, enslaved Africans of colonial Carolina harvested marsh grasses—typically bulrush—and saw palmetto stems to manufacture the coiled winnowing baskets used in the processing of rice (Adams 2009; Rosengarten 2017). Such traditional skills would later be employed by former enslaved African Americans as they carved independent lifeways for themselves in the Post-Bellum period.

#### 5.1.4 American South Carolina to Reconstruction

In the midst of these Gullah cultural developments, the Revolutionary War, occurring between 1775 and 1783, triggered economic and social changes in Carolina. During the war, in which residents of the New World mainland (i.e., Continental) sought independence from Great Britain, slaves were encouraged to join Continental forces through incentives for slave owners and the slaves, themselves (NPS 2005). Slave owners were provided up to 1,000 dollars for each male slave aged 35 or below that they provided for the Continental cause. Enslaved Africans who joined and served faithfully throughout the war were promised 50 dollars and their emancipation. Several issues caused trouble on southern plantations at the conclusion of the war. According to the NPS (2005:29), "many southern planters suffered major financial losses due to the interruption of trade, the loss of the indigo market with England, and the loss of many enslaved laborers." To address these challenges, importation of Africans to South Carolina increased, and the planters turned to cotton as a promising new economic venture.

In the 1790s, a "long staple, black seed cotton" was successfully grown by William Elliott of Hilton Head Island, South Carolina (NPS 2005:29). First grown in 1778 in Georgia, this cotton came to be known as Sea Island cotton, as it was only viable in the coastal areas south of Charleston to the Atlantic coast of

northern Florida (Gibbs 2006; NPS 2005). The high quality aspects of this cotton renewed trade with English buyers. At the same time, cotton was made more profitable with the advent of the cotton gin and mechanized textile production in England. These forces not only increased demand of Sea Island cotton but also short staple varieties of poorer quality. As such, cotton production spread throughout coastal and upland areas and spurred new importations of enslaved Africans. Between 1804 and the abolishment of new slave importations in 1808, some 40,000 Angolan Africans were brought to South Carolina as enslaved laborers. After 1808, maintaining slave health became a new area of focus, and slave numbers were encouraged to naturally increase through support for slave families. Enslaved Africans were also sold between regions to address higher demand in some places. Despite earlier grants of sanctuary and freedom to slaves, importation of slaves was legal in Spanish Florida until 1821, and some may have been smuggled into South Carolina.

The Civil War and its aftermath was a time of upheaval in South Carolina. In the war, which occurred between 1861 and 1865, southern states, together forming the Confederacy, sought independence from the United States, referred to as the Union. The Union controlled the southern coast of South Carolina near the start of the war, and some plantation owners escaped their coastal properties with their families to avoid harassment by Union troops (Reed 2016). Many plantation owners also joined the war effort as soldiers and officers, and some enslaved Africans accompanied their owners as assistants (NPS 2005). Towards the latter part of the war, enslaved Africans were actively recruited by the Confederacy in a final attempt at victory.

Anticipating their own victory, however, the Union had another agenda. During the period known as Reconstruction, occurring between approximately 1863 and 1877,[6] the federal government focused on assisting freed African Americans in establishing themselves and restoring peace and order within the United States. In January 1863, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation that abolished slavery in the Confederacy with the intent to deny the benefits of slave labor and bring additional forces to the Union side (Library of Congress 2002). By May 1863, the United States established the Bureau of Colored Troops to recruit African Americans and organize all-African-American regiments. Approximately 175 infantry regiments formed from across the United States, including six in the coastal area of South Carolina (Gourdin 2009; Heritage Library Foundation 2017). The 128th Infantry Regiment, United States Colored Troops (128$^{th}$ USCT) mustered into United States service in April 1865 at Hilton Head, and its various companies served at posts throughout the Charleston vicinity until October 10, 1866 (Rootsweb 2017). According to Gourdin (2009), African-American men enlisted in this and other regiments “as the Union Army passed through their communities.” By the war’s end, African-American soldiers composed approximately 10 percent of the Union forces (Civil War Trust 2017).

On January 12, 1865, following from his capture of Savannah, Georgia, the Union general William T. Sherman met with 20 leaders of the African community of Savannah to discuss changes that would occur with slave emancipation (Fierce 1974; Myers 2005; NPS 2005). Understanding that the leaders’ wish was for freed Africans to live in separate communities in which they owned the land, Sherman issued Special Field Order Number 15 in January 1865. The order began by stating,

[6] Some sources suggest that Reconstruction began with the issuance of President Abraham Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and subsequent federal-level discussions related to the freeing of slaves (e.g., Colby 1985). However, many other sources indicate that the major thrust of the period began around the end of the Civil War, especially with the early reforms of Andrew Johnson’s presidency. In South Carolina, Bleser (1969) marks the beginning with the passing of the Military Reconstruction Acts in March 1867. While the NPS’s Reconstruction Era National Monument in Beaufort traces the period to 1898, historians such as Bonner and Hamer (2016) continue to mark the end of Reconstruction with its demise as a national policy objective of the Republican Party in 1877.

> The islands from Charleston south, the abandoned rice-fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. John's River, Florida, are reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of the United States. [NPS 2005:47]

The order further declared that "on the islands, and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside" (NPS 2005:47-48). Another provision of the order explained the means by which individual families could obtain up to 40 acres on the set-aside islands. The order and associated federal regulations, sometimes referred to as the Port Royal Experiment, led to some 40,000 freed slaves obtaining "possessory titles" to parcels (Abbott 1956a; Brabec and Goetcheus 2015; NPS 2005).

In a broader yet similar move, in March 1865, the federal government created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, known as the Freedmen's Bureau (Abbott 1956a and 1956b; Colby 1985). The Freedmen's Bureau "provided federally mandated social welfare programs to the former rebellious states and their localities primarily to assist and protect the freedmen in their new social status within white America" (Colby 1985:219). By the late summer of 1865, the bureau was operational throughout the southern states and had confiscated approximately 800,000 acres of land and 5,000 town parcels held by people who had supported the Confederacy (Abbott 1956a). Around the same time, in May 1865, President Andrew Johnson issued a proclamation pardoning many of the former Confederates and restoring their property rights (Johnson 1865). Subsequently, Johnson did not agree with the actions of the Freedmen's Bureau in confiscating land, and the bureau was forced to restore much of it to their former owners (Abbott 1956a).

The situation in coastal South Carolina was complicated by Sherman's order and the fact that many emancipated African Americans had already taken up residence due to it (Abbott 1956a). To settle the issue, additional regulations were authored that made existing African-American land titles invalid if certain conditions had not been met and forced those with invalid grants to either work for the restored owner or be evicted through military force. In early 1867, many of those African Americans with valid titles were ordered to exchange those for land in the Hilton Head region, where the federal government had definite holdings. Even with such setbacks, however, coastal South Carolina

> was the only place in the country where the offer of "forty acres and a mule" became partially recognized. The acres were sold at $1.25 per acre. This obligation was often fulfilled by two to three day's work per week for three years as a sharecropper or tenant farmer. This action … encouraged self-sufficiency and created autonomous, self-governing, communities i[n] such places as St. Helena Island and Hilton Head. [NPS 2005:F22]

Such progress in South Carolina when many other places were failing is in part attributable to the establishment of a state land commission similar to the federal Freedmen's Bureau. The Republican-dominated legislature of South Carolina passed significant reforms that were inclusive of newly emancipated African Americans early in Reconstruction (Reed 2016). A new state constitution was passed in 1868 that established a commission to address the problem of landlessness among African Americans and poor Euro-Americans (Bleser 1969; Fierce 1974; Powers 2016; Pressly 1989). In a move unique to the southern states but similar to the federal government's actions, the state's General Assembly formed the South Carolina Land Commission in March 1869 with the intent to acquire funds to

purchase or confiscate plantations and sell these properties to the newly freed African Americans and other people in need of affordable land (Bleser 1969).

### 5.1.5 Formation of Gullah Communities and Continuing Cultural Development

The South Carolina Land Commission began to survey and subdivide former plantations and sell them to landless African Americans and Euro-Americans (Powers 2016; Reed 2016). By 1890, approximately 14,000 African-American families had moved onto Commission lands, while some 1,000 to 2,000 of these families had actually gained title to these lands (Fierce 1974; Powers 2016). Gullah people also claimed abandoned lands and purchased adjacent properties as a group following the Civil War (NPS 2005). According to Brabec and Goetcheus (2015), African Americans of the region "often stated a property interest in their former plantations lands; because they had lived and worked the land for generations, they felt they held a moral, if not legal, claim to the land."

Small communities of related Gullah people formed as a result of the subdivision of lands (NPS 2005). Sometimes these communities are termed *settlement communities* due to the people's landless status following enslavement. However, similar to the Antebellum period, the members of these communities were not passive in the settlement process; instead, they worked together to achieve self-sufficiency through subsistence and wage labor means. In the Mount Pleasant vicinity, an estimated 18 Post-Bellum African-American communities formed (**Table 2**). According to Gibbs (2006), all except the community at Parker's Island are present-day communities. Historically, each of these communities was associated with a church and school. The mile marker communities indicate the distance to the center of Mount Pleasant, and these communities may have formed as stagecoach stops at the location of taverns (Adams 2009; Gibbs 2006).

**Table 2. Post-Bellum African-American Communities in the Mount Pleasant Vicinity**

| Community | Location |
|---|---|
| Awendaw | At the intersection of US 17 and Steed Creek Road, north of Awendaw Creek |
| Beehive | Along Beehive Road, south of US 17 at Ten-Mile |
| Chandler | Between US 17 and the Wando River, north-northeast of Ten-Mile |
| Eight-Mile | 8-mile marker on US 17 |
| Fifteen-Mile | 15-mile marker on US 17 |
| Four-Mile | 4-mile marker on US 17 |
| Green Hill | North of Mathis Ferry Road, south of Hobcaw Creek near its source, east of Remley's Point |
| Hamlin | At the intersection of Rifle Range and Hamlin roads, south of US 17 |
| Parker's Island | Between US 17 and the Wando River, west-southwest of Phillips |
| Phillips | Between US 17 and the Wando River, east-northeast of Parker's Island |

| Community | Location |
| --- | --- |
| Pineland | Along US 17, east-northeast of Awendaw |
| Remley's Point / Scanlonville | West of Mathis Ferry Road, between US 17 and the Wando River, east of Drum Island |
| Seven-Mile | 7-mile marker on US 17 |
| Snowden | Between US 17 and the Wando River, near the source of Rathall Creek |
| Ten-Mile | 10-mile marker on US 17 |
| Tibwin | At the intersection of US 17 and Tibwin Road, northeast of Pineland |
| Twenty-One Mile | 21-mile marker on US 17 |
| Two-Mile | 2-mile marker on US 17 |

In the Post-Bellum period, the relative autonomy of the Gullah communities of Mount Pleasant tended to nurture the African-based, indigenous-like cultural traditions and practices that had developed during the period of enslavement. Many communities remained on or near the plantations where their traditions had initially developed, and this strengthened cultural and familial ties among Gullah people (NPS 2005). Older community members continued to share traditional cultural knowledge with younger generations through speaking the Gullah language; storytelling; and teaching agricultural methods, water-based subsistence practices, a variety of practical skills, and traditional arts, and many of these traditions are practiced today. African-American families of Mount Pleasant Gullah communities grew large gardens and hunted and fished for their own sustenance. Elders and, in particular, women were integral to the perpetuation of the Gullah language, cultural traditions, and historical accounts and stories, while strong-bodied individuals labored for themselves or others to obtain resources to share with the larger community.

#### *5.1.5.1 Gullah Language and Literary Traditions*

For Gullah people, the development and maintenance of a unique creole language was both central to the integration of diverse African cultural traditions and continually reaffirming of the people's African origins. Native Gullah speaker Carolyn "Jabulile" White, who grew up on James Island, South Carolina, explains that enslaved Africans originally melded together English and various African tribal languages to compose the language, known, like the people, as Gullah (Bounce Around Charleston 2014). White's description is not unlike scholarly descriptions of the language, as provided by NPS (2005:55):

> As a creole language,[7] Gullah began as a pidgin, a simplified speech used for communication among people of different languages. The pidgin likely began in the castles and *barracoons*, outdoor prison-like enclosures where captives were held before

[7] NPS (2005:55) explain, "Creolization is a linguistic process that emerges from pidgin speech codes. If a pidgin becomes the only form of communication for a succeeding generation of speakers, the processes of linguistic evolution takes over to produce a complete language. Thus creole languages have their own phonological, syntactical, and grammatical rules even though the vocabulary is derived from the ancestral languages which gave rise to the pidgin."

> being loaded onto the slave ships [in Africa]. The language, with its vocabulary and grammatical roots in European and African languages, developed for practical purposes as a way for Africans and their captors from different linguistic origins to communicate with one another.

While the descriptions make clear that Gullah is a full-fledged creole language in its own right, for a long period of time, many people considered Gullah speakers as having a lower social status, and Gullah school children were discouraged to use the language in the classroom. Such outside perceptions contributed to changes in Gullah speech patterns and the inclusion of more English words in the vocabulary. Young people are becoming less inclined to speak Gullah due to these perceptions, and this is of concern to older Gullah people who fear that the language may be lost. According to NPS (2005:57), the Gullah language is "at the core of Gullah/Geechee cultural identity," and its loss could affect Gullah cultural associations with one another as well as Gullah artistic expression.

Fortunately, several Gullah speakers of coastal South Carolina are preserving the language through the long-nurtured tradition of storytelling. The stories are often set along the coast and contain explanations of the natural world, personified animal characters, and culturally important behavioral and moral lessons (NPS 2005). Central themes in the stories include characters portrayed as weak outsmarting those of higher status and generally promoting the notion of freedom within a context of slavery. Gullah storytellers frequently tell the tales with "animation, intensity, [and] change[s] in speaking rate, pitch, and voice rhythm" and are "keenly aware of audience response" (Puckett 1956). Following from the work of Joel Chandler Harris in recording *Uncle Remus* tales in interior Georgia, several Euro-Americans recorded early versions of Gullah stories on the Georgia and South Carolina coasts (e.g., Jones 2000 [1888]; Albert H. Stoddard, *Animal Tales Told in the Gullah Dialect*, 1949, Folklore of the United States Series, Archive of Folk Song Recordings, Library of Congress, Washington, DC). In acknowledging Harris's efforts, Charles C. Jones, Jr. (2000:Prefatory Note [1888]) explained that, in "the swamp region of Georgia and the Carolinas," "the lingo of the rice-field and the sea-island negroes is *sui generis* [unique]" and the "myths and fanciful stories, often repeated before the war [Civil War], and now seldom heard … materially differ from those narrated by the sable dwellers in the interior." Many of the tales are similar to those of the interior. Jones recorded versions of well-known stories such as *Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby* and *The Tortoise and the Hare*, also told in the interior. However, the use of the Gullah dialect in the coastal versions—which developed in "the deepest pockets of Africa in America, where the language was a mystifying mix of English and several West African tongues" (William 2000:xxiii)—makes these fundamentally different from those Harris recorded.

In her presentations, Gullah speaker and storyteller White gives the sense that telling stories is a way of preserving both the language and the culture of Gullah people. White explains, "I do a lot of Gullah storytelling because I would love for the children to know more about their heritage, about the language, to be proud of it like I am." White mostly tells stories she learned from her father and grandparents. Many of the stories have behavioral morals, and some have their roots in the Antebellum period. One such story features the frustrations of a girl who has several suitors she cannot marry, as she consistently finds that they are her half-brothers (Bounce Around Charleston 2014). White concludes the story by explaining that many enslaved Africans in a given area were related due to people being sold between nearby plantations. Other Gullah storytellers include Minerva King and Alada "Muima" Shinault-Small, and the tradition is a prominent feature of touristic activities in the Charleston area (NPS 2005).

### 5.1.5.2 Traditional Cultural and Pragmatic Arts

Pragmatic arts and skills have always been essential to Gullah African Americans of South Carolina, both on Antebellum plantations and in their Post-Bellum communities. From free-ranging cattle to tidewater irrigation methods for rice to seafood harvest, Gullah people brought and developed many skills in support of the economy of coastal South Carolina. Several traditions that support such practical skills have been nurtured over the years, and some Gullah people still practice them today, for family needs and as a means to earn money.

Two pragmatic skills that were once mastered by many Gullah men through teachings from their older relatives was wooden boat building and knitting fishing nets (NPS 2005; Palmer, November 14, 2017). Boat building was a skill that nearly all males practiced, and several men would often work together to complete each other's vessels (Smalls, September 26, 2017). Whereas many males once knitted nets, there are now a few practitioners along the South Carolina coast; these include people in McClellanville and the islands of St. Helena and Wadmalaw (NPS 2005). Both of these skills supported the intensive fishing practices maintained by most Gullah males historically and by many still today.

Perhaps the most quintessential Gullah artform that continues today is the making of coiled baskets. Initially and into the early twentieth century, baskets were made for use in processing rice and, thus, were constructed of strong materials such as bulrush, split oak, and palm in order to maximize their function and durability (Adams 2009; Lee n.d.; Rosengarten 2017). According to Gullah basketmaker M. Jeannette Gaillard Lee, including plants referenced in the Bible into their baskets "kept the Africans close to their beloved homeland and continuously reinforced their faith in the God of their salvation." After their emancipation, African Americans who settled on former plantations or continued growing rice maintained the utilitarian basketmaking tradition by constructing baskets for agricultural harvest and processing, storage baskets, and flat tray-like baskets (Rosengarten 2017; Coakley 2017). Larger baskets were more typically made by men, while women often constructed smaller baskets (Adams 2009). Surplus vegetables from African-American gardens were sometimes brought to the streets of Charleston, where they were frequently presented in the utilitarian baskets used to carry them there.

In Mount Pleasant, following a tropical storm in 1911, some African Americans of the Hamlin community sought shelter with relatives renting former slave cabins at Boone Hall Plantation and soon began marketing baskets to plantation visitors (Adams 2009; Coakley 2017). When cars entered, children "hurriedly gathered their wares to try to impress the eager buyers who beckoned them to sing and dance" (Coakley 2017). Around the same time, Charleston merchant Clarence Legerton began purchasing large quantities of coiled baskets from people of Hamlin and the Boone Hall African-American community (Adams 2009; Coakley 2017; Rosengarten 2017). Legerton retailed baskets in Charleston and sold them on the wholesale market to stores in large urban areas such as New York City. These opportunities prompted more artful and decorative basket forms, and the materials chosen for their construction did not need to be as durable as bulrush. A type of sea grass known locally as sweetgrass was the primary material selected for these baskets due to its pliability, while longleaf pine needles were used for color variation and palmetto leaves, for strength.

In 1929, a bridge was constructed over the Cooper River to connect Mount Pleasant with Charleston, and two years later, US 17, a major thoroughfare between New York and Florida that extends through the heart of Mount Pleasant, was paved (Adams 2009; Coakley 2017; Rosengarten 2017). These changes made the area more accessible to outsiders and, thus, spurred a local tourist market. Individual basketmakers began to market their baskets informally along US 17. Several Gullah women, including Lottie "Winee" Moultrie Swinton, Lydia Spann Graddick, and Ida Jefferson Wilson, began to market their

baskets on the busy road (Adams 2009; Coakley 2017; Lee n.d.). By the 1930s, many wooden stands had been built along US 17 to sell baskets to a growing tourist market (Adams 2009; Coakley 2017; Rosengarten 2017). Women had come to dominate the basketmaking tradition by this time, while men were increasingly engaged in outside employment (Adams 2009; Rosengarten 2017).

In the early to mid-twentieth century, baskets began to be sold at the Charleston City Market, located on Market Street between Bay and Meeting streets, and another Charleston location, where Broad and Meeting streets intersect, known locally as the “Four Corners of Law” (Lee n.d.; NEA 2010). These venues, along with US 17, remain the primary options for sweetgrass basketmakers to retail their product today, while such venues as the recently completed Sweetgrass Basket Pavilion in the Town of Mount Pleasant’s Memorial Waterfront Park and the Towne Center Sweetgrass Basket Pavilion offer additional outlets for marketing baskets (**Figure 3**; Adams 2009; Coleman, November 17, 2017; Stokes-Marshall, November 16, 2017). In 1997, a historic marker was placed at the intersection of US 17 and Hamlin Road to memorialize “the site of the first basket stand” (Lee n.d.). Attesting to its importance not only to Gullah people but to the region and South Carolina, as a whole, in the 2000s, the artform was named the official handicraft of South Carolina, a portion of US 17 was designated the Sweetgrass Basket Makers Highway, and the Sweetgrass Basket Overlay District was created along a 1.5 mile stretch of US 17 between Long Point and Porcher’s Bluff roads (Prentiss Findlay, n.d., Sweetgrass Basket Overlay District Ok’d along U.S. 17, *Post and Courier* article, Handicrafts--Baskets, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library, Mount Pleasant branch; Lee n.d.). The US 17 district formally established use of buffers and rights-of-way by basket retailers and provided for basket stands up to 500 square feet with safe ingress and egress. The district and yet-identified associated resources, termed the Sweetgrass Basket Corridor, have also been considered as a TCP due to its “significance for African-American culture at the national, state, and local level” (Adams 2009:97).

**Figure 3. Sweetgrass Basket Pavilion, Memorial Waterfront Park, Town of Mount Pleasant, photograph by author**

#### *5.1.5.3 Cultural Organizations and Events*

In recent years, several sweetgrass basket associations have formed to promote and protect this vital artform. These include the Mount Pleasant Basket Makers Association, founded in 1988 and associated with well-known basketmaker Mary Jackson; the Original Sweetgrass Marketplace Coalition (OSMC); and the Sweetgrass Cultural Arts Association (SCAA) (Grabbatin et al. 2011; NEA 2010). Based on local discussions, Grabbatin et al. (2011:644) report that "alliances with particular community members and affiliating oneself with an organization can help basketmakers gain access to harvesting sites." This is necessary, in part, because of a decrease in access to and availability of the natural materials needed for basketmaking, but also due to the work of these organizations to coordinate with private and governmental entities to allow for harvest in otherwise inaccessible areas.

Membership in the organizations is typically associated with familial alliances, which also partly dictate where people choose to sell their baskets. Basket stands on US 17 are often shared between family members or passed down (Adams 2009; Grabbatin et al. 2011). Space at the Charleston City Market can be leased by individuals; however, the leases are often maintained for life and shared among family members (Grabbatin et al. 2011). Family connections are even more prevalent at Broad and Meeting streets, where Gullah women have claimed the intersection for selling baskets as well as flowers and produce. According to Grabbatin et al. (2011:646), "[t]here is no formal leasing or permitting process to use the sidewalks and steps claimed by the 'flower ladies' in the early 20th century, it's a family tradition." One basketmaker explained her use of the Broad Street location while onsite, as follows: "This would be my grandmother's spot, right here. And I'm selling the flowers too … So; I still have the old tradition. That's my grandmother's, she planted that, and it still grows" (Grabbatin 2011:646).

One of the more recently formed organizations, SCAA was established in 2004 to "preserve the heritage, traditions, and legacy of the Gullah Geechee culture, including the sweetgrass basket making art form" (SCAA 2017a). In partnership with the National Park Service, the Town of Mount Pleasant, and the Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, SCAA held its first Sweetgrass Festival in June 2005 (SCAA 2017b). The Sweetgrass Cultural Arts Pavilion was constructed at Mount Pleasant's Memorial Waterfront Park in 2009 and became the permanent location of the annual Sweetgrass Festival. The Sweetgrass Basket Making Summer Camp was initiated by SCAA in 2012 as a means to teach the art of sweetgrass basketmaking to young people. One of the main initiatives of SCAA has been implementing the Sweetgrass Harvesting Program in partnership with area businesses, developers, and government entities. The Program helps counter the effects of substantial growth and the related difficulty in accessing and harvesting sweetgrass in recent years.

Events featuring the Gullah culture that are more generally for non-Gullah people help to preserve Gullah traditions by garnering outside interest and sustaining the people economically. Around the early 1990s, OSMC held its first Sweetgrass Basket Festival in the yard of founder M. Jeanette Gaillard Lee (Lisa Hofbauer, 1997, A sweet tradition: Sixth Sweetgrass Basket Festival celebrates a Lowcountry art form, *Post and Courier* article, Handicrafts--Baskets, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library, Mount Pleasant branch). For a number of years after that, the festival, during which basketmakers market their wares, was at Boone Hall Plantation, perhaps a nod to the early use of the plantation to market baskets. SCAA presents the annual Sweetgrass Festival at Memorial Waterfront Park on the first Saturday in June. About the event, SCAA (2017b) explains,

The annual Sweetgrass Festival contributes to the local and state's tourism economy and has increased the number of visitors and cultural tourists who visits the festival each year. Additionally, people from all over the country are educated and exposed to the Gullah Geechee people's culture and their history about the sweetgrass basket making art form.

# 6. Phillips Community

The Gullah community of Phillips began to be settled by African-American families in the late 1870s. Phillips is centrally located within the study area, along SC 41 and approximately halfway between the bridge over the Wando River and US 17 (see **Figure 1** and **Figure 2**). As described in **Section 2.0** and **Section 3.0**, HDR considered the Phillips community to be eligible for the NRHP based on the existing SC SHPO determination. As such, HDR documented the Phillips community as a TCP and, more specifically, a cultural landscape exhibiting traditional cultural significance.

The subsections that follow (1) present the history of Phillips, including consideration of local, regional, and national trends that have affected the community and living cultural practices; (2) discuss the core traditional cultural values that help define the identities of Phillips community members and the essential qualities of Phillips' important places; and (3) describe the Phillips Community Cultural Landscape and detail the associated resources that are rooted in the community's history and its members' senses of identity.

## 6.1 Phillips Community History

Phillips was initially settled by emancipated African Americans and their descendants over a period of nearly 60 years beginning in the 1870s and ending in the 1930s. The original 25 parcels and one island associated with the Phillips community were subdivided in January 1875 from a portion of the Laurel Hill Plantation "formerly known as the Phillips Tract" (CCPB [Charleston County Plat Book] B:35). The plantation was owned by members of the Charleston-based, German-American Horlbeck family at the time of the subdivision. Prior to this time period, the tract had passed through several owners who may have modified portions of the tract and/or enslaved eventual Phillips community members.

Originally, the future Phillips Tract was owned by Robert Fenwick, who obtained the land through English proprietary grants in 1694 and 1701 (McCrady Plat 6101, CC ROD Office). In two other transactions prior to 1727, the land passed to Fenwick's wife, Sarah Fenwick, and then to Sarah Fenwick's nephew Hugh Hext (CC Miscellaneous Record Book 1726-1727:602; CC Will Book [WB] 1732-1737:11). Hext's daughter Sarah Rutledge inherited the tract in ca. 1733. A plat dating to 1768 includes features that hint at the Rutledge operations. A house is shown near a dam on a tributary of future Horlbeck Creek, then named Dawtaw; a landing is shown nearby on Dawtaw Creek. Due to proximity to the landing, the house may have been that of the owner or perhaps an overseer. In northern stretches of the future Phillips Tract or just beyond, "Toy's House" and an area labeled "Indian Sams field" are shown. The former may have been the location of a slave's house, and the latter, perhaps a field kept by a resident Native American. Rutledge family records indicate that the Phillips Tract was one of the primary settlements of the family and that at least one family member was buried on the property (Rutledge, South Carolina Historical Society Reading Room, College of Charleston, Charleston).

In 1802, after Sarah Rutledge's death, the land was sold to Robert Stewart. Stewart defaulted on his mortgage in ca. 1811 and lost title to the land until he cleared his mortgage debts in 1820. The tract was inherited by the heirs of Robert Stewart in 1828 and sold in the same year to John Milnor Phillips, the namesake of the tract in later documents. Phillips maintained ownership for 19 years and farmed sweet potatoes, among other crops (Miles 2014). Phillips petitioned the state in 1846 to disallow a proposed road that would lead to a ferry on the Wando River and would traverse Phillips' property. In the petition, Phillips stated that the proposed road would "considerably interfere with the good order & proper

management of [his] plantation" and suggested that it might also affect the "completeness of the Master's authority on his own Plantation," "the workers of which are slaves who are not allowed to leave their places & cannot use said road for travelling" (Petition Asking the Proposed Road to Run through His Lands to the Ferry of James Gregorie between Haulover Point and Cainhoy Be Disallowed, 1846, Petitions to the General Assembly 1776-1883, Online Archives, South Carolina Department of Archives and History [SCDAH]). Despite Phillips' plea, the road materialized into a major link between Mount Pleasant and areas north of the Wando River and, in modified form, became SC 41 (Miles 2014). Phillips sold his property a year later.

James Thomas H. White purchased the tract from Phillips in 1847 and incorporated it into his newly created Laurel Hill Plantation. Laurel Hill consisted of 1,602 acres and was formed from the Phillips Tract and several adjacent parcels to the east and south (McCrady Plat 6047, CC ROD Office). White's extensive operations at Laurel Hill, discussed in more detail in **Section 6.1.1**, suggest that White was responsible for several buildings and other human modifications of the property (Pope et al. 2013). In 1863, White sold Laurel Hill to Frederick M. Claussen, who sold it to Dr. Peter P. Bonneau a year later. Bonneau was a rice planter from a prominent family and had additional holdings on the Santee and Cooper rivers.

After the Civil War, Bonneau lost Laurel Hill in foreclosure, and the tract was purchased by two companies and then lost through bankruptcy by the early 1870s. Around 1873, Behrend Bollman purchased the plantation at auction. Brothers Frederick H. and John S. Horlbeck, whose family owned nearby Boone Hall Plantation from around the 1820s (CC Deed Book [DB] S8:203; Boone Hall Plantation, 1983, National Register Information System [NRIS] 83002187), bought Laurel Hill from Bollman in June 1874 (CCDB Z16:291). Seven months later, in January 1875, the Horlbecks subdivided approximately two-thirds of the original Phillips Tract into 25 farms ranging from 8.5 to 25 acres and an island measuring 9.75 acres (**Figure 4;** hereafter referred to as the 1875 Plat). The 1875 Plat, recorded on January 6, 1877, states that the farms were "surveyed and marked at the request of the Proprietor [of the Laurel Hill Plantation] for the purpose of sale" (CCPB B:35). Parcels from the 1875 Plat were sold to African-American individuals for 10 dollars an acre, and the conveyances were recorded beginning in February 1877 (**Table 3**). Based on deeds filed in Charleston County and Berkeley County Register of Deeds offices[8] through 1949 and 1947, respectively, the original conveyances of all but two of the parcels were recorded by April 1891. The dates for the original conveyances of Lots 10 and 23 are unknown, as neither were located among the filed deeds. However, original settler information for these lots, as shown on **Table 3**, was obtained from Phillips' historian, Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017).

[8] Phillips was within Charleston County prior to 1881 but was part of Berkeley County between 1881 and 1898, when it rejoined Charleston County. Due to the settlement history overlapping the period when the area was in Berkeley County, deed research was conducted in both counties. The deed research was completed between October and December 2017 by HDR and Brockington and Associates staff.

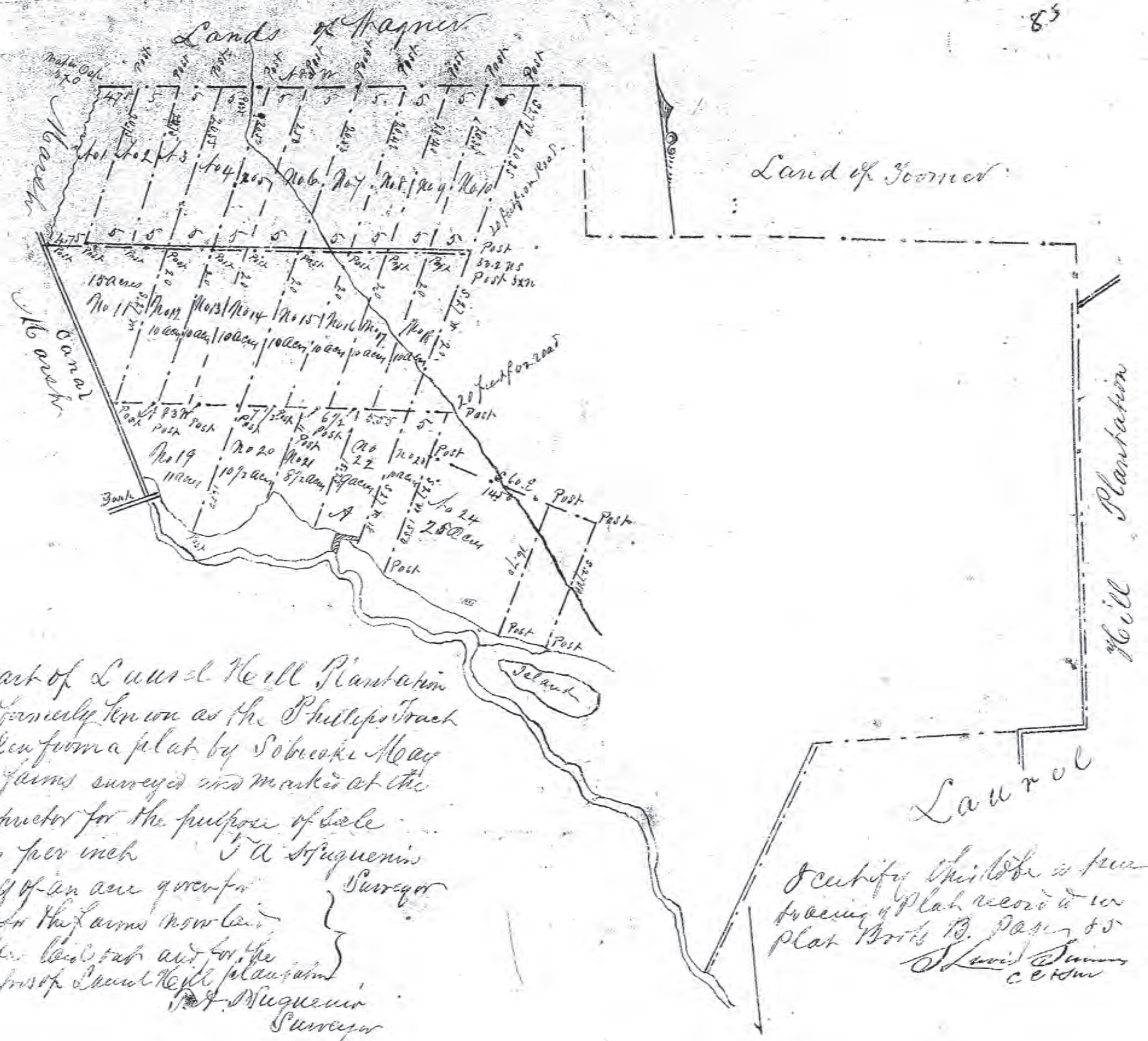



Figure 4. The 1875 Plat of the Former Phillips Tract (CCPB B:85)

Table 3. Original and Early Purchasers of Phillips Community Parcels

| Grantee | Grantor | Instrument Date | 1875 Plat Lot No. | 1885 Plat Lot No. | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Flanders Green | F.H. and J.S. Horlbeck | 3/8/1881 | 1 | | CCDB T18:49 |
| Aichy Bennett | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 12/24/1878 | 2 | | CCDB O17:251 |
| William, Daniel, and April Gedders | Frederic H. and John S. Horlbeck | 1/3/1880 | 3 | | CCDB P17:246 |
| James Smith | F.H. and J.S. Horlbeck | 2/1/1877 | 4 | | CCDB D17:88 |
| Anthom Carroll | F. and John S. Horlbeck | 1/3/1880 | 5 | | CCDB P17:247 |
| Edward Meyers | Estate of Anthom Carroll | 1/29/1895 | 5 | | BCDB A11:104 |
| Isaac Bryan | Frd. H. Horlbeck and John S. Horlbeck | 3/8/1881 | 6 | | CCDB K19:91 |
| Charles Capers | John S. Horlbeck | 4/4/1891 | 7 | | BCDB A8:213; CCDB A34:260 |
| Richard Coxam and Hammond Coxam | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 12/31/1881 | 8 | | CCDB T18:132 |
| J.C. Parnell | Charleston County Sheriff | 2/10/1931 | 8 | | CCDB S35:499 |
| Elijah Rouse | J.C. Parnell | 5/4/1937 | 8 | | CCDB M39:493 |
| Robert Gallon | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 2/1883 | 9 | | CCDB K19:291 |
| Sam Scott | *Unknown* | *Unknown* | 10 | | Habersham, September 23, 2017 |
| Thomas Tonneau | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 3/22/1879 | 11 | | CCDB U17:83 |
| Edward Meyers | F.H. and J.S. Horlbeck | 1/26/1878 | 12 | | CCDB J17:312 |
| John S. Horlbeck | Edward Meyers, Sr. | 3/9/1903 | 12 | | CCDB N24:21 |
| Edward Meyers, Sr. | John S. Horlbeck | 4/5/1905 | 12 | | CCDB T24:183 |
| Hercules Gedders | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 1/26/1878 | 13 | | CCDB J17:310 |
| Sam Scott | F.H. Horlbeck | 1/26/1878 | 14 | | CCDB J17:311 |
| Thomas Rouse | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 2/1883 | 15 | | CCDB K19:294 |
| November Bonneau | Fred H. and John S. Horlbeck | 1/1/1881 | 16 | | CCDB T18:23 |
| Prince Bowen | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 12/24/1878 | 17 | | CCDB P17:87 |
| Thomas Grant | John Bowen | 10/23/1908 | 17 | | CCDB O25:122 |
| John Bowen | Thomas Grant/Patience Bowen estate, et al. | 10/23/1908 | 17 | | CCDB O25:121 |
| Edward Small | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 12/31/1881 | 18 | | CCDB K18:181 |
| London Rainey | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 6/24/1882 | 18 | | CCDB T18:218 |
| Betty Bailey | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 3/8/1881 | 19 | | CCDB L18:97 |
| Tom Rouse | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 1/26/1878 | 20 | | CCDB J17:313 |
| Robert Bennett | F.H. and J.S. Horlbeck | 1/26/1878 | 21 | | CCDB J17:288 |
| John S. Horlbeck | Robert Bennett, Sr. | 2/21/1902 | 21 | | CCDB C24:148 |
| Robert Bennett Sr. | John S. Horlbeck | 12/25/1905 | 21 | | CCDB T24:269 |
| Simon Bonneau | F.H. and J.S. Horlbeck | 1/26/1878 | 22 | | CCDB J17:305 |

| Grantee | Grantor | Instrument Date | 1875 Plat Lot No. | 1885 Plat Lot No. | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Scipio Small | *Unknown* | *Unknown* | 23 | | Habersham, September 21, 2017 |
| Scipio Small | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 2/23/1880 | 24 | | CCDB U17:301 |
| Charles Rouse | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 2/1/1877 | 25 | | CCDB D17:86 |
| Charles Rouse or Edward Small[2] | F.H. and John S. Horlbeck | 12/31/1881 | Island | | CCDB M18:190 |
| Julius Robertson | John S. Horlbeck, Estate[1] | 2/16/1924 | | 3 | CCDB V32:690 |
| Edward Small | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 2/16/1924 | | 25 | CCDB L32:582 |
| Henry Rouse | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 8/4/1921 | | 26 | CCDB G31:2 |
| James Tonneau | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 6/10/1920 | | 27 | CCDB P29:235 |
| James Swinton | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 2/16/1924 | | 28 | CCDB V32:691 |
| Joseph E. Rouse | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 2/10/1927 | | 29 | CCDB N34:109 |
| Joe Glover | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 12/27/1921 | | 33 | CCDB G31:239 |
| Ben Meyers | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 2/16/1924 | | 34 | CCDB L32:598 |
| Henry Coaxum | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 2/4/1921 | | 53 | CCDB G30:632 |
| July Tonneau | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 2/13/1918 | | 54 | CCDB H28:196 |
| Martha Robinson | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 3/9/1933 | | 55 | CCDB Q37:68 |
| Peter Glover | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 8/4/1921 | | 56 | CCDB D31:340 |
| Sam Scott | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 6/10/1920 | | "Sam'l Scott" | CCDB P29:236 |
| Peter Robertson | John S. Horlbeck, Estate | 2/16/1924 | | 31, 32 | CCDB V32:689 |

[1] On May 23, 1916, John S. Horlbeck's children Frederick H. Horlbeck and Elizabeth Horlbeck Wulbern were appointed executor and executrix of the John S. Horlbeck estate.
[2] According to the deed (CCDB M18:190), this lot was purchased by Charles Rouse from the Horlbecks but may have been intended to be vested in Edward Small's name. Current community members continue to associate it with the Rouse family, however (Informal conversations with Phillips community members).

In February 1885, the Horlbeck brothers subdivided a second group of parcels (1885 Plat) located adjacent to the first. Seventy-eight additional farms were created in the 1885 Plat. While the original recordation of the entire 1885 Plat was not found, a retracing of the western portion of the plat was recorded in Charleston County in January 1947 (**Figure 5**; CCDB M47:283). Conveyances were located for many of the parcels shown on the 1947 retracing, and based on subsequent plats, those found may be the only lots that conveyed to African-American individuals associated with Phillips. The 1947 retracing indicates that the 1885 Plat represented "[s]eventy eight (78) [f]arms being a part of Laurel Hill Plantation[,] … [s]urveyed and [m]arked at the request of the owner Maj. John S. Horlbeck, for the purpose of sale." The deeds recorded reflect that the community was likely referred to as "Phillips" at the time. For example, a 1927 deed states that the 1885 Plat depicts "a portion of Laurel Hill or Phillips plantation" (CCDB N34:109).

Figure 5. Retracing of the Western Portion of the 1885 Plat (CCDB M47:283)

Parcels from the 1885 Plat were sold to Phillips community members for 18 dollars to just under 30 dollars per acre, depending on the time period of purchase (see **Table 3**). Recordation of these conveyances occurred between 1918 and 1933, more than 30 years following their subdivision from Laurel Hill Plantation and approximately two years after the death of John S. Horlbeck, the last surviving of the Horlbeck brothers. Six of the conveyance documents note that houses were extant on their subject parcel, hinting that community members may have begun to settle these areas prior to their sale. Further, one of the parcels is labeled with the name of the particular individual who purchased it, "Sam'l Scott," suggesting that Scott's purchase was pre-arranged and/or his settlement was established prior to completion of the 1885 Plat. The property depicted on the eastern half of the 1885 Plat, consisting of 125 acres, was sold to Euro-American Henrietta Hartford in 1931 (CCDB G35:220), and no conveyances from Hartford to Phillips community members were recorded while Hartford owned the property. In 1947, Hartford, at that point remarried and known as Princess Henrietta Pignatelli, sold the property, along with other holdings, to O.L. Williams Veneer Company, Inc., a furniture business that engaged in logging to obtain raw materials (CCDB Y46:543; Lythgoe 2014).

### 6.1.1 Possibly Affiliated Antebellum Plantations

The subdivision of portions of Laurel Hill Plantation for African-American ownership is aligned with trends that occurred in South Carolina during Reconstruction. Similar to the communities platted by the South Carolina Land Commission, as discussed in **Section 5.1.4** and **Section 5.1.5**, the creation of Phillips was spurred by regional efforts to make available land to settle newly freed African Americans. In this case, individual Euro-American landowners, rather than the state, initiated and benefited from the creation of a Reconstruction-era African-American community. The landowners who originally subdivided the Phillips parcels may also have been the former enslavers or affiliated with the enslavers of the original purchasers—a situation that is uniquely characteristic of the Post-Bellum period in coastal South Carolina. According to Gibbs (2006:2), "[t]his area of the United States is one of the few places in which the relationships between slave owner and slave continued beyond the Emancipation Proclamation." Indeed, several sources indicate that the original Phillips community members were likely enslaved on the Boone Hall, Laurel Hill, or Parker's Island plantations, and the Horlbecks operated Boone Hall in the Antebellum period and owned the other two plantations in the Post-Bellum period, just prior to completion of the 1875 Plat (Adams 2009; Gibbs 2006; Town of Mount Pleasant Historical Commission 2017). The Horlbeck family may also have been particularly disposed to assisting African Americans with which they had relationships. Horlbeck transactions on file at Charleston County indicate that several African-American individuals were provided mortgages on Mount Pleasant-area parcels as early as November 1861—prior to the end of the Civil War and even the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 (e.g., CCDBs B17:91, B17:97, D17:174, R16:213, R16:215, and R16:216).

The land that developed into Boone Hall Plantation was originally granted in 1681 to Major John Boone, who was among the earliest group of English settlers in the Charleston area (Boone Hall Plantation and Gardens brochure, SC Plantations, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library, Mount Pleasant branch; Boone Hall Plantation, 1983, NRIS 83002187; Chris Sosnowski, Former brickyard to become home to 700 families, *Post-Courier* article, Brickyard Plantation, SC Plantations, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library, Mount Pleasant branch). Initial plantation operations involved the production of cotton. A ginhouse and a landing on Wampancheone Creek were central to these activities. Eventually, bricks and tiles were produced on the plantation, as well, and many buildings at Boone Hall were constructed of these bricks. Such buildings may have included several brick slave houses, which were constructed in ca. 1790 and likely provided residences for the house servants (Boone Hall Plantation and Gardens brochure, SC Plantations, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library, Mount Pleasant

branch; Boone Hall Plantation, 1983, NRIS 83002187). Other slaves are thought to have been housed elsewhere on the plantation. Records pertaining to Boone Hall operations indicate that plantation slaves may have received an education (Boone Hall Plantation and Gardens brochure, SC Plantations, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library, Mount Pleasant branch).

Boone Hall remained in the Boone family until 1811 and, around the 1820s, was purchased by John Horlbeck, Jr. and Henry Horlbeck (CCDB S8:203; Boone Hall Plantation, 1983, NRIS 83002187). The Horlbeck brothers, sons of John Horlbeck, a bricklayer, were both architects by trade and had a business partnership between 1801 and 1836 that included the design of several of Charleston's prior and existing landmarks, such as the German Friendly Society Hall, destroyed by fire in 1864, and the extant St. John's Lutheran Church. According to Ravenel (1945:146), "[t]he Horlbecks built mainly, if not entirely in brick, and John, Jr., and Henry maintained an extensive brickyard at Boone Hall." The purchase of Boone Hall around the height of their architectural careers suggests that its function as a brickyard may have been central to the reason for purchase. By 1847, between 10,000 and 50,000 bricks were transported daily from the landing at Boone Hall, known as "Brick Yard" at the time. The 1850 United States census shows that the Horlbecks involved 35 female and 50 male slaves in the production of some 4,000,000 bricks that year (United States Census Bureau 1853). The Horlbeck family retained ownership of the landing and an associated residence, known by that time as "Wampancheone," through 1935, even after selling other portions of Boone Hall in 1926 (CCDB Z33:313).

Laurel Hill Plantation was established by James Thomas H. White in 1847, after he purchased several adjacent tracts east of Horlbeck Creek. The lands composing Laurel Hill were originally granted to Robert Fenwick in 1694 and 1701, John Severeance in 1700, James Basford in 1704, and Thomas Barton around 1700 (McCrady Plats 6047 and 6101, CC ROD Office; South Carolina State Grant Book 38:414; CCDB 2L:147). Together, these lands conveyed to Andrew Rutledge, who in turn sold them to Hannah Milner in 1755 (CCDB 2L:147). Robert Dorrill acquired the land prior to 1768 and willed the lands to his son Jonathan (McCrady Plats 6101 and 6047, CC ROD Office; CCWB 1774-1779:577). White purchased the lands from the Dorrill heirs in 1847. At Laurel Hill, White manufactured bricks, produced Sea Island cotton, raised livestock, and developed seeds for sugar cane and other crops (Laurel Hill Plantation Account Book, 1856-1873, Manuscripts Division, South Caroliniana Library, University Libraries, University of South Carolina, Columbia; Pope et al. 2013). He also maintained a landing on Horlbeck Creek to transport his products by schooner. According to the 1860 slave census, White was the owner of 121 slaves. Following the Civil War and up to ca. 1873, just prior to the plantation's purchase by the Horlbecks, White was operating as a merchant and dealing in general merchandise.

Sarah Rutledge, along with her husband John Rutledge, acquired Parker's Island at some point prior to her death in 1799 (Adams and Trinkley 1994). By 1818, John Parker purchased the island from the Rutledge estate. In the mid-1840s, the tract was composed of 850 acres, and a settlement was extant in the western portion of the tract, along Horlbeck Creek (Plat for 850 acres on Wando River and Dautaw Creek, Charleston District, South Carolina State Plat Book, Charleston Series 42, Page 229, SCDAH, Columbia). Thomas D. Parker inherited the tract prior to 1875, when he sold it to the Horlbeck brothers. Similar to Boone Hall and Laurel Hill, Antebellum operations at Parker's Island focused on brickmaking, and clay was excavated from marsh areas to provide materials (Southerlin et al. 1988). Two kilns and a number of small residential sites dating to the eighteenth, nineteenth, and/or twentieth centuries were identified on the island during a cultural resources survey in the late 1980s. The survey also suggested that the island did not support extensive agricultural operations in the Antebellum period. At least one early Phillips community member, possibly a Rouse or Seabrook, reported to her family that she was born on Parker's Island and moved from there to Phillips in the community's early settlement period

(Habersham, September 23, 2017; Informal conversations with Phillips community members). The Rouses, or Seabrooks, as they may have been originally, may also have been associated with Laurel Hill Plantation. The heirs of Parker retained ownership of the island until a complaint was filed against them by Sarah Drayton, which resulted in the March 1875 sheriff's sale at which the Horlbecks purchased the property (CCDB G16:73).

If not affiliated with one of these three plantations, early Phillips community members may have been associated with other Antebellum operations in the area. For example, Simon and November Bonneau may have been associated with the prominent Bonneau family, the members of which owned plantations in the region, including Laurel Hill and the Phillips Tract for a few years. North of Phillips were several cotton, rice, brick, and/or indigo operations where future Phillips community members could have been enslaved. These operations included the Vanderhorst- and later Wagner-owned Lexington Plantation; the Logan-, Vanderhorst-, Hopton-, and O'Hear-owned Starvegut Hall and later Fraser and Gregorie plantations; and the Lynch-, Fraser-, Martin-, and Wagner-owned Martin's Point (Wayne and Dickinson 1990, 1996). Some sources associate Phillips community members with the nearby Snee Farm and Oakland plantations (Adams 2009; Gibbs 2006; Town of Mount Pleasant Historical Commission 2017b). Furthermore, based on input from a community member, Gibbs (2006:9) reports that "Phillips was one of the places set aside for habitation by enslaved Africans who were not classified as house servants on the plantations of Snee Farm, Boone Hall-Brickyard[9] and Laurel Hill."

### 6.1.2 Post-Bellum Plantation Employment

The 1885 Plat of Phillips, combined with information from community members, suggests that the Horlbeck brothers and the Phillips community had a continuing and mutually beneficial relationship following the initial 1875 subdivision and purchase of parcels. The Horlbecks provided land for community settlement and growth, while community members provided labor that allowed the Horlbeck industries to thrive. From the 1870s to approximately 1926, the Horlbecks operated a brickyard and maintained a pecan grove on Parker's Island (Southerlin et al. 1988; CCDB Z33:313; Boone Hall Plantation, 1983, NRIS 83002187). At least one community member, Captain Samuel Scott, worked for the Horlbecks on the island. Scott, who is well remembered by current community members and proudly noted as serving in the 128th USCT during the Civil War, captained the boat that transported bricks from the island and also maintained the pecan grove and a stable located on the island (Habersham, September 23, 2017; Palmer, November 14, 2017).

The Horlbecks also produced pecans and bricks at Boone Hall in the Post-Bellum period up to ca. 1926, when the property, along with Laurel Hill Plantation and Parker's Island, and excepting the house and associated acreage known as Wampancheone and formerly as Brick Yard, was sold to William J. Stober (**Figure 6**; Boone Hall Plantation and Gardens brochure, SC Plantations, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library, Mount Pleasant branch; CCDB Z33:313). Boone Hall would have been accessible from Phillips via land or a small boat on Horlbeck Creek and, therefore, a possible workplace, even after its conveyance outside of the Horlbeck family. Phillips community member Reverend Smalls recalls a place called "Brick Yard" that community members would boat to when he was a boy in the 1950s and 1960s, suggesting knowledge of the Post-Bellum operations at Wampancheone and possible affiliation. According to Gibbs (2006:12), many African Americans of Mount Pleasant associated Boone Hall

[9] The term "Boone Hall-Brickyard" apparently derives from the association of the residential area known as Brick Yard and the working plantation area, called Boone Hall. When the Horlbeck family sold Boone Hall Plantation in 1926, the conveyance instrument indicated the following of "Brick Yard": "the small parcel of land containing nine and four tenths (9 4/10) acres; more or less, with a brick house thereon about one mile from the main settlement, called Wampancheone formerly known as the Brick Yard and marked and designated on said Plat as 'Reserved 9.4 acres'" (CCDB Z33:313).

Plantation and Snee Farm, situated across Long Point Road from Boone Hall. This is largely because, in the Post-Bellum period, African Americans "moved back and forth between the two plantations for both work and social activity, and made no major distinction between them." This was the case despite the differing Euro-American owners responsible for each operation. In 1935, the Horlbecks reacquired Boone Hall, Laurel Hill, and Parker's Island following its foreclosure, planted crops for the market, and almost immediately resold it to Thomas A. and Alexandra E. Stone (CCDBs C38:151 and Y36:207). The Stones concentrated their occupation at Boone Hall, where they constructed a large home for their use. A female member of the Glover family, known, at least in her latter years, as "Old Lady Glover," was a caretaker for Parker's Island around the 1930s and perhaps later, and she helped arrange employment for Phillips community members (Palmer, November 14, 2017). From the mid-1940s to the early 1980s, Parker's Island was controlled by several timber companies and was also used by Phillips community members to obtain a variety of resources, discussed in more detail in the next section.

MAP
OF
Boone Hall, Laurel Hill, and Parker's Island
Charleston County. S.C.
Containing { 3343.3 ACRES OF HIGH LAND INCLUDING SMALL ISLANDS / 696.2 " " MARSH " MARSH " / 4039.5 " IN THE WHOLE TRACT }
About to be conveyed by
The Estate of John S. Horlbeck
SURVEYED BY
THE JOHN McCRADY Co.
REGISTERED CIVIL ENGINEERS.
CHARLESTON, S.C.
Jan.& Feb. 1926 Scale 1 in.=600 ft.

Authorities.

The following plats were used in determining the boundaries of this property:

1. Plat of Oakland Plantation by Jno. Wilson, dated April, 1825.
2. " " Laurel Hill by R.K. Payne, " April, 1836.
3. " " Boone Hall " " " " March, 1842.
4. " " Laurel Hill " T.A. Huguenin " Jan., 1875.
5. " " part of Laurel Hill by R.V. Royall " Feb., 1885.

Note:-

Creeks, marsh lines, and small islands were surveyed with transit and stadia. All other lines were run with compass and steel tape-line.

WANDO RIVER
MARTIN'S POINT
High Land 303.0 Acres.
Parker's Island.
High Land 585.4 Acres.
Parker's Island.
HORLBECK CREEK
VARIOUS OWNERS
HASELL
NIMITZ
WAGNER
PORCHER
High Land
Laurel Hill.
GREGORY
High Land.
Boone Hall.
HAMLIN
Long Point Road

**Figure 6. 1926 Map of Boone Hall, Laurel Hill, and Parker's Island (CC Plat Book [PB] E:037)**

In 1930, Henrietta Hartford purchased several tracts fronting the Wando River, adjacent and to the north of Phillips (CCDBs J34:274 and U35:247). These were known as the Martin, O'Hear, and Hasell tracts (CCPB G:28). In 1931, Hartford acquired 125 acres associated with Laurel Hill Plantation, immediately east of Phillips; this portion was part of the 1885 Plat and known as the Horlbeck tract on subsequent plats (CCDB G35:220). Together, these lands became known as Wando Plantation (**Figure 7**). In 1935, Hartford obtained an oyster cultivation lease along a 10-foot-wide linear area along the bankline of the Wando River and may have employed laborers to care for and harvest the shellfish (CCDB F37:536). Apart from these limited commercial activities, Hartford, who became Princess Pignatelli when she married Prince Guido Pignatelli in 1937, largely utilized the property as a pleasurable winter escape for herself and her family (The Princess of Tides, Jennie Holton Fant, *Charleston* magazine article, South Carolina Reading Room, College of Charleston, Charleston). A 1947 plat of Wando Plantation shows that pine lands formed the majority of the grounds, while golf links, decorative lawns, and a couple of landings were dispersed across the property (see **Figure 7**).

Phillips community member Reverend Palmer (November 14, 2017) recalls Ms. Hartford, as he referred to her, as a kind person who served as a sort of self-appointed benefactress to Phillips. She would assist community members in repairing homes that needed maintenance and gave cash to each family every Christmas. In 1942, Princess Pignatelli's Wando residence was destroyed in a fire, and she may have ceased using her property. She sold much of Wando to the Williams Veneer Company in 1947 but retained a small portion at Martin's Point, along the Wando River immediately north of Phillips (CCPB G:28; The Princess of Tides, Jennie Holton Fant, *Charleston* magazine article, South Carolina Reading Room, College of Charleston, Charleston). Hinting at her connections with Phillips community members, the lands she sold included portions of three parcels that formed the southern extent of the Phillips community (see **Figure 7**; CCPB G:28). These properties, owned by community members Peter Glover and Martha Robinson, were conveyed early in Hartford's ownership of Wando, in 1931 and 1933. Given their location, the land may have been purchased to obtain access to Gregorie Ferry Road (CCDBs E36:200, P37:105, and P37:107).

### 6.1.3 Other Economic Pursuits and Pragmatic Cultural Practices

While some Phillips community members supported the above-detailed plantation operations in the immediate Post-Bellum period to around the mid-twentieth century, many were also engaged in their own small-scale farming and timbering operations that provided cash as well as food and materials for family use (Informal conversations with Phillips community members; NPS 2005; Palmer, November 14, 2017). For example, some in Phillips farmed their family's lands as well as larger plots to produce and sell vegetables on the market, and many also kept hogs to sell (Palmer, November 14, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017; Stokes-Marshall, November 16, 2017). Several families grew rice in ponds created for the purpose on their properties (Habersham, September 23, 2017). Community members would also cut timber from their own properties as well as nearby lands, especially on Parker's Island, and would have the trees milled into lumber at local sawmills (Palmer, November 14, 2017). Landings on the Wando River and perhaps Horlbeck Creek were likely used for this purpose.

Such local opportunities enabled Phillips community members and other African Americans of Mount Pleasant to remain in their communities and "avoid the evils associated with the tenant farming and sharecropping systems" prevalent in other areas of the Southeast (NPS 2012:51). Phillips elder Reverend Palmer (November 14, 2017) remembers that people came to Phillips to recruit community members into sharecropping; however, he cannot recall anyone agreeing to the offers. As landowners, Phillips community members likely did not have the incentive to engage in sharecropping, which focused on farming another person's property and would have necessitated leaving their tightknit community.

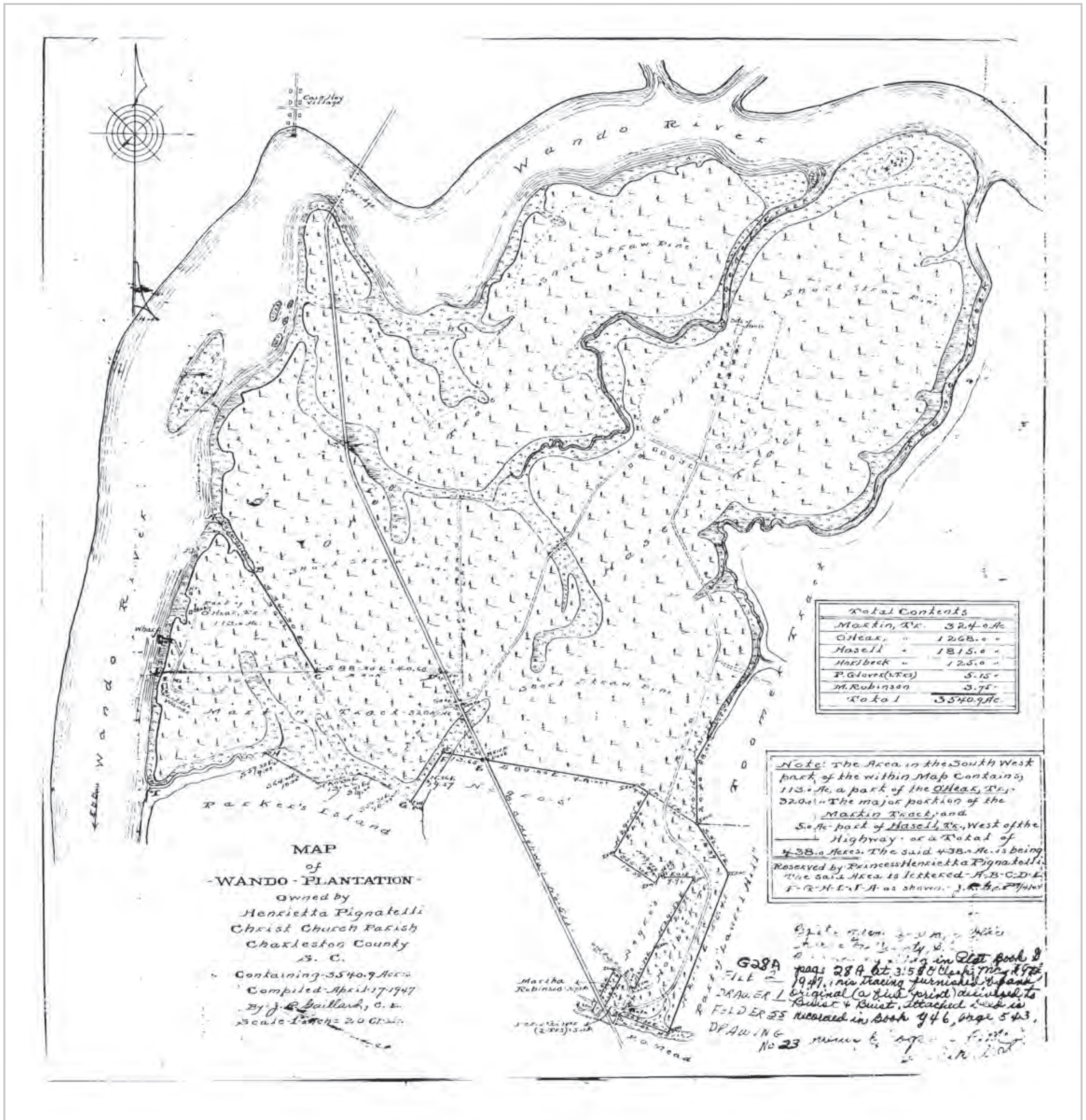



Figure 7. 1947 Map of Wando Plantation (CCPB G:28)

Alternate arrangements engaged Phillips community members instead of sharecropping. Evidencing the ongoing associations between Phillips community members and the Horlbecks, two original community members, Robert Bennett, Sr. and Edward Meyers, Sr., sold their parcels back to John S. Horlbeck just after the turn of the twentieth century and then, two to three years later, repurchased the parcels for the same amount for which they had sold them back (CCDBs C24:148, N24:21, T24:183, and T24:269). The Meyers deed conveying the lot to Horlbeck states,

> It is agreed that this conveyance is given to Jno. S. Horlbeck as security for payment of advances made and to be made to Edward Meyers, Sr. and that upon payment of said advances to Jno. S. Horlbeck the within described property is to be reconveyed to Edward Meyers, Sr. [CCDB N24:21]

Other Horlbeck transactions show that the family members occasionally provided cash advances to African-American individuals in the Mount Pleasant vicinity for the production of crops (e.g. CCDBs A20:558 and A20:559). While crop liens were not found in relation to Phillips specifically, the selling and repurchasing of parcels by two Phillips community members suggests similar arrangements.

Other economic opportunities emerged around the early 1930s, when transportation improvements led to pursuits particularly suited to Gullah traditional cultural practices. Like others in Mount Pleasant, Phillips residents took advantage of the growing tourist market following completion of the Cooper River Bridge and the paving of US 17 (Reed 2016; Town of Mount Pleasant 2017). With some families producing rice, basketmaking was likely maintained by Phillips community members prior to this time. Most young girls and some boys of Phillips were taught by their older female relatives to "sew" baskets made from sweetgrass and palmetto, at least by the time of baskets becoming a unique local commodity (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). Males in the community assisted the practice by gathering the various natural materials needed for the baskets (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017). Sweetgrass could be found within upland areas near water in the community and were especially abundant on adjacent Parker's Island (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). Palmetto leaves, often called palm, and pine needles were also abundant in the community and Parker's Island. In the early to mid-twentieth century, young boys, in particular, would access the island by boat or via a bridge over Horlbeck Creek and a causeway through the associated salt marsh.

Phillips community members Hilda Rouse and Beatrice Coleman (November 17, 2017) both learned to sew baskets from their older female relatives when they were young. Rouse recalls from her girlhood training in the 1950s, "My mom used to have a little small chair, each one of us sat right there, and she sat in the chair; she taught us to do it, yea, from 6 on up." Another community member, the late Mary Jane Bennett, often called "Ms. May," also learned the artform as a girl and felt that participation was a family obligation (Bill Robinson, *Facing South* article, ca. 1976, Handicrafts--Baskets, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library, Mount Pleasant branch). She would sew the basket bottoms, the first step in creating a basket, and then pass them along to her mother or aunt to complete. The family would sell the finished baskets in order to purchase necessities such as clothing and food.

As opposed to wage labor on nearby plantations, basketmaking provided the people of Phillips and nearby African-American communities an economic outlet that featured a traditional cultural practice unique to Gullah people and central to Gullah identities. This likely afforded many a sense of satisfaction and pride, as they were able to maintain a long-practiced artform while achieving a modicum of autonomy for themselves in a Euro-American-dominated market. Like others in Mount Pleasant, Phillips community

members would sell their baskets from stands built along US 17 and also at the Charleston City Market and the Broad and Meeting streets location, where many still do so today (**Figure 8**). Phillips' historian Richard Habersham (March 19, 2018) notes that, prior to people selling their baskets along US 17, Phillips community member Maebell Turner[10] would collect baskets from others in the community to sell to someone in Charleston, similar to the arrangement with Charleston merchant Clarence Legerton described in **Section 5.1.5.2**. Around the mid-twentieth century and perhaps prior, many people also sold black-eyed susans, buttercups, sunflowers, and other cut flowers from their yards. Those who came by to purchase the flowers would then sell them on Broad Street and along US 17 in the Seven-Mile community (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017).

**Figure 8. Foreman family sweetgrass basketstands in Seven-Mile, US 17, photograph by author**

Other entrepreneurial pursuits have also been common for Philips community members through the years. For example, several small commercial enterprises were undertaken by community members at varying points between the 1940s and 1970s (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017). These provided services to other community members and were generally located on family properties near SC 41. Members of the Euro-American Causey family, who were embraced as community members, purchased property from the Swintons and operated a store offering credit in the 1940s and 1950s. Josie Rouse and then Francis Coaxum owned a grocery store on or near Coaxum property in the 1960s. At the northwest corner of Parkers Island Road and SC 41, Elijah and Robert Ford, descendants of the Rouses, operated a nightclub around the 1950s or 1960s. Lawrence Ford had a store in the same location in the 1970s. Also in the 1970s, Geneva and Elijah Smalls ran a store and juke joint out of a residence. After the closure of the Ford and Smalls stores, the operation of small stores in the community generally ceased, and for the most part, community members purchased groceries from large stores located on US 17.

Even with the various economic opportunities through the mid-twentieth century, many in Phillips viewed the continued racial disenfranchisement inherent in the segregated Southeast as simply not tolerable. Opportunities for African Americans in Mount Pleasant and across the region were quite limited, and by the mid-twentieth century, many wished to achieve professional careers that required education not

[10] The precise spelling of Turner's first name is not known; it has been spelled phonetically, based on typical local spelling of this given name.

locally accessible to African Americans. For this reason, many Phillips community members chose to join the military or relocate to northern locales where segregation was not institutionalized and more opportunities were thought to exist (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017; Informal conversations with Phillips community members). For example, community member Hilda Rouse (November 17, 2017) was accepted into the federal program known as Job Corps to study to be a Licensed Practical Nurse in New Jersey. She obtained her license but soon returned home to the milder climate she preferred. Beatrice Coleman, another community member (November 17, 2017), moved to the Harlem area of New York City with hopes to settle permanently. However, Coleman was disappointed by the high costs of living and similar lack of employment opportunities and returned home to Phillips in 1969. Others, primarily men, joined the military in order to gain direction or qualify for benefits associated with the G.I. Bill (Informal conversations with Phillips community members; Palmer, November 14, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). These trends of out-migration were prominent throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s.

In the current period, wage labor of various sorts is maintained by many Phillips community members, and for some, entrepreneurial pursuits are still a viable option. For example, Lawrence Ford operates a truck-driving business, for which he employs several community members, and a female member of the Coaxum family operates an adult daycare on her property (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017). Truck driving, along with basketmaking, teaching, governmental employment, preaching, nursing and other medical fields, and landscaping are some of the more prominent fields for Phillips community members in the modern-day period (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Palmer, November 14, 2017).

Throughout the history of Phillips, community members have supplemented wage labor with subsistence practices, which have helped sustain their families while maintaining a close, traditions-oriented relationship with the natural world. According to Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017), Phillips community members once professed that “you never go hungry if you live in this area.” This is due to the abundance of natural food resources both on land and in water—but also because of the traditional skills of community members. Male community members, especially, have netted for shrimp, pole fished for finfish, trapped crab, and harvested oysters (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). Due to proximity, these activities have typically focused on nearby Horlbeck Creek rather than the Wando River, as Reverend Smalls (September 26, 2017) recalls from fishing as a boy in the 1950s:

> We didn’t go out on the Wando; we didn’t have to go on the Wando because the fish was in the little creek. … The boat was manmade. So, it was a heavy boat, but we would row out [southward] with the tide in the morning. We’d catch our shrimp. After we’d got a satisfied amount of shrimp for the family, then we’d sit down and fish and wait for the tide to turn. We’d go out with the tide and come back with the tide. … [M]ost people had a boat, especially if they were right on the creek side, you know, to be able to go out into the creek. … We didn’t go far. There was a place called “Brick Yard” [the landing by this name at Boone Hall Plantation]; that’s the farthest we’d go, and a lot of times, we didn’t go there. … I’d say Brick Yard was maybe about 15 minutes from where we would stop at.

Many people in the community still engage in fishing. For example, Debra Coaxum Foreman’s husband catches whiting, trout, and shark and nets for shrimp, sometimes out of Horlbeck Creek but also from the Wando River and other waterways in the local area (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017). When he

has a surplus, he shares his catch with other community members. Beatrice Coleman (November 17, 2017), who lives near the Parker's Island bridge, or the Bridge as it is referred to by community members, continues to observe males, in particular, utilizing the creek for crabbing, fishing, and shrimping. Noting an observation in November 2017, she stated, "[T]hey're still crabbing. … I just saw somebody one day this week going back there with their bucket, and he was catching nice crab and shrimp out that creek now." Hunting has also been a pursuit of many, both historically and in the current period (Habersham, September 23, 2017; Informal conversations with Phillips community members; Palmer, November 14, 2017). Community members once sought rabbit, raccoons, and squirrels, particularly on Parker's Island, and many now target deer in approved areas each fall.

Attesting to the continued importance of subsistence practices, the Phillips Community Association (PCA), an organization formed by community members in 1999, made two attempts to purchase family parcels situated along Horlbeck Creek in recent years. The community wished to do so because of the properties' proximity to the waterway, as Richard Habersham (September 23, 2107), PCA's founder, describes:

> Either one of these would have been alright because we would have been able to access all that creek. … [T]his [referring to both properties together, as they are adjacent] would have been an ideal spot for a community center and a lot of the activities we want. … We would have had access boating-wise; we'd have had still been able to fish down there, crabbing—you know, what the community was all about, you know, with the old bridge [over Parker's Island]? When I grew up, that [bridge] was a central point. We learned how to swim there. You crab there, fish … on the creek; [and] shrimp … .

Rather than one of these creek-fronted properties, PCA was able to purchase a group of wooded parcels for community use. The parcels are portions of Lot 2 from the 1875 Plat, and events such as the annual Family Day and fish fries bring community members together on the property, aptly known as the Park. In addition, some community members use the Park to hunt deer.

In support of subsistence practices, as with other Gullah, people of Phillips traditionally made their own nets and wooden boats. While there are no known netmakers in Phillips today, the late Benjamin Turner was one of the last to regularly practice the skill in the community (Palmer, November 14, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). Turner would knit castnets for Phillips community members. When a net needed mending, the net owner typically had the skills to make repairs, but Turner also offered repair services, if needed. Wood boat building was another pragmatic skill that many male community members practiced at one time. Most people had a wood boat in order to obtain seafood from nearby waters, and people generally built their own (Smalls, September 26, 2017). In later years, one community member would build boats for those without the skill or time to do so themselves (Habersham, September 23, 2017).

Gardening is another subsistence practice that people of Phillips have maintained through the years and many still do (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Palmer, November 14, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). Historical aerial photographs show that, at least up to the late 1970s, Phillips had few trees and resembled a large farm due to the horticultural practices of its members (**Figure 9**). In that period, people "planted a large enough garden to sustain a family" (Habersham, September 23, 2017). Crops such as butter beans, sweet potato, corn, sweet peas, watermelon, cantaloupe, okra, tomato, cucumber, peaches, and pears were actively cultivated. With their harvests, people would make red rice with fresh tomato and okra soup with beans and shrimp. Phillips community members also preserved foods by drying or canning them. Many families kept cows, pigs, and

chickens that they slaughtered for meat. Portions of the pig were typically shared among community relations or salted for preservation. Several Phillips community members still maintain an annual garden, growing crops such as okra, collard greens, sweet potatoes, and melons for seasonal use, and favorite traditional recipes are still produced.

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Phillips Community
Project Study Area

SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA

PHILLIPS COMMUNITY – 1957 USGS SINGLE FRAME AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH

FIGURE 9

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### 6.1.4 Religious Influences and Local Trends

While Phillips community members are associated with several different Christian denominations, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and, to some degree, the Pentecostal Holiness Church may have had the most profound influences on the community. The history of the AME Church reflects both the racial disenfranchisement African Americans have historically experienced and African-American people's ability to overcome that, in part, through religious means. The Church emerged out of the Free African Society (FAS), which was founded by Absalom Jones and Richard Allen in 1787 "as a mutual aid society independent of any particular religious affiliation yet tied to a strong sense of morality" (Barga 2017a). FAS regulated member behavior by stating that "no drunkard nor disorderly person be admitted as a member," and society aid could only be provided to those whose need for aid did not emerge from "their own imprudence." FAS had ties with the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS), which was instrumental in the founding of Laing School, the first school created for African Americans in Mount Pleasant.

Allen and other members of the FAS attended St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia until they suffered from a form of "denominational racism" by its Euro-American members in the early 1790s (AME Church 2017; Allen 2017[1833]; Sanders 1996:18, quoted). While repeatedly discouraged by Methodist leadership, Jones and Allen were successful in purchasing a property in Philadelphia on which to establish a church of their own. In 1794, Bethel Church was dedicated as part of the Methodist Church. Methodist leaders continued to harass Allen and his congregation, and a Euro-American Methodist elder attempted to "take the spiritual charge" of the church body (Allen 2017[1833]:3). In April 1816, the congregation countered these actions by voting to "become one body [separate from the Methodist Church], under the name of the African Methodist Episcopal Church" (Allen 2017[1833]:4).

The AME Church rapidly expanded to other Northeastern locations and also southward to Charleston (Barga 2017b). Emanuel AME, initially named Hampstead Church and sometimes called "Mother Emanuel," was founded in Charleston after a large group of African Americans led by Morris Brown fled Charleston's Methodist churches because of a disputed burial ground around 1818 (Emanuel AME Church 2017). Hampstead Church was one of three churches that formed the Bethel Circuit of the AME Church (Emanuel AME Church 2017; "Mother Emanuel" 2015). Because of laws dictating the racial percentage of congregants and the maintenance of illiteracy among African Americans, church members were continually harassed and legally punished (Emanuel AME Church 2017). In 1834, following a slave uprising, all-African-American churches were outlawed, and the congregation held secret meetings until the end of the Civil War.

In Mount Pleasant, several AME churches eventually formed. Of these, Greater Goodwill and Greater Olive Branch have been of particular importance to the Phillips community (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). The cornerstone on its current sanctuary documents that Greater Goodwill AME was founded in 1836, during the period when African-American churches were outlawed locally (**Figure 10**). While more research is necessary to more fully understand the histories of these churches, a pre-Goodwill congregation conceivably could have met informally prior to the church's formal establishment after the Civil War, similar to the pre-Emanuel/Morris Brown congregation. Greater Olive Branch AME Church was officially founded in March 1870, when a portion of a plantation owned by John and Ann Hamlin was purchased for construction of a church building (Greater Olive Branch AME Church 2017). Initially, a temporary building was erected, and around 1885, the church's first permanent structure was constructed on the former Hamlin property. Part of the Mount Pleasant Circuit established at some point after 1863, Olive Branch and nearby Greater Goodwill were sister churches that shared a pastor. In that

early period, services were held at Olive Branch on the first and third Sundays of each month and at Goodwill, on the second and fourth Sundays. In 1969, separate pastors were assigned to each church. While a few Phillips community members attend Olive Branch, Goodwill membership is largely composed of community members of Phillips and nearby Seven-Mile and Eight-Mile, as well as Snowden community members with affiliations in the former communities (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017).

**Figure 10. Greater Goodwill AME Church cornerstone, photograph by author**

Within Phillips, and likely other African-American communities of Mount Pleasant, AME-affiliated praise houses, sometimes called prayer houses, were also founded (Habersham, September 23, 2017 and March 19, 2018). People came to the praise houses to consult with the "Seeking Mother," also known as the "Prayer Mother" or "Teaching Mother," a person whose role was to help guide people in their faith, especially at the initial point of expressing it (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017, quoted; Habersham, September 23, 2017). At the praise houses, Phillips community members also participated in the "Love Feast," which was held on the Saturday before the first Sunday of each month. People ate bread and drank from one cup in preparation for first communion the following day.

Society halls were also once extant in Phillips, and these provided members with aid and support when they requested it (Habersham, September 23, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). People would pay a

fee to belong to one of the society halls, and then, before Thanksgiving, they would receive a portion back for Christmas (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017). Dances were sometimes held at the halls, and at least one hall, the Wiseman Society Hall, provided handmade coffins for its members (Habersham, March 19, 2018). While some halls primarily served these pragmatic community needs, others also functioned as AME-affiliated praise houses (Habersham, March 19, 2018). At one time in the mid-twentieth century, several praise houses and/or society halls were extant in Phillips (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017 and March 19, 2018; Smalls, September 26, 2017). These were particularly associated with the Turner, Smalls, Rouse, Rainey, Coaxum, and Wiseman families. With the deaths of members of the older generation, generally in the 1950s and 1960s, most of the houses and/or halls fell into disuse; however, extant older community members recall them with fondness and appreciation for the fellowship they nurtured.

Pentecostal churches first formed in the Mount Pleasant vicinity in the 1960s, and many of their members came out of the AME Church (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017). Emerging from Methodist roots in the 1890s, the Holiness Church of North Carolina and the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church simultaneously accepted the "doctrine of the baptism in the Holy Ghost, evidenced by speaking in tongues" and merged in 1911 as the Pentecostal Holiness Church (IPHC 2013:16-17). Interracial since its inception, the Church has appeal among African Americans as well as a variety of other ethnic groups and has always allowed female clergy (IPHC 2013; Sanders 1996). In regards to its African-American roots, early-twentieth-century anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston defined "the sanctified church," within which the Holiness movement fits, "as a revitalizing element in Negro music and religion. It is putting back into Negro religion those elements which were brought over from Africa and grafted onto Christianity as soon as the Negro came in contact with it" (Thomas 1991:35, quoting Hurston). Hurston generally saw the sanctified church as a "protest against the high-brow tendency in Negro Protestant congregations as the Negroes gain[ed] more education and wealth" (Thomas 1991:35, quoting Hurston).

In Mount Pleasant, two Pentecostal churches are known to have served Phillips community members. Garden of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church, located along US 17 south of its intersection with McKnight Road, was established by Marie Rivers in 1962. Deceased Phillips community member Mary Jane Bennett, well known as a sweetgrass basket maker, as discussed in **Section 6.1.3**, founded House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church in 1970 in the community of Phillips (**Figure 11**). Although having attended Greater Goodwill AME Church as a child, Bennett had been attending Garden of Prayer prior to creation of House of Prayer (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017). House of Prayer was an active church until approximately 2015, not long after Bennett's death.

**Figure 11. House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church cornerstone, photograph by author**

### 6.1.5 Educational Trends and Associated Schools

Similar to the formation of African-American churches in the Post-Bellum period, schools for African Americans were also founded in Mount Pleasant following the Civil War. The first school to serve the African-American communities of Mount Pleasant was established in 1866 by Quaker Cornelia Hancock (Laing Middle School of Science and Technology 2017). Its founding was aligned with the missionary trends that established the Penn School on St. Helena's Island in 1862 and the Avery Normal Institute in Charleston in 1865. In the Mount Pleasant case, the Friends Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen of Philadelphia and PAS provided funds for the school, and the school was named for the organizations' treasurer, Henry M. Laing. Laing School first utilized Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Church for its facilities but relocated to a large home given by the Freedman's Bureau in October 1867. The Town of Mount Pleasant provided land for construction of a new school building at King Street and Royall Avenue in 1868. Generally in its early period of operation, African Americans in close proximity to Laing were able to take advantage of the school, while those farther away were not likely to do so (Gibbs 2006). Being approximately 9 miles from Laing in the community's formation period, Phillips was likely one of the communities with few, if any, attendees of the school in its early years.

The establishment of separate schools for African Americans is aligned with the broad regional practice of racial segregation, which dominated race relations in Mount Pleasant and many places across the United States up to the mid- to late twentieth century. The United States Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* of 1896 confirmed the earlier doctrine of "separate but equal" and strongly supported the establishment of Jim Crow laws, which functioned to maintain and reinforce segregation where they were in place. In the *Plessy* suit, the Court considered whether an 1890 Louisiana law allowing for racially segregated rail cars violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. The Court concluded that, while "the object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law," the Fourteenth Amendment "could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color" (163 US 537 [1896], as quoted in Groves 1951:66). As confirmed by this decision, separate facilities based on race was the norm in the Southeast and in other parts of the United States, as Groves (1951:67) explains:

> Apparently secure in the philosophy of the nation which they read into, or extracted from, the Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the southern states proceeded, not only to segregate the races, but to take, and permit to be taken, the possibly inevitable next step of providing facilities which, although separated, were not equal; and frequently no comparable provisions were made at all for Negro citizens.

The South Carolina school systems serving Phillips and other Mount Pleasant African-American communities were no exception. Based on its 1895 constitution, the state "maintained a racially segregated elementary, secondary, and post-secondary education system," and this was soon "legally sanctioned" by the 1896 *Plessy* decision (Brown 2017a; Dobrasko 2005). Segregated schools led to several consequences for African-American communities, as summarized by Dobrasko (2005:7):

> Although education in white schools was relatively poor, black schools were continually underfunded and ignored by both state and local governments. The black community was forced to raise money to support their children's education and teachers in the public schools. Parents in Charleston County relied on missionary societies and churches for educational purposes. Black teachers taught in overcrowded classrooms for small salaries, especially as compared to white teachers. In the rural areas of Charleston County, the school board crowded black students into small one- and two-teacher schools while white children attended larger schools.

Small one- and two-room schools served each Gullah community in the Mount Pleasant vicinity. Given the lack of sufficient local funding, several societies supported area African-American schools, including the New England Freedmen's Aid Society; the Negro Rural School Fund, also known as the Jeanes Fund; and the Rosenwald School Program (Reed 2016). In Phillips, a small, two-room school extant to the early 1950s served Phillips community members from approximately Grades 1 to 6. Phillips School, as it was known, was constructed at some point prior to 1918, as the school is depicted on the 1919 Wando, SC United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic quadrangle surveyed the year prior. Given local and state trends, however, it is likely that Phillips School served the community from the late nineteenth century.

Laing Industrial School, as it was eventually named, became part of the public school system in 1938 and functioned at its King Street and Royall Avenue location until 1953, when Laing High School was newly established as an "Equalization" school on US 17 (Laing Middle School of Science and Technology 2017). In the same year and following the same trends, Jennie Moore Elementary School was established for the Mount Pleasant African-American population, and the small elementary schools within each community, such as Phillips School, were closed (Dobrasko 2005; Habersham, September 23, 2017). At the point of their establishment, Phillips community members attended these schools, which brought together children from all of the African-American communities of Mount Pleasant (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017).

While these trends were occurring locally, in 1954, the landmark Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* overturned the separate but equal doctrine and concluded that separate facilities were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment (Muffler 1986:37). Five years after the ruling, Charleston-area members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed the suit known as *Millicent Brown et al v. Charleston County School Board, District 20* to allow their children to attend an all-Euro-American high school (Brown 2017b). The judge ruled that the plaintiffs' requests must be approved for the 1963 school year and that Charleston County schools were to fully desegregate in

the 1964 school year. In Mount Pleasant, select students of Laing High School began integrating Moultrie High School in 1965, and Laing closed in 1970 with local adherence to total desegregation. While these changes led to loss of employment by many African-American teachers, it was a necessary step in securing equal educational opportunities for all.

### 6.1.6 Social Trends

While often geographically separated from one another, the Gullah communities of Mount Pleasant have not been insular unto themselves. Many of the people who originally bought parcels in the various communities had been enslaved on the same plantations (Gibbs 2006; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Rouse, November 17, 2017). Following the Civil War, people from the differing communities came together for church activities and services at the various African-American churches of Mount Pleasant (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017). Likewise, when the small community schools were closed and African Americans began attending equalization schools, the children from the differing communities were together when school was in session. These trends supported intermarriage between people of nearby African-American communities. According to Phillips' historian, Richard Habersham, "all these communities is connected; they're connected by kinship. … It's not just that this community was isolated over here, this one is isolated; it's family members by kinship." Such connections also nurtured the maintenance of cultural practices and values that initially developed in the Antebellum period. One of these is the cultural practice of nicknaming, a social trend that likely began in the period of enslavement. According to the Center for African American Genealogical Research (2013), enslaved Africans practiced this tradition in an effort to identify family members despite whether their names were changed by new slave owners. As practiced in Phillips, nicknames often have no relation to given names, and they may be the primary names by which people are known, even outside of their own communities (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017).

Together, the African-American communities of the Mount Pleasant vicinity share similar histories, life experiences, and cultural identities. Moreover, these cultural similarities often date to a time prior to their ancestors' journey via the Middle Passage during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. In the current period, people of the differing communities often work together on issues of concern to the area African-American population, as a whole. For example, the African American Settlement Community Historic Commission (AASC Historic Commission) was created to support the interests of all African-American settlement communities in Berkeley, Charleston, and Dorchester counties. According to its bylaws, the purpose of the AASC Historic Commission is:

> To enhance the quality of life for current and future generations of residents of the African American Settlement communities.
>
> To nurture and support a strong sense of community, identity, and history, both within the settlement communities and the larger region, including the State of South Carolina and the Gullah Geechee Corridor.
>
> To support the traditions of land ownership which have connected families with their land for many generations, and provide the various resources that will allow harmonious growth, development and redevelopment in settlement communities for future generations. [AASC Historic Commission 2017]

The work of the AASC Historic Commission has, in part, been necessitated by changes that have occurred in the Mount Pleasant area since the late twentieth century. Apart from the numerous Gullah

communities and the expansive plantation operations, population growth and associated development was fairly slow until 1970. At that point, the Town limits began to expand to include new housing developments to the east (Town of Mount Pleasant 2017). Growth in an eastward direction continued from that point, and in 1990, areas surrounding the Phillips community became part of the Town. Demographics associated with the new developments drastically altered the racial composition of the area. In 1930, the population of Christ Church Township, as it was then designated, was 77 percent African American. By 1960, African Americans made up 34 percent of the area population. Mount Pleasant's African-American communities, however, fought and continue to fight annexation into the Town. Members of the communities do not favor the tax increases that come with incorporation and often nurture perceptions that the Town tends to disregard African-American concerns, which often differ markedly from those of the greater Mount Pleasant population.

#### 6.1.7 Community Settlement, Use, and Inheritance Patterns

A significant trend for Phillips community members has been to remain in the community and construct homes on family properties. While many of the early settlers of Phillips constructed homes near Horlbeck Creek, later generations developed more inland portions of their family properties. The 1919 Wando, SC, USGS topographic quadrangle shows the majority of Phillips residences along the creek and a small road known as the Front Road, the main road through the community at the time (**Figure 12**). Phillips School along with a few residences are shown along the approximate route of future SC 41, then known as the Back Road. Two residences are shown in nearby portions of Parker's Island, accessible via the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek. By the time of production of the 1943 Wando, SC, USGS topographic quadrangle, the Back Road had been straightened and officially made a state highway, SC 511 (**Figure 13**). Several more residences than in 1919 appear along the Front Road and the highway, and small roads had been created through the interior of Phillips to access homes located off the two main roads through the community. Two residences still appear nearby on Parker's Island. Only remnants of the Front Road are shown on the 1958 Cainhhoy, SC, USGS topographic quadrangle (**Figure 14**). Overall, fewer residences than in 1943 appear in the community, and none are shown on Parker's Island. These changes may be reflective of the migratory trends that led to many community members leaving for more northern regions in the mid-twentieth century. The number of residences depicted in a 1970 photorevised version of the 1958 Cainhoy, SC, USGS topographic quadrangle surpassed the amount in 1943, and several more small roads provided access to interior-placed residences (**Figure 15**).

The historical topographic quadrangles also depict clustering of many residences. This pattern is reflective of the trend of maintaining estate ownership of the larger parcel and providing undeveloped portions to each generation as its members come of age. This practice of maintaining parcels is known as "heirs' property," and it allowed people to overcome financial difficulties presented by the racial disenfranchisement and subsequently kept families and communities together. The Center for Heirs' Property Preservation (2017) define heirs' property as

> mostly rural land owned by African Americans who either purchased or were deeded land following Emancipation. At some point in the land's ownership, it was passed down without a written Will—or was not legally probated within the 10 years required by SC law to make it valid—so the land became heirs' property.

Heirs' property is land owned "in common" by all of the heirs, regardless of whether they pay the taxes for the property, live on the land, or have ever spent any time on the land. In Phillips, approximately 40 percent of the community is composed of heirs' property, with the majority of family-held parcels located in northern portions of the community (Habersham, September 23, 2017). Some families that maintain

heirs' property hire attorneys to record "partial separation" of the larger parcel to individual family members (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017). In this process, the heirs sign documents officially agreeing to allow individual control of portions of the larger property (Rouse, November 17, 2017). Over time, portioning out of the larger tract can become difficult, as eventually there may be a larger number of heirs who want to use the property than is feasible (Coleman, November 17, 2017). In these cases, the family may decide to sell the heirs' property and divide the proceeds.

Phillips Community

Project Study Area

Philips School

## SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA

**PHILLIPS COMMUNITY – 1919 WANDO, SC USGS TOPOGRAPHIC QUADRANGLE**

**FIGURE 12**

Phillips Community
Project Study Area

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SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA

PHILLIPS COMMUNITY – 1943 WANDO, SC USGS TOPOGRAPHIC QUADRANGLE

FIGURE 13

Phillips Community
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Philip

Hoglbeck Creek

Toom

PRIVATE

BM 8

BM 11

41

SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA

PHILLIPS COMMUNITY – 1958 CAINHOY, SC USGS TOPOGRAPHIC QUADRANGLE

FIGURE 14

Phillips Community
Project Study Area

**SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA**

**PHILLIPS COMMUNITY – 1970 PHOTOREVISION OF 1958 CAINHOY, SC USGS TOPOGRAPHIC QUADRANGLE**

**FIGURE 15**

In Phillips, the latter option has been rare, as the maintenance of heirs' property is seen as a binding obligation to the former generation (Informal conversations with Phillips community members; Rouse, November 17, 2017). Hilda Rouse explained that, since her parents "scraped and scratched" to keep the family property, she feels she must do the same. Each generation instills trust and responsibility in the next generation to maintain family ownership, and community members seem keenly aware of this and the importance of keeping these properties in their families. If they or others fail, it will not only mean loss for individual families but erosion of the larger community, as well. Such feelings of obligation have led to only four of the original parcels being sold to non-community members and subsequently developed in differing patterns than are evident in other parts of Phillips.[11]

### 6.1.8 Core Cultural Values

Phillips community members share several core values that together define how they relate to the community and other members, interact with land and its natural resources, and interpret the lifeways of themselves and others. These values form the cultural identities of Phillips community members and are central to understanding the features in the community of particular importance. The following subsections detail four of the more prominent values identified during discussions with Phillips community members and stakeholders.

#### *6.1.8.1 Land Ownership Allows for Self-Sufficiency and Security*

During the 1865 discussions with General Sherman regarding the potential transfer of sea island lands to newly emancipated African Americans, a former slave of coastal Georgia expressed, "The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and turn it and till it by our own labor … and we can soon maintain ourselves and have something to spare" (Tibbetts 2005:9). This interest in land ownership for the purposes of self-sufficiency and security was likely shared among the Gullah people of the Mount Pleasant vicinity, as it has altered little through the years. Phillips community member Jonathan Ford explains that "property is home. You live, you grow up, you die, and you pass it on. We're just trying to preserve what was passed on to us. Our grandfathers and great-grandfathers had to work and buy property that they handed down to us" (Tibbetts 2005:3-4). Similar to a sentiment expressed by community member Hilda Rouse, as described in **Section 6.1.7**, Ford feels an obligation to former generations and a sense of responsibility for future generations to maintain family land. Considering such sentiments, it seems conceivable that the selling of family properties might not be favored by Phillips community members. However, community member Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017) makes clear that property increases people's security, in part, because it could be sold, as he explains: "[If] you sell it, that's your business; sometimes … people have to sell it."

#### *6.1.8.2 Long-Term Associations with an Area have Meaning*

Due to the influx of newcomers to Mount Pleasant from outside the region, for some time Gullah people of Mount Pleasant have expressed the sentiment that they have been in the area longer than most others (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017). The sentiment is featured in the 2008 film *Bin Yah: There's No Place Like Home*, which "explores the potential loss of important historic African American communities in Mt. Pleasant, S.C due to growth and development" (The Cut Company 2014). For Phillips community members, the difference in time spent in the area warrants recognition they do not feel they are receiving. There is a sense of frustration that people feel along with this understanding, especially as the area is developed in ways that counter not only Gullah identities but also limit the traditional cultural practices of

[11] According to Phillips' historian, Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017), several other large and small parcels have been sold "out of community hands." However, some of these are occupied by people now considered Phillips community members, and the others have not yet been developed; as such, they may return to "community hands."

Gullah people, such as subsistence activities, sweetgrass collecting, and basket selling. Community member Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017) feels that the newcomers to the area have a disregard for the local African-American people, who often have connections to the area dating back to the Colonial period:

> [The newcomers] want to change the landscape. … They don't care about this community [pointing to Phillips on a map]; they care about this community and this community [pointing to subdivisions nearby but outside of Phillips]. … [The newcomers seem to think,] "Oh, look at them houses; they ain't so good." But, [they] don't see the people; [they] don't understand the people there."

Knowing their long-term connections, Phillips community members express associations with architectural and archaeological remnants in the community, even those dating to the Antebellum period and related to slaveholders. For example, a brick-encased tomb that may inter John Rutledge, a former owner of the Phillips Tract, is well-known to community members and is often mentioned as a significant object in the community (Habersham, September 23, 2017; Informal conversations with Phillips community members; Rouse, November 17, 2017). Although the Rutledge family could have enslaved future Phillips community members, the tomb is a symbol for the historical associations of the community with the area. Features directly related to the Phillips community, itself, are revered in a similar way. They provide tangible connections with former generations while reflecting the length of time the community has existed.

#### *6.1.8.3 Close-Knit Community Provides "Quality of Life"*

People in Phillips have a primary concern for their "quality of life" (Habersham, September 23, 2017). Community member Richard Habersham equates quality of life to having close associations with other community members and a feeling of security because of those associations. The community's historical settlement pattern allows for this by providing each family necessary space for their activities and enterprises, while each family's proximity to other community members supports close-knit relationships, including interaction across generations. Basketmaking is one activity that helps nurture multi-generational interactions, as women often gather in groups along with their children and grandchildren to teach the artform while socializing. Another manner in which people, particularly males, sustain associations is through subsistence activities, such as fishing and hunting. Historically, this would have included men getting together to help build boats for one another (Smalls, September 26, 2017). Summarizing the Phillips community experience while acknowledging the familial relationships between many community members, Debra Coaxum Foreman (September 21, 2017) explained that "people in this community are all one big family."

Phillips community members' sense of community and quality of life is emphasized in PCA's annual Family Day. The event is a modern-day solution to maintaining community associations. PCA's founder Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017) explains that "[t]here's a big crowd, and everybody is invited: people in the community, outside the community, people who used to live in the community, and members connected to the community." At the event, children are taught the value of gathering together and participating in activities that help the community, and in this way, key aspects of the Phillips quality of life are passed on, as Habersham details:

> It's just one big cookout, and what we do, we recognize the kids who clean up the community, who do the Adopt-a-Highway. We recognize them, give them a little plaque, and we give out bookbags and stuff. The kids who do the cleanup, their bookbags are a little bit nicer, you know, and they may get a little bit more than the other kids get because

> [they helped out.] … [L]ast year, we gave them, I think, 10 dollar gift certificates to everybody who helped out. … We wouldn't say it's a reunion; it's more like a fellowship. The people—Phillip is more like three areas [the northern, middle, and southern portions] … So, you've got people coming together in one spot.

#### 6.1.8.4 The AME "Church is Still the Heart of All the Communities"

While Phillips community members currently attend several different denominations, Phillips community values and ideals have a firm foundation in the AME Church (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). All or nearly all Phillips community members began as members of the AME Church (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017). According to community member Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017), AME

> was a church for the community. … It looked at the community as a whole, not as a membership thing—because the community supported the church. Even though you weren't a member of [Greater] Goodwill [AME Church], you supported Goodwill. … [T]he church is still the heart of all the communities. … Goodwill is not just an AME church because they will have a relationship with the other churches in the community, too. … Garden of Prayer came out of Goodwill; the membership came out of Goodwill. They started another church—a Pentecostal church … . A lot of these smaller churches, they came out of Goodwill. … The relationship [between the communities and Goodwill and the AME Church] is still there.

The community approach of the AME Church is well reflected in the several praise houses and society halls that once dotted SC 41 and the fact that these are still fondly remembered by community members (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). As discussed in **Section 6.1.4**, the praise houses and society halls were operated by Phillips community members, and the society halls, in particular, offered aid and support to other members when they requested it.

## 6.2 Phillips Community Cultural Landscape

The Phillips Community Cultural Landscape (Phillips CL) in its current extent encompasses the community settlement area and several associated features, Papa's Island, the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek that once afforded access to Parker's Island, Horlbeck Creek, an approximate late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century cemetery on a peninsula at the southern extent of Parker's Island, and Greater Goodwill AME Church. All of these resources are within the contiguous boundary of the Phillips CL except Greater Goodwill AME Church, which is southward from Phillips on US 17 near its intersection with SC 41 and included as a non-contiguous resource.

The Phillips CL once included portions of the Wando River and the entirety of Parker's Island, where a variety of natural resources were sought. While some community members continue to utilize the river for boating and seafood resources, the extent of that use area is not known, and throughout the history of Phillips, Horlbeck Creek has served the community as its primary source for seafood resources, due to its bounty and proximity (Habersham, September 23, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). Historically, the community used landings on the Wando River to transport timber cut from family properties and Parker's Island (Palmer, November 14, 2017). For these reasons and unless more information emerges, portions of the Wando River are not considered part of the current extent of the Phillips CL.

**Figure 16** displays the extant Phillips CL in its entirety and shows the additional features that were included in its historical extent. The community settlement area and several associated resources are detailed on **Figure 17**. The numerous known natural and cultural resources identified that contribute to the traditional cultural significance of the Phillips CL are listed in **Table 4** and described in some detail below. Several of these are also discussed in subsections of **Section 6.1**, and those sections should be referenced if more information is sought.

**Table 4. Known Resources Contributing to the Phillips Community Cultural Landscape**

| Type | Resource | Figure Reference |
|---|---|---|
| **Agricultural** | Family Gardens, Fields, and Fruit Trees | (not shown) |
| | Gedders Grist Millstone | 17 |
| | Remnant Rice Ponds | 17 |
| **Antebellum** | Tomb, Possibly Rutledge | 17 |
| | Well, Possibly Rutledge | 17 |
| **Community** | Phillips Community | 16, 17 |
| | Phillips School Well | 17 |
| | The Park | 16, 17 |
| **Community/Family** | Family Properties | 17 |
| | Residences | (not shown) |
| | Front Road, Extant Portions | 17 |
| | General Abraham Turner Birthplace | 17 |
| | Sarah Wiseman Home | 17 |
| **Natural Resource** | Horlbeck Creek | 16, 17 |
| | Papa’s Island | 16, 17 |
| | The Bridge | 16, 17 |
| **Religious/Spiritual** | Greater Goodwill AME Church & Cemetery | 16 |
| | House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church | 17 |
| | Parker’s Island Cemetery | 16 |

Project Study Area

**Extant Cultural Landscape (CL)**

- Contiguous CL Boundary
- Community Settlement Area
- The Park
- The Bridge
- Horlbeck Creek
- Papa's Island
- Parker's Island Cemetery
- Greater Goodwill AME Church

**Additional Historical CL Features**

- Parker's Island
- Wando River

The Park

Horlbeck Creek

The Bridge

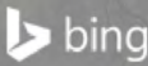
Papa's Island

Wando River

Parker's Island

Parker's Island Cemetery

Greater Goodwill AME Church



**SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA**

**EXTANT AND HISTORICAL PHILLIPS CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

**FIGURE 16**

Project Study Area
Contiguous CL Boundary
1875/1885 Plat Boundary Line

**Family Property Features**

- Community Settlement Area
- Sarah Wiseman Home (approx.)
- General Abraham Turner Birthplace

**Religious/Spiritual Features**

- Coaxum Praise House (Non-Extant)
- House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church

**Community Features**

- The Park
- Remnant Front Road (Habersham Road)
- Phillips School Well
- Phillips School Foundation Remnants (Approx.)
- Smalls Society Hall (Approx.; Non-Extant)
- Wiseman Society Hall (Approx.; Non-Extant)

**Agricultural Features**

- Gedders Grist Millstone
- Remnant Rice Pond

**Natural Resource Features**

- Horlbeck Creek
- The Bridge
- Papa's Island

**Antebellum Features**

- Tomb (Possibly Rutledge)
- Well (Possibly Rutledge)

Remnant Rice Pond
General Abraham Turner Birthplace
Remnant Rice Pond (Filled)
Wiseman Society Hall (Approx.; Non-Extant)
Sarah Wiseman Home (Approx.)
Phillips School Foundation Remnants (Approx.)
Phillips School Well
Gedders Grist Millstone
Remnant Front Road
Remnant Rice Pond (Smalls Family)
House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church
Smalls Society Hall (Approx.; Non-Extant)
Remnant Rice Pond
Remnant Rice Pond
The Bridge
Remnant Rice Pond
Horlbeck Creek
Old Tomb (Possibly Rutledge)
Coaxum Praise House (Non-Extant)
Old Well (Possibly Rutledge)
Papa's Island

**SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA**
**PHILLIPS COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT AREA**
**FIGURE 17**

### 6.2.1 Phillips Community Settlement Area and Associated Features

The Phillips community settlement area, family properties, extant portions of Front Road, and the Park all contribute to the traditional cultural significance of the Phillips CL. Currently approximately 40 percent of the community settlement area is formed by heirs' property, while nearly the entire community is populated with family members of the original purchasers (Habersham, September 23, 2017). Considering the community in three equal portions, community member Richard Habersham estimates that the majority of the northern one-third is composed of heirs' property, while the middle one-third is approximately 50 percent and the southern one-third, less than 50 percent. The maintenance of heirs' property is largely dependent on family particulars and not the traditional sense of the people, and while the wishes of all heirs are considered, the majority typically rules (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017). Families generally choose one of three options pertaining to property inheritance: (1) maintain the large family parcel as heirs' property and indicate the owner as the estate of the original purchaser, (2) partially separate heirs' property for purposes of tax payment by the individual households, or (3) officially subdivide and issue titles to individuals for their portion. For the most part, families maintain traditional settlement patterns and continue to closely associate with each other despite the option chosen (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Observations, September and November 2017; Rouse, November 17, 2017).

On family properties, residences are most frequently clustered in irregular or fairly regular groupings, but on a few properties, residences follow a linear pattern, with residences in front of and/or behind another (see parcel lines on **Figure 17**). Whether accomplished formally or informally, the division of portions of a tract is often initially considered with a family matriarch and/or patriarch. The individual coming-of-age may request a particular location or one may be assigned, but initial discussions are frequently between the individual and elder family members, often one or both of the person's parents. After the larger property is informally or formally divided, many families practice inheritance of the former generation's portion. For example, Hilda Rouse (November 17, 2017), whose family property was officially subdivided, plans to will her parcel and house to her children, who she expects to share the parcel in some way and continue to pay taxes on it. On occasion, families decide to sell their family property. This could be the result of disagreements or due to the number of heirs interested in the property exceeding the acreage available (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017). When families opt to sell, the decision is accepted by other community members as a reality of life and seen as evidence that property can be critical to the long-term survival of individuals and families (Habersham, September 23, 2017).

In the mid- to late twentieth century, family properties in Phillips could aptly be characterized as small farms with separate fields or other use areas defined across their expanses (see **Figure 9**). Residences were generally few in number on any given family parcel and positioned near Horlbeck Creek, SC 41, or near the property center. Since the late twentieth century, the properties have generally transitioned from being agricultural in character to rural residential in character, and most properties are now flanked by mature trees rather than defined by small fields. Several family properties still contain gardening spaces, wherein family members continue to produce vegetables for their own use. Fruit and nut trees, such as pears and pecans, dot the front yards of some family properties, and harvested sweetgrass is sometimes set out to dry in yards, as well (**Figure 18**). Businesses are sometimes operated out of homes or other buildings on family properties. Four basket stands and one produce stand along SC 41 in Phillips are evidence of this practice, and community members say that at least one of the stands was in use as recently as 2016 (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017). Some families along Horlbeck Creek utilize extant portions of the Front Road for their driveways, especially for accessing residences away from

larger roads (**Figure 19**). The Front Road was once considered the main road through the community, as it provided access to most of the early settlements, generally set along the creek (see **Figure 9**). Extant portions consist of several driveways and Habersham Road (see **Figure 17**).

**Figure 18. Sweetgrass drying in a yard in Phillips, photograph courtesy of Brockington and Associates**

**Figure 19. Front Road used as a driveway, Coaxum family property, photograph by author**

A tour around portions of the Coaxum family property, which has been formally subdivided, revealed that the location of non-extant architectural features and important plantings on family properties can be documented in the cultural memories of older family members. For example, Debra Coaxum Foreman (September 21, 2017) recalls the precise location of the family's non-extant, AME-affiliated praise house.

While a number of older buildings remain in the community and those appearing to be at least 50 years old or of exceptional importance have been architecturally recorded (Baluha et al. 2018; Reed 2016), the age of the buildings or their architecture is unrelated to their significance to community members. In some cases, buildings associated with particular community members have special significance. For example, the home of Mary Wiseman and the birthplace of General Abraham Turner are both noted by the community historian, Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017; see **Figure 17**). Wiseman is remembered for being one of the only female heads-of-household who originally purchased a parcel in Phillips. General Abraham Turner is noted for being the first African American in the local region to attain the rank of general. Buildings occupied by the original purchasers of Phillips parcels and those constructed by community members may also have a special significance given their association with earlier generations (Habersham, September 23, 2017; Stokes-Marshall, November 16, 2017). Even without these distinctions, each building associated with Phillips community members is an important family- or community-related feature with which community members associate and is integral to the overall Phillips CL. Likewise, each family property, despite whether it has been maintained as heirs' property or officially subdivided, serves as the critical land base for Phillips community members—the place where people make their homes, practice traditional skills and artforms, and continue to associate with family and other community members—and is a critical component of the Phillips CL.

The Park, created by PCA, is a community gathering place within the settlement area of the Phillips CL (see **Figure 17**). The parcels that form the Park are portions of Lot 2 from the 1875 Plat, and they were purchased from members of the Grant, Seabrook, and Meyer families. PCA's founder Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017) understands that the entirety of Lot 2 was once owned by the Grant family (see **Table 3**). East Cooper Land Trust (2017) helped the community purchase a 3.84-acre portion of the approximate 8-acre property that comprises the Park. Currently, community events such as the annual Family Day and occasional fish fries and chicken fries are held at the Park, and these function to convey community values to younger generations and help people from across the community and those affiliated with it to maintain relationships (**Figure 20**). In addition, some community members use the property, along with adjacent family properties, for targeting deer with bows. PCA has plans to construct a community center where events could be held indoors and interpretive cultural displays may be featured (East Cooper Land Trust 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017).

Figure 20. Family Day at the Park, hosted by the Phillips Community Association, photograph courtesy of East Cooper Land Trust

### 6.2.2 Churches, Praise Houses, and Society Halls

Two churches are closely affiliated with Phillips and considered part of the Phillips CL. These consist of Greater Goodwill AME Church and House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church (see **Figure 16** and **Figure 17**). Of these, Goodwill, as it is affectionately termed by its members, has been the most influential in the Phillips community (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017). The church may have been founded as early as 1836, during the Antebellum period and at a point when all-African-American churches were illegal; thus, congregants likely met informally. The current church building was constructed in 1983 on Boone Hall Plantation lands, situated along US 17, westward of that highway's intersection with SC 41 (**Figure 21**; see also **Figure 16**). Part of the Mount Pleasant Circuit established at some point after 1863, along with its sister church, Greater Olive Branch AME Church, Goodwill may have formally established in its current location in the Post-Bellum period, when the Horlbeck family owned Boone Hall. A fairly expansive cemetery with much earlier gravesites occupies the eastern and northwestern portions of the church property (**Figure 22**).

Figure 21. Greater Goodwill AME Church sanctuary, photograph by author

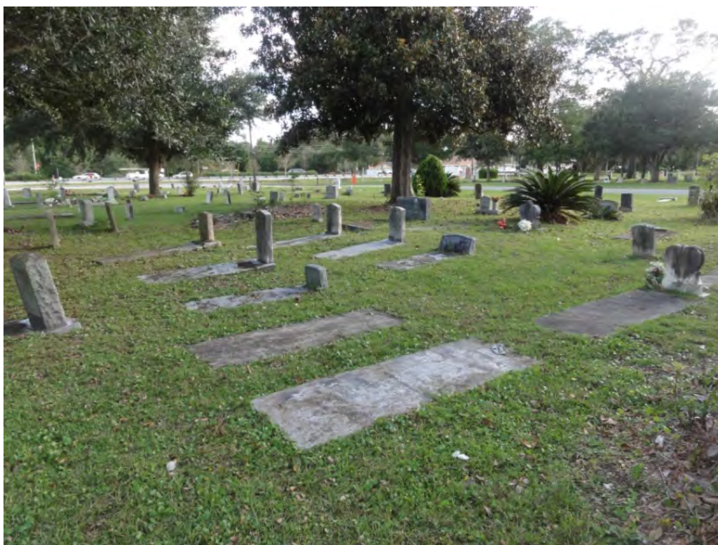


Figure 22. Greater Goodwill AME Church cemetery, photograph by author

Phillips community member Coaxum Foreman (September 21, 2017) recalls walking to Goodwill with other family members as a child in the mid-twentieth century to attend Sunday school and getting rides home with her parents or other adult community members, who would arrive in time for Sunday service (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017). Throughout its history, Goodwill has primarily served the Phillips, Seven-Mile, and Eight-Mile communities, and it has a relationship with several other African-American denominations in Mount Pleasant due to former members founding these other churches (Habersham, September 23, 2017). Goodwill has also been instrumental in encouraging an “interweaving of families” across the affiliated communities through intermarriage of its members (Habersham, September 23, 2017).

Like other AME churches, Goodwill is understood to be “a church for the community,” and Phillips community members once maintained several AME-affiliated praise houses as well as secular society halls that evidence that community approach (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017, quoted; Smalls, September 26, 2017). The society halls offered assistance to its members, similar to the FAS that was the foundation for the AME Church, and praise houses served as the base for a Seeking Mother, where people came to pronounce their faith. Society halls and praise houses in the Phillips community were associated with the Turner, Smalls, Rouse, Rainey, and Coaxum families. These families constructed or repurposed a building on their own property to function as a praise house and/or society hall. The last praise house in use in Phillips was created from one room of Francis Coaxum’s parents’ home, which remained after other portions of the house were gone (see **Figure 17**; Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Smalls, September 26, 2017). The Coaxum Praise House contained handmade benches Francis Coaxum built along the walls and was heated with wood (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017). The house remained in use until the late twentieth century, possibly the 1980s, and is no longer extant. However, it is well-remembered by Coaxum Foreman, who grew up on the property and maintains a home on her family property. Community member Hilda Rouse (November 17, 2017) explained that now church members practice the tradition of “I believe,” the modern-day way to profess ones faith. The community approach, however, still serves as a foundation for the close-knit relationships between Phillips community members.

House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church is extant in the Phillips CL, located in the community settlement area along the east side of Bennett Charles Road near the road’s intersection with SC 41 (**Figure 23**; see also **Figure 17**). Deceased community member Mary Jane Bennett founded the church in 1970, and it ceased operation around 2015, shortly after Bennett died. The existence of House of Prayer is interesting in a community as heavily influenced by AME traditions as Phillips. The Pentecostal Holiness Church was considered by early twentieth century anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston, who concluded that it represents a response to more Western-influenced denominations and a return to more African styles of worship (Thomas 1991:35). The AME Church likely would have been one of the “Negro Protestant congregations” to which the Pentecostal Holiness Church was responding. Its existence in Phillips is perhaps best understood within the context of Gullah traditions that often incorporate African elements, especially considering that its founding, which is relatively late in the history of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, corresponds with the period of increased development in Mount Pleasant. Potential impacts from that may have been anticipated by African-American people of the area, and the revitalizing elements of the Church may have had particular appeal at the time.

Figure 23. House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church sanctuary, photograph by author

Phillips community members attend several other churches. Known churches of affiliation consist of Olive Branch AME Church, Ebenezer Mount Zion AME Church, Emanuel AME Church, Garden of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church, Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses, and Long Point Missionary Baptist Church. All of these are in the Mount Pleasant area except Emanuel AME Church, which is located in downtown Charleston. Emanuel played a significant role in the establishment of the AME Church in South Carolina and nearby parts of the Southeast. Founded in ca. 1818, Emanuel is the earliest AME church established in the state. While not considered part of the Phillips CL, these churches may be contributing elements for a larger, yet-to-be-defined Mount Pleasant-vicinity Gullah cultural landscape that includes the Phillips CL.

### 6.2.3 Stand-Alone Cemeteries and Burial Places

An important element of the Phillips CL is a small cemetery on Parker's Island, adjacent to Phillips on the west (see **Figure 16**). The graveyard, as community members often term it, is positioned on an upland peninsula surrounded by salt marsh at the southern extent of the island, near the intersection of Rivertowne Country Club and Parker's Landing roads. The cemetery is known as 38CH1032 in the SC SHPO database and was featured in a cultural resources report regarding Parker's Island, where it was described as a historic cemetery dating from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century (Southerlin et al. 1988). The cemetery was utilized by some families in the Phillips community through the 1950s and contains three headstones and several unmarked graves. The headstones mark the interment locations of Daniel Jerman (born [b.] 1832; died [d.] 1901), John Ernest Watson (b. 1896; d. 1918), and Benjamin Bennett (no dates given). Bennett's headstone indicates that he served in Company A of the 128$^{th}$ United States Colored Infantry, an earlier name for the USCT (**Figure 24**; see **Section 5.1.4** for earlier discussion on the USCT). Community members may have accessed the cemetery via the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek or, conceivably, by boat via the creek and small tributaries that led to the peninsula. The waterfront location of the graveyard is believed to represent African-influenced burial practices of interring near water (Allen, November 15, 2017; Informal conversations with Phillips community members; Smalls, September 26, 2017). The known interment dates and its placement on Parker's Island suggest that the land for the cemetery may have been provided by the Horlbecks. Community members and perhaps

other area Gullah continue to visit the cemetery and nurture ongoing associations by leaving grave goods, such as periwinkle shells, at individual burials and helping its current owners maintain it.

**Figure 24. Overview of gravesites at Parker's Island Cemetery, photograph by author**

Phillips community members know that along SC 41, a little northward of its intersection with Joe Rouse Road, lies a vaulted, English-bond brick tomb that has been the source of curiosity among community members for generations (see **Figure 17**). The tomb, or possible cemetery, is known as 38CH1752 in the SC SHPO database. Based on research reported in Baluha et al. (2018), the tomb is most likely that of a Rutledge and may represent one burial within a larger family cemetery of the Rutledges, the full boundaries of which have not been determined. Baluha et al. (2018) acknowledge that the tomb could be associated with another family that owned the property, especially those with a long tenure, such as the Fenwicks, Stewarts, or Phillips families. This information roughly corroborates with details provided by Phillips' historian, Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017), who once thought the tomb was affiliated with the Rutledges but has more recently considered its possible association with the Fenwicks. Despite its true family connections, for Phillips community members, the tomb is a tangible reminder of community origins and symbolizes the historical association of the land the community rests on with the area and is considered a contributing resource of the Phillips CL (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Rouse, November 17, 2017).

### 6.2.4 Schools and Related Features

Prior to the opening of Jennie Moore Elementary School in 1953, school-aged members of the Phillips community were the sole attendees of Phillips School, which was part of the Charleston County School District at least by the time of its closure. The two-room schoolhouse was originally located on the east side of the roadway that was the predecessor of SC 41 (see **Figure 12**). With straightening and establishment of the road as SC Highway 511 around the early 1940s, community members recall that the school building was relocated to the west side of the highway. Community members Reverend Smalls (September 26, 2017) and Beatrice Coleman (November 17, 2017) recollected that Grades 1 through 3 were taught in one room, and Grades 4 through 6 were instructed in the second room. A well associated with the school is presently extant on the west side of SC 41 and may have served the school from either of its two locations. Portions of the school foundation may also remain on the west side of SC 41 (see

**Figure 17** for the approximate well and foundation locations). The school was closed in 1953 with the establishment of Jennie Moore Elementary School.

Considered part of the Phillips CL, the extant school foundation and well are important to Phillips community members as the remaining tangible evidence of the school established specifically for the community during the Segregation era. While the funding source for the school is unclear, general information on small African-American schools in rural parts of Charleston County indicates that "African American communities relied heavily on local churches and missionary societies in the Northeast and Midwest to finance teachers' salaries, obtain books and supplies, and construct the schoolhouses themselves" (Reed 2016:22). Such societies that supported area African-American schools included the New England Freedmen's Aid Society; the Negro Rural School Fund, also known as the Jeanes Fund; and the Rosenwald School Program.

According to community member Beatrice Coleman (November 17, 2017), land for the school was sold by her father, James Capers. The school property was subdivided from Lot 7 as shown on the 1875 Plat, a parcel originally sold to Charles Capers in or prior to 1891 (see **Table 3**). While community members were unsure whether that conveyance was for the first or second school location, by referencing the 1875 Plat and current parcel ownership, the Capers may have sold the land for placement of the school building in its second location. Based on current parcel ownership and known purchasers of the original parcels, November Bonneau or his family members may have provided the land for the school's initial location. Community member Richard Habersham (September 21, 2017) also believes community members may have helped construct the school building.

Following the school's closure in 1953, the school property was purchased by members of the Ford family, and Elijah and Robert Ford repurposed the school building as a nightclub, which operated in approximately the late 1950s and possibly into the 1960s (Coleman, November 17, 2017). Later, in the 1970s, Lawrence Ford operated a store in this location, likely after the school building was demolished. This information corroborates with historical single frame aerial photographs of Phillips, which show the school in 1958 but not in 1968 (United States Navy 1958; United States Air Force 1968). Currently, Elijah "Willie" Ford occupies a house in this location and, in recent years, capped the well for safety (Habersham, September 23, 2017; Informal conversations with Phillips community members).

The closing of Phillips School coincided with the opening of Jennie Moore Elementary School and a renewed Laing High School. Jennie Moore and Laing were created as part of the school equalization program being implemented in South Carolina at a point when the constitutionality of school segregation was being regularly considered by the United States Supreme Court (Dobrasko 2005). To Phillips community members, the transition to Jennie Moore was not equated to a loss of their small community school. Rather, community members embraced the opportunity to engage with the larger Gullah community. According to Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017), "the people were sort of happy to go to Jennie Moore School. They had a better building. They got in contact with other kids in the area. … Everyone on this side is family; so, everybody got a chance to, you know, congregate, you know, to talk, associate with everybody else." Similarly, according to some graduates, Laing "helped the black population of Mount Pleasant develop a cohesive community" and "a sense of pride in their school" (Bacon 2005:25). More evidence of these associations came in the late 2000s, when Laing and Jennie Moore Elementary School, a segregated African-American primary school established in 1954, were scheduled for demolition. Members of a group called Gullah Heritage Preservation spoke out against the schools' destruction, stating that both schools have historical significance for African-American communities of Mount Pleasant. One member explained that the schools were the "only remaining

structures still standing to preserve the educational history of African Americans in Mount Pleasant" (Courrégé 2008).

Despite these efforts, both Laing and Jennie Moore were demolished in recent years. Prior to their demise, the two schools were both evaluated for listing in the NRHP. Regarding Laing, Dobrasko (2005:47) concluded:

> The school retains its original layout with an addition at the rear of the building. The windows were infilled and reduced in size from the original nine-over-nine double-hung windows with multi-pane transoms … . Because the original windows were significant features of the school, Laing High is recommended not eligible for the National Register.

Similarly, Dobrasko (2005:48) concluded the following related to Jennie Moore:

> The most significant alteration of the building is the change to the windows. Jennie Moore Elementary's façade was dominated by rows of large double-hung windows … . The current windows are smaller in size and the openings are reduced. Due to these alterations, Jennie Moore Elementary is recommended not eligible for the National Register.

The evaluations of these schools considered only their architectural significance, per NRHP Criterion C, and not their traditional cultural significance for the Gullah people of Mount Pleasant, which is evident from the accounts of African Americans associated with the schools. When extant, these schools, like the African-American churches in the vicinity but outside of the Philips CL, may have been contributing elements for a larger Mount Pleasant-area Gullah CL encompassing the Phillips CL. Their loss makes the identification and documentation of any remaining community-specific schools more imperative.

### 6.2.5 Agricultural and Natural Resource Features

Throughout the history of Phillips, subsistence activities, such as harvesting natural resources and growing foods for family sustenance, have been mainstays for the people of Phillips. These practices have helped nurture and maintain associations with the natural world, a core aspect of the traditional Gullah identities. The Bridge, Horlbeck Creek, and Papa's Island are three natural resource features that are considered contributing elements of the Phillips CL (see **Figure 16** and **Figure 17**). Known agricultural features that contribute to the Phillips CL include several remnant rice ponds on family properties and the Gedders family grist millstone. Gardens, fields, and stands of fruit and nut trees that community members continue to cultivate and/or harvest are other agricultural features contributing to the traditional cultural significance of the Phillips CL.

The Bridge spans Horlbeck Creek and is located at the terminus of Parker's Island Road (**Figure 25**; see **Figure 16** and **Figure 17**). The Bridge once afforded community members access to Parker's Island, a marsh island adjacent to Phillips on the west. Parker's Island served the community as its primary land-based natural resource location, where community members harvested timber, sweetgrass, palmetto leaves, longleaf pine needles, pecans, small mammals, and deer. Several community members or close affiliates worked and/or lived on Parker's Island. Community members retained access to and utilized Parker's Island until around the late 1980s or at some point in the 1990s, after the island was developed for residential use (Coleman and Rouse, November 17, 2017; Informal conversations with Phillips community members).

Figure 25. The Bridge over Horlbeck Creek, photograph by author

The developers of Parker's Island had initially planned to utilize the causeway that links with the Bridge as the entrance to the housing developments. Community members had hopes that this would help maintain their access to the creek and the island and, thus, accepted use of the Bridge for heavy equipment during construction on the island. In the end, however, the developers opted to construct an entrance north of the Phillips community, bypassing Parker's Island Road and that access point to Parker's Island altogether. By that point, the Bridge had deteriorated not only from age but also because of the large trucks and other equipment that used it to access the island. Community member Hilda Rouse (November 17, 2017) recollected that "once the bulldozer and the trucks start going over there, it start cracking it up a little bit—but I'm quite sure if they didn't use that, it would have been still in better condition than it is now." Also part of the discussion with Rouse, Beatrice Coleman (November 17, 2017) added, "And they had promised to help fix it, but once they changed their mind, they run a road from Rivertowne instead of using" Parker's Island Road as an access point.

Despite its deteriorated state, community members continue to utilize the Bridge as their primary access to Horlbeck Creek. From the Bridge, community members practice subsistence activities such as fishing, shrimping, and crabbing. In earlier years, the Bridge also served as a swimming location. Beatrice Coleman explained, "When tide high, they used to dive off that bridge." Richard Habersham (September 23, 2017) emphasized that the bridge "was a central point" when he was a child. "We learned how to swim there. You crab there, fish … on the creek, [and] shrimp." Habersham also summarized that these activities were "what the community was all about." Families whose properties front the creek and those who have access via a small boat continue to utilize other portions of the creek for these activities. Community member Reverend Smalls (September 26, 2017) explains that a person navigating Horlbeck Creek from Phillips can obtain enough seafood resources by the point of reaching "Brick Yard," the Horlbeck's landing used to transport bricks.

A small island originally sold to Charles Rouse, known as Papa's Island or Little Titty's Island, has been utilized through the years to access Horlbeck Creek and tributary streams for fish and crabs (see **Figure 16** and **Figure 17**; Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Informal conversations with Phillips community members). Papa's Island has also been used in similar ways as Parker's Island: to harvest timber, sweetgrass, small mammals, and deer. Community members in close proximity to the island may have made more use of its resources. For example, in the mid-twentieth century, young males of the Coaxum family, who lived adjacent to Papa's Island, obtained evergreen trees from the island to sell during the Christmas season (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017). At one time, two bridges south of Phillips, known as "Little Bridge" and "Big Bridge," were also utilized, respectively, as a boat landing and for fishing (Habersham, September 23, 2017).

A well thought to be associated with the Rutledge family is another agricultural-related feature known to community members (see **Figure 17**). Like the Antebellum tomb discussed in **Section 6.2.2**, the well symbolizes the historical associations of the land the community rests on and harkens community members back to Phillips' origins (Coaxum Foreman, September 21, 2017; Habersham, September 23, 2017; Rouse, November 17, 2017).

# 7. Synthesis and Conclusions

A brief synthesis of **Section 5.0** and **Section 6.0** are provided in this section in an effort to emphasize key elements of the narrative as they pertain to the significance of Phillips CL. This section is intended as a synopsis of the main body of the report and does not contain citation information; reference material should be obtained from the above referenced sections and associated subsections, as needed. While not providing a formal evaluation, HDR summarizes previous recommendations and offers additional rationales and recommendations regarding the NRHP eligibility of the Phillips CL in **Section 7.1**.

The community of Phillips was founded in the Post-Bellum period by previously enslaved African Americans of area Antebellum plantations. The people of Phillips and similar coastal communities of the Carolinas are known as Gullah people. Gullah ancestors endured the excruciating journey known as the Middle Passage of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Once on the plantations of coastal Carolina, they typically labored for plantation owners under the task system and produced crops and other products with which they had experience in Africa. Gullah people also developed a unique culture from a fusion of the many different cultural traditions they had practiced in Africa.

Phillips was formed in the late Reconstruction era following regional trends to make land available to newly freed African Americans. The early interactions of community members with the Horlbeck brothers, the plantation owners who subdivided and sold the parcels to individual African Americans, hint at a relationship of mutual benefit. The Horlbecks provided land for community settlement and growth, while community members provided labor that allowed the Horlbeck industries to thrive. Given their ownership history, the Horlbecks may also have provided land to local African Americans for the creation of the Parker's Island Cemetery and Greater Goodwill AME Church, both of which have served the people of Phillips at least since the community's formation.

Except for a brief period of out-migration in the mid-twentieth century, Phillips community members have typically remained in the community and constructed homes on family-held properties. While many early settlers of Phillips constructed homes near Horlbeck Creek, later generations developed more inland portions of their family properties, often in irregular clusters or following linear patterns. Greater Goodwill AME Church has served most community members throughout the history of Phillips, and the two-room Phillips School was attended by children of the community until 1953, when community members began to attend equalization schools. A variety of local opportunities, including wage labor, small-scale farming and timbering operations, gardening and other subsistence activities, and various entrepreneurial pursuits, combined with land ownership to help Phillips community members achieve relative self-sufficiency. In the early twentieth century, the people of Phillips, along with other Gullah of Mount Pleasant, began marketing sweetgrass baskets—a product that reflects a traditional cultural practice unique to Gullah people and central to Gullah identities. Basketmaking along with wage labor and/or entrepreneurial pursuits, gardening, and harvesting seafood resources continue as viable economic activities for community members. These practices have helped nurture and maintain associations with the natural world and support self-sufficient lifeways—both core aspects of traditional Gullah identities.

Phillips community members share several values that together define how they relate to the community and other members, interact with land and its resources, and interpret the lifeways of themselves and others. These values form the cultural identities of Phillips community members and are central to understanding the community features of particular importance. The identified core values can be

summarized as land ownership allowing for self-sufficiency and security; long-term associations with an area having important meaning; close-knit community equating to "quality of life"; and the AME Church being at "the heart" of the community. These values are infused in community members' perceptions of the traditional cultural significance of the important natural and cultural resources that together form the Phillips Community Cultural Landscape, or the Phillips CL. In its current extent, the Phillips CL encompasses (1) the community settlement area and several associated features, (2) Papa's Island, (3) the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek that once afforded access to Parker's Island, (4) Horlbeck Creek, (5) an approximate late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century cemetery on a peninsula at the southern extent of Parker's Island, and (6) Greater Goodwill AME Church (see **Figure 16** and **Figure 17**). The tangible aspects and significance of each of these is briefly provided in the paragraphs that follow.

Family properties are the basis for the community settlement area of the Phillips CL, and for the most part, their outer boundaries continue to be aligned with their original subdivision from Laurel Hill Plantation. Some of these properties are legally considered heirs' property, even if partially separated for tax purposes, while others have been officially subdivided among family members. Traditional settlement practices are apparent across the community and show that residences are most frequently clustered in irregular or fairly regular groupings but sometimes follow a linear pattern, with residences in front of and/or behind another. While a few homes may have special significance due to associations with earlier generations, each building associated with Phillips community members is an important family- or community-related feature with which community members continue to associate and is considered integral to the overall Phillips CL. Likewise, each family property, despite whether maintained as heirs' property or officially subdivided, serves as the critical land base for Phillips community members—the place where people have made their homes for generations, maintain traditional skills and artforms, continue to associate with family and other community members, and, overall, nurture their cultural identities—and is considered a critical component to the Phillips CL. Several other features in the community settlement area are also considered components of the Phillips CL. These include extant portions of the Front Road, the main road through the community to the mid-twentieth century, and a tomb and well thought to be associated with the Rutledge family, which utilized the land in the Antebellum period. For community members, the possible Rutledge features are tangible reminders of the community's origins and point to the historical associations of the community land base.

Throughout Phillips' history, Greater Goodwill AME Church has had profound influences on community members. The AME Church is considered to be a "church for the community" (Habersham, September 21, 2017), and this approach is well reflected in the several praise houses and society halls that once dotted SC 41 in Phillips. Similar to the FAS, an organization that functioned as a precursor to the AME Church, the praise houses and society halls were operated by various families, and the society halls provided aid and support to its members upon request. The community approach supported by the AME Church continues to provide a foundation for the close-knit relationships between Phillips community members, even since the praise houses and society halls fell into disuse. As the home church for many of Phillips, Greater Goodwill AME Church has also nurtured associations among all of its affiliated Gullah communities. The AME community approach may also have encouraged community members to provide for Phillips School, extant in the community until 1953. Community members sold portions of their family properties for the school's establishment and may also have helped construct the school building. The school's two locations in the community are well-remembered by community members, and the well that supported school operations remains extant—the only tangible reminder of a school established specifically for the community during the Segregation era. Another important church in the Phillips CL is

House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church. Considering its African revitalizing elements, its existence in Phillips may be related to the idea that Gullah traditions often incorporate African elements.

Currently, Papa's Island, the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek, and Horlbeck Creek, itself, are three natural resource features that contribute to the significance of the Phillips CL. Known agricultural features that also contribute include several remnant rice ponds on family properties and the Gedders family grist millstone. Agricultural features, such as gardens, fields, and fruit and nut trees that community members continue to cultivate as well as remnant features evidencing past agricultural activities also contribute to the traditional cultural significance of the Phillips CL. Subsistence activities continue to nurture and help maintain community members' associations with the natural world, a core aspect of traditional Gullah identities. Subsistence activities once took community members to Parker's Island, where a cemetery utilized by some families of Phillips through the mid-twentieth century is maintained. Community members and perhaps other local Gullah people continue to visit the cemetery and nurture ongoing associations by leaving grave goods at individual burials and helping its current owners maintain it.

## 7.1 NRHP Evaluation Considerations and Conclusions

HDR documented the Phillips community as a TCP with particular consideration of the community as an ethnographic and historic vernacular cultural landscape, after Reed (2016). HDR considered the Phillips community to be eligible for the NRHP based on the existing SC SHPO determination and did not conduct a formal NRHP evaluation of the community. In the course of the study, HDR did discern additional rationales for Phillips being eligible for the NRHP.

As discussed in **Section 2.0**, evaluating potential TCPs involves a four-step process, consisting of (1) confirming that the cultural resource is a tangible property and categorizing it as a particular NRHP property type, (2) assessing whether the cultural resource retains integrity of relationship and condition, (3) evaluating the cultural resource in relation to the four NRHP criteria, and (4) making any necessary criteria considerations based on attributes that may deem the cultural resource ineligible for the NRHP. Given the existence of previous eligibility determinations, HDR considered the aspects of the NRHP evaluation process that had not been well covered in past efforts, and these are discussed in the subsections that follow.

### 7.1.1 Considering the NRHP Property Type of the Phillips CL

As an initial step in furthering recommendations regarding the Phillips CL, HDR considered which of the five NRHP property types that the Phillips CL best represents: either a district, site, building, structure, or object. Since a district can be a concentration of any of the property types, whether human-constructed or of natural origin, and a cultural landscape is not an officially designated property type, *district* is the best choice in defining the NRHP property type of the Phillips CL. A cultural landscape is a special type of district that can reflect the cultural values and traditions of the cultural group that associates with it (NPS 1998). Of the four types of cultural landscapes that NPS recognizes, the Phillips CL is best understood as two of these: an ethnographic cultural landscape and a historic vernacular cultural landscape. Together, these define a geographic area reflecting a cultural group's land values and settlement patterns and to which that group ascribes traditional cultural importance and/or uses it in traditional ways; HDR concludes that the Phillips CL fits this definition.

### 7.1.2 Assessing the Integrity of the Phillips CL

HDR surmises that the Phillips CL retains integrity of relationship and condition—the two considerations related to the integrity of a TCP (Parker and King 1998). Historical features of the Phillips CL once included Parker's Island and portions of the Wando River. However, due to access issues or limited use

in the current period, neither of these resources were included in the extant Phillips CL boundary. Likewise, several features within the community settlement area exist only in the cultural memories of community members; thus, these non-extant features are not considered extant resources in the Phillips CL. As detailed in **Section 6.2**, the extant Phillips CL boundary encompasses the known natural and cultural resources that remain associated with traditional cultural practices or beliefs and comprise the Phillips CL. The condition of the extant natural and cultural resources associated with the Phillips CL are such that the relationship the community has with these tangible resources has not been affected. Community members continue to associate with these resources in the various ways described in **Section 6.2**.

### 7.1.3 Considering the NRHP Eligibility Criteria Related to the Phillips CL

HDR concludes that the Phillips CL satisfies three of the four NRHP criteria, including Criteria A, B, and D, either due to aspects of its traditional cultural significance and/or its historical significance. The rationale for the eligibility of the Phillips CL in relation to each of the three criteria is given in the subsections that follow.

#### *7.1.3.1 Criterion A: Associations with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad pattern of our history*

After a 2010 visit to the community, SC SHPO concluded that Phillips “is linked to the Gullah community and its traditions (agricultural, sweetgrass basket making through generations, fishing, etc.)” and further stated that “Phillips and most likely other communities in the Mount Pleasant area … seem, in our view, to meet Criterion A for the National Register, under Community Planning and Development and Black [African American] Ethnic Heritage” (Andrew Chandler, SC SHPO, to Richard Habersham, Phillips Community, letter, April 12, 2010, brackets in original). Since then, the architectural resources of Phillips and several other African-American communities of Charleston County were surveyed during an update to the Charleston County architectural survey. Reed (2016:117) concluded:

> The historic African American communities of unincorporated Charleston County appear to be eligible under Criterion A in the area of community planning and development for retaining various settlement patterns that were established in the decades following Emancipation. Many of these communities have developed in similar, yet distinctive ways. … While the built environment has changed over time, the historic patterns of African American landownership are still visible through comparison of historic and current mapping and in the arrangement and use of land in the communities today.
>
> The county’s historic African American communities, strongly rooted in their Lowcountry Gullah traditions, appear to be eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for black ethnic heritage. With social values founded on landownership, extended family ties, and religion, Gullah communities are known for their self-sufficiency and self-reliance. The communities maintained a localized economy through the 1970s, growing food for themselves and community members and fishing and shrimping in nearby creeks or rivers. Although few practice agriculture today, connections to the land remain strong, in some instances, extending back to the period of slavery, and land ownership among families has been maintained over the generations through conveyance as heirs’ property.

HDR’s findings largely reflect those of SC SHPO and Reed (2016). However, HDR offers additional considerations and refines the above recommendations to the particulars of the Phillips community.

The Phillips CL has local and regional importance—not only due to the community's associations with broad patterns of African-American heritage and Post-Bellum settlement patterns, but also because of its very particular associations with federal Reconstruction initiatives that prompted a unique local response wherein private landowners and the local African-American population developed and maintained cooperative relationships for over half a century. While the Reconstruction era lasted a mere decade or so, beginning around the mid-1860s and ending in 1877 with the removal of federal troops from the former Confederacy, it was marked by substantial strides for newly emancipated African Americans that were simultaneously encouraged by the national programs and opposed by the regional Euro-American elite (Almlie et al. 2009). Following Reconstruction, these strides were often overturned by a return to power of that elite.

Opposing some of these broad regional trends, the Phillips community was formed near the end of Reconstruction and expanded nearly a decade after the conclusion of that era. Moreover, Phillips parcels were sold to African Americans as many as 58 years after its initial 1875 platting. This situation reflects unique local trends wherein mutually beneficial relationships developed between African Americans and their previous enslavers for decades following Reconstruction, sometimes on the very lands on which the particular African Americans were enslaved. Gibbs (2006:2) expounds on this idea:

> The history of African Americans living in Coastal South Carolina communities underscores the complex nature of this particular population. This area of the United States is one of the few places in which the relationships between slave owner and slave continued beyond the Emancipation Proclamation. Many of the African American workers remained in coastal communities, such as Snowden, Phillips, Wagner, Martin Point, Parker's Island, 7-Mile and Hamlin Beach. The former slaves found work on the plantations on which they had lived and worked, and often would work for several of the plantations within the communities in which they lived. Snee Farm, Boone Hall, Laurel Hill and Brickyard are examples of some of the places in which African Americans and their descendents continued to maintain a relationship with the plantations of their former slave owners. It is this unique set of circumstances that has generated the intense interest in studying African Americans living in this area of South Carolina.

Such local trends allowed for Phillips community members, and other Gullah of the area, to avoid the ills of sharecropping that afflicted many other African Americans in the Southeast during this time period (NPS 2012). To some degree, the trends also supported the development of retail outlets for the selling of sweetgrass baskets—a uniquely Gullah traditional cultural practice. Such outlets were sometimes provided by previous enslavers. For example, some Gullah people who lived in former slave cabins at Boone Hall Plantation began marketing baskets to plantation visitors, presumably as allowed by its owners, the Horlbecks (Adams 2009; CCDB Z33:313; Coakley 2017). Thus, in Mount Pleasant, the unique relationship between area Gullah and former Antebellum plantation owners generally supported relative self-sufficiency among the Gullah, may also have spurred some of the earliest opportunities in the highly localized basket industry, and, in these ways, significantly contributed to the broad patterns of Post-Bellum Gullah cultural history in the Mount Pleasant vicinity.

Further, while Reed (2016:117) highlighted the general association of area Gullah communities with "black ethnic heritage," HDR refines that reasoning to the specifics of the Phillips community. HDR concludes that Phillips meets Criterion A because of its significant contributions to the traditional culture and practices of the Phillips community and the other Gullah communities of the Mount Pleasant vicinity, due to the level of interactions across the communities. The community serves as the critical land base

for people who greatly value land ownership as a means to self-sufficiency and long-term physical security. Its family-, community-, and natural resource-related features are the key places where community members have developed and maintained traditional cultural artforms and pragmatic skills unique to Gullah people. The Phillips CL is also where community members have negotiated the dynamics of maintaining shared family properties for generations. The Phillips CL has afforded community members the opportunities to continue to associate with family members and other community members whose family connections often overlap one another, practice AME traditions that support a community approach, and develop a "quality of life" unique to Phillips. Ultimately, the Phillips CL and its contributing resources have nurtured the development and maintenance of traditional cultural identities that are both characteristic of regional Gullah identities and unique to the Phillips community.

#### *7.1.3.2 Criterion B: Associations with the lives of people significant in our past*

HDR concludes that the Phillips CL also meets Criterion B due to its associations with the formative members of the community and its traditional cultural significance in relation to this. Current community members express obligations to the original settlers of Phillips to maintain their family properties and the community much as previous generations did. Several articulate these as responsibilities they feel they must uphold, explaining that, because the previous generations did it, so must we. In addition, and pointing to the Phillips CL's significance in regards to both traditional culture and history under Criterion B, the formative community members of Phillips have local and regional significance as African-American pioneers at a critical point in African-American history and in a place uniquely affected by the period of enslavement. By the early eighteenth century, Charleston was the center of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in the British colonies of the North American mainland, and the ancestors of around 40 percent of modern-day African Americans first came ashore on Sullivan's Island, approximately 11 miles southwest of the Phillips community (NPS 2005).

For African Americans, the Reconstruction era was transitional between the period of African-American enslavement and a new era that held the promises of self-sufficiency, security, and renewed hope—while also carrying with it a level of uncertainty. Almlie et al. (2009) describe the era and aptly feature the responses of African-American communities in the local region:

> Enslaved African Americans throughout the South were emancipated as Union military forces invaded southern territory and defeated Confederate armies. After the war ended in 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment permanently abolished slavery, guaranteeing freedom to roughly four million African Americans who, just four years earlier, could only dream of it. Even though many of the political and economic gains these newly freed men and women achieved would be systematically revoked during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they succeeded in creating "an autonomous black social and cultural life, which…ranked among the most enduring accomplishments of Reconstruction." They enjoyed a newfound ability to "pursue their own agenda," free of white claims to corporal ownership and all the limits those claims had placed upon them. They engaged in activities which unmistakably demonstrated their freedom: forming independent communities and institutions, educating themselves, working towards economic independence, owning land and property, and exercising political rights. Illustrative of African-American perceptions of freedom, their endeavors embodied the hopes and promises of the era.

The formative settlers of Phillips, like those of similar Reconstruction-era African-American communities of Mount Pleasant, lay a critical path through that time of uncertainty for subsequent generations to follow

and, as such, are important figures in local and regional African-American history. For current Phillips community members, the fact that the formative settlers successfully navigated that time of uncertainty is central to current community members' own determination to succeed and a key aspect of their traditional cultural identities and their associated drive to maintain a traditional community.

#### *7.1.3.3 Criterion D: Potential to yield information important to prehistory or history*

The Phillips CL has several remnant features that have the potential to yield information important in understanding more about the Phillips community history and the larger Gullah regional history from the point of the Reconstruction era and including the era of Segregation. Phillips School, several praise houses and society halls, a grist mill, a wharf on Horlbeck Creek, rice ponds, and undoubtedly numerous residences and other cultural resources were once extant in the community, and subsurface investigations may discern a uniquely Gullah archaeological record reflective of the traditional cultural practices of its members and may reveal important details in understanding the local trends that differently affected Gullah people in this vicinity from the point of their emancipation. Similarly, and given that community members and other African-American people of Mount Pleasant have been the primary carpenters constructing buildings in the Phillips CL, more detailed considerations of the architecture of Phillips may conclude that the vernacular architectural forms reflect the traditional culture of Gullah people. For example, design elements may be identified that accommodate the practice of traditional cultural skills such as sweetgrass basketmaking or seafood harvest.

### 7.1.4 Considering Whether Any Attributes Deem the Cultural Landscape Ineligible

Since the Phillips CL has been identified as a district, the individual components that contribute to its significance do not require scrutiny under the seven criteria considerations described in Parker and King (1998). However, to be comprehensive, HDR offers the following reasoning pertaining to the three considerations relevant to individual contributing resources within the Phillips CL, Criteria Considerations A, C, and D.

The Phillips CL is composed of several natural and cultural resources, including two churches, one tomb and possible family cemetery associated with the Antebellum period (38CH1752), and one community-affiliated cemetery located on Parker's Island (38CH1032). The existence of places used for religious purposes or burials and cemeteries in portions of the cultural landscape does not render the overall Phillips CL ineligible for listing in the NRHP. Rather, their existence contributes to its traditional cultural significance. Greater Goodwill AME Church is at "the heart" of the Phillips' community approach, and House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church has supported traditional cultural identities through its African revitalizing elements. For Phillips community members, the Antebellum tomb and possible family cemetery is a tangible reminder of community origins and symbolizes the historical association of the community's land base with the area. The waterfront location of Parker's Island Cemetery may represent African-influenced practices of interring near water, and community members continue to nurture ongoing associations through visits to the cemetery and helping maintain it.

## 7.2 Conclusions

Based on previous investigations and the current study, HDR concludes that the Phillips CL meets Criterion A due to its association with (1) African-American heritage; (2) settlement patterns developed in the Post-Bellum period; (3) federal Reconstruction initiatives that nurtured unique local trends supporting the relative self-sufficiency of Phillips and other local Gullah communities; and (4) the traditional culture of Phillips and its members' senses of identity. All of these associations have contributed significantly to the broad patterns of the Phillips community history and the larger Gullah cultural history in the Mount

Pleasant vicinity. The Phillips CL meets Criterion B due to associations with the formative members of the community. These members lay a critical path for future generations of community members to follow and, as such, have local and regional significance as pioneers at a critical point in African-American history and in a place uniquely affected by the period of enslavement. The Phillips CL also satisfies Criterion D due to having the potential to yield information important to understanding the Phillips community history, its traditional cultural practices, and the effects these practices have had on Phillips' architecture and archaeology; these findings will also significantly contribute to understanding the larger Gullah regional history, including details related to local trends that differently affected Gullah people in this vicinity since their emancipation.

HDR further concludes that the Phillips CL is part of a larger Mount Pleasant-area Gullah cultural landscape that may have national significance. Such a cultural landscape is itself within the larger GGCHC and conceivably would encompass the Phillips CL, the Sweetgrass Basket Corridor TCP containing more than 70 identified basketstands on US 17 (see Adams 2009 and Baluha et al. 2018), several African-American churches, any community-specific schools that are still extant, several African-American communities likewise founded in the Post-Bellum and subsequent periods, and many yet-identified natural and cultural resources that are rooted in the histories of the Gullah people of Mount Pleasant and integral to their unique traditional cultural practices and identities. Collectively as a cultural landscape, these resources may have national significance due to their contributions to the cultural development of numerous Post-Bellum Gullah communities in an area uniquely affected by Antebellum and Reconstruction trends. Upon a closer look, these resources may also be found to have significance in relation to the Segregation era and other important time periods. HDR recommends that the Mount Pleasant-vicinity Gullah cultural landscape in its entirety be fully documented and evaluated for NRHP eligibility; and if determined eligible, may be assessed for adverse effects for future regulatory compliance efforts.

Under NEPA and NHPA, federal agencies, such as USACE, acting as lead federal agency for the Project, are required to consider the effects or impacts of their undertakings on NRHP-eligible cultural resources and take measures to avoid, minimize, or mitigate adverse effects. As the Phillips CL has been determined eligible for the NRHP and its particular significance has been documented herein, HDR will assess the potential for adverse effects to the Phillips Community Cultural Landscape following selection of the reasonable Project alternatives. The assessment will be based on data collected for and findings from this report, as well as findings from previous investigations. HDR will overlay the Project corridor and the Phillips CL to visually assess direct impacts to portions of the TCP. Indirect and cumulative impacts will be assessed using qualitative factors developed through community consultant interviews and researcher insights. Existing conditions, as reported herein, and impact analysis findings regarding the Phillips CL will be summarized in the NEPA environmental document.

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# Appendix A – Additional Maps Pertaining to Phillips

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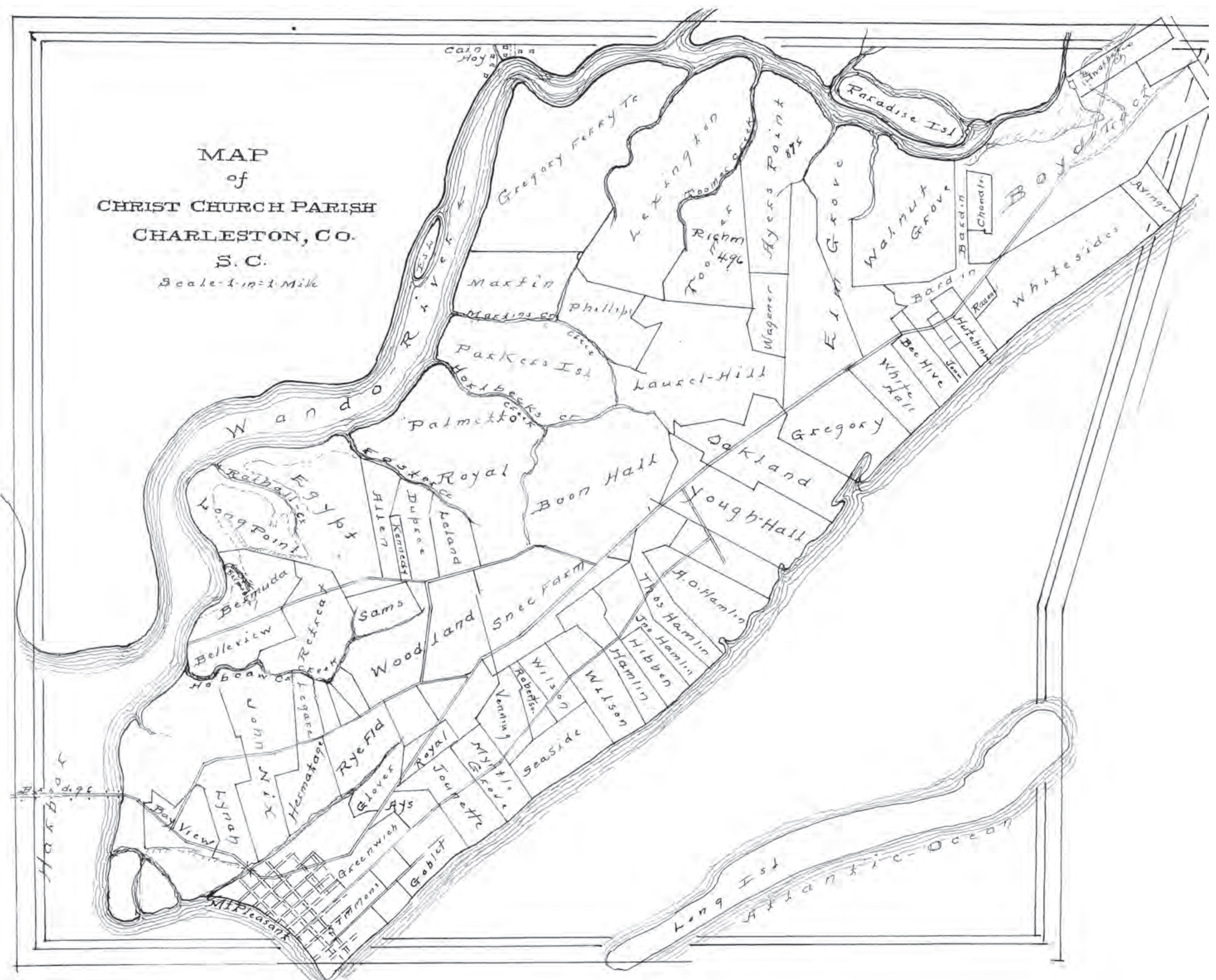
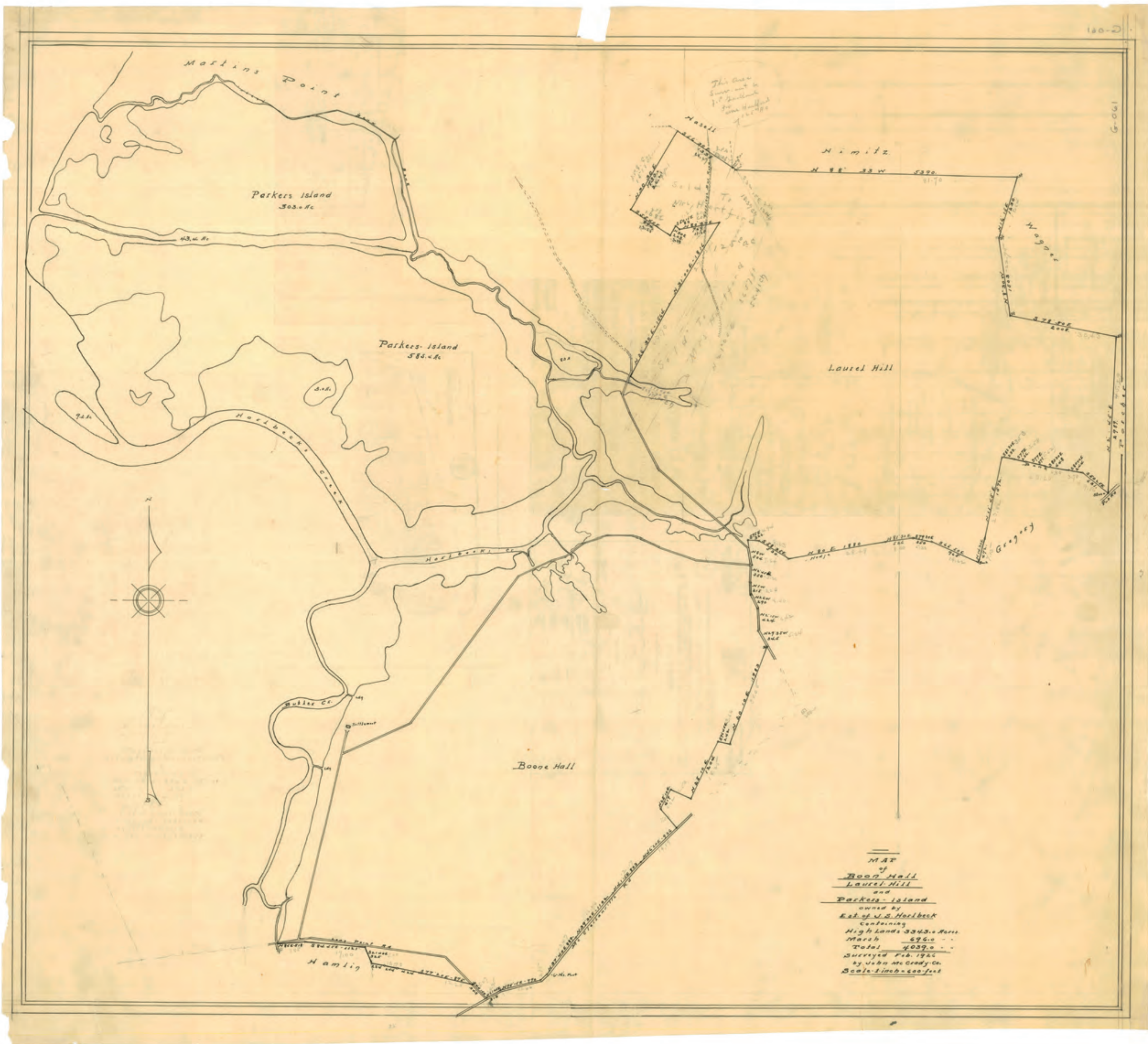
McCrady Plat 6101; Map of a body of land situate in Christ Church parish – Consisting of 500 Acres granted to Mr Robt Fenwick in 1694 but now belonging to Mrs Sarah Rutledge; 1768; Charleston County Record of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina

McCrady Plat 6047; Copied March 10th 1862 from the original by Chs Parker in the possession of Mr White and loaned me to make survey for P.H. Waring, John A. Michel, CE & Surveyor; 1862 (1850); Charleston County Record of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina




Gaillard Plat 181; Map of Christ Church Parish Charleston, Co. S.C.; n.d. (ca. 1885-1902); Charleston County Record of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina




G-061; Map of Boon Hall, Laurel Hill, and Parkers Island, owned by Est. of J.S. Horlbeck; Surveyed Feb. 1926 by John McCrady Co.; Charleston County Record of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina

WANDO RIVER

PARKER'S ISLAND

MARSH

HORLBECK CREEK

LAUREL HILL

ADVERSE FORMERLY LAUREL HILL

COUNTY ROAD

ORCHARD

SCRUB

BOONE HALL

BUTLERS CR.

SEA LEVEL ROUTE

OF

Boone Hall, Laurel Hill, and Parker's Island.

CHARLESTON CO. S.C.

Areas by Deed - HIGHLAND - 3220.3 Ac.

MARSH - 694.2 "

TOTAL - 3914.5 Ac.

Outline from Map by The John McCrady Co.

Map & Interior topography and types

by J. T. Kollock, Inc.

August - 1935

Scale 1 inch 600 Ft.

G564

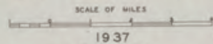
G-564; Map of Boone Hall, Laurel Hill, and Parker's Island, Charleston Co. S.C.; Outline from Map by The John McCrady Co., Map & Interior topography and types by J.T. Kollock, Inc., August 1935; Charleston County Record of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina

GENERAL HIGHWAY
AND
TRANSPORTATION MAP

# CHARLESTON COUNTY
## SOUTH CAROLINA

PREPARED BY THE
SOUTH CAROLINA STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT
IN COOPERATION WITH THE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS
DATA OBTAINED FROM
STATE-WIDE HIGHWAY PLANNING SURVEY

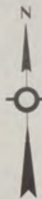
SCALE OF MILES



1937

POLYCONIC PROJECTION

DATA OBTAINED FROM U.S.C. & G.S. AIR PHOTO COMPILATION MAPS DATED 1934 AND STATE-WIDE HIGHWAY PLANNING SURVEY RURAL ROAD INVENTORY




BERKELEY COUNTY

FRANCIS MARION NATIONAL FOREST

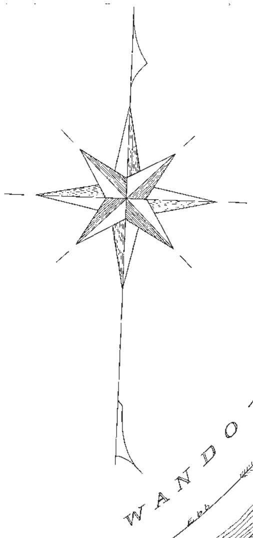
GEORGETOWN COUNTY

ATLANTIC OCEAN

LEGEND

GENERAL HIGHWAY AND TRANSPORTATION MAP CHARLESTON COUNTY SOUTH CAROLINA SHEET 1 OF 2 SHEETS

General Highway and Transportation Map, Charleston County, South Carolina; 1937; South Carolina State Highway Department in cooperation with the US Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Public Roads; Digital Collections, Maps Department, University Libraries, University of South Carolina, Columbia



WANDO-RIVER

PARKERS ISLAND

PARKERS ISLAND

Part of Laurel Hill Sold to Negro's

LAUREL HILL

PALMETTO

BOONE HALL

Snee Farm

# MAP
of
PALMETTO
BOONE HALL
LAUREL HILL
AND
PARKERS ISLAND

Owned by

PRINCE and PRINCESS
DIMITRI DJORDJADZE

Christ Church Parish
Charleston County
S. C.

Containing 5237.0 Acres
Surveyed Oct 1940.
By J. T. Kollock, Inc.
Scale 1 inch = 10 Chains

Note: All Land Lines on the within Map were Surveyed, Marked, and Corners Established. The Creek Lines and the River Front, also the Marshes, were Coppied from Map of Parkers Island by McCrady, Feb. 1926 and "Map of Palmetto" by R. K. Payne, Dec. 30, 1854 and both of these were Coppied from other Sources.
The Area inasmuch as our Survey was not Closed was taken from the McCrady Survey which shows an Area of 4039.0 Acres and the Payne Survey which shows 1323.0 Acres. Since the Surv. by McCrady 125.0 Ac. were sold to Mrs Pignatelli; this leaves 5237 Acres as shown

Note: The Area marked "A" on Palmetto was Conveyed to owner of "Snee Farm" in Jan. 7. 1856 and Recorded in Book (S.13) on page 448
Area marked "B" on "Boone Hall" was Conveyed to owners of "Snee Farm" - - 1939? and Recorded in Book Z.41 on page 199.
Area marked "C" on "Snee Farm" was Conveyed to Owners of "Boone Hall" Feb. 10 1898 Recorded in Book H.23 on page 112

Register Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston County, S.C.
Recorded by filing in Plat Sk: G page 51-A at 12:46 o'Clock May 25, 1948. This tracing furnis by Legge & Gibbs.
Julius E. Cogswell R.M.C
Dev Clk. A.S.

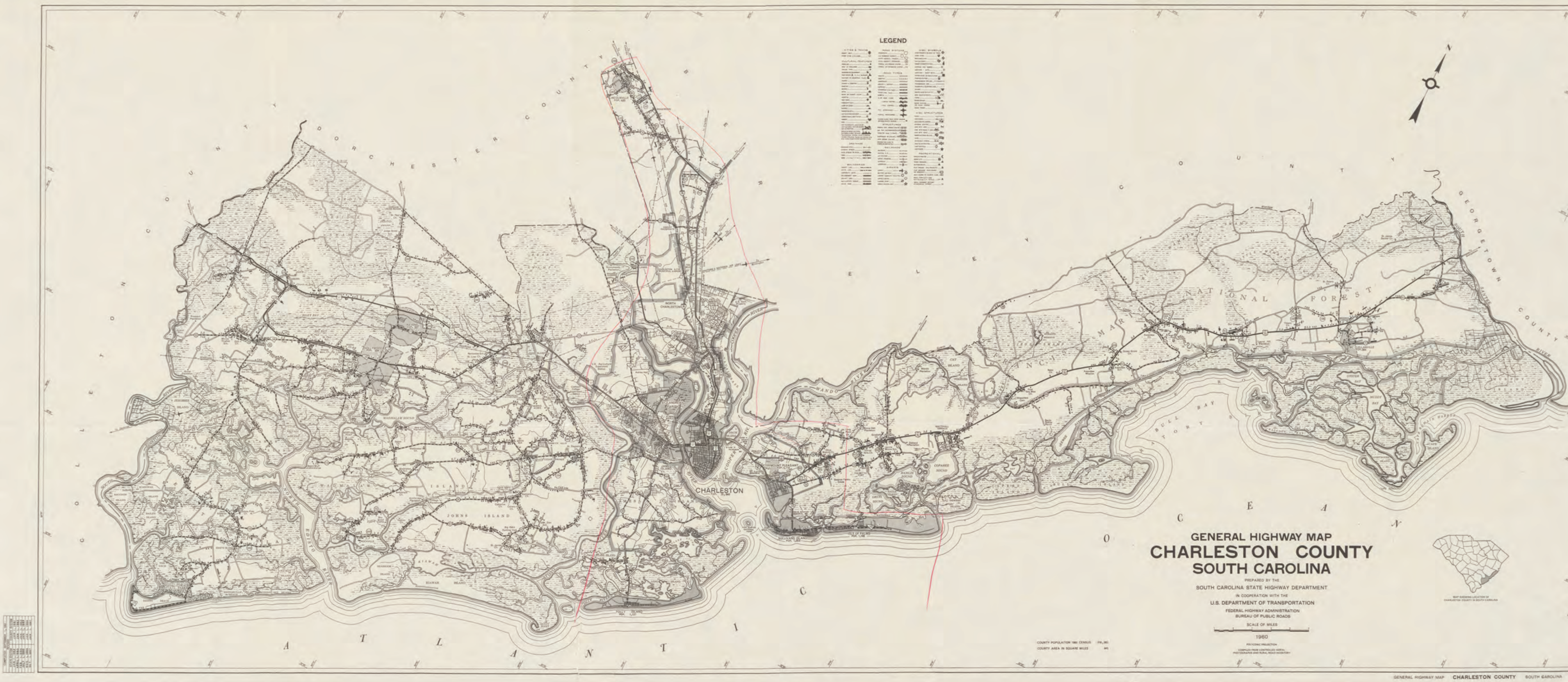
FILE 1
DRAWER –
FOLDER 34
DRAWING No 31

G-051A; Map of Palmetto, Boone Hall, Laurel Hill, and Parkers Island, owned by Prince and Princess Dimitri Djordjadze, Christ Church Parish, Charleston County S.C.; Surveyed Oct 1940 by J.T. Kollock, Inc.; Charleston County Record of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina

General Highway and Transportation Map, Charleston County, South Carolina; 1942; South Carolina State Highway Department in cooperation with the Federal Works Agency, Public Roads Administration; Digital Collections, Maps Department, University Libraries, University of South Carolina, Columbia

**Gaillard Plat 195; Map of a Portion of the Boon Hall Tract, owned by Nancy T. McRae, Christ Church Parish Charleston, Co. S.C.; Surveyed Mar. 5, 1945 by W.L. Gaillard; Charleston County Record of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina**

Gaillard Plat 215; Corrected Map of a Portion of Wampancheone Plantation, owned by P.O. Meade Jr. & A.N. Manucy about to be Conveyed to John H. & Lizzie W. Austin, Christ Church Parish Charleston County, S.C.; Map by J.P. Gaillard, C.E., Dec. 12, 1945; Corrected Feb. 1952; Charleston County Record of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina




General Highway Map, Charleston County, South Carolina; 1960; South Carolina State Highway Department in cooperation with the US Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Bureau of Public Roads; Digital Collections, Maps Department, University Libraries, University of South Carolina, Columbia

General Highway Map, Charleston County, South Carolina; 1978; S.C. Dept. of Highways & Public Transportation in cooperation with the US Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration; Digital Collections, Maps Department, University Libraries, University of South Carolina, Columbia

# Appendix B – Discussion Themes and Topics

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# Phillips Community Documentation and Effects Assessment

Discussion Themes and Topics

### Community Founding and History

*History of community, including its formation, settlement patterns, important people, cultural practices, and cultural institutions*

- South Carolina Land Commission platting and selling of parcels in the Phillips Community
- Founding families and their early histories, such as any known African countries of origin, Antebellum plantation association, location(s) of residence(s) in Phillips, Post-Bellum occupation(s), Gullah traditions practiced, church membership(s), school(s) attended, and other details about the family and its individual members
- Key people to the community
- Schools, churches, and other cultural institutions associated with the community
- Brickmaking and other industries associated with the community

### Cultural Associations and Practices

*Important cultural practices and associations of the Phillips community and its members*

- Gullah language
- Literary traditions, such as spoken accounts, shared stories, and songs
- Traditional cultural arts, such as sweetgrass basket artistry
- Pragmatic traditional arts, such as netmaking and quilting
- Cultural events
- Subsistence practices

### Important Places

*Key places in or near the community that are rooted in the community's history and supportive of community members' senses of identity—i.e., the community's traditional culture—and how these may be affected by the project*

- Natural resources used by the community, such as sweetgrass, other plants, and seafood, and the extent of the associated harvesting area
- Waterways, boat docks, and water access locations
- Locations of current and past schools, churches, and other cultural institutions
- Cemeteries and burial places
- Locations of key cultural events, including one-time and repeating events
- Places associated with key people associated with the community
- Family properties and associated settlement and inheritance patterns
- Pathways/trails and other transportation-related resources

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# Appendix C – Project Information and Informed Consent Form

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## Phillips Community Documentation and Effects Assessment

Project Information and Informed Consent Form

**Project Information and Regulatory Context**

Charleston County proposes improvements to an approximately five-mile-long portion of SC Highway 41 (Highway 41), from US Highway 17 to Clements Ferry Road in Charleston and Berkeley Counties, South Carolina (Project). This portion of Highway 41 serves as a minor arterial that has experienced an increase in traffic due to regional growth and currently sustains operations that exceed capacity and are projected to worsen over time.

Charleston County, the Town of Mount Pleasant, the South Carolina Department of Transportation (SCDOT), and the Federal Highway Administration are partnering to evaluate the benefits and impacts from the Project, in accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act and in coordination with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Under these mandates, federal agencies are required to consider the effects or impacts of their undertakings on National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)-eligible cultural resources and take measures to avoid, minimize, or mitigate adverse effects.

**Phillips Community Documentation and Effects Assessment**

The Project extends through the community of Phillips in Charleston County, South Carolina. Phillips is a Gullah community founded by previously enslaved African Americans of the Boone Hall, Laurel Hill, and Parker Island plantations after the American Civil War. Following a 2010 field visit to Phillips, the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SC SHPO) determined the community to be a cultural landscape that is further defined as a traditional cultural property, a cultural resource eligible for the NRHP. Since that time, Phillips was the subject of an update to the Charleston County inventory of historic resources. Following the inventory, SC SHPO concluded that Phillips is eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for the community's association with African American ethnic heritage and due to retaining settlement patterns characteristic of Post-bellum African American communities. The report also defines a preliminary NRHP boundary for the community based on historical and current community ownership.

The Phillips Community documentation and effects assessment presents an opportunity to community members and stakeholders (i.e., community representatives) to share their perspectives on the community's cultural history, important cultural practices and traditional values, and the natural and other cultural resources rooted in the community's history and community members' sense of identity. Community representatives also have the opportunity to impart any concerns or recommendations regarding potential effects of the Project to the cultural landscape.

**Data Collection and Management**

With your consent and when possible, discussions with community representatives will be documented through note taking, hand-drawn maps, map notations, audio recordings, photographs, and Global Positioning System data collection. These materials will become part of the Administrative Record managed by Charleston County. The information gathered will be used to delineate the Phillips Community cultural landscape and assess any adverse effects from the Project. Information deemed by community representatives to be too sensitive for public

release will not be presented in the report. To ensure the accuracy and acceptability of presented information, a draft version of the final report will be provided to key community leaders and stakeholders for review, feedback, and approval of the information prior to submittal of the draft final report to Charleston County and SCDOT.

**Foreseeable Benefits and Risks of Participating**

Community input will be helpful in the development of avoidance, minimization, and mitigation measures related to the Phillips Community cultural landscape. Each community representative will receive a digital recording of their own interview for participating in the study. Participation in the study carries no significant risks apart from accountability for perspectives; anonymity, if requested, can be accommodated.

**Participant Rights and Consent**

This Project Information and Informed Consent Form is presented to ensure that community representatives are fully informed of the reason for data collection, how collected data will be used, and where the collected data will be archived. Participation in this study is voluntary, and if desired, participant identity can be protected in the resulting report.

If you have read and understand this form and agree to its terms, please fill out the following:

The study team has my permission to collect the following, as they pertain to me:
___ ALL BELOW
___ notes
___ map notations/hand-drawn maps
___ recorded interviews
___ photographs
___ GPS data
___ other:___________________________________

Preferred identifier:
___ actual name
___ anonymous referent
___ other:_____________________________________

Signature Date

Printed Name Affiliation

Email Address Phone Number

Mailing Address

# Appendix D – Traditional Cultural Property (TCP) Recordation Form

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Project Site Number: n/a

State Site Number:

# Traditional Cultural Property (TCP) Recordation Form

This form is based on the following guidance and standards:

NR Bulletin 16 Part A (NRB16A): http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb16a.pdf
NR Bulletin 38 (NRB38): http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb38.pdf
NPS Cultural Resource Spatial Data Transfer Standards: http://www.nps.gov/history/hdp/standards/crgisstandards2.htm

## Form Information

☑ New ☐ Update Form Date: 02/14/2018

## Property Name(s) and Cultural Affiliation(s)

Current Name: Phillip / Phillips Community and associated resources

Traditional/Historical Name (if different): Phillips / Phillips Plantation / Laurel Hill Plantation

Affiliated Community/ies: Phillips Community

County/ies: Charleston County, South Carolina

## Project during which Property was Identified or Revisited

Project Name: SC 41 Improvements between US 17 and Clements Ferry Road

Project Date(s): 08/2017-Present

## Confidentiality of Data Contained in This Form

☐ Unrestricted
☑ Restricted
- ☐ No release
- ☐ No third party release: distribution limited to data requestor only
- ☑ Affiliated community/ies concurrence before distribution of form or form data [provide contact(s) below]
- ☐ Originating agency concurrence before distribution of form or form data [provide contact(s) below]

## Property Location

Physical Address (if known): Numerous along SC Highway 41

UTM Type: UTM Zone: 17 Datum: NAD27

| UTM Type | Easting: | Northing: | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ☑ Center Pt. | | | n/a | of Center |
| ☐ Random Pt. | | | n/a | of Center |
| ☐ Line (2+ Pts.) | | | n/a | of Center |
| ☐ Corner Pt(s). | | | n/a | of Center |

☐ Other:

NPS Latitude/Longitude (Decimal Degrees, NAD 83): Lat: 79.812000 Long: 32.884200

Mapping Methods: ☐ GPS Pt(s). ☑ Map 1CgtkcnRef. ☐ Interpolation

GPS Unit/Map/Aerial Used: Based on Charleston County parcel data and community input

Qtki kpcnI RUF cwo < GPS Data Collection/Map/Aerial Date: 2017

USGS 7.5 Minute Topo Quad Name: Cainhoy, SC Map Date: 1971

Township: Range: Section:

Describe property boundaries, and explain how these were derived (i.e. from community input, extrapolation, etc.):

The Phillips Community Cultural Landscape encompasses the community settlement area [i.e., sold parcels from the 1875 and 1885 Phillips plats (Charleston County Plat Book B:35; Charleston County Deed Book M47:28)] and several associated features within that area; Papa's Island; the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek; portions of Horlbeck Creek; a cemetery on Parker's Island; and Greater Goodwill AME Church. Boundaries were derived from historical and ethnographic research.

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Project Site Number: n/a

State Site Number:

**Ownership/Jurisdiction**

- [ ] Tribal Government
- [ ] State
- [ ] Federal
- [ ] City
- [ ] County
- [x] Private For-Profit
- [x] Private Non-Profit
- [x] Private Individual
- [ ] Unknown

Public Tract Name (if any):

Formerly Phillips Tract / Laurel Hill Plantation / Phillips Plantation; Now Phillips Community

Name and Contact Details of Owner/Entity with Jurisdiction:

Numerous land owners of various types; Not all have been identified

**Investigation Methods**

- [x] Reconnaissance/Initial Survey
- [x] Participant Observation
- [x] Interview(s)
- [ ] Questionnaire(s)/Survey(s)
- [ ] Focus Group(s)
- [ ] Archival Research
- [ ] Literature Review
- [x] Other: Informal discussions at public meetings

Important Sources of Note:

See report for detailed reference list

**Property Type**

NRHP Category (see NRB16A p. 15):

- [ ] Building
- [ ] Structure
- [x] District
- [ ] Site/Landscape
- [ ] Object

- [ ] Mpqy p"\q"dg"listed on the following state registry/list:

Identification number (if relevant):

**Community Identity, Function(s), and Integrity of Association**

Cultural association with property for 50 years or more?

- [x] Yes, since the following year/time period: 1877, perhaps earlier
- [ ] No
- [ ] Unknown, but probably
- [ ] Unknown

Explanation of unknown date or less-than-50-year significance, if applicable:

Project Site Number: n/a
State Site Number:

Provide a brief history of the affiliated community/ies. Discuss how the property reflects community identity including cultural practices, customs, beliefs, and meanings associated with the property. Discuss the role the property plays in maintaining community identity and/or how it was used to maintain community identity in the past. Consider the continuity between past and present community associations with property. Where possible, describe transformations in meaning over time and how persistence of community values is manifest in contemporary associations and uses. Include descriptions of physical changes to property and acknowledge concurrent changes in association and uses (see NRB38 pp. 11-12):

The community of Phillips was founded in the late Reconstruction era by previously enslaved African Americans of area Antebellum plantations. The people of Phillips and similar coastal communities of the Carolinas are known as Gullah people. In the Antebellum period, Gullah people labored for plantation owners under the task system and in the production of products with which they had experience in Africa. Gullah people also developed a unique culture from a fusion of the many different cultural traditions they had practiced in Africa. The early interactions of community members with the Horlbeck brothers (Frederic H. and John S. Horlbeck), the plantation owners who subdivided and sold the parcels to individual African Americans, point to a relationship of mutual benefit. A variety of local opportunities, including wage labor, small-scale farming and timbering operations, gardening and other subsistence activities, the making of sweetgrass baskets, and various entrepreneurial pursuits, combined with land ownership to help Phillips community members achieve relative self-sufficiency while helping nurture and maintain associations with the natural world—both core aspects of traditional Gullah identities.

Phillips community members share several values that can be summarized as land ownership allowing for self-sufficiency and security; long-term associations with an area having important meaning; close-knit community equating to “quality of life”; and the AME Church being at “the heart” of the community. These values are infused in community members’ perceptions of the traditional cultural significance of the important natural and cultural resources that together form the Phillips Community Cultural Landscape (Phillips CL). In its current extent, the Phillips CL encompasses (1) the community settlement area and several associated features, (2) Papa’s Island, (3) the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek that once afforded access to Parker’s Island, (4) Horlbeck Creek, (5) an approximate late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century cemetery on a peninsula at the southern extent of Parker’s Island, and (6) Greater Goodwill AME Church.

Family properties are the basis for the community settlement area of the Phillips CL, and each, along with its various buildings, serves as the critical land base for Phillips community members—where generations have made their homes, maintained traditional skills and artforms, associated with other community members, and nurtured their cultural identities. Historical features within the community settlement area serve as tangible reminders of the community's origins and the historical associations of the community land base. Greater Goodwill AME Church has nurtured a community approach among community members that spurred several meeting halls once extant in Phillips and continues to provide a foundation for the close-knit relationships among Phillips community members and all of its affiliated Gullah communities. Currently, Papa’s Island, the Bridge over Horlbeck Creek, and Horlbeck Creek, itself, are three natural resource features that contribute to the significance of the Phillips CL. The subsistence activities and associated traditional cultural skills and artforms that these places support continue to nurture and help maintain core aspects of community members’ cultural identities.

Current Function(s) (see NRB16A pp. 20-23):

| | Category | Subcategory | Specific |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Domestic | Single Dwelling | Single-Family Houses |
| 2. | Commerce | Business | Businesses; Roadside Stands |
| 3. | Social | Civic | The Park |
| 4. | Religion | Religious Facility | Churches |
| 5. | Agriculture/Subsistence | Processing; Storage | Family Properties |
| 6. | Agriculture/Subsistence | Horticultural Facility | Fields; Gardens; Fruit/Nut Trees |
| 7. | Agriculture/Subsistence | Animal &/or Fishing Facility/Site | The Park; Horlbeck Creek |
| 8. | Transportation | Water-, Road-, Pedestrian-Related | Horlbeck Creek; Front Road |

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Project Site Number: n/a

State Site Number:

Historical Function(s) [if known and different from current function(s); see NRB16A pp. 20-23]:

| | Category | Subcategory | Specific |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Social | Meeting Hall | AME-Affiliated Meeting Halls |
| 2. | Education | School | Phillips School |
| 3. | Funerary | Cemetery; Graves/Burials | Parker's Island Cemetery; Tomb |
| 4. | | | |

**NRHP Eligibility Recommendations**

☐ Potentially a Contributing Resource to:

Site Name:

Project Site Number:

Property Type: ☐ District ☐ Landscape ☐ Other:

Eligibility Recommendations: ☐ Listed on the NRHP ☐ Potentially Eligible ☐ Undetermined ☐ Unknown

Individual Eligibility Recommendations:

☐ Ineligible

☐ Undetermined, need more information concerning:

☐ Time length of significance
☐ Property boundaries
☐ Cultural history
☐ Cultural identity
☐ Cultural associations
☐ Integrity of relationship
☐ Integrity of condition
☐ Other:

☐ Listed on the NRHP as the following property name:

☐ Update recommended, as follows:

☐ Recognition as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP) in order to acknowledge significance not yet recognized by National Register

☐ Recognition as a Contributing Resource, as noted above

☐ Criterion expansion to include (see descriptions below): ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D

☐ Expansion of boundaries

☐ Other:

☑ Potentially Eligible as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP)

NRHP Criterion/a:

☑ A. Association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history

☑ B. Association with the lives of persons significant in our past

☐ C. Embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; representative of the work of a master; possession of high artistic values; or representative of a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction

☑ D. History of yielding or potential to yield information important in prehistory or history

Explain eligibility recommendations (if necessary):

The Phillips CL meets Criterion A due to associations with (1) African-American heritage; (2) Post-Bellum settlement patterns; (3) federal Reconstruction initiatives; and (4) the traditional culture of Phillips and its members' senses of identity; all of these have contributed significantly to the broad patterns of the Phillips community history and regional Gullah cultural history. The Phillips CL meets Criterion B due to associations with the community's formative members, who lay a critical path and thus have local and regional significance. The Phillips CL also satisfies Criterion D due to potentially yielding information important to understanding regional Gullah history.

Project Site Number: n/a
State Site Number:

**Community Contacts**

| | Contact Person 1: | Contact Person 2: |
|---|---|---|
| Name: | Richard Habersham | Reverend Elijah Smalls |
| Affiliation: | President, Phillips Community Association | Phillips community member |
| Address: | 2838 Bennett Charles Road, Mount Pleasant, SC 29466 | 1660 Highway 41, Mount Pleasant, SC 29466 |
| Phone: | 843-819-4635 | 843-793-8027; 843-884-4521 |
| E-mail: | habershamrich@att.net | |
| Contact For: | ☑ History ☑ Location ☑ Data Release ☐ Other: | ☑ History ☑ Location ☐ Data Release ☐ Other: |

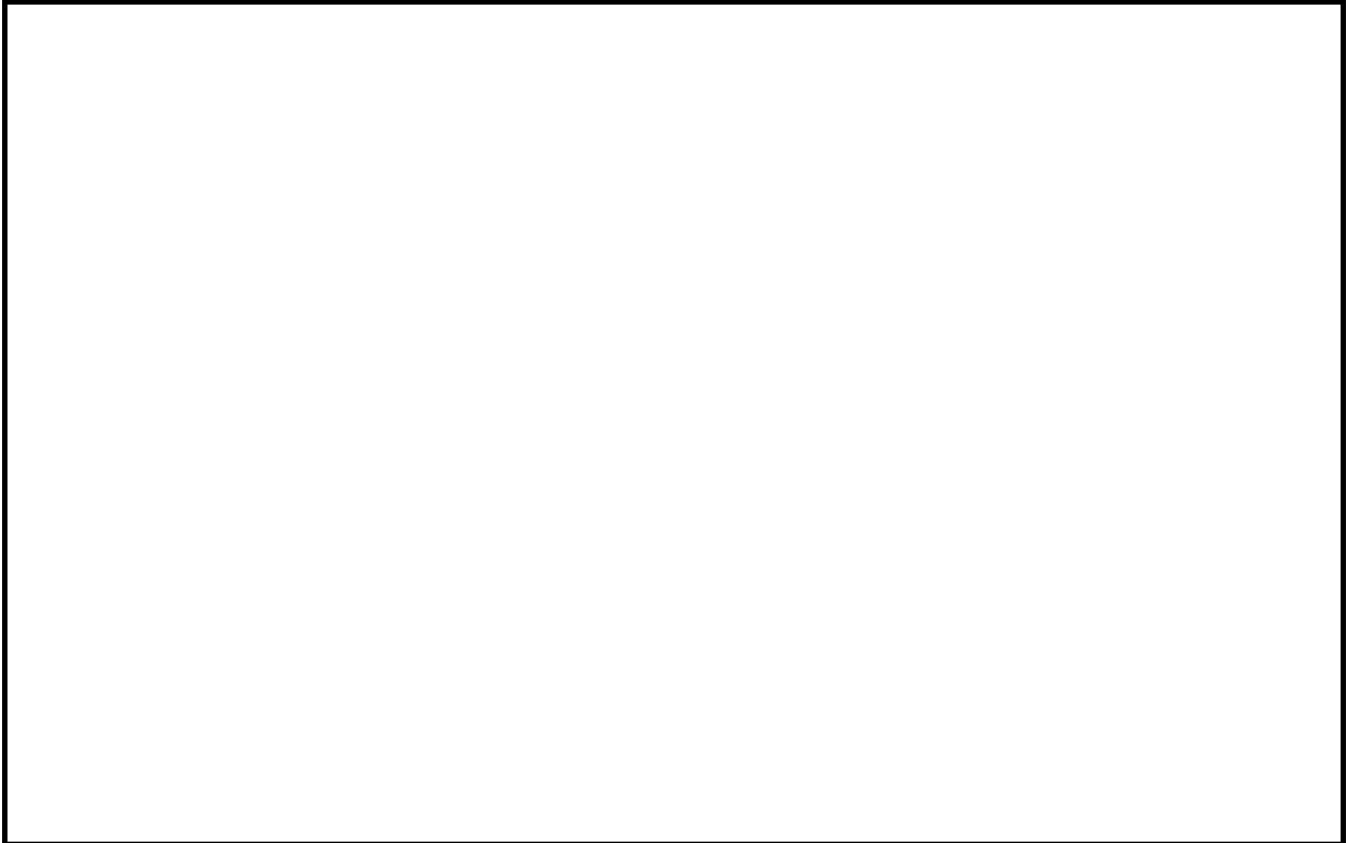
**Project Contacts**

| | Contact Person 1: | Contact Person 2: |
|---|---|---|
| Name: | Harriet L. Richardson Seacat | Josh Fletcher |
| Title: | Senior Ethnographer | Environmental Project Manager |
| Institution: | HDR, Inc. | HDR, Inc. |
| Address: | 440 S. Church Street, Ste. 1000, Charlotte NC 28202-2075 | 4400 Leeds Avenue, North Charleston, SC 29405 |
| Phone: | 256-614-9007 | 843-414-3738 |
| E-mail: | hrichard@hdrinc.com | joshua.fletcher@hdrinc.com |
| Project Tasks: | ☑ Elig. Recs ☑ Form Completion | ☐ Elig. Recs ☐ Form Completion |

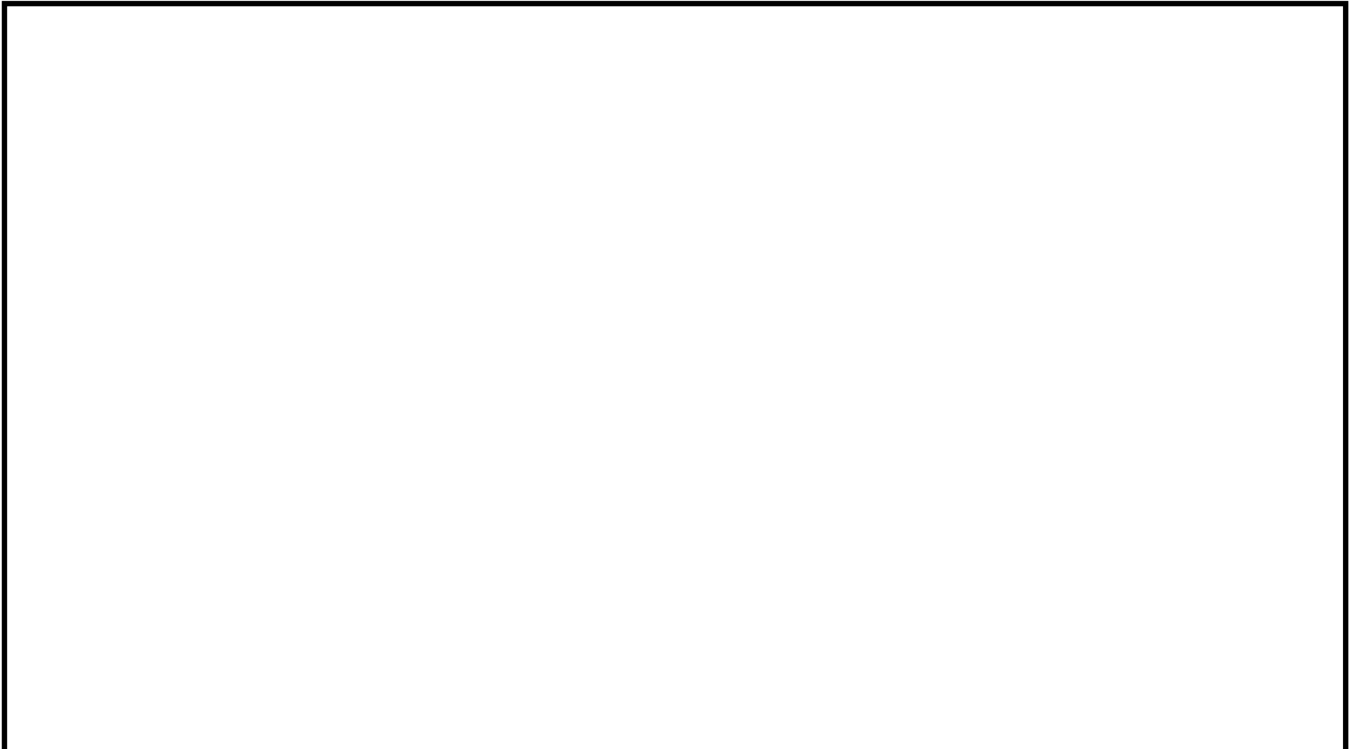
**Insert property map(s) and photograph(s) in the spaces below by left clicking the box, selecting Browse, selecting correct file type, and navigating to and choosing correct file. If limited to PDF file type, resave chosen files as PDFs and repeat insert process.**

**(Administrative Note: Images must be cleared through the field properties, under the Options tab. Saving and working from a blank version of this form avoids this problem.)**

**Property Mapped on USGS 7.5 Minute Topographic Quadrangle**



**Other Property Map** (if any; incl. map/aerial from which property was mapped if applicable and possible)



**Date:**

**Map Credit:** See attached map figures below

Project Site Number: n/a

State Site Number:

**Property Photograph(s)** (if any)

**Photograph 1 Caption:** Phillips Community historical marker

**Date:** 9/25/2017

**Photo Credit:** Harriet Richardson Seacat

**Photograph 2 Caption:** The Bridge over Horlbeck Creek

**Date:** 9/25/2017

**Photo Credit:** Harriet Richardson Seacat

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Project Study Area

**Extant Cultural Landscape (CL)**

Contiguous CL Boundary

Community Settlement Area

The Park

The Bridge

Horlbeck Creek

Papa's Island

Parker's Island Cemetery

Greater Goodwill AME Church

**Additional Historical CL Features**

Parker's Island

Wando River

The Park

Horlbeck Creek

The Bridge

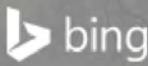
Papa's Island

Wando River

Parker's Island

Parker's Island Cemetery

Greater Goodwill AME Church



**SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA**

**EXTANT AND HISTORICAL PHILLIPS CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

**FIGURE 16**

Project Study Area
Contiguous CL Boundary
1875/1885 Plat Boundary Line

**Family Property Features**
Community Settlement Area
Sarah Wiseman Home (approx.)
General Abraham Turner Birthplace

**Religious/Spiritual Features**
Coaxum Praise House (Non-Extant)
House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church

**Community Features**
The Park
Remnant Front Road (Habersham Road)
Phillips School Well
Phillips School Foundation Remnants (Approx.)
Smalls Society Hall (Approx.; Non-Extant)
Wiseman Society Hall (Approx.; Non-Extant)

**Agricultural Features**
Gedders Grist Millstone
Remnant Rice Pond

**Natural Resource Features**
Horlbeck Creek
The Bridge
Papa's Island

**Antebellum Features**
Tomb (Possibly Rutledge)
Well (Possibly Rutledge)

Remnant Rice Pond
General Abraham Turner Birthplace
Remnant Rice Pond (Filled)
Wiseman Society Hall (Approx.; Non-Extant)
Sarah Wiseman Home (Approx.)
Phillips School Foundation Remnants (Approx.)
Phillips School Well
Gedders Grist Millstone
Remnant Front Road
Remnant Rice Pond (Smalls Family)
House of Prayer Pentecostal Holiness Church
Smalls Society Hall (Approx.; Non-Extant)
Remnant Rice Pond
Remnant Rice Pond
The Bridge
Remnant Rice Pond
Horlbeck Creek
Old Tomb (Possibly Rutledge)
Coaxum Praise House (Non-Extant)
Old Well (Possibly Rutledge)
Papa's Island
Highway 41

**SC 41 PRELIMINARY DESIGN AND NEPA**
PHILLIPS COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT AREA
FIGURE 17

Plat of a part of Laurel Hill Plantation
Christ Church formerly known as the Phillips Tract
the outlines taken from a plat by Sobiesko (?) May
1821. Twenty five farms surveyed and marked at the
request of the Proprietor for the purpose of sale
Scale 10 Chains per inch    T A Huguenin
Surveyor

Note "A" One half of an acre given for
a public landing for the farms now laid
out or to be hereafter laid out and for the
use of the Proprietors of Laurel Hill plantation
T.A. Huguenin
Surveyor
Jany 1875.

I certify this to be a true
tracing of Plat recorded in
Plat Book B. Page 85
[illegible]
[illegible]

Legare & Hare Jan 25, 1947 $1.50 Pd

Register Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston County, S.C.
Recorded by filing in Book M-47, page 283
at 11:05 o'clock, January 25, 1947. This tracing
furnished by and original (a blue print)
delivered to Legare & Hare.
Julius E. Cogswell, R.M.C.
per clk E.J.S.

Lands of Robert McElvoy

S 81-15 E 5.00 4.40 3.30 3.85 6.50 5.60 4.10

S 58-15 E

N 89-30 E 3.90 5.00 5.00 5.00 5.00

N 28-45 E

No. 1 10. Ac
No. 2 8¾ A
No. 3
No. 4 7¾ Ac
No. 5 14. Ac
No. 6 11. Ac
No. 7
No. 8 10½ A
No. 9 10. Ac
No. 10 10. Ac
No. 11 10. A
No. 12 10. Ac

20 ft. Public Road 5.00 4.40 3.30 3.85 6.50 5.38 4.40

No. 25 10¼ Ac
No. 26 11¼ Ac
No. 27 8¾ A
No. 28 10. Ac
No. 29 16¾ Ac
No. 30 10¼ Ac
No. 31
No. 32
No. 33 10¾ Ac
No. 34 13. Ac
No. 35 10. Ac
No. 36
No. 37 6.0 Ac
No. 38 10. Ac

5.00 5.00 5.00 5.00

Wagener Road

Gregorie Ferry Road

No. 53 9.09 Ac
No. 54 10¼ Ac
No. 55 10½ Ac
No. 56 11.0 Ac

Lands of Maj. John S. Horlbeck
Western Part of following Plat.
Plat of Seventy eight (78) Farms
being a part of Laurel Hill, Plantation. Christ Church Parish
Charleston County - S.C. - Surveyed
and Marked at the request of the
owner Maj. John S. Horlbeck; for the
purpose of sale. Feb. 1885
By. - R. V. Royal, Surv.
Scale - 1 inch = 10 chains.