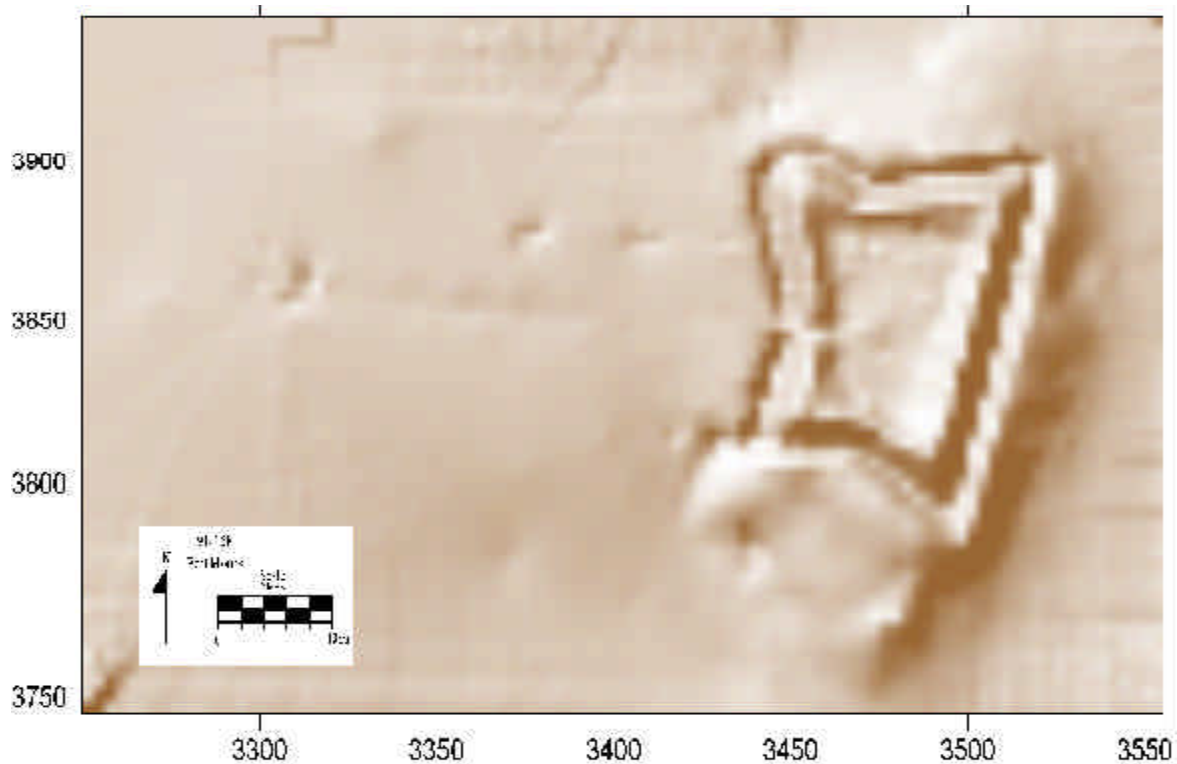


Archaeological Investigations at Fort Morris State Historic Site, Liberty County, Georgia



Topographic View of Fort Morris State Historic Site

August 2003

**Archaeological Investigations
at Fort Morris State Historic Site,
Liberty County, Georgia**

Submitted to:

Georgia Department of Natural Resources
Parks and Historic Sites Division
Historic Preservation Division, Office of State Archaeologist
156 Trinity Ave, SW
Suite 101
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Submitted by:

Southern Research, Historic Preservation Consultants, Inc.
P.O. Box 250
Ellerslie, Georgia 31807

Daniel T. Elliott
Principal Investigator and Author

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Chapter I. Introduction

One of Georgia's lesser known historical treasures is nestled on a bend in the Medway River next to the colonial seaport of Sunbury on the coastal fringe of Liberty County—the Fort Morris State Historic Site. This is its story. Noted Historian Charles C. Jones, Jr. (2001, 2:285) summed up the significance of Fort Morris in 1883 when he wrote: “Fort Morris was the most important military work constructed by Georgians during the war of the Revolution.” Despite its historical importance, we have a poor understanding of the remains of the *fort*, other military fortifications, and the nearby town of Sunbury. [Please be advised that definitions for words in italics can be found in the glossary in Chapter II.]

In 2002 Southern Research, Historic Preservation Consultants, Inc. (Southern Research) undertook an archaeological and historical research project for the Georgia Department of Natural Resources (DNR). The project included:

- archival research of primary and secondary documents pertaining to the site;
- a reexamination of previously excavated collections from the site;
- systematic survey of the site using a variety of techniques;
- and archaeological excavation.

This historical archaeology project had two primary goals:

- To use archaeological and historical information to discriminate between occupational episodes of the property, and;
- To interpret this information to the public through various means, including participation in the excavations and press releases (to be coordinated through Georgia DNR).

The Fort Morris State Historic Site is located southeast of Midway and south of Sunbury in rural Liberty County, Georgia. The property consists of 70 acres and includes woodlands, lawn, and improved areas associated with the park.

The eastern and southern margins of the property are fringed by salt marsh. The area north and west of the property is bordered by privately owned land.

The Fort Morris State Historic Site was recognized as having the potential for several juxtaposed military fortifications (and activity areas) that span the period 1741 to 1865. The best known period historically is that of Fort Morris/Fort George, which dates to the American Revolution, ca. 1776 to 1783. Less well known is Fort Defiance, which dates to the War of 1812 era, ca. 1812 to 1815. Sunbury also was garrisoned by the Confederate troops during the Civil War, although no references have been located to indicate any troops reoccupying the earlier forts. The site may harbor pre-Revolutionary War forts as well, possibly associated with Mark Carr's fortified plantation, but this component remains to be verified by archaeological study. The geographic setting of the fort property, which has a clear vantage of a bend in the Medway River, was of strategic military importance throughout the Colonial and early Federal eras. Consequently, archaeologists expect the remains of these various forts to be superimposed in layer cake fashion. While the construction of Fort Defiance destroyed any surface evidence of the earlier forts, this destruction was by no means complete. Remnants of the *palisade ditches* and outlying ditchwork from the earlier forts are preserved beneath the ground.

Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell's map (1779a) shows a fortified wall surrounding Sunbury and portions of this palisade were expected to exist in the study area. Sheftall (1995) predicted the location of this wall on the modern landscape and this area was investigated.

Other military resources that were expected to be located in the study area included: barracks, officers quarters, wells and privies, trash pits, and possibly a cemetery. A large building, interpreted by some as the barracks, is shown on Campbell's map (1779a). Many of the officers were probably lodged in civilian houses in Sunbury, although lower ranking officers probably lived in quarters closer to (and

possibly within) the fort. Brigadier General William Moultrie notes that in 1778 American officers and enlisted men were housed in private dwellings in Sunbury (Moultrie 1802, 1980). During the American occupation (1776 through January 1779) the regular *garrison* totaled approximately 200 soldiers. The thousands of American troops who were in temporary bivouac at Fort Morris undoubtedly left some trace on the landscape. Most of these soldiers probably camped outside of the fort and it is extremely likely that features and debris from their occupation are present.

When the British took over in 1779 and renamed it Fort George, the garrison strength was increased, although when the military action shifted to Savannah, the British garrison was reassigned to Savannah and the defenses at Sunbury were ordered dismantled. The British occupied this post from January 1779 to mid-September 1779. The amount of debris and features generated by several hundred people over a period of four years (1776-1779) may be substantial. Organizational differences between the American and British garrisons are likely reflected in the archaeological record. Expansion, upgrading, and new construction likely transpired after the British captured the fort. One avenue of research pursued by this project was a comparison of the American and British occupations.

Although the number of casualties in all the battles at Fort Morris were very few, many soldiers died while garrisoned at the fort and their burial sites are unknown. While some of them may have been buried in the two Sunbury cemeteries, it is almost certain that a previously undiscovered military cemetery was positioned near the fort (and possibly on State property). Brigadier General William Moultrie remarked that the American soldiers camped at Fort Morris in 1778 were quartered in an unhealthy environment, where they were dying at the rate of eight per day (Moultrie 1802). The death rate during other periods when the fort was occupied have not been determined, but by conservative estimate several dozen burials may be associated with the military occupation. During the current investigations, no human graves were identified.

When the American fort was captured by the British in January 1779, the American *artillery* arsenal consisted of 24 weapons. When the British abandoned the post, it is unlikely that they carried off all of these weapons. Those left behind were probably spiked to prevent their use by the Americans. Some, including, “such guns as there remained and were deemed trustworthy”, were recycled during the War of 1812 occupation (Jones 1997:218). A few light artillery pieces were brought to the fort during that period. Two 18-pound-

ers were requisitioned by the fort as well, although it is unclear whether they were ever delivered. Jones noted that four 6-pounders were taken from the site during the Civil War. Jones also noted, “Two iron cannon are now [sometime after the Civil War and prior to 1878] lying half buried in the loose soil of the *parade*, and a third will be found in the old field about midway between the fort and the site of the town” (Jones 1997:183). Quite possibly, some of the heavy ordnance at Fort Morris remained buried in the ground. Typically a fort of this size would have contained a sturdy *magazine*. The present study located numerous pieces of ammunition and shrapnel from heavy guns but did not locate any artillery pieces.

A portion of Fort Morris and its associated Revolutionary War occupation may have been encroached on by the adjacent marsh, particularly on the eastern and southern sides. The maritime aspects of the fort, such as boat landings, wharves, and docks have not been investigated. Naval battles associated with the two *sieges* of Fort Morris are documented, and artillery shells from the second of these event are present on State property.

Military features and artifact deposits associated with the War of 1812 and Civil War occupation were expected to be present, most likely centered around and within Fort Defiance (or the existing, visible earthwork). Careful study of the military artifacts and other key temporal diagnostic artifacts enabled identification of the military deposits. No War of 1812 or Civil War components were identified by the present research.

Fort Morris property also contains evidence of human occupation not associated with the military fort. Lewis Larson tentatively identified Sunbury as a Huspaw (Guale) village, based on a Lamar culture midden that he observed in 1952. Larson recorded that archaeological site as 9Li4. This protohistoric occupation may extend onto the State property. Substantial occupation of the site by Native Americans, including Terminal Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian, Protohistoric, and Historic Creek periods, was evidenced from the present study. The survey techniques provide good preliminary information for the management of these resources.

This report documents the project, including historical research, methodology, field and lab results, interpretations, and data. Chapter II contains a glossary of fort terminology used in the text, where the first occurrence of each term is italicized. The report also includes management recommendations for the earthworks and other cultural features on State

property. It contains recommendations for integrating these archaeological and historical results into future museum interpretative programs. The project also generated a detailed lesson plan for educators, which was submitted as a separate document.

LOCATION AND BRIEF BACKGROUND

The study area is located immediately south of Sunbury, Georgia in Liberty County (Figure 1). Site 9Li168, Fort Morris, is located on a low ridge adjacent to the Medway River and St. Catherine's Sound to the east, marsh to the south, and woodlands to the west (USGS 1958; USDA, Soil Conservation Service 1973). The Medway River makes a sharp bend southeast of the site, which is largely the reason for the fort's placement at this location. Any sailing ships that were approaching Sunbury by sea would have had to change their rigging in this bend, which would have slowed their approach and made them vulnerable to a land artillery barrage.

Sunbury was approached overland via the Sunbury Road from the northwest and by a road from the Newport River vicinity from the southwest. Portions of the Sunbury Road remain extant and are maintained as an unpaved public road. The route from the Newport River has been long abandoned. This southwesterly approach to Sunbury probably would have passed near Fort Morris.

Liberty County contains extensive evidence of Indian occupation from the Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian, and Protohistoric periods. Each of these periods is manifested in the archaeological record in the Sunbury vicinity. Artifacts recovered from the present study further support extensive use of the land during these time periods.

Although numerous archaeological surveys have been conducted in Liberty County, few excavation reports are available compared to other counties in coastal Georgia. Excavations in 1985 by Garrow & Associates revealed an impor-

tant Archaic and Woodland period lithic manufacturing industry where quartz and quartzite pebbles were transformed into small stemmed projectile points (Espenshade and Brockington 1985). The Garrow & Associates' study was located more than 20 km from Fort Morris. This study is relevant to the present study, however, because several stemmed quartz PPKs and quartz debitage were recovered from Fort Morris, which adds further support for this poorly understood coastal quartz lithic technology.

Clarence B. Moore excavated at several Indian mound sites in Liberty County. Lewis Larson (Moore 1897; Larson 1998) recently prepared a review of Moore's work. In it he includes a discussion of attempts by 20th century archaeologists to relocate Moore's excavations. Most of Moore's excavations were at sites on St. Catherines Island, although he explored two mounds at Laurel View plantation on the mainland, less than two miles northwest of Fort Morris. There he found Indian burials and cremations. Few details of the material culture associated with this mortuary site were documented by Moore. Larson notes that the larger mound is badly disturbed.

Extensive research on St. Catherines Island in Liberty County has been undertaken by David Hurst Thomas and Clark Spencer Larsen along with their colleagues with the American Museum of Natural History. Their work is documented in a series of reports that span the Woodland to historic periods (Larsen 1982, 1990, 1999, 2002; Larsen and Thomas 1982, 1986; Thomas 1987; Thomas and Larsen 1979; Thomas et al. 1977, 1978; Worth 1995). The centerpiece of their research project was the discovery and excavation of the Mission Santa Catalina de Guale. Their research also has yielded important findings concerning the Refuge, Deptford, and St. Catherines pottery traditions, as well as the late prehistoric period. Their work also included a limited mortuary study of the historic Afro-European residents of St. Catherines Island (Thomas et al. 1977). Worth's historical research has set the framework for future Spanish mission and Protohistoric Indian research in the St. Catherines Sound locale.



Figure 1. Project Location Map.

Chapter II. Research Methods

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

John Sheftall (1995) has compiled a significant body of historical data concerning the colonial town of Sunbury, as well as its associated fortifications. A review of other published research pertaining to the forts at Sunbury was conducted for the 2002 Southern Research project. This included the *Colonial Records of Georgia*, *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, and relevant articles in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Candler 1904-1916, 1908, 2001). Other published works that were consulted include Davis (1979, 1986a, 1986b), DeVorse (1971, 1972), Hawes (1957, 1968), and Moultrie (1802, 1980). A cursory review of contemporary newspapers provided some information on the events at Sunbury (*Caledonian Mercury* 1779; *Georgia Gazette* 1763-1776; *South Carolina Gazette* 1932-1775).

Many published primary and secondary histories of the American Revolution were consulted for this project. These included: Bevan (n.d.), Carrington (1877, 1881), Coleman (1958), Crow and tise (1978), Daniel (1937), Drayton (1969), Dukes (1993), Edgar (2001), Frey (1981), Garden (1822), Hall (2001), Hayes (1946), Hibbert (1990), Higgins (1979), Hoffman and Albert (1984), Hough (1975), Jarrell (2002), Johnson (1851), C. C. Jones, Jr. (1968, 1886, 1887, 1891, 1911, 1997, 2001), C. E. Jones (1897), T. Jones (1968), Karapalides (1998), Kennedy (1974), Killion and Waller (1975), Lambert (1987), Lawrence (1951), Lockey (1949), Loescher (1977), Lossing (1851), Lumpkin (1981), McCall (1909), McCrady (1902), Metzger (1971), Montross (1967), Morril (1993), Ranlet (1986, 2000, 2002), Ramsey (1789), Scruggs (1975), Searcy (1984, 1985), Siebert (1972), Stedman (1969), Stevens (1859), Tarleton (1968), Wallace (1951), Wilcox (1954), R. Wright (1983), and J. Wright (1976). Histories of the War of 1812 also were consulted. These included works by Hickey (1989) and Mahon (1972).

Archaeologists examined related military manuscript collections at several archival repositories. These included collections at the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah (Bevan

and Cate collections); Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia (Cuyler, Jones and Reid collections); the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia (Goff collection); New York Public Library; and the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Clinton and Wayne collections). Military records and maps at the Library of Congress, including the Fortifications Files, also were examined. Published bibliographies, calendars, and finding aids on the American Revolution were consulted (Goff various dates; Mitchell 1978; Peckham 1978; Harper 1983; Historical Manuscript Commission 1901-1906; Kennedy 1900; Robertson et al. 2002; White 1988; and Floyd 1997).

Historical research focused primarily on the period from 1733 to 1865, although earlier and later periods were studied as they related to the survey area. This vicinity, for example, may have been the prior location of a Guala village during the Spanish colonial era (Worth 1995). The recent history of the area also is incorporated into the research as it relates to the factors that led to the preservation or destruction of the archaeological resources there.

Archaeological and historical site reports from other Revolutionary War and War of 1812 forts were consulted for relevant information (Calver and Bolton 1950; Hanson and Hsu 1975; Stone 1970). Contemporary military maps were examined and interpreted with an awareness of their flaws and biases (Carrington 1877, 1881; Hulbert 1907; Harley et al. 1978; Marshall and Peckham 1976).

The historical research for this project included visits to the following libraries and archival repositories:

- Library of Congress (LOC) (Regular Stacks, Manuscript Division, and Geography and Map Division), Washington, D.C.;
- National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C. and the

- Cartographic Unit, College Park, Maryland;
- New York Public Library, New York, New York;
- Henry Pierpont Morgan Library, New York;
- William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan;
- Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta;
- Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Atlanta;
- Effingham County Courthouse, Springfield, Georgia;
- Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia;
- University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; and
- Simon Schwob Library, Columbus State University, Columbus, Georgia.

Collections that were examined at LOC included:

- Anthony Wayne Papers (LOC 1782);
- George Washington Papers (LOC 2002);
- Archibald Campbell's 1780 map, entitled "Sketch of the Northern Frontiers of Georgia";
- a manuscript map, entitled, "Roads and country that Col. Campbell marched thro' -Ebenezer to Augusta in Georgia, 1779";
- an unattributed manuscript map of "Savannah and Ogeechee River, circa 178-"; and
- Papers of Benjamin Lincoln, particularly Lincoln's Journal (Lincoln 1733-1810).

Collections that were examined at NARA repositories included:

- U.S. Army Fortifications Files (Record Group 77);
- Office of the Quartermaster General (Record Group 92);
- War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records (Record Group 93);
- Additional Revolutionary War Records (Record Groups 39, 53, 92, 93, 94, 107, and 217), M853;
- Orders, Returns, Morning Reports, and Accounts of British Troops, 1776-1781

- (M922);
- Supply Records, Records of Issuance and Receipt of Provisions, 1776-83 and 1786 (M853);
- Letters, Orders for Pay, Accounts, Receipts, and other supply records concerning weapons and military stores, 1776-1801 (M927 from RG 93, RG94, RG92);
- Ledger of Military Stores Received and Delivered, March 1780-May 1795 (M927);
- Record Books Concerning Mil. Op & Serv, Pay & Settlement of Accts & Supplies...Rev War Supply Records Records of Military Stores Received and Delivered at Various Places, Feb. 15, 1777 – Aug. 8, 1783 (M853, Roll 39);
- Miscellaneous Unbound Record Items, 1776-1783 (M927);
- Letters, Returns, Accounts, and Estimates of the Quartermaster General's Department 1776-1783 in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records (M926); and
- Miscellaneous Numbered Records (the Manuscript file) in the War Department, Collection of Revolutionary War Records, 1775-1790 (M859, Roll 4 Georgia).

Individual military service records were, for the most part, not fully researched in this study, although the index was examined (NARA various dates). Those that were researched included commanding officers of various military units, such as Anthony Wayne, Stephen Moylan, and Benjamin Lincoln.

Collections that were examined at the New York Public Library included:

- Hessians in America manuscripts, 27 transcripts, Brunswick Papers, Vol. 2 (Ms and Archives Section, Room 328);
- Papers of Anthony Wayne (1 folder in Personal Misc. papers);
- Papers of Benjamin Lincoln (1 folder);
- Chalmers Collection, Georgia (745, 1 volume);
- Letters of Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Lossing's Field Book, Volume 10 (EM6738- EM6740);

- Plan of Purisburg [Purysburg, S.C.] by F. DeBrahm, EM6753;
- Siege of Savannah, Lincoln Papers (Campbell to Lincoln EM7389);
- Thomas Addis Emmet Collection; and
- Great Britain—Army, 71st Foot Regiment, 1775-1784, Ford Collection.

Three volumes of bound letters of Anthony Wayne at the New York Public Library were reviewed. These are transcribed copies of papers of Anthony Wayne, which form part of the George Bancroft Collection (Bancroft 1606-1887, Vols 378-380).

Collections that were examined at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York included the Augustin Prevost Letters, a letter from Thomas Posey to Nathanael Greene, and other pertinent Revolutionary War records.

Collections that were examined at the University of Georgia Libraries included:

- Benjamin Lincoln Papers, microfilm collection (Allis 1967; Allis and Frederick 1967);
- Benjamin Lincoln's Order Book, Volume 2 (Hyrne 1779-1780);
- Charles C. Jones, Jr. Collection;
- Telemon Cuyler Collection;
- Keith Read Collection;
- James Wright Collection;
- Colonial Records of Georgia; and
- various other published and microfiche Revolutionary War sources.

The original copy of Benjamin Lincoln's Order Book, Volume 2, which is housed in the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library was a very important historical resource (Hyrne 1779-1780).

Books that were consulted at the Columbus State University's Simon Scwab Library, Columbus, Georgia included the *Documents of the American Revolution* (multi-volume set published Irish series, edited by K. G. Davies 1972-1978), the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, and the published volumes of the *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Candler 1904-1916).

Research queries were made to a number of other archival facilities and additional documents were obtained. A query to the Society of the Cincinnati Library, Washington, D.C., yielded a portrait of Thomas Posey and a single manuscript letter written by General Wayne from Ebenezer. The Indi-

ana Historical Society possesses the journals of Thomas Posey, which are on microfilm. This document has not been examined. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses a large collection of Revolutionary War order books, including General Wayne's order book, which was maintained by his aid Benjamin Fishbourne. Relevant portions of this document were obtained and reviewed but it contained no specific references to Sunbury. Several documents relevant to Georgia were located in the Andre DeCoppet collection at Princeton University Library and copies of these were obtained by mail.

Biographies and compilations of patriots and loyalists provided useful information on soldiers who were posted at Sunbury (Calhoun 1973; Clark 1981; Cole and Braisted 2002; Egerton 1971; Heitman 1967; Gwaltney 1973; Kelby 1932; Knight 1970; McCall 1941; Palmer 1984; Sanchez-Saavedra 1978). Numerous important papers, autobiographies and biographies of military officers who were either garrisoned, spent some time at, or heavily influenced events of, Sunbury were examined. These included works on:

- Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown, King's Rangers (Olson 1970; Cashin 1989);
- Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, 71st Highland Regiment (Campbell 1981; McGeachy 2003; Nunis 1961; Davis 1986a);
- Samuel Elbert, Continental Army (Harden 1905);
- Major General Horatio Gates, Continental Army (Saltzman 1979);
- Major General Nathanael Greene, Continental Army;
- Major General Robert Howe, Continental Army (Howe 1776-1778a, 1976-1978b; Grimke 1911, 1912; Naisawald 1951; Lawrence 1952; Bennett and Lennon 1991);
- Lieutenant Colonel Henry Jackson, Georgia Legion (Charlton 1809; Foster 1947; 1960);
- Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee, Lee's Legion (Lee 1969; Royster 1981; Hartmann 2000);
- Major General Benjamin Lincoln, Continental Army (Lincoln 1733-1810, 1779-1780; Hyrne 1779-1780; Allis 1967; Mattern 1995);
- Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh, Con-

- tinental Army (Hawes 1957, 1968; Jackson 1979);
- General Francis Marion, Continental Army (Horry and Weems 1859; Simms 2002);
 - Brigadier General William Moultrie, Continental Army (Moultrie 1802, 1980);
 - Lieutenant Colonel Charles Coteboth Pinckney, Continental Army (Zahniser 1967);
 - Major General Augustin Prevost (Prevost 1979a-f; C. Prevost n.d.);
 - Governor John Adam Treutlen, Continental Army (Morgan 1998); and
 - Major General Anthony Wayne, Continental Army (Moore 1845; Rankin 1964, Nelson 1985).

Two of Major General Robert Howe's orderly books were examined for this study (Howe 1776-1778a, 1776-1778b). A third source of primary information pertaining to Robert Howe, the Robert Howe Papers, was identified in the research but these materials were located in North Carolina and were not examined (Howe 1732-1786). Other details of Robert Howe's service in Georgia are recorded by his aide, Major John Fauchereau Grimke, Continental Army. Grimke also served as an aide to Major General Benjamin Lincoln. Grimke's order book and journal, which have been published, provide unique details of activity in Sunbury and Fort Morris (Grimke 1911, 1912). A recent biography of Robert Howe also provided useful information pertaining to the study area (Bennett and Lennon 1991).

Two major primary sources included Lieutenant Colonel (Sir) Archibald Campbell's journal (Campbell 1981) and Ensign John Wilson's journal (Davis 1986a). These documents, as well as other unpublished manuscript material by Campbell (1779a and b) and Wilson (1779, 1780), provided vital insight into Sunbury's role in the war.

Various modern publications provided information on British and American military units, personnel, and their uniforms and equipment. These included:

- American Navy, Clark (1964), Goldenberg (1976), Mahan (1913), Millar (1978), and Allen (1913, 1962);
- American medical department, Ashburn (1929), Duncan (1970), Gillett (1990), Reiss (1998);
- American and British artillery, training

techniques, and fortifications (Muller 1780; Peterson 1969; American Revolution.org 2002; Vauban 1968; Von Steuben 1985);

- British Army units, May (1974), Bruce (1985), Curtis (1926);
- British Navy, Tilley (1987);
- British medical department, Kaufman (2001); and
- American and British uniforms, Barthrop (1982), Katcher (1981), Lefferts (1926), Wilkinson-Latham and Wilkinson-Latham (1970).

Other collections that were examined in-house, or via the internet included the *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, CD-Rom edition, and various records at the British Public Records Office, PROCAT online search (Candler 2001).

GLOSSARY OF FORTIFICATION TERMS

A glossary of 18th century fortification terms is provided below for the reader's benefit.

Abatis- a defensive obstacle formed by felled trees with sharpened branches facing the enemy.

Artillery- The common classification of all types of weapon with the characteristic of having large caliber and high potency such as cannons, mortars and obuses.

Banquette- a low firing step on the parapet.

Bastion- a projecting part of a fortification; a fortification of pentagonal shape which juts out at the junction of two curtain walls and is made up of two flanks and faces which form a projecting angle. The flanks protect the adjacent curtain walls and the faces control the outworks and the foreground. The internal entrance from the fort into the bastion between the two flanks is called the gorge.

Barracks- places erected for both officers and men to lodge in.

Battery- a grouping of artillery pieces for tactical purposes.

Barbette- a mound of earth or a protected platform from which guns fire over a parapet (en barbette).

Blockhouse- Usually a two story wood building with an

overhanging second floor and rifle loops; and could also have cannon ports (embrasures); some three story versions; some with corner projections similar to bastions; used as a stand alone fortification with or without stockades, palisades, or as part of a larger overall defensive system such as a corner bastion(s) for a stockaded fort.

Bulwark- a solid wall-like structure raised for defense; a type of advance defense above the outward angles of a defensive wall; an advance work projecting from a major fortification and including a redoubt.

Casemate- a structure built into the ramparts with a reinforced roof to protect troops; a chamber, bomb proofed vault, built within the walls of a fort.

Citadel- a fortress that commands a city.

Covert- a covered way; covered or protected position, usually a lowered earthen parapet on the counterscarp of an outer glacis.

Counter scarp- the outermost of the two walls which form the sides of a moat nearest to the battleground and to the attacking enemy.

Curtain- the part of a bastioned front that connects two neighboring bastions; main enclosing wall of a castle or a fort.

Ditch- a large deep trench made round each work.

Embrasure- an opening with sides flaring outward in a wall or parapet of a fortification usually for allowing the firing of cannon.

Enfilading fire- gunfire directed from a flanking position along the length of an enemy battle line.

Fort- a fortified place occupied only by troops and surrounded with such works as a ditch, rampart, and parapet.

Fraise- palisades placed horizontally on the outward slope of the rampart to prevent the work being taken by surprise.

Garrison- a military post; especially a permanent military installation; the troops stationed at a garrison.

Glacis- a slope that runs downward from a fortification; an esplanade; the sloped earthwork out from the covered way to provide for grazing fire from the fort's main walls.

Magazine- structure to secure ammunition, a casement or separate building.

Merlon-solid wall or parapet between two embrasures which protects the infantry while firing their muskets at an advancing enemy.

Moat- a deep and wide trench around the rampart of a fortified place.

Palisade- a long strong stake pointed at the top and set close with others as a defense; can be vertical or can project horizontally from earthen works (fraise).

Parade- a place where troops assemble regularly for parade; a level area of interior of a fort.

Parapet- a wall, rampart, or elevation of earth or stone to protect soldiers; could contain a banquette slope to allow troops to fire over it.

Rampart- a broad embankment raised as a fortification and usually surmounted by a parapet; main curtain wall; in forts or fortresses considered to be the entire top of the fortification, and contained the epaulment to protect the defenders. In many fortifications, dirt ramps were constructed from the parade to the top of the rampart for weapons and troop access.

Ravelin- An exterior fortification with two embankments or walls projecting outwards and forming a salient angle; a demilune; a large V-shaped outwork (usually outside the moat or ditch) that protects the gate or other weak point of a fort.

Redoubt- a small usually temporary enclosed defensive work; a work normally consisting of a parapet and one or more footbanks.

Revetment- a facing of fascines, wood, sandbags, gabions, sod, or masonry to protect a wall or bank of earth (earthwork)(rampart); designed to protect the interior slopes of the parapets from erosion or other damage which could cause failure of the wall.

Salient- an outwardly projecting part of a fortification, trench system, or line of defense.

Sally Port- a gate or passage in a fortified place for use by troops making a sortie.

Scarp- the inner side of a ditch below the parapet of a fortification.

Siege- The encirclement of a fortified place by an opposing armed force intending to take it, usually by force, bombardment or starvation over a period of time.

Terreplein- a fortification engineering term for a level space. Artillery was typically mounted in the terreplein.

Transverses- something (as a piece, section, or part) that is transverse; parts of parapets, which crossed the breadth of the covered way, at the salient and re-entering places of arms.

Trench- Long, narrow, shallow excavation which enabled the movement of reinforcements and provided a shooting position with limited protection from enemy fire.

REANALYSIS OF PREVIOUSLY EXCAVATED MATERIALS

The Scope-of-Work required a reanalysis of previously excavated materials from Fort Morris. This task proved to be a complicated undertaking. First the collections had to be located. The University of Georgia, Laboratory of Archaeology; Antonio Waring Archaeological Laboratory, State University at West Georgia; and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Panola Mountain Conservation Center, were contacted to determine if they possessed any collections from Sunbury or the Fort Morris State Historic Site. No collections from Fort Morris were located at these institutions. The Fort Morris State Historic Site maintains a collection of several dozen boxes of mixed sizes containing artifacts from Fort Morris, Sunbury, and miscellaneous surrounding sites. Artifacts that are currently on display in the Visitors Center Museum at the Fort Morris State Historic Site also were analyzed.

Archaeological materials unearthed by Gordon Midgette in 1971, currently curated at Fort Morris State Historic Site, were reanalyzed as part of the present study (Midgette 1971a-c, 1973, 1976). An inventory of these materials is included in Appendix 3 of this report. Photographs and descriptions in Midgette's excavation report were closely examined to maximize the information from the re-examination of his excavated artifacts. Artifacts excavated by John R. Morgan, currently housed at Fort Morris State Historic Site, which were of modern age, were briefly inspected (Morgan 1974a-e, 1975).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

The survey team attempted to re-establish the site grid that was used in Midgette's archaeological investigation

(Midgette 1973). No benchmarks from Midgette's study were located, so this relocation was approximate. Midgette's Transit Station A was located on the *rampart* crest of the north-east *bastion* of Fort Defiance. It was near this point that the present archaeological team established Datum 1, which was a hollow aluminum rod that was driven into the ground. UTM Coordinates were compiled for this location, using a Garmin V hand-held GPS receiver with WAAS capability, which guaranteed an effective accuracy of 5 m or better. Eleven readings at this grid point were taken and averaged, in turn, these results were averaged to yield a UTM location for Datum 1 of E473508 N3513888. The degree of accuracy for each of these calculations ranged from 3.3 to 4.6 meters. The last four digits of the north and east coordinates of the averaged UTM location (3508 North 3888 East) served as the site's coordinate system. Grid numbers increased to the north and east from this point and decreased to the south and west, accordingly. Grid North was synonymous with Magnetic North, which was derived by using a hand-held compass. Midgette's site plan indicates that he also employed Magnetic North as his Grid North. Since the GPS hand-held units characteristically yield inaccurate elevation data, an arbitrary elevation of 10 meters above sea level was created for the ground surface at Datum 1.

The topographic mapping of the site was accomplished by a two-person crew with a Topcon Total Station with a TDS data collector. Mapping data was downloaded by using Survey Link software and post-processed using Surfer and Design CAD software. A total of 2,135 transit points was recorded during the project.

GROUND PENETRATING RADAR

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) consulting services for the Fort Morris archaeological site (9LI168) were provided by Rocquemore Research, Box Springs, Georgia, under sub-contract to Southern Research (Elliott 2003). Fieldwork for the GPR survey was conducted in September 2002. This project was exploratory in nature and represents one of the first attempts to apply the GPR technique to military sites in Georgia. GPR also has been used to a limited extent on other archaeological sites in Georgia's coastal counties. The results of the present project demonstrate the utility of this remote sensing geophysical survey technique for examining subsurface deposits with archaeological content. Two areas of the Fort Morris site were subjected to GPR survey, including: the parade ground of Fort Defiance, and an area west of Fort Defiance. Subsurface radar signatures, which often indicate archaeological deposits such as features or concentrations of artifacts, were located in each of these ar-

eas. Although salt water may affect the radar signals at greater depths, the soils containing most of the archaeological strata are relatively well-drained and produced adequate radar signals.

GPR was developed by the U.S. Department of Defense during the Vietnam War as an aid in remotely locating Viet Cong tunnels. Since then the technique has been extensively miniaturized and the technological capability enhanced to a point where today a single individual with a minimum of instruction can conduct a GPR survey with ease. GPR has been demonstrated to be an effective, non-destructive tool in archaeological research (Conyers and Goodman 1997; Conyers 2002; Conyers et al. 2002; Briuer et al. 1997).

The GPR device uses high frequency electromagnetic waves to acquire subsurface data. The device uses a transmitter antenna and closely spaced receiver antenna to detect changes in electromagnetic properties beneath them. The antennas are suspended just above the ground surface and are shielded to eliminate interference from sources other than directly beneath the device. The transmitting antenna emits a series of electromagnetic waves, which are distorted by differences in soil conductivity, dielectric permittivity, and magnetic permeability. The receiving antenna records the reflected waves for a specified length of time (in nanoseconds). The approximate depth of an object can be estimated with GPR, by adjusting for electromagnetic propagation conditions.

The GPR sample blocks at the Fort Morris site were composed of a series of parallel transects, or traverses, which yielded a two-dimensional cross-section or profile of the radar data. This two-dimensional image is constructed from a sequence of thousands of individual radar “pings” or traces. A succession of radar traces bouncing off a large buried object will produce a hyperbola, when viewed graphically in profile. Multiple large objects that are in close proximity may produce multiple, overlapping hyperbolas, which are more difficult to interpret. For example, an isolated historic grave may produce a clear signal, represented by a well-defined hyperbola. A cluster of graves, however, may produce a more garbled signal that is less apparent.

The GPR signals that are captured by the receiving antenna are recorded in array of numerals, which can be converted to gray scale (or color) pixel values. The radargrams are essentially a vertical map of the radar reflection off objects and other soil anomalies. It is not an actual map of the objects. The radargram is produced in real time and is viewable on the laptop computer monitor, which is mounted to the GPR cart.

Ground penetrating radar signals cannot penetrate metal objects and the signals are also significantly affected by the presence of salt water. Although radar does not penetrate metal objects, it does generate a distinctive signal that is usually recognizable, particularly for larger metal objects, such as a cannon or man-hole cover. The signal beneath these objects is often canceled out, which results in a pattern of horizontal lines on the radargram. For smaller objects, such as a scatter of nails, the signal may ricochet from the objects and produce a confusing signal. Rebar-reinforced concrete, as another example, generates an unmistakable radar pattern of rippled lines on the radargram. Conyers notes: “Ground-penetrating radar works best in sandy and silty soils and sediments that are not saturated with water. The method does not work at all in areas where soils are saturated with salt water because this media is electrically conductive and ‘conducts away’ the radar energy before it can be reflected in the ground” (Conyers 2002).

The effectiveness of GPR in various environments on the North American continent is widely variable and depends on solid conductivity, metallic content, and other pedo-chemical factors. Generally, Georgia’s soils have moderately good properties for its application. Both metal and salt water were expected to be present in the Fort Morris vicinity. It was anticipated that metal and salt water would have some effect on the data that was gathered. The soils at the Fort Morris site were well drained, however, and salt water was not a significant problem at shallower depths.

GPR has been used to a limited extent on archaeological sites in Georgia yielding mixed results. A study of a Creek habitation site in Muscogee County, which was part of the Upatoi village, ca. 1790 to 1825, included GPR as part of a battery of geophysical techniques that were employed to delineate these sites (Elliott et al. 1996, 1999; Briuer et al. 1997). The GPR technique was able to identify disturbed areas of soil, at least some of which were Creek-related phenomena. In the brief time that has elapsed since Briuer and his colleagues conducted this study, the GPR technology and equipment has significantly improved. Elsewhere in Georgia, GPR has been used to survey a number of Indian earthworks and historic cemeteries (Wynn 2002, Friends of Scull Shoals 2002, National Center for Preservation Technology and Training and USDA Forest Service, Southeast Region 2002). Most recently GPR was employed to study Revolutionary War resources at the New Ebenezer town site in Effingham County, Georgia, and at the Colonial era Horton House site in Glynn County, Georgia (Elliott 2002; Rita Elliott 2002).

GPR has been successfully employed at early domestic sites, cemeteries, and military sites in the eastern United States (Hodge et al. 2002, Kvamme 2002). Historic graves are often easy to recognize in radargrams, as evidenced by a pronounced hyperbola. When 3-D slices intersect these hyperbolas the graves are usually clearly evident in plan view.

The equipment used for this study consisted of a RAMAC/X3M Integrated Radar Control Unit, mounted on a wheeled cart and linked to a Dell 8100 laptop computer. An 800 megahertz (MHz) shielded antenna was used for data gathering. MALÅ GeoScience's Windows-based acquisition software program Ground Vision (Version 1.3) was used to acquire and record the radar data (MALÅ GeoScience USA 2002). The radar information was displayed as a series of radargrams, or radar profiles of each transect. Easy 3D software (Version 1.0), which was developed by MALÅ GeoScience, was used in post-processing the radar data and 3-D imaging. This entailed merging the data from the series of radargrams for each block. Once this was accomplished, horizontal slices of the data were examined for important anomalies and pattern clusters of anomalies, which were likely of cultural relevance. These data were displayed as aerial plan maps of the sample areas at varying depths below ground surface. These horizontal views, or time-slices, display the radar information at a set time depth in nanoseconds. Time-depth can be roughly equated to depth below ground. This equivalency relationship can be calculated using a mathematical formula. The sampling interval used for all of the GPR sample blocks was 40 cm. Transects in all blocks were run from East to West and lines progressed from South to North.

SHOVEL TEST SURVEY

The Fort Morris State Historic Site property, consisting of approximately 70 acres, was sampled by shovel tests spaced at regular and irregular intervals. The interior of the Fort Defiance parade was systematically covered with shovel tests spaced at 5 meter intervals. The flanking areas to the south and west were less rigorously examined and spacing between the tests was variable. The area of state property beyond site 9Li168 was examined by a reconnaissance-level shovel test survey. No shovel tests were excavated where improvements (i.e., parking lot, roads, visitor's center, utility corridors, etc.) were located. Nor were any shovel tests excavated in wetlands. The location of each positive shovel test in the undeveloped portions of the study area was recorded using Garmin-brand handheld Global Positioning System (GPS) receivers with WAAS capability, which guaranteed an accuracy rate of 5 m or better. All other shovel tests were

recorded with the laser transit. The area of the state property west of the developed parts of Fort Morris yielded only two positive shovel tests. The shovel test survey within the Parade Ground and west of the fort also served as a check of the remote sensing study.

METAL DETECTOR SURVEY

Nautilus and Fisher brands of hand-held metal detector were employed in the present study to locate buried metal objects related to the forts. These tools proved to be very important for locating certain classes of artifacts that were rare in the excavations. The locations of metal detected items were plotted with the total station. The metal detector also was useful for locating non-ferrous metal items in the excavation units so that they could be carefully retrieved by troweling. This knowledge led to the careful recovery of many fragile items, particularly buttons and brass and lead objects.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING

Test excavations were accomplished through the use of heavy machinery and hand excavated units. A backhoe with a smooth bucket was used to excavate a series of eight trenches. The primary purpose of these trenches was to intercept sections of palisade ditch work, or other defensive ditches that are associated with Fort Morris. Each of these backhoe trenches, which were numbered 1 through 8, is described later in the report.

Excavations were placed to locate and define activity areas, features, and buried cultural surfaces within, under and outside of the extant fort walls. The excavation included backhoe trenches comprising approximately 190 m² and hand excavated blocks totaling 62 m². These excavations were grouped into four blocks, which were identified as A through D. Block A consisted of Test Units 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 and 14. Block B consisted of Test Units 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, and 24. Block C consisted of Test Units 17, 21, and 25. Block D consisted of Test Unit 18. Test Unit numbering began with Test Unit 7 in order to avoid confusion with the excavation unit designations assigned by Midgette's 1971 excavations. Feature numbering began with Feature 50 for the same reason. All excavations conformed to OSHA safety regulations. Hand excavated units were configured in 2 m by 2 m, 2 m by 1 m, and 1 m by 1 m sub-units. One irregularly shaped test unit (Test Unit 25) was EI-shaped and encompassed 3 m². All soil for these units was screened through 1/4 inch hardware cloth. Flotation samples were taken from pit features that exhibited evidence of preserved

organic remains. Profiles were drawn for each unit excavated. A plan map was drafted that showed all excavation units and key topographic features. Plan maps also were drawn of test units showing all features. Photographs were taken of all large features and representative features were taken of selective post features. All excavations were back-filled at the completion of the project with the aid of a tractor and backhoe.

LABORATORY ANALYSIS AND CURATION

Artifacts were returned for processing to Southern Research's laboratory in Columbus, Georgia where they were washed, cleaned and cataloged to professional standards. Analysis sheets were completed for each provenience. Artifacts were categorized according to a classification system based on South's (1977) Activities, Architectural, Arms, Clothing, Furniture, Faunal, Kitchen, Personal, and Tobacco groups.

The Activities, Furniture, and Personal Groups traditionally contain the fewest number of recovered artifacts. The Activities Group contains items such as axes, glass flaked tools, hatchets, plow parts, sheet copper or iron, lead strips or other items used in an activity. The Furniture Group consists of furniture hardware such as brass tacks, braces, cushion springs, lock plates, and escutcheons. The Personal Group contains items traditionally belonging to or used by an individual, such as jewelry, a watch, or a hair comb.

The Tobacco Group includes tobacco pipe bowls and stems, typically of kaolin, stoneware, redware, or aboriginal clays. Tobacco pipestem date estimates were calculated using four different formulas, that of Binford, Hanson, Heighton and Deagan, and Omwake (Binford 1962; Hanson and Hsu 1975; Heighton and Deagan 1972; Omwake 1956, 1958, 1967). Other sources consulted for the identification of tobacco pipes included Walker (1977) and Stone (1974).

Architectural Group artifacts include brick, hardware, mortar, nails, plaster, tile, and window glass. Fragments of brick, rock, tabby, tabby mortar, and plaster were weighed in grams, recorded and discarded in the field (except where selected samples were retained). Large pieces of brick were analyzed by method of manufacture, including hand made, machine made, and unidentifiable. Nails were analyzed by method of manufacture (wrought, cut, or wire) when possible. Many nails were only identified as wrought or cut (square but too corroded for further identification) or unidentified (indeterminate as to square or round). Because of their overwhelming bulk in the artifact assemblage, nails were tabulated by weight. A large sample of nails also were counted and

weighed. Estimates of nail counts for proveniences where only weights were recorded were derived from these data.

Artifacts within the Arms Group can include bullets, gunflints (English spall and French honey colored flints), gun hardware, lead shot, and musket balls. Gunflints were measured in an effort to determine the type of gun on which they were used. The diameter of lead balls also was recorded to the nearest one hundredth of an inch, or caliber. Important references consulted for identification of the arms group artifacts included Darling (1987); Hamilton (1976); Hamilton and Emery (1988); Kenmotsu (1990); Neumann (1967, 1991); Neumann and Kravic (1989); and Sivilich (1996).

The Clothing Group consists of clothing fasteners such as buckles, buttons, and hooks and eyes. Buttons were identified and dated, when possible, by manufacturing technique and material (Olsen 1963; South 1964, 1977; Troiani 2001). Other items were coded according to material, such as brass, iron, or pewter. Important sources for buckle identification included Abbitt (1973), Stone (1974), and Hanson and Hsu (1975).

Kitchen Group artifacts include: items such as ceramics, bottle glass, and tableware. Ceramics were identified according to paste and glaze and classified into ware categories, based on South (1977), which includes earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain. They were further categorized by decoration and motif (Miller 1980). Other ceramic identification sources were consulted as necessary (Bartovics 1981; Bivins 1972; Burrison 1983; Coysh and Henrywood 1982; DeBolt 1994; Garrow 1982; Godden 1996; Greer 1981; Horn 1990; Ketchum 1975, 1991; Kovel and Kovel 1986, 1995; Miller 1991; Miller and Hunter 1990; Nelson 1963; Noel Hume 1983; Rauschenburg 1991; Seidel 1990; Sloan 1964; South 1977, 1993; Tunis 1965). When possible, sherds were classified by vessel morphology (rims, bases, bodies, or handles) and vessel type (plate, platter, bowl, or cup). Bottle glass was analyzed by method of manufacture, color and function depending on the elements of the bottle recovered from the archaeological record. Analysis attributed function to bottles and fragments whenever possible, such as spirit, medicine, or condiment bottle (Husfloen 1992; Jones 1986, 1993; Jones and Sullivan 1985; Lorrain 1968; McKearin and McKearin 1989; and Polack 1994).

All data were recorded on artifact analysis sheets, along with an artifact code for each artifact type. Data from analysis sheets were entered into a Microsoft Access database to enable data manipulation for the production of mean ceramic dates (MCD) based on South (1977) and terminus post quem

(TPQ) dates, along with other artifact interpretation methods.

Artifacts requiring special conservation were properly treated. All artifacts were packaged in archival quality interlocking plastic bags (minimum 3 mm thick) or in small archival boxes. Each bag was labeled with its proper catalog number and other pertinent location information. In addition, this information was placed on an acid-free paper label within each bag. All collections were packed in acid-free archival boxes, 15 in by 12 in by 10 in, with each box properly labeled front and back. Paper records were boxed separately from their associated artifacts.

Originals and two (2) photocopies of all field and laboratory notes, drawings, and photographs were submitted to DNR. These records were packed separately from the artifacts. All photographs, accompanying negatives, or other photographic materials were placed in archival quality sleeves. All field and laboratory records were made on acid-free paper or placed within acid-free folders. A detailed inventory of all excavation and analysis records accompanied the records, and were submitted in triplicate. The artifacts and records from the Fort Morris project are curated at the Antonio Waring Archaeological Laboratory, State University at West Georgia, Carrollton.

PUBLIC OUTREACH

An important component of this project was educating the public about archaeology. Signage describing the archaeological project for the public, handouts, and artifacts were displayed at the work site throughout the course of the project. Outreach included two special days dedicated to a public visitation and excavation opportunity. During the Public

Archaeology Saturday and Sunday, visitorship at the park increased by 780 percent on Saturday and 240 percent on Sunday. Throughout the project the public also had the opportunity to observe the ongoing work, and many visitors participated in an educational and enjoyable experience. Visitors ranged from lone tourists, to families, to large school groups. The outreach effort also included a special presentation and fieldwork experience for the managers of Georgia's State Parks and Historic Sites in the Coastal region. In addition, a Lesson Plan for educators was developed by the project's education outreach specialist, Rita Folse Elliott. This Lesson Plan is compatible with specific Quality Core Curriculum (QCC) objectives developed by the state of Georgia as part of its Quality Basic Education program. This document was submitted separately from the report.

REPORTING

The project deliverables include this technical report of findings. This report contains environmental and historical background information, specific results of the historical and archaeological study, interpretations of the findings, a complete list of references cited, a complete artifact inventory (Appendix 1), and a compendium of illustrations of selected artifacts (Appendix 2). Reanalysis of Midgette's 1971 excavated materials are included as Appendix 3. Appendices 1, 2, and 3 were produced in CD Rom format as a supplement to this report. The report also includes representative soil profiles, plan maps, and photographs of the excavations and selected artifacts from each of South's artifact groups, and specific detailed recommendations on future site management and recommendations on updating the displays in the current museum and on-site interpretation.

Chapter III. Sunbury's Military History

The defense of Georgia's coast and interior coastal plain has a rich history extending back more than a decade before the colony was established. Fort King George was established by South Carolina in the early 1720s near Darien (Cook 1990). The Savannah River borderlands were defended by other forts at Beaufort, Stokes Bluff or Palachacolas, and Sand Bar Ferry (Ivers 1974; Johnson 1992). Forts defended against the enemy who were, in the beginning, the Spanish, French and unfriendly Native American groups. For the first six years of its existence, military defense of the Georgia colony was administered by South Carolina's governor and it was not until 1739 that Georgia had its own army under General James Edward Oglethorpe. General Oglethorpe is considered a brilliant strategist for his victory over the superior invading Spanish forces on St. Simons Island in the early 1740s, although this victory was probably more the result of the Spanish military's ineptitude than a superior military plan.

Throughout history, the forts of lower Georgia never fared well. The most well-known defeats include Forts Pulaski and McAllister in the Civil War and the Revolutionary War siege at the Spring Hill redoubt in Savannah. Lesser known defeats include the capture of Fort Mount Venture on the lower Altamaha, where most of the garrison was killed by Spanish-allied Indians. Other forts, such as New Ebenezer, saw no direct action, although they often served as places of refuge and staging areas for other events in the theater of war (Hough 1975; Lawrence 1951; Elliott 1999, 2001, 2002; NPS 2003b).

Despite their flaws and embarrassing defeats the story of Georgia's forts is most exciting and the search for their remains is a monumental task. Georgians have recognized several forts and have preserved them as parks, including Frederica, King George, McAllister, Morris, Pulaski, and Wormsloe, but most lie forlorn in the wilderness patiently waiting the outcome of the race between development and historic preservationists. These sites also are being negatively impacted by looters and metal detector enthusiasts.

The history of the Fort Morris Historic Site is inextricably linked to that of the colonial and early federal town of Sunbury, located immediately north of the fort site. Sunbury was an important port city during Georgia's colonial period. Created in 1758, Sunbury was located at the mouth of the Medway River. During one period in the 18th century Sunbury was the second largest town in Georgia (Sheftall 1995; Jones 1997:142-223; McIlvane 1971). The southern boundary of Sunbury is located a short distance north of the State Park property boundary (Sheftall 1995:106-107, Illustrations 9 and 10). Consequently, few architectural features associated with the town site were expected to exist within the State Park property.

The military defenses along the Medway River actually pre-date the establishment of Sunbury with Captain Mark Carr's 1741 fort (see Table 1 for a timeline of Fort Morris military history). The area of the park is within a 500-acre tract originally granted by the Georgia Trustees to Mark Carr. Captain Mark Carr commanded a marine ranger company in Georgia during the Trustee period (ca. 1732 to 1751). Carr owned property at several locations along the Georgia coast. Carr's plantation, which was defended by "a guard of soldiers", was attacked by Spanish-allied Indians on March 18, 1741, "killing several of the soldiers and servants, wounding others, 'locking down the women and children in the cellar,' pillaging the house, and carrying [sic] away the booty in a large boat belonging to the plantation" (Jones 1997:143-144). Although the precise location of Captain Carr's fortified plantation is not known, resources associated with it may be contained within the State Park. No archaeological evidence of Carr's fort was located in the present study. Such evidence may have been obliterated by subsequent fort construction or it may lie deeply buried beneath it. In response to an Indian uprising in 1756, residents of the Medway River locality planned for the "building and place for a fort, and it was determined by a majority that it should be at Captain Mark Carr's, low down, and upon the river near the sound" (Jones 1995:178).

Table 1. Timeline depicting Fort Morris military history.

1733 – Georgia founded
1741 – Captain Mark Carr's fortified plantation attacked, possibly in project vicinity
1756 – Indian threat, fort recommended at Carr's by locals
May 1758 – Governor Ellis mentions Battery of Eight Guns at Sunbury
June 1758 – Sunbury created and laid out
1760 – “Good log fort” at Sunbury
1762 – Sunbury Fort in disrepair
July 1776 – Continental Congress authorizes fort at Sunbury
August 1776 – 8 th Virginia Continental Regiment at Sunbury
September 1776 – October 1 st – East Florida Campaign
January 1777 – 3 rd Georgia Continental Artillery Company organized
February – May 1777 – 2 nd East Florida Campaign
February – July 1778 – 3 rd East Florida Campaign
November 1778 – British make first attempt to capture Fort Morris; rebuffed
December 29, 1778 – Major General Howe orders evacuation of Fort Morris
January 9, 1779 – Fort Morris attacked by British
January 10, 1778 – Fort Morris taken by British, renamed Fort George
September 1779 – British abandon Sunbury and Fort George
September – October 1779 – Americans occupy Sunbury
October 1779 – Spring 1782 – British control Sunbury
Spring 1782 – Americans capture Sunbury
1814 – Fort Defiance construction begins
1815 – Hostilities with Great Britain end
1861 – 1865 – Civil War; Fort Morris area not used for military defense

Historian George White (1854:517-518) cited this information on early defenses in Sunbury, which were recorded in the Midway Church records:

1756.-A letter came to us from the Hon. Jonathan Bryan... giving an account of some Creek Indians being slain ... and advising us with expedition to build a fort for our safety. People ... were immediately had about the building and place for a fort, and it was determined by a majority, that it should be at Captain Mark Carr's, low down, and upon the river near the sound, at about seven or eight miles distance from the nearest of the settlement of the Society, which accordingly was begun on the 20th September, 1756.... 1757, July 11.-... we were called down this day to Sunbury, where we raised a couple of batteries, and made carriages for eight small cannon, which were at the place. 1757, July 16.-Before day, we were alarmed by the fire of cannon at Sunbury, whither we repaired, and a boat went out, but could discover nothing...

Historian George White noted in 1854: "It [Sunbury] was laid out, in 1758, by Mark Carr. Proposals were afterwards made to him to make a deed of trust for this tract of land, and accordingly he executed a deed to James Maxwell, Kenith Baillie, John Elliott, and John Stevens" (White 1854:513-514). The French and Indian War was raging in 1757 and as Sunbury was created the need for defensive fortifications was immediately realized. The Royal Colony of Georgia implemented a defense program in 1757, which included construction of numerous forts and other earthworks at key settlements, including Sunbury. Governor Henry Ellis established the parish system for Georgia and the town of Sunbury was planned as the primary town of St. John's Parish. Mark Carr conveyed property to be laid out for the town of Sunbury in June, 1758. On May 30, 1758 Governor Ellis wrote in a letter to the Board of Trade regarding condition of military defenses of the colony: "On my way I touch'd at the River Ogeeche and saw the Fort that had lately been raised there in consequence of the Resolutions of the Assembly last year. It is a Quadrangular Figure, each side measuring 100 yards, constructed with thick logs set upright, fourteen feet long, five whereof are sunk in the Earth, and has four little Bastions, pierced for small and great guns that would render it very defenceable. From thence I proceeded to Medway where I found the Inhabitants had inclosed their Church in the same manner, and erected a *Battery* of eight guns at Sunbury in a very proper situation for defending the River" (Jones 2001, v. 1:530, italics added).

By 1760 a good log fort was built at Sunbury. Neither the location of this fort nor its size and configuration was noted in the colonial Georgia records. The engineers charged with constructing Georgia's defenses during the third quarter of the 18th century included William DeBrahm and Henry Yonge. Of these, DeBrahm was the senior and more active participant. While no specific reference was located linking DeBrahm to Sunbury, his influence was almost certainly felt there. DeBrahm's forts at other locations in the southern colonies followed contemporary 18th century military thought in their placement and design (DeVorse 1971). Examples that may serve as parallels to the good log fort at Sunbury include Charleston, Fort Barrington, Fort Loudon, New Ebenezer, and Savannah. DeBrahm's plan and profile of Fort Barrington is reproduced in Figure 2.

Royal Governor Wright wrote to the Board of Trade in 1762 on the state of military affairs in Georgia, in which he gave descriptions of the various forts:

The number of the whole Militia in the province by my return to your Lordships in Decr. 1760, was 895 and which are now encreased [sic] to about 1100, which are divided into three Regiments. One, of the Inhabitants in, about and near Savanah [sic]. One, of the Inhabitants about Sunbury, and to the Southward. And one, of the Inhabitants at and about Augusta and to the westward. At Savanah there is a Fort called Fort Halifax, it is constructed of Posts in the ground planked inside, and filled in with Earth. The figure of it is a square with 4 *Curtains* with Redoubts at each corner, each side being in the whole 200 feet and in which is a Powder Magazine and 4 *Blockhouses* or Coponires [sic] each 20 foot square.

This work is in pretty good condition at present, but the materials of the Fort are of no duration and begin to fail already, the Block houses may stand some years, and would be very useful against Indian attacks, and there is two more of these Block Houses on the South side of the Town. These works are not Garrison'd by any of the King's Troops, but in case of necessity would be Garrison'd and defened [sic] by the Inhabitants, and the Detachment now here, being 16 of the Independants [sic], and about 30 of the Georgia Rangers which are now doing duty at Savanah...

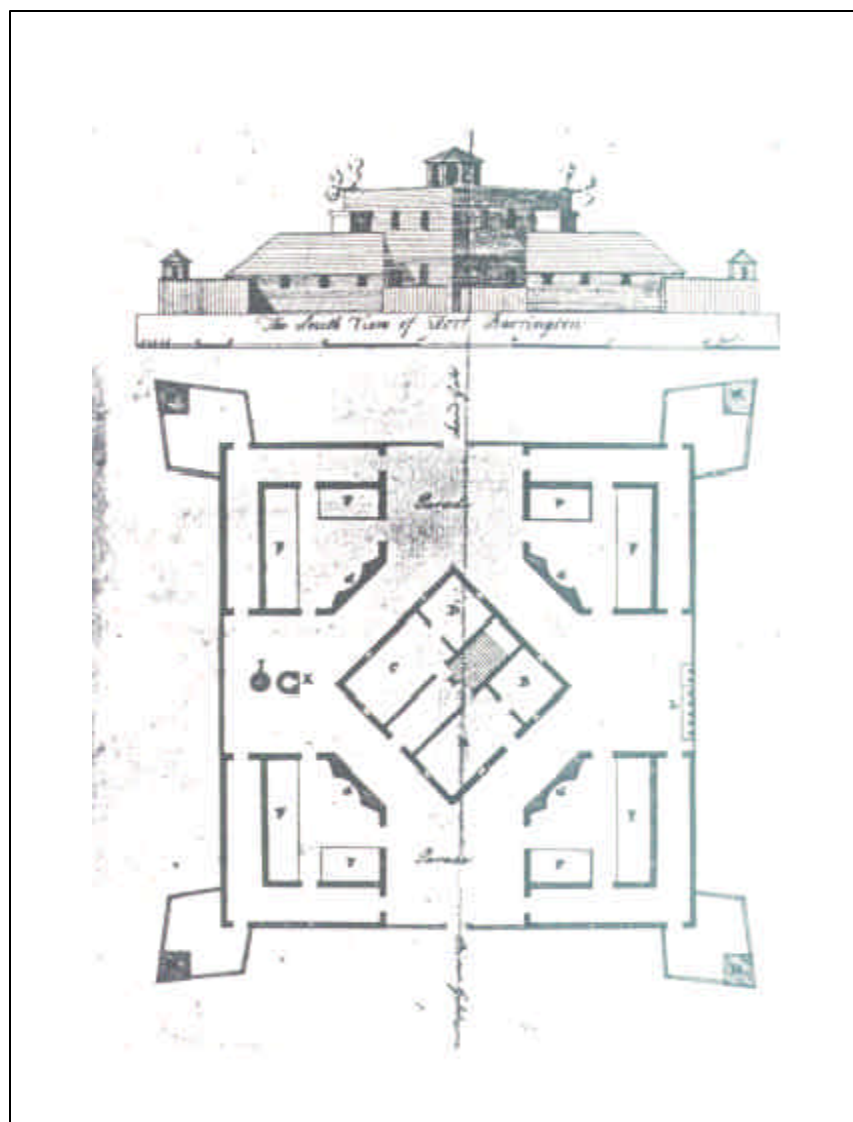


Figure 2. DeBrahm's 1757 Profile and Plan of Fort Barrington, Georgia.

Fort Argyle about 19 miles from Savannah on Great Ogechee River, is a square Fort of 110 feet each way, with two Rows of *Barracks* and is in good condition, and Garrisoned by thirty five of the Georgia Rangers paid as above.

Fort St. John about 10 miles from Sunbury and twenty eight miles from Savannah, is a Stockade about 200 Feet Square, not intended to be Garrison'd but occasionally, and built only for the protection of the Inhabitants of that part and the province in case of alarms and necessity. This Fort is in bad repair, has usually been Garrison'd by 30 of the Rangers but at present they are withdrawn from thence.

Fort Barrington on the River Alatamaha is a square Fort about 75 Feet each way with a Coponiere in it and Barracks. The works are not yet finished, the money given by the province not being sufficient. What is done is in good condition. This Fort is Garrisoned by 25 of the Rangers... (Wright 1762:18, italics added).

REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND SUNBURY'S FORTS

The American Revolution ushered in a new role for Sunbury's fortifications, in which they were used against the British who had authorized their construction. From the beginning of the American Revolution until January 9, 1779 the Americans were in control of Sunbury and Fort Morris. On November 4, 1775 the Continental Congress passed a resolution authorizing the formation of one Continental battalion in Georgia, which was to consist of 728 men, including officers. The Georgia battalion was to be divided into eight companies, each containing: "one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, 4 Sergeants, 4 corporals, two drums or fifes and seventy-six privates" (Candler 2001: 1:77-78). Colonel Lachlan McIntosh, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Elbert, and Major Joseph Habersham were appointed to command the Georgia battalion (Candler 2001: 1:273).

On July 5, 1776 the Continental Congress passed this resolution:

WHEREAS, The Delegates of the said Colony of Georgia have represented to said Committee that it will be necessary that two forts be erected in said Colony, the one at Savannah and the other at Sunbury.

RESOVLED, That two Companies of Artillery be raised, consisting of fifty men each, officers

included, for the purpose of garrisoning such forts, in case they shall be erected at the expense of the said Colony, and that blank Commissions be delivered to the Delegates for the officers, to be fixed up by the Assembly or Convention of said Colony (JCC, 1774-1789 July 5, 1776; Candler 2001, v.1:197).

The Continental Congress authorized the construction of a fort at Sunbury in July, 1776. Fort Morris, a Revolutionary War fort, was constructed by the Americans on the southern edge of the town of Sunbury (Jones 1997:179; Boatner 1968). Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell's map of his invasion route depicts the fort at Sunbury as a rectangular fort with projecting corner bastions (Campbell 1779a) (Figure 3). Campbell's map is the most detailed contemporary depiction of Sunbury's forts that has been located to date.

Sunbury was used by the Americans as a staging area for three unsuccessful attempts to capture East Florida. The first of these efforts was in September 1776 when Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia militia assembled at Fort Morris. The next attempt to take Florida was in June 1777 when the Georgia Continentals, led by Colonel Samuel Elbert, grouped at Fort Morris. This campaign was interrupted by a duel between two American primary officers from Georgia, Lachlan McIntosh and Button Gwinnett. Gwinnett died as a result of his wounds and General George Washington soon transferred McIntosh to the northern theatre. In the final attempt approximately 2,600 troops, including Georgia and South Carolina Continentals, Georgia and South Carolina Militia, and the American Navy, led by Major General Robert Howe, converged at Fort Morris. General Howe held a council of war at Fort Tonyn, which was located just across the Georgia-Florida border near St. Marys. Despite the fact that they held the edge on the retreating loyalist Floridians, that body decided against probing further into Florida and they retreated eastward.

1st Campaign against East Florida

The first campaign of the American Army against British and Loyalist forces in East Florida lasted approximately one month, from August 21 to September 20, 1776. Sunbury played an important role in this campaign. Once organized, the troops of the Southern Continental Army implemented a campaign to conquer East Florida. Sunbury's role in this campaign was primarily as a headquarters, supply depot and bivouac point. The American Southern Army was commanded by five Major Generals throughout the war (Table 2). The commander of the first Florida campaign was Major General Charles Lee, who was the first commander of

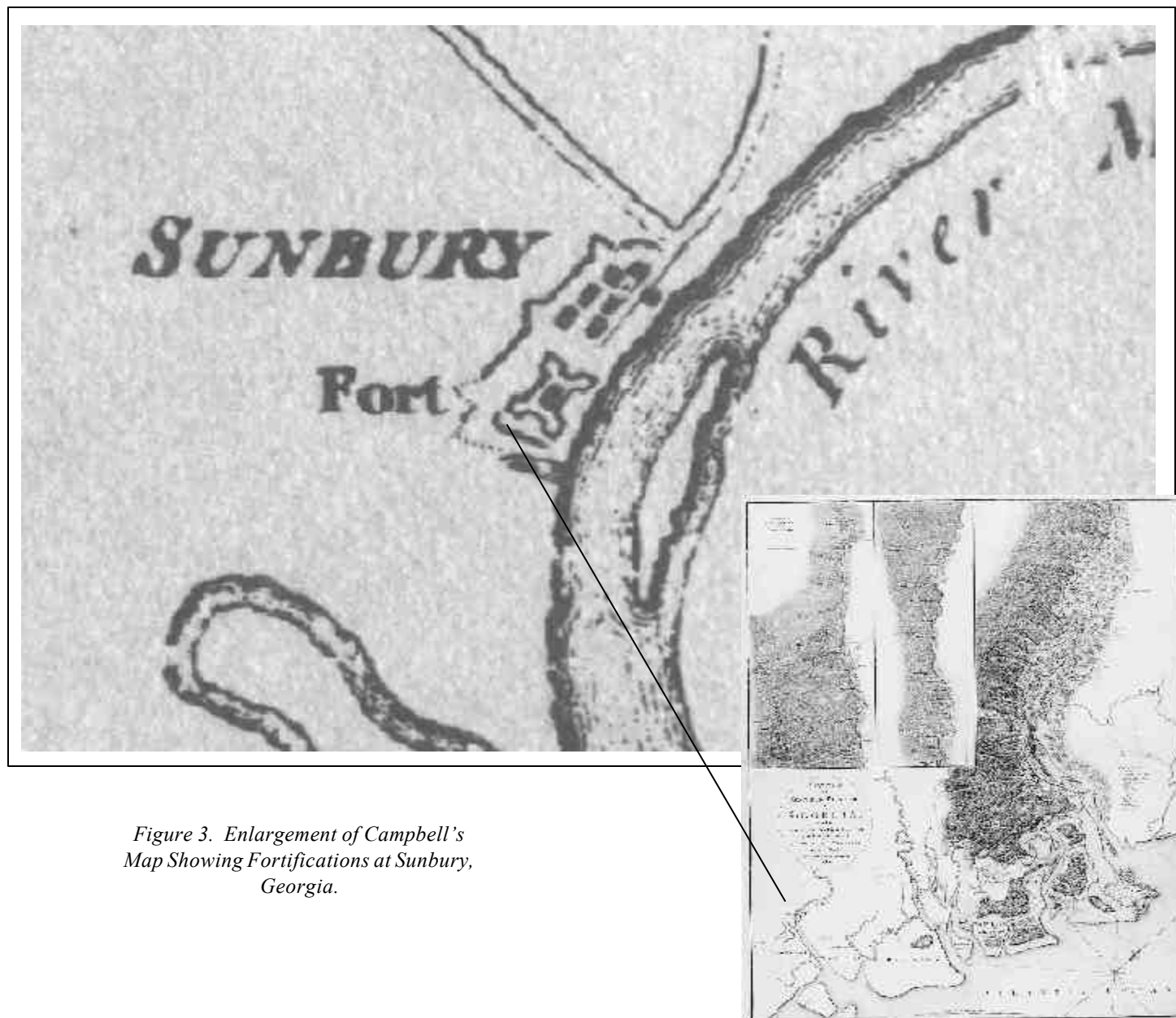


Figure 3. Enlargement of Campbell's Map Showing Fortifications at Sunbury, Georgia.

Table 2. General Command of the American Southern District, 1776 to 1783.

Commanding American General	Period of Service
Charles Lee	1 March 1776 to 9 September 1776
Robert Howe	9 September 1776 to 25 September 1778
Benjamin Lincoln	25 September 1778 to 13 June 1780
Horatio Gates	13 June 1780 to 31 October 1780
Nathanael Greene	31 October 1780 to September 1783

the Southern District. Lee was an English-born Irishman, who, because of his English military training, was made second in command in the fledgling American army. Before the campaign was completed, however, Major General Lee was sent orders to meet with George Washington on August 8, 1776, whereupon he was relieved of his command in the South and reassigned to the North (Chase 1993, v. 5:65). Lee was later court-martialed for his peculiar behavior (ordering a retreat for no apparent reason) on the battlefield at Monmouth, New Jersey (Alden 1951). His military prowess in Georgia affairs were equally suspect.

The single battalion of the Georgia Continental Army in 1776, who were under the command of Colonel Lachlan McIntosh, and the other military forces in Georgia were described by Major General Charles Lee in a letter to the Board of War and Ordnance on August 27, 1776: "The present State of the strength of this Colony consists of Colonel McIntosh's Battalion (a return of which is here inclosed) a Company of Independent artillery consisting of 3 officers & 23 privates with about twenty five hundred militia of all sorts, but in a very great part of these (as I learn from the authority of their own Captains) very little confidence can be placed—their principles being extremely contaminated by a most pernicious banditti of Enemies to the common liberty—McIntosh's Battalion is really a very fine one (one of the best I think on the Continent)..." (Lee and Bunbury 1872-1875:242).

Colonel Samuel Elbert commanded the Georgia Continentals. Elbert's orderly book contains several references to Sunbury (Harden 1905). Both McIntosh and Elbert played important roles in Georgia's military defense. The Georgia Continentals were greatly reduced as a result of the December 1778 capture of Savannah, the January 1779 capture of Sunbury, and the March 1779 defeat in the battle of Brier Creek. For a significant portion of the war, those who were not killed or captured fought in battles beyond Georgia. Also, many of the men who enlisted in the Georgia Continental regiments were from other states. Although most of the 1st Georgia regiment was composed of local Georgians, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th regiments included many men from other states. By early August 1776, as they began their first unsuccessful expedition against East Florida, the Georgia Continental army consisted of: the 1st Georgia regiment; 2nd Georgia regiment; 3rd Georgia regiment; 1st Georgia Continental Artillery; and the Georgia regiment of Horse Rangers, which consisted of 10 Ranger troops (Oglesby 2002).

American Major General Lee dispatched Colonel John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg and the 8th Regiment, Virginia Continentals, commonly known as the German Regiment, to Sunbury as the advance element of the East Florida cam-

paign. Peter Muhlenberg was a Lutheran minister, whose church in the Shenandoah Valley was comprised of a nearly equal mix of Germans and English speakers (Muhlenberg 1849; Hocker 1936). Upon General Washington's urgings Reverend Muhlenberg formed a regiment from his church congregation in mid-1776 and they quickly marched south to join Major General Lee's army. One of their first assignments was in Sunbury, Georgia. Major General Lee issued marching orders from Savannah on August 21, 1776, which read: "Colonel Mughlenburg's [sic] Regiment to be supplied with two flints per man from the Stores—Capt. Harden's Company to furnish themselves immediately with skins for Monkeshins in leggings—powder horns and shot bags. Those who have not arms shall be furnish'd at Sunbury to which place they and Muhlenburg's [sic] are to march to-morrow morning—Hardens to have two spare Flints" (Lee 1873:253).

The ranking officers in the Continental Army's 8th Virginia Regiment of Foot, or German Regiment, on that march were: Colonel John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Bowman, and Major Peter Helphenstine (Sanchez-Saavedra 1978:54-55). The regiment consisted of 10 companies, which were commanded by Captains, in (ascending numerical order by company): John Stevenson, Jonathan Clark, George Slaughter, William Darke, Richard Campbell (riflemen), Abel Westfall, David Stephenson, Thomas Berry, James Knox, and William Croghan. Muhlenberg's Regiment also included 42 wagons and 11 horses (Lee 1873:252).

Citing William Moultrie, Henry A. Muhlenberg noted that Muhlenberg's troops were: "...marched off in the utmost hast, without one necessary article, without artillery, and without even a medicine chest", and a few weeks later, were followed by "Generals Lee and Howe and Colonel Moultrie, with a considerable body of South Carolina troops" (Muhlenberg 1849:68). Captain John Harden commanded a Company of North Carolina militia, who also formed Major General Lee's army in Georgia (Hocker 1936:71).

Their experiences in Georgia and South Carolina were ones that most of the German Regiment would rather have avoided, as they were dogged by malarial fevers and other ailments. Major General Lee wrote from Purysburg, South Carolina on August 15, 1776 to Brigadier General John Armstrong in Charleston: "One hundred and forty seven of Colonel Mughlenburghs [sic] Regiment with two Captains and three subalterns are left sick at Charlestown; as fast as they recover I must request you to order 'em back to Williamsburg where they are to aggregate themselves with Capt. Cochrane's Company of that Regiment..." (Lee

1987:230). Colonel Muhlenberg wrote to his father, Reverend Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, on December 20, 1776 describing the devastation in the 8th Regiment due to sickness and death while in Georgia (Hocker 1936:72). The sickness that was rampant in the German regiment during their stay in the South also afflicted Colonel Muhlenberg and is likely to have contributed to his premature death. Colonel Muhlenberg's third in command, Major P. Helfenstein, died from sickness shortly after returning to Virginia from Georgia (Hocker 1936:72; Muhlenberg 1849:69). A return of the 8th Regiment, made on April 11, 1777, listed seven of its 10 captains sick, including four with smallpox (Sanchez-Saavedra 1978:56).

Rebel Captain Hugh McCall stated that Virginia and North Carolina troops, commanded by General Robert Howe, and South Carolina troops, commanded by General William Moultrie, marched to Georgia as part of Lee's campaign and McCall noted, "General Howe proceeded as far as Sunbury. The sickly season had now commenced and disease prevailed to an alarming degree. The mortality was so great, that from ten to fifteen, became victims to the climate in one day" (McCall 1909:323-324).

The Georgia army returned to American territory from their East Florida expedition in October 1776. That fall and winter the 2nd Georgia, 3rd Georgia, 1st Georgia Artillery, and 2nd Georgia Artillery were reorganized. In January 1777 the Regiment of Horse Rangers was reorganized into 12 troops. In February a 4th Georgia Regiment was authorized by the Continental Congress and the Georgia Provincial Artillery was adopted into the Continental Army and renamed the 3rd Georgia Continental Artillery Company (Oglesby 2002).

Although his campaign in Georgia was a disaster, Major General Lee outlined his plan for defense in Georgia, which was later implemented by Major General Robert Howe. Lee wrote to the Board of War and Ordnance on August 27, 1776: "...Three galleys are already on the stocks in this Port...besides the equipment of these galleys and boats, I propose establishing little Forts or Redoubts in certain situations on the Rivers St. Mary's Satilla, Sapello, and Altamaha which may enable us to make incursions from time to time (when circumstances require it) into East Florida, and render it dangerous for them to make attempts of a similar nature into Georgia. These Redoubts or little Forts will likewise serve as places of rendezvous, refreshment & retreat for Body's of Horse Rangers which ought continually to be patrolling on the Frontier..." (Lee 1873:243-244).

2nd Campaign against East Florida

After Major General Lee left Georgia in September 1776, the Southern District command was held by Major General Robert Howe—a North Carolinian (Howe 1776-1778a, 1776-1778b; Bennett and Lennon 1991; Grimke 1911, 1912). Major General Howe lost no time in organizing another offensive against the British in Florida. By February 1777 the British troops from East Florida, under Colonel L. V. Fuser, were threatening Georgia. Colonel Fuser made an attempt to capture Fort Morris at Sunbury but was rebuffed. British troops penetrated as far north as Ogeechee Ferry (approximately 45 km north-northwest of Sunbury) in that campaign (Moultrie 1802:189). On February 1, 1777, one third of the Georgia militia from St. Matthews Parish was ordered to Medway [Midway] Meeting House, where they were to remain until further orders (Candler 2001: 1:225). By April 1777 the Georgians launched a second offensive against East Florida, which would also prove unsuccessful.

Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh continued in command of the Georgia Continentals during the period of the second offensive (Hawes 1957, 1968; Jackson 1979). In January 1777 McIntosh ordered the Georgia Continentals to be distributed among the garrisons at Darien, and forts Howe and Beard's Bluff on the Altamaha River, and Fort McIntosh on the Satilla River (McCall 1909:324). The fortifications at forts Howe, Beard's Bluff, and McIntosh all met with unfortunate ends. Fort McIntosh, which was garrisoned by 40 men of the South Carolina 3rd Regiment and 20 Georgia Continentals, under command of Captain Richard Winn, was attacked by Colonels Brown, Cunningham, and McGirth and 70 East Florida Rangers and 80 Loyalist Indians on February 17, 1777. The British were reinforced by Lieutenant Colonel Fuser and the 60th Regiment on the following day, whereupon Captain Winn surrendered Fort McIntosh and the fort was burned by the British (McCall 1909:325-329).

The second campaign against East Florida was interrupted by the personality clash of two Georgians, Lachlan McIntosh and Button Gwinnett. Button Gwinnett was a resident of Liberty County. Gwinnett served as one of Georgia's delegates to the Continental Congress and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence (Jenkins 1924; Jensen 1926; Virtualogy 2000). Part of this conflict involved the question who was to lead the Georgia troops—a role both men envisioned for themselves. It culminated with a duel in which both men were wounded and Gwinnett died from his wounds within two weeks. Shortly after the duel between McIntosh and Gwinnett on May 16, 1777, McIntosh was reassigned to command the Northern Continental Army. For most of the

rest of the war, McIntosh was busied in campaigns outside of Georgia. Brigadier General McIntosh returned to Georgia in mid-September 1779 to assist Major General Lincoln's Southern Army in the siege of Savannah. McCall noted that McIntosh returned to Georgia in July 1778 (McCall 1909:332-335).

During the period of disagreement between McIntosh and Gwinnett, the Council of Safety intervened and gave military control of the Georgia troops to Colonel Samuel Elbert. Elbert, being a junior officer, was surprised by this great responsibility. The campaign consisted of Elbert's troops advancing by water to the St. Johns River in East Florida and Colonel John Baker's troops approaching from the inland. The Georgia Continentals and Georgia militia returned on May 4, 1777, commanded by Colonel Samuel Elbert. Colonel Baker's troops retreated to Frederica and were ordered from there to Sunbury (McCall 1909:341-345; Oglesby 2002).

The other American troops in the southeast failed to provide any significant support of the second East Florida campaign. McCall observed that the term of service for the North Carolina militia had expired and the South Carolina Continentals were needed to defend their own coast. Upon learning of Colonel Fuser's capture of Fort McIntosh, however, troops were mobilized to send to Georgia. Colonel Francis Marion and 600 South Carolinians were sent to Savannah.

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Sumter and his 2nd Rifle Regiment, South Carolina militia were commissioned into the Continental Army under Major General Robert Howe in 1776 (Cummings 2002; Bass 1961; Gregorie 1931; Cummings 2002; Bates 2003; Moss 1983:908). Sumter and his men were ordered to Georgia in February. They commandeered boats on the Savannah River at Purysburg and drifted downstream to Savannah where they arrived by March 1777 (Bass 1961:42). By December 1777 Lieutenant Colonel Sumter and his regiment were back in Charleston. Sumter resigned from the 6th Regiment on September 23, 1778. He rose to the rank of Brigadier General commanding militia units in South Carolina and neighboring states. For the remainder of war he and his militia were kept busy in South Carolina.

Major General Robert Howe wrote from Savannah to General William Moultrie on March 16, 1777: "Thompson's are at Purisburgh, and will be ordered to march tomorrow". Before the reinforcements could advance to Liberty County and other parts of the Georgia frontier, Colonel Fuser and his troops had retreated into East Florida (McCall 1909:345). General Howe wrote to North Carolina Governor Caswell in

April 1777 concerning Georgia's defenses, noting that the situation: "...is truly deplorable; it must fall if it cannot get its battalions full". By June 1777 Howe had returned to Charleston and the 2nd Campaign against East Florida had ended without success (Moultrie 1802:189, 191-192; Naisawald 1951:25).

Writing in Savannah on December 24, 1777, Major General Robert Howe quoted Brigadier General William Moultrie concerning the Scopholites, who were threatening the interior of Georgia: "The Scopholites were some of the Tories who were led by one Col. Scophol, Col of militia, an illiterate, stupid, noisy blockhead" (Moultrie 1802:197). The Scopholites, commanded by Colonel Scovel, were a group of 500 to 800 loyalists who, in April 1778, cut a path from Ninety Six in South Carolina to East Florida, burning and plundering Whig settlements in Georgia (Olson 1970:9-10; Lambert 1987). This group was part of a broader migration of loyalists who left the Carolinas for East Florida in 1777 and 1778. Meanwhile, the Georgia militia concerned themselves with strengthening their defenses at Sunbury. On December 5, 1777 Colonel Samuel Elbert issued these orders to Captain Defatt:

Orders to Captain Defatt of the Artillery.

You are to proceed immediately to the Town of Sunbury, in this State, where are a corps of Continental Artillery posted, which you are constantly to be employed in teaching the perfect use of artillery, particularly in the Field. Both Officers and Men are hereby strictly ordered to attend on you for the above purpose, at such times and in such places as you may direct; and the Commanding Officer of the Troops in that place, on your showing him these Orders, will furnish Men to do the necessary duty in the Town & Fort; so that there will be nothing to prevent Captain Morris and his Company from being perfected in the Business for which they were raised. Such pieces of Artillery as you approve of, have mounted on Field-Carriages; and for this purpose you are empowered to employ the necessary Workmen, and procure Materials....(Jones 2001, v. 2:300).

3rd Campaign against East Florida

In February 1778 the Continental Congress resolved that Major General Howe should implement a plan to reduce British East Florida. On February 13, 1778, the Continental Congress heard a committee report on the state of Georgia's

defenses, along with recommendations for their improvement. Two thousand continental troops were requested for Georgia. At that time Georgia's defenses included: four Battalions of Infantry, one of Horse, three Companies of Artillery, and six Row Gallies (Journal of the Continental Congress 2002). Revisions to the troop composition in Georgia were proposed, which included, "...the Privates of the three artillery Companies to be incorporated into two: the first under Captain Thomas Lee and his officers to remain in and about Savannah; and the other under Captain Thomas Morris and his officers in and about Sunbury..."

By April 1778 the Americans hopes for success were high, particularly after Colonel Elbert captured the British ships *Hinchenbrook*, *Rebecca*, and an unnamed British brig. These vessels had been bound for Sunbury and their capture deflated, at least temporarily, the British efforts to capture Georgia. At that time Colonel Elbert and his men were posted at Fort Howe on the Altamaha River (McCall 1909:353). On April 7, 1778 the Executive Board of Georgia ordered that, "12 9th Cannon Shot be delivered out of the Arsenal for the use of Sunbury" (Candler 2001, v.2:72-73).

Major General Howe ordered Lieutenant Colonel Charles C. Pinckney and his forces to join him at Fort Howe. Before reaching Fort Howe, Howe and his force encountered a party of Loyalist refugees under command of Colonel McGirth at Midway, which forced Howe to retreat to St. Mary's (McCall 1909:354-355). Lieutenant Colonel Charles Pinckney commanded the 1st Regiment South Carolina Continentals (Moss 1983:774). In May 1778 the Georgians, including many of the troops posted at Sunbury, participated in the third and final unsuccessful offensive against East Florida.

This third campaign suffered from a lack of subservience among the commanding officers, as well as rampant sickness among the troops. After pushing as far south as Fort Tonnyn on the St. Mary's River, Howe called a council of war to discuss their strategy. The council was held on July 11th and the officers present were: "Maj Gen Howe and Cols Elbert, White, Pinckney, Everleigh, Taarling, Stirk, Rae; Lt. Cols Roberts, Henderson, Scott, McIntosh; Majors Brown, Wise, Habersham, Romans, Pinckney, Lane, and Lowe" (Howe 1778:181). The campaign was ended, largely as a result of the sickness that was so prevalent among the ranks. Historian Jones (2001) noted that more than approximately one-half of the American army in Georgia was ill at the end of the 3rd Campaign. William Moultrie wrote in his memoirs that his troops were succumbing at the rate of eight per day while in Georgia (Moultrie 1802). Most of these were taken to Fort Howe for immediate treatment. The sick and conva-

lescent were placed on board the galleys and such vessels and large boats as could be accumulated, and, under the direction of Colonel C. C. Pinckney, were transported by the inland passage to Sunbury. Writing from this town to William Moultrie on the 23d of July that officer says: "It is with the greatest pleasure I embrace this opportunity of informing you that the sea air has already had a surprising effect on the men with me. The weak and convalescents are getting strong daily, and the sick recovering fast. We have hitherto been very much crowded in our vessels, but as the Georgia troops will be landed here, we shall soon have more room..." (Jones 2001:301).

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Sumter was not present at the council of war at Fort Tonnyn. His biographer noted that Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Sumter had ague and was hospitalized at Sunbury in June 1778 (Bass 1961:45). This secondary source testifies that Sunbury was used as a military hospital during the 3rd Florida campaign. Major General Howe's orders contain numerous references to transporting the sick and wounded by water from the interior to the coast, via Sunbury, although he does not record any specific reference to its use as a hospital (Grimke 1911, 1912).

Colonel William Few, a Georgia patriot who was a participant in the 1778 campaign, provided this candid summary:

...In the Spring of 1778, the military force of the State was collected, which consisted of Militia, and six or eight hundred Continental Troops which were commanded by Genl. Howe. The militia were commanded by Govr. Houstoun. This force was supposed to be sufficient for this conquest of East Florida; but the whole was defeated not by the sword of the Enemy, but by the dissension of the Governor and General. They contended, which should have the command, until the season for Military operations was too far advanced. The hot weather commenced, and the fever raged in their camp, and destroyed more than a general action. A retreat became necessary, to save the remainder of the troops, of which near one half had been destroyed or dispersed, without seeing the face of the enemy. Thus terminated an expedition, foolishly planned and worse executed— We had neither stores of provisions, munitions of war, nor money in our Treasury...(Few 2002).

Upon the return of the Georgia Continentals from Fort Tonnyn, Colonel John McIntosh and 127 men were posted at Sunbury

(Jones 2001:303). These men probably comprised the garrison at Fort Morris for the Summer of 1778. The garrison was reinforced by additional troops, which brought the garrison strength to slightly more than 200 men.

By the fall of 1778 the tide of war in Georgia was turning. By November 27, 1778 Howe wrote to Moultrie from his headquarters a few miles south of Ebenezer at Zubly's Ferry advising Moultrie that Georgia was in a "...serious state of being lost" to the British. Moultrie responded the following day advising Howe that, "...Thompson's Regiment is not far from you, they are taking the shortest rout to Purisburgh". On December 8th, Howe wrote to Moultrie, "...the enemy undoubtedly are at St. Simon's where they are repairing the fort, and where the regulars remain..." (Moultrie 1802:243-249).

From 1776 to the Fall of 1778 the British in East Florida had repeatedly harassed the Georgians with minor raids by regular troops, Tories, and Indians. Over that same period of time Sunbury was controlled by American interests and the threat of a British invasion was relatively slim. Between October and November 1778 the American military in Georgia was in a state of high alert in anticipation of a British attack. The Americans took precautionary measures, which included: "storing food provisions in magazines at Sunbury, Savannah, Augusta, Brownsboro, Wrightsboro, Ebenezer, Telfair, Tenats, Lawson's Fort, New Savannah, Colemans, and Heard's and Denis's forts" (Barrs 1932; Naisawald 1951:24; Searcy 1985:158). On August 26, 1778, Colonel Graves applied for, "a sum of money out of the Treasury for the Fort, Barracks, and other works in Sunbury" (Candler 2001, v. 2: 91). His request for funds were postponed by the Board until their next meeting. This indicates that, as of late August 1778, the defenses at Sunbury were incomplete.

Major General Robert Howe, the former commander of the Southern District, arrived with his army at Sunbury by December 8, 1778 (Searcy 1985:164). Howe's army numbered less than 1,000 and included 600 to 700 Georgia and South Carolina Continentals and Georgia militia. The Georgia Continentals were led by Colonel Samuel Elbert and the South Carolina Continentals were led by General Isaac Huger. The Georgia militia was commanded by Colonel George Walton. After a brief stay, Howe's army moved on to Savannah.

By December 17, 1778 the British invasion fleet that had departed from New York for Savannah was passing near Charleston, which alerted Major General Lincoln, the new commander of the Southern District, and his staff to the threat of a major Southern invasion (Searcy 1985:164-166). Ten days later Lincoln was pressing his reinforcement troops from

the Carolinas towards Georgia to aid in Howe's defense. Howe had moved his force back to Savannah and had drawn all of the available troops in Georgia, except for the garrison at Sunbury and Colonel Marbury's regiment at Augusta, to his aid (Howe 1879:266). The American plans for an East Florida invasion were quickly forgotten as the American Southern Army shifted to a more defensive role and the Savannah River became the dividing line between two grand armies.

The British attacked Savannah before Lincoln's reinforcements arrived and General Howe, hopelessly outnumbered, foolishly chose to defend the town. That decision resulted in the loss of more than half of his army. The remnants of General Howe's troops fled in disarray into the Savannah River swamps and surrounding areas. Those who were able found their way across the Savannah River into South Carolina to Purysburg where General Lincoln's army was camped. General Howe met briefly with Major General Lincoln before heading north to consult with General Washington. Thereafter, General Lincoln had command of the Southern Army, although those troops who were in Georgia remained in a state of confusion for some time.

On December 29, 1778, General Howe issued orders to American Major Joseph Lane, commanding the garrison at Fort Morris, to abandon the post. These orders were delivered to Fort Morris by Captain Moseby (Howe 1879:234). Instead, Lane chose to defend the fortification with approximately 120 Continentals and residents of Sunbury (Searcy 1985:167).

Major General Howe later testified to these events:

I have confessed that I ordered the garrison at Sunbury to evacuate the fort, and I will add that I was so anxious to have it done, that my first order was written with a pencil, on horseback, in the field, and on the retreat. Fearful that this order might miscarry, and still anxious for the fate of the garrison, upon a halt we made about eight miles from town, I, in another letter more explicit in its contents, repeated the order for evacuation, and directed, that if the stores could not be removed they should be destroyed, and the cannon spiked. This letter, and another to the same purpose not an hour afterwards, were dispatched by officers. Some, if not all, were received, but the Major who commanded there delayed obeying the order until he heard from me again, in consequence of which he and his party fell into the

enemy's hands a few days afterwards. How this order, had it been wrong in itself, since it was not obeyed, could contribute to sacrifice the capital and the State, let those who framed the charge explain. I think it appears plain that nothing very erroneous in my conduct has happened, when; notwithstanding a strong desire to have me censured, charges so futile and ill-grounded are exhibited against me. It would have been horrid in me to have suffered a garrison to have remained in a work too extensive for five times the number of men, ill-constructed, unfinished, without *case-mates*, and without the least probability of relieving it....Major Lane, who commanded the fort, had recently been in it second in command, when an attack upon it by the enemy had been gallantly repulsed. The Magistrates and citizens of the town, hoping to defend it again, solicited, implored, and best him to remain in it. Combined with these, he was in the bloom of youth, and in the hey-day of blood and spirits—an enthusiastic ardor for fame, which it is better for an officer sometimes to be misled by that than never to feel, and which, tho' it may now and then induce excess, it is at worst but the excess of a good quality. All these prevailed upon him to delay an execution of his orders, and he had in punishment in his fault (Howe 1879:299).

Major Lane, who was the commanding officer at Fort Morris at the time of its capture, had been present at the Fort Tonn council of war on July 11 (Grimke 1911:200). Major Lane received the orders in late 1778 from Major General Howe to abandon Fort Morris (Lane 1778, 1779a-c; LOC 2002, Washington Papers February 7, 1780; LOC 2002, JCC March 3, 1780:225). Lane wrote in reply requesting a reliable guide to lead the garrison through the swamp to join Major General Howe's army (Lane 1778). Major Lane remained with his garrison at Fort Morris to defend it against the British. The Americans surrendered the post on January 10, 1779 (Lane 1778). Major Lane was taken prisoner where he compiled a return of the garrison in Fort Morris who were taken prisoner, as well as a list of the Sunbury militia company who were made prisoner. On February 22, 1779 Major Lane composed an account of the surrender of Fort Morris, which was submitted to Major General Lee. In that account he noted that the officers were placed as prisoners in Sunbury and the non-commissioned officers and privates were assigned to prison ships at Savannah (Lane 1779a-c).

Lieutenant Thomas Morris commanded the Georgia Conti-

ental Artillery company at Sunbury and it was in his honor that Fort Morris was named. As the British approached Sunbury on January 9, 1779 Lieutenant Morris fled Sunbury harbor by ship, but was captured on the open ocean by a British vessel and Morris and his shipmates were taken to Antigua where they were held captive. Top level negotiations between George Washington and Sir Henry Clinton for Morris' release, in exchange for the Antiguan John Burke, extended into November 1780 (LOC 2002; Washington 1780a, 1780b).

Frustrated with Howe's performance, Congress resolved in June to recall Howe. Although he was aware of this action, Howe did not receive the official notification of it until late November 1778. By that time, the massive British attack forced Howe to remain in Georgia until his replacement, Benjamin Lincoln, arrived (Naisawald 1951:27-29). The American forces under Howe, who defended Savannah against Campbell, were soundly routed from the town and were scattered into the interior of Georgia and South Carolina. On December 30, 1778, Major General Howe, camped 4 miles from Zubly's Ferry, wrote to Lincoln advising him of the bad situation (NARA 1774-1789, 1959:189). Howe's army in Georgia was in complete disarray. Archibald Campbell reported to Lord Germaine on January 16 that: "...on the 3rd of January the last scattered remains of General Howe's army retreated across at the Two sisters [Two Sisters Ferry was on the Savannah River in present day Effingham County]" (Davies 1978:17:37).

Major General Lincoln and the other ranking officers in the Southern Army realized that Howe had made a strategic blunder in defending Savannah against the British rather than retreating, particularly in the face of such overwhelming odds. Brigadier General Moultrie later criticized Howe's military strategy in his summary of the Savannah engagement: "It was a total rout, and the whole had nearly been cut off from their retreat; the 2d brigade was entirely so, those of them who made their escape, were obliged to file off to the right, and cross the Spring Hill causeway, and some were obliged to swim Yamacraw creek, leaving their arms behind; those who could not swim, were either killed or taken..."(Moultrie 1802:252). Major General Robert Howe was recalled to meet with George Washington, following the capture of Savannah in December 1778. Howe was court-martialed in December 1781 for his handling of the war in Georgia and the proceedings of General Howe's court-martial were later published (Howe 1879). Robert Howe was completely exonerated in the court martial trial for his actions on the battlefield, much to the chagrin of the Georgia government.

BRITISH SUNBURY

Royal Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida wrote to Brigadier General Prevost on December 24, 1777 from St. Augustine and provided him with a lengthy assessment of the British military in the South. The East Florida military forces included the East Florida Rangers, who were, "composed of the Inhabitants of this Province & Refugees from the Province of Carolina & Georgia", Indians, and the 60th Regiment (British Public Records Office [BPRO] 30/55/816).

The British effort to retake Georgia from the Rebels began in earnest in November 1778. This was accomplished with a two-pronged attack with a naval force, led by Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell and a combined force of British and Scottish Army regulars and Loyalists from New York, and a land force, led by Brigadier General Augustin Prevost and a smaller army from St. Augustine, Florida. After quickly conquering Savannah, Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell began his march towards Augusta, by way of Ebenezer, and his route was recorded on a map, which is cited as Campbell (1779a; Campbell 1981:32).

Major [then Captain] Patrick Murray, 60th Regiment, wrote in his memoirs of the attack on Sunbury in November 1778 by Lieutenant Colonel Fuser. Fuser's force included: "...Major Prevost with all the Cavalry, East Florida Rangers, South Carolina Royalists and McGirth's men, with the Grenadiers of the 2nd. Battalion [60th Regiment], and 70 chosen men of the 3rd [3rd Battalion, 60th Regiment], amounting in all to 750 men with a 4 1/2 inch Cohorn mounted on a Congreve Carriage [issued these orders]..."(Murray n.d.:306). Murray noted that the British Cavalry were to rendezvous with the Infantry on Sapelo Island and then, "...attack Sunbury in conjunction with Lieutenant Colonel Fuser, who proceeded along the inland communication with 250 men of the 4th Battalion, the armed *Flat Thunderer* of 2 24 pounders, and 2 Swivels..." (Murray n.d.:306).

Captain Murray provided one of the best descriptions of the events at Sunbury on November 24 and 25, 1778:

Colonel Fuser landed at Colonel's Bluff at the mouth of Newport, where he learned that, 2 Privateer's men having deserted and given the alarm, 300 men had been marched to Sunbury. The Colonel mounted the 2 Swivels on a cart, by way of carriage and leaving 60 men to guard the boats, proceeded towards Sunbury with 180 men receiving shots from their look-out men who fled to the woods whenever Ensign Schoedde [Ensign

C. L. T. Schoedde, 4th Battalion] with the flanking party advanced upon them. There was no firing on our part except by 3 or 4 of Brown's Rangers acting as guides. When we came to the marsh which divides the Island from the main, and is passable at low water, the detachment was ordered to form at open order, there being wood beyond the marsh, and the Medway on the right. Captain Murray was ordered forward to cover the left flank and clear the wood: Captain Wulf with his Grenadiers to support them....We bivouacked at night on the slope of the high ground opposite the fort and made fires in our rear which was considerably more elevated, so that when our Drums beat the Retreat they fired several cannon shot at our fires over our heads. This salute being performed, Colonel Fuser and Captain Wulf went closer to the Fort to reconnoitre. They found it well provided with heavy arms and men, but no appearance of a gate on that side; that towards the sea was known to have a battery of 18 pounders. Captain Murray was sent with his Light Company to try if he could not get into the town, which he did from the Medway Road...(Murray n.d.:307-308).

Ensign Schoedde and his party captured a galley, which was anchored at the wharf in Sunbury. Afterwards Ensign Schoedde and his men joined Captain Murray, who had taken post in the Sunbury Courthouse. Since the Sunbury Courthouse was an unfinished building Colonel Fuser took his quarters in a Merchant's house: "...where a puncheon of rum was broached, with other refreshments he distributed among the D[etachment] but no plundering allowed. Although Captain Wulff patrolled the town up to the *Citadel* without finding a gate, only 2 men were found, all the rest having taken refuge in the Fort; every now and then they fired great guns at our fires while our men occupied six houses with stores for 18 hours" (Murray n.d.:306-308).

Captain Johnstone, who led a company of the East Florida Rangers, proceeded to Medway meeting house [Midway] but returned to Sunbury the following morning to report that Major Mark Prevost and his troops had "pushed on to Ogeechee". Captain Murray continued his recollections of Colonel Fuser's next move against Sunbury, "Ensign Schoedde was posted 3 miles on the Medway road to look out. Colonel Fuser summoned the Fort allowing an hour; in two hours Colonel McIntosh sent Major Lane with a spirited answer. An American Detachment entered by the Newport road and it being highwater, Colonel Fuser would not suffer us to attempt to storm the Fort, but drew out the Detachment

until Ensign Schoedde's party was with-drawn; the Light Company in front of the line at open order. The D[etachment] then filed off by Medway road [after] a few shots from our Rangers, and the Light Company closing the march and leaving an astonished enemy who durst not disturb us. When we turned to the left and passed the pond behind the town two or three shots were fired at us, [but] we proceeded to our boats without any interruption" (Murray n.d.:308).

Brigadier Augustin Prevost held command of all British troops in the South. Prevost and his brother had created the 60th Regiment, or the Royal Americans, in the French and Indian War. The 60th Regiment was assigned to St. Augustine, along with Prevost. The 60th Regiment was composed mostly of Irishmen, many of whom had been rejected by other British Regiments. It developed, however, into one of the more renowned units of the British colonial period, particularly during the French and Indian War (Summers and Chartrand 1981). The 60th Regiment later became the Kings Royal Rifle Corps, which was reformed in 1966 to become part of the 2nd Battalion, Royal Green Jackets (Mills 2002).

General Prevost's troops were joined by Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Allen and three companies of New Jersey Volunteers, who had become separated at sea from the main British invasion fleet (Searcy 1985:166; Murray n.d. 309). General Prevost detached Major Graham with three companies of the 16th Regiment and Captain Murray's Light Company, 4th Battalion, 60th Regiment to gather food for the army. This detachment later joined troops led by Major Mark Prevost and, together, they laid siege to Fort Morris (Searcy 1985:166-167). Major Prevost's force consisted of 100 British regular infantry and 300 Rangers and Indians. Their artillery consisted of a single 4.5 inch Cohorn. They had arrived in Georgia on November 19th and had minor engagements before reaching Sunbury. The most involved of these was the fight at the Midway Meeting House.

In the days immediately before the January 9 siege, Captain Murray's Company, Major Graham's companies and Ensign Schoedde's party were assigned to kill cattle for the army and 26 head of cattle were slaughtered (Murray n.d.:309-310). Captain Murray's Company arrived at Sunbury on January 7, as he noted in his memoirs:

In less than an hour the 16th [Regiment] and 4th Battalion Light Company [60th Regiment] were despatched to Sunbury, where our Cavalry were supposed to be investing the place; but none appearing Captain Murray entered, and the advance took post in the ditch of the intrenchment which covered the town. A ranger guide reconnoitring

too near the fort was killed, and we took post in the ditch of the entrenchment, opposite the Fort. The next morning 23 horses were sent out of the fort when a Sergeant, with a few men drove in the escort and the horses were captured....

Murray continued:

General Prevost came that day with the remainder of the troops, two 8-inch Howitzers and a Cohorn. The gallies when the tide was high, fired into the town, as did the fort. On the 3rd day the enemy attempted a small sally which Major Graham drove in; three men of the 16th were wounded, not dangerously, Sergeant Balany Royal Artillery threw some shells at the gallies, which dislodged them, and a shell fell upon a building where the rebel Officers messed, and killed and wounded 9 of them, and shattered about 50 stand of arms; upon which they proposed to capitulate; which being refused and 2 more shells falling into the fort, they hauled their colours down and surrendered at discretion...The gallies made for the Bar. (Murray n.d. 310-311).

Murray provided valuable details on the events at Sunbury following the battle:

Captain MacDonald [3rd Battalion, 60th Regiment] mounted guard in the Fort with the 3rd [Battalion] Grenadier Company and next morning Captain Wulff relieved him with those of the 4th. [Battalion]. Captain Macdonald delivered his report to the General and dropped down dead at his feet. The Garrison with their Commander Major Lane embarked for Savannah. They, with prisoners brought in by our mounted rangers might amount to between 300 and 400. Lieutenant Colonel Allen was left at Sunbury with the Jersey Volunteers. Mr. [Roderic] Mackintosh was appointed Captain of the Fort, he lost the use of his eye (Murray n.d. 310-311).

Murray also provided information on the Americans who were taken prisoner in the engagement:

The Flank Companies except the Grenadiers of the 4th [Battalion, 60th Regiment] who escorted the prisoners by the inland passage marched to Savannah by Medway and Ogeechee...One gal-

ley blew up on Sunbury bar; a sloop and 2 galleys were taken by our cruisers and a ship in the harbour (Murray n.d. 310-311).

A brief British account of the siege appeared in the *Annual Register* for 1779:

The major-general having at length brought forward a few pieces of artillery, suddenly surrounded the town and fort of Sunbury, on the frontier of Georgia. The garrison, consisting of about 200 men, made some shew of defence, and gave the command the trouble of opening *trenches*. But although they were supported by some armed vessels and gallies, yet all hope of relief being now totally cut off by the reduction of the rest of the province, they found it necessary to surrender at discretion (*Annual Register* 1780:35, italics added).

The number of people killed in the January 9 siege is not well documented. On the American side, probably fewer than a dozen were killed. British losses included the unfortunate East Florida Ranger guide, whose death was described by Captain Murray. Another Loyalist casualty was Bristol Munro, Jr., an enslaved African-American belonging to Loyalist Simon Munro. Bristol, Jr. was killed in the siege and another of Munro's slaves, Bess, was maimed. Bristol's father (Bristol, Sr.) also met his death at Sunbury, while working for the rebels earlier in the war (Cole and Braisted 2003).

The Henry Clinton papers included a return of the military ordnance and stores at Fort Morris on January 13, 1779 (Clinton 1779, vol 52:8), which is transcribed in Table 3. This inventory was compiled by British Captain Jonathan Fairlamb, Light Royal Artillery Regiment. The list of heavy guns includes one mortar and 24 cannons, and a large quantity of shoulder arms, ammunition and related accoutrements.

The loyalists New Jersey Volunteers in garrison at Fort George under command of Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Allen were soon supplemented by the arrival of Delancey's Brigade, 1st Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Harris Cruger (Cole and Braisted 2002). Together, these troops probably constituted the "hundred Provincials" that comprised the Sunbury garrison described by Colonel Innes' January 23 letter to Sir Henry Clinton. The team of Colonels Allen and Cruger as co-commanders of British garrisons continued as the British Army moved into South Carolina.

The command of the British garrison at Ninety Six, South Carolina was shared by these two Loyalist officers.

After the British capture of Sunbury in January 1779, loyalists held the town and its fort until September, when the British troops were ordered to Savannah to help defend that city against the impending American and French attack. Lieutenant Colonel John H. Cruger quickly marched with the able bodied men of Delancey's 1st Battalion to assist Major General Prevost in the defense of Savannah, arriving there by September 10.

A return of Brigadier General Prevost's troops from East Florida, made on January 17, 1779 included 38 officers and 905 rank and file, composed of the 16th and 60th regiments and companies of New Jersey Volunteers, South Carolina Royalists, East Florida Volunteers, and Rangers (BPRO CO 5/97, pt. I, fols. 135v-137, cited in Campbell 1981:114-115). This troop list included those stationed at Sunbury, as well as Savannah, New Ebenezer, and other posts in Georgia.

The British military units that participated in the Sunbury siege included the 16th Regiment, 60th Regiment, Carolina Royalists, New Jersey Volunteers, East Florida Rangers, and the Loyalist Creeks. Most of these men were probably present at Fort Morris for only a few days. After the British captured the fort at Sunbury, which was renamed Fort George, it was garrisoned by Loyalist troops from New Jersey and New York. The New York and New Jersey troops were part of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell's invasion fleet, who arrived in Georgia from Sandy Hook in November 1778. Three companies of New Jersey Volunteers were aboard a ship that was separated from Campbell's fleet before joining up with Prevost's army (Murray n.d.: 309; Butler 1913-1932).

The East Florida Rangers and their loyalist Creek allies were among the conquering British force at Fort Morris in January 1779. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown commanded the loyalist rangers in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina (Olson 1970; Cashin 1989). Brown was a Georgia colonist. Brown's troops were known by various monikers during the war (Carolina Rangers, East Florida Rangers, and, finally, the King's Rangers). One of Brown's rangers was killed in the attack while reconnoitering when he approached too close to Fort Morris and was struck by a bullet (Murray n.d.:310-311).

Lieutenant Colonel John Marc Prevost, Augustin's brother, led the 60th Regiment, Royal Americans in the capture of Fort Morris. Prevost also participated in the unsuccessful

Table 3. Return of Brass & Iron Ordinance & Stores in Fort Morris, now Fort George, at Sansbury [sic Sunbury] in Georgia 13th January 1779.

Corned Powder—Whole Barrels—28
Ordinance—Brass Mortar 7 Inch---1
do 18 Pounders—2
do 12 Pounders—6
Iron--9 Pounders—1
do 4 Pounders—7
do 3 Pounders—8
Ladles, Wadhooks and Spunges for—18 Pounders—2
do 12—7
do 9—1
do 4—3
do 3—5
Shot—Round, loose—18 Pounder—227
do 12—204
do 9—29
do 4—220
do 3—144
Case and Grape—18 Pounder—4
do 12—8
do 9—3
do 4—45
do 3—40
Shells empty 4 2/5—30
Hand Grenades, fixed—30
Small Arms—Musquets with Bayonets—180
do Rifles—12
do Fuzees and Carbines—40
Garrison Carriages—18 Pounder—2
do 12—6
do 9—1
do 4—4
do 3—7
Cartridges—Musquet with Ball—3000
do Carbine do—500
Flints—Musquet—400
do Carbine—80
Lead—Musquet Ball—Pounds—150
do Pig-tail—do—1800
Cartridge Boxes—150
Pouches with Powder Horns—72
Claw Handspikes—30

(Sign'd)
Jno Fairlamb
Captn Lt. R. Artillery
(Clinton 1779, vol 52:8)

1778 British campaign in Georgia. Following quickly on the heels of the capture of Fort Morris, Lieutenant Colonel Prevost was instrumental in the British victory at Brier Creek. Once the lower coast of Georgia was securely in British hands, Lieutenant Colonel John Marc Prevost was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Georgia.

The 16th Regiment participated in the British capture of Fort Morris at Sunbury in early January 1779. The main body of the 16th Regiment marched to Savannah where they were garrisoned from mid-January 1779 to 1782. Elements of this regiment were also garrisoned at Sunbury, while other soldiers in the 16th Regiment patrolled in and around Ebenezer. The 16th Regiment remained active in coastal Georgia and was among the last British troops who evacuated Savannah on July 11, 1782.

The six battalions of the Loyalist New Jersey Volunteers, also known as Skinner's Light Infantry or Cortland's Greens, were commanded by Brigadier General Cortlandt Skinner. The New Jersey Volunteers were provincial troops. Upon their arrival in Savannah in December 1778, Skinner's 3^d Battalion consisted of between 60 and 76 men. Skinner's 3rd Battalion was employed in the 1779 siege of Savannah (Hough 1975:60; Campbell 1981:11, 102; Allis 1967: Reel 3).

Three companies of the New Jersey Volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Allen, were stationed at Fort George at Sunbury immediately after the British captured Sunbury on January 10, 1779. Lieutenant Colonel Allen was a lawyer from Trenton, New Jersey, who received his commission in the New Jersey Volunteers in early 1777 (Jones 1927:9). Allen's exact battalion location in the New Jersey Volunteers is somewhat problematic. Jones (1927) associates Allen with the 2nd Battalion but Cole and Braisted (2002) noted that Isaac Allen received a commission as Lieutenant Colonel in the 6th Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers on December 3, 1776, and another commission as Lieutenant Colonel in the 3rd Battalion on May 25, 1778. Allen was probably in the 3rd Battalion while at Sunbury. Cole and Braisted (2002) have compiled a roster of officers who served in the New Jersey Volunteers from 1776 to 1783, which includes Allen and many of the other loyalist officers who served at Sunbury.

The Carolina Royalists, or South Carolina Loyalists, were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Robinson and Colonel Alexander Innes. Colonel Innes was an active participant in the events around Savannah and his letters provide important details on the events in late 1778 and early 1779. The South Carolina Royalists formed part of Briga-

dier General Prevost's siege force at Sunbury in January 1779. By December 1, 1779 Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Innes commanded the South Carolina Royalists, who were garrisoned at Savannah (Clark 1981, Volume 1:1). The other officers in the South Carolina Royalists at that time included:

- Captain-Lieutenant Charles Lindsay;
- Chaplain William Devaux;
- Adjutant Charles Lindsay;
- Quartermaster Peter Denwerth;
- Surgeon George Clark;
- Mate William Hatton;
- Sergeants Charles Riley (sick in quarters), Sam Stevenson, and Hugh Wiseman;
- Corporals Shadrack Stevens, Jacob Singley, William Morgan;
- and Drummer Black Sancho.

The balance of the Carolina Royalists consisted of 29 privates, although six of these were listed as deserters. Thus, this contingent consisted of about 37 men in March 1780. On April 24, the South Carolina Royalists consisted of Colonel Innes, 45 junior officers and 165 enlisted men. In addition to these aforementioned men who were present and fit for duty, three sergeants, one drummer and 46 privates were on command and recruiting; six sergeants and 57 privates were sick; and three soldiers had died since the previous muster (Clinton 1750-1838, Volume 94:43).

Colonel Innes of the British army wrote to Sir Henry Clinton from Savannah on January 23, and provided him with an assessment of colonial Georgia's defenses, "...The Posts now occupied by the British Troops are the Town of Savannah, Cherokee Hill Abercorn, Zubly's ferry, Ebenezer and the two Sisters being a Chain of thirty five miles above Savannah...Sunbury Town and Fort is 40 miles to the Southward of Savannah on the banks of a large Creek and fine Bason which communicates with the sea five miles below—here we have a Garrison of a hundred Provincials and to this place the Rebel officers taken Prisoners were sent on Parole. The reinforcement brought from Florida by Genl Prevost will necessarily alter the numbers at the different Posts and he may also have been induced to extend his Quarters" (Innes 1779a:3).

In his memoirs Colonel Henry Lee wrote that Major General Prevost detached, "Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger with one of the Provincial regiments to Sunbury", following the first attempt to capture Charleston in the spring of 1779 (Lee (1969:133). Clinton's letter to Lord Germain, however, suggests that Cruger's corps never left the state on that campaign. The "hundred provincials" that were left to garrison

the fort at Sunbury were part of the 1st Battalion, Delancey's Brigade. Loyalist troops under the command of Brigadier General Oliver Delancey included the 1st and 2nd Battalions of Delancey's Brigade and Delancey's Refugees, who arrived in Georgia with Lieutenant Colonel Campbell in November 1778. Delancey's Brigade was composed of recruits from Westchester, Kings and Queens Counties, New York. Each battalion of DeLancey's Brigade was to consist of 500 men.

Brigadier General Augustin Prevost ordered the 1st and 2nd Battalions of Delancey's Brigade to garrison Fort George at Sunbury. Lieutenant Colonel John Harris Cruger led the 1st Battalion, Delancey's Brigade. Cruger was a prominent New Yorker of Dutch descent. After leaving Georgia, Cruger and his men were garrisoned at Ninety Six in South Carolina from June, 1780 to July, 1781, where they fell under siege by Major General Nathanael Greene and American troops. While Cruger and the men of Delancey's Brigade were at Ninety Six they constructed earthworks, including a large star fort (Figure 4), whose remnants are well preserved (NPS

2002, 2003; Holschlag and Rodeffer 1976, 1977; Prentice 1996; South 1970, 1971). When they arrived in Savannah in December 1778 Delancey's 1st Battalion was comprised of approximately 54 men and his 2nd Battalion numbered 20 men (Campbell 1981:11; Clark 1981, Volume 3:1). A muster roll of Lieutenant Colonel John Harris Cruger's Company, 1st Battalion, Brigadier General Oliver Delancey's Brigade, was recorded in Savannah on November 20, 1779. Officers serving in Cruger's Company included:

Captain-Lieutenant George Kerr;
Ensign John Wormley;
Chaplain ____ Bowden (at New York);
Quartermaster Nehemiah Rogers;
Surgeon Nathan Smith (prisoner with rebels);
Mate Daniel Cainwell;
Sergeants Lawrence Connolly (died 19 Nov 1779),
Robert Chambers (prisoner in Charlestown),
William Paradie, and George Lynch;
Corporal Samuel Dawson;
and Drummer William Kitts (Clark 1981, Volume 3:1).



Figure 4. Aerial View of Cruger's Star Fort at Ninety Six, South Carolina.

Also serving in Cruger's company were 18 privates, although 11 of these were not present at the muster. Privates William Hayman and James Devur were listed as, "sick at Sunbury", five others were prisoners with the rebels, two others had died in September, 1779, and one had deserted on October 3, 1779.

A third company in Delancey's Brigade, as recorded in the November 20th muster, was commanded by Captain George Kerr. Captain Kerr's junior officers included: Sergeants John McKinny, Timothy Sulovan, and Patrick Field (the latter two at New York); Corporals Patrick Campbell, Peter Quain, John Wallace (prisoner with rebels) and Drummer William Curdoe (sick, Regimental Hospital) (Clark 1981, Volume 3:18). Also serving in Kerr's company were 43 privates, although 25 of these were not present at the muster for various reasons, including five that were dead, two sick at the Regimental Hospital, two sick at Sunbury, and 14 that were prisoners with the rebels.

The 2nd Battalion of Delancey's Brigade was assigned to garrison duty at Sunbury for an unknown period. When the 2nd Battalion was disbanded in 1783, their commander was Lieutenant Colonel Richard Hewlett. By 1783, however, Delancey's Brigade had been reorganized and Lieutenant Hewlett's Battalion was formerly the 3rd Battalion, and that battalion never served in Georgia (Cole and Braisted 2003). Consequently, little is presently known of the officers in the 2nd Battalion who served at Sunbury.

Lieutenant Colonel Cruger's 1st Battalion of Delancey's Brigade and any other British troops in garrison at Sunbury and other outlying outposts were summoned to Savannah by Major General Prevost in early September, 1779. Cruger's effective force was quick to reach Savannah before the French army had established their siege positions (Lee 1969:137). Lawrence (1951:156) noted that Cruger and the effective men from the Sunbury garrison had reached Savannah by September 10. Many of the soldiers in Delancey's Brigade who were at Sunbury were ill, however, and Captain Thomas French was ordered to escort these men to Savannah by inland passage. Captain Thomas French served under Lieutenant Colonel Cruger and his troops were garrisoned at Fort George at Sunbury.

The next officer to hold command at Sunbury, albeit very briefly, was American Colonel John White. Jones noted that Colonel John White, "had been for some time stationed at Sunbury, and commanded not only the continental troops there concentrated, but also all detached companies operat-

ing to the southward" (Jones 2001:301). On September 30, 1779, Colonel John White, 4th Battalion, Georgia Continentals, captured a British detachment at the Ogechies [Ogeechee River] consisting of Delancey's 1st Battalion, totaling 142 men, under command of Captain Thomas French. Articles of Capitulation were signed on September 30, 1779 between Captain French and Colonel White. Captain French surrendered himself, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Surgeon, 5 Sergeants, 9 Corporals, 87 Privates, and 1 Bombadier. The captured British troops were to be conveyed to Sunbury. Article 5 of the agreement provided for convenient hospitals for the sick in Sunbury. Another tally of captured British troops suggests that the number captured by Colonel White and his men was substantially more than 105 men. A "Return of the Officers & Men belonging to the 1st Bat. of Brig. Gen. Delancey surrendered to Col. White, 4th Battn Ga", listed 142 men taken at Ogechies on October 1, 1779 (Allis 1967:Reel 4).

Lawrence (1951:159) provides a slightly different summation of this event, which he dated to October 1, 1779. He placed the number of captured at 110 troops in five ships and he located this military action near the Thomas Savage plantation. The five ships were burned by Colonel White's men, but the location of this potentially informative underwater archaeological site has not been determined. When the muster of his company was recorded, also on November 20, Captain French was listed as, "sick at Sunberry". French's junior officers included: Ensign N. Rogers, Sergeant Thomas Wright, Corporal Robert Miller (died 2 Oct 1779) and Drummer Thomas Dutill (Clark 1981, Volume 3:10-11). Also serving in French's company were 31 privates, although 19 of them were not present at the November 1779 muster for various reasons.

Colonel White's capture of five British vessels and more than 100 loyalists with a force of fewer than a dozen men is one of the more amazing stories of the American Revolution in Georgia. It is a story that has enormous public interpretive value and public appeal. Historian White provides a description of Colonel White's accomplishments in capturing a substantial portion of Delancey's Brigade:

Colonel White effected, during the siege of Savannah, one of the most extraordinary captures the annals of warfare ever recorded. When General Prevost called in his detachments, he ordered the commandant at Sunbury, on the Georgia coast, upon evacuating that post, to put the invalids on board of the small-armed vessels, and to send them by the inland navigation to Savannah, under the care of Captain French, of the British Regulars.

In consequence of head winds, Captain French and his command were detained until some of D'Estaing's fleet were in possession of the pass, and he was induced to sail up the Ogeechee River until he reached a point about twenty-five miles from the city of Savannah. Having arrived here, he learned that the passage over land was also blocked up by the allied force, and he therefore made a descent upon the shore, and finally took post with his party about fifteen or twenty miles from Savannah. Colonel White, having ascertained that Captain French's force consisted of one hundred and eleven soldiers, possessing one hundred and thirty stand of arms, and that he also had under his charge, in the river Ogeechee, adjacent to his camp, five vessels, four of them fully armed, and one of them mounting fourteen guns, and manned by forty seamen, formed the resolution of capturing the detachment. He disclosed his plan to those who were with him. McCall, in his *History of Georgia*, says that the party consisted of Colonel White, Captains Geo. Melvin and A. E. Elholm, a sergeant and three privates, seven in all. Other historians make no mention of Captain Melvin, or of a sergeant, but give the whole praise to Colonels White, Elholm, and three soldiers, reducing the number to five. White built many watch-fires around the camp, placing them in such a position, and at such intervals, as to induce Captain French and his soldiers to believe that he was absolutely surrounded by a large force. The deception was kept up through the night by White and his companions, marching from fire to fire with the measured tread and the loud challenge of sentinels, now hailing from the east of the British camp, and then shifting rapidly their position and challenging from the extreme west. Nor was this the only stratagem; each mounted a horse and rode with haste in divers directions, imitating the manner of the staff; and giving orders with a loud voice. The delusion was complete. Captain French suffered himself to be completely trapped. White carried his daring plan forward by dashing boldly and alone to the camp of the British, and demanding a conference with French. "I am the commander, Sir," he said, "of the American soldiers in your vicinity. If you will surrender at once to my force, I will see to it that no injury is done to you or your command. If you decline to do this, I must candidly inform you that the feelings of my troops are highly incensed

against you, and I can by no means be responsible for any consequences that may ensue." French thanked him for his humanity, and said, despondingly, that it was useless to contend with fate or with the large force that he saw was around him, and announced his willingness to surrender his vessels, his arms, his men, and himself to Colonel White. At this instant Captain Elholm came suddenly dashing up at full speed, and saluting White, inquired of him where he should place the artillery. "Keep them back, keep them back, Sir," answered White, "the British have surrendered. Move your men off, and send me three guides to conduct them to the American post at Sunbury." The three guides arrived. The five vessels were burned, and the British, urged by White to keep clear of his men, and to hasten their departure from the enraged and formidable Americans, pushed on with great celerity, whilst White retired with one or two of his associates, stating that he would go to his troops in the rear and restrain them. He now employed himself in collecting the neighbourhood militia, with which he overtook his guides, and conducted them in safety to the Sunbury post. Lee, in his account of this affair, says: "The extraordinary address of White was contrasted by the extraordinary folly of French, and both were necessary to produce this wonderful issue. The affair approaches too near the marvellous to have been admitted into these memoirs, had it not been uniformly asserted, as uniformly accredited, and never contradicted." Captain Elholm was an officer of Pulaski's Legion. Captain Melvin, it is believed, lived and died in Savannah (White 1854:367-369).

Other men of Loyalist Delancey's Brigade were assigned to other posts in Georgia. On January 9, 1779 Lieutenant Colonel Campbell assigned the 2nd Battalion of Delancey's Brigade to garrison the post at Cherokee Hill above Savannah (Campbell 1981:39). An unsigned document, dated April 30, 1779 and sent to Benjamin Lincoln at his Purysburg HQ, probably represents a Rebel spy's intelligence of the British troop's departure from Ebenezer: "The army & Co in readiness to march this Eveg [sic] at 7 oclock, Rangers advanced, the detachment of the Lt Infant with their guns-one Batt 71 of the New Y volunt Hugston's Regt to open in back the Artill 2nd Batt 71st -Rear guard 2d Batt Delaneys [DeLancey's], Four Comp Lt In: 4 on the left flank, when formed Rangers & Lt Inf: cover the Front, when formed the Lt Infantry cover the Right & left, the 1st Batt 71st in left the NY Volunt center Hughshi's on the left 2nd Batt:71—the

Rear Guard Delancey" (New York Public Library, EM 6667). This hastily scribbled document clearly places the 2nd Battalion of Delancey's Brigade in the Savannah River area on January 9, 1779. The whereabouts of the Cruger's 1st Battalion of Delancey's Brigade at that time has not been determined. Elements of Delancey's Brigade were employed by the British to garrison several small posts on the Georgia coast, in addition to Sunbury.

On March 2 Lieutenant Colonel Campbell wrote to Augustin Prevost with his recommendations for the British garrison strength at the various posts in Georgia. The defense of Sunbury was an essential part of Campbell's plan. Campbell explained his strategy for this arrangement of troops: "When I consider the Strength of His Majesty's Forces in Georgia, and that of the Rebels on the opposite Banks of the Savannah, I am inclined to think it would be imprudent at this Juncture, to follow other Views than those of securing the Conquest already made; and consequently our Attention ought to be directed to three essential Objects: The Security of Savannah, Ebenezer and Sunbury. Whatever may be the Policy or Movements of the Enemy, it is certain that those important Posts ought never to be neglected..." (Campbell 1981:70-71).

Campbell's strategy for securing coastal Georgia for the British is outlined by Ensign John Wilson:

In the months of March & April this post [Ebenezer] was made very strong with additional Redoubts and Artillery; for it was always considered that it ought to be made one of the principal posts because a Chain of Communication across the Country and the Ogeechee river might have it's right flank well fixt and secure at Ebenezer while it's left might extend to and be covered by the Garrison at Sunbury [sic], these posts it was supposed would secure the lower part of the Province, and protect the lower part of the Province, and protect it's Inhabitants against the Incursions of South Carolina (Davis 1986b:195).

Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord Germain on May 21 advising him of the situation in the South. This letter contained specific information on the placement of British troops in Georgia:

Lieut.-Colonel Prevost, who with three companies of grenadiers, Wellworth's regiment, one battalion of Delancey's and of the New Jersey Volunteers, with some Carolinians, was left to pro-

tect Georgia if necessary or to join the army with such part of the troops left with him as could be spared with propriety whenever the progress of our first division or the retrograde movements of General Lincoln should permit it, had by this time [late April or Early May, 1779] crossed the river at the Sisters with all the horse, the grenadiers, and part of Wellworth's battalion, leaving a sufficient garrison in Ebenezer, Savannah and Sunbury, and joined the army with some supplies ... (Davies 1978: 17:127).

Returns of British troop strength on February 15 and May 1, 1779, placed the number of the British effective force in Georgia at 4,330 and 4,794 men, respectively (Carrington 1877). Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Innes' "State of His Majesty's Provincial Forces in Georgia per Return of 1st July 1779 by Alex. Innes, Insp'r Gen'l P. Forces" reveals the details of the Loyalist troop strength in mid-1779, which is transcribed in Table 4 (Innes, in Clinton 1750-1838).

Major General Prevost wrote from Savannah to Henry Clinton on July 14, 1779 noting, "On my arrival at Beaufort [South Carolina] finding that a number of the back Inhabitants of Georgia... had taken Arms and infested the lower Settlements...the Battalion of Wissenbach with Brown's Rangers were order'd immediately to Savannah, to be followed by the York Volunteers, Second Battalion Delancey's" (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1901, 1:473). These statements by Prevost probably indicate that the 2nd Battalion, Delancey's Brigade, ceased to be posted at Sunbury after mid-July, 1779. Some of the troops in the New Jersey Volunteers and Delancey's Brigade may have returned to garrison Sunbury in October 1779 following the Siege of Savannah. On May 1, 1780 the total number of men in the New Jersey Volunteers, 3rd Battalion that remained in Georgia was 278, which included 52 men who were held prisoner by the Americans and 27 who were sick. The number of Delancey's 1st Battalion who were still in Georgia on May 1 was 226, which included 52 who were held prisoner and 19 who were sick. The number of Delancey's 2nd Battalion in Georgia was 174, which included 38 sick and an unlisted number held who were held prisoner. The March 1st troop return included 490 men in the New Jersey Volunteers or Delancey's Brigade who were fit for duty. Cole and Braisted (2003) noted that the 1st Battalion, Delancey's Brigade and the 3rd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers was ordered to march from Georgia to Charleston by July 10, 1780. Consequently, by mid-July, 1780 most of the loyalist troops who had been assigned to garrison duty at Sunbury had left that place.

Table 4. State of His Majesty's Provincial Forces in Georgia per Return of 1st July 1779.

Regiments Officers Present										
Commission	Col	LtCol	Maj	Capt	Lt	Staff Ens	Chap	Adj	QM	Surg
Mate										
NY Vol		1	1	5	4	3		1	1	1
1 st Bat										
BrG										
DeLancey's										
1 st Bat			1	4	3	4			1	1
2 nd Bat	1	1	1	4	5	4		1	1	1
BrG										
Skinnners										
3 rd Bat		1	1	5	5	9		1	1	1
1 st Bat										
SC Royalists	1		6	5	6	1	1	1	1	1
Kings Rangers		1		5	5			1	1	1
1 st Bat										
NC Vol		1	1	2	2			1	1	
Total	1	6	5	31	29	26	1	6	7	6
5										
Effectives										
Present Fit for Duty										
Regiments		Serg	Drumm	RankFile						
NY Vol		16	8	211						
BrG										
DeLancey's										
1 st Bat		4	5	79						
2 nd Bat		9	4	112						
BrG										
Skinnners										
3 rd Bat		17	6	148						
SC Royalists	23	2	201							
Kings Rangers		9	5	87						
NC Vol		7		41						
Total		85	30	879						
Absent on Command & Recruiting										
NY Vol		1		87						
BrG										
DeLancey's										
1 st Bat		12	2	104						
2 nd Bat		4		119						
BrG										
Skinnners										
3 rd Bat		3		83						
SC Royalists			41							
Kings Rangers				78						
NC Vol				6						
Total		20	2	518						
Prisoners with the Rebels										
NY Vol				12						
BrG										
DeLancey's										
1 st Bat				50						
2 nd Bat				25						
BrG										
Skinnners										
3 rd Bat				49						
SC Royalists			13							
Kings Rangers				11						
NC Vol				4						
Total				164						

(Table 4 continued)

Sick			
NY Vol			
BrG			
DeLancey's			
1 st Bat	10		52
2 nd Bat	2	2	75
BrG			
Skinnners			
3 rd Bat	7	3	65
SC Royalists 1		10	
Kings Rangers	1		37
NC Vol	1		20
Total	22	5	259
Wounded			
None listed			
Totals			
NY Vol	17	8	310
BrG			
DeLancey's			
1 st Bat	26	7	285
2 nd Bat	15	6	331
BrG			
Skinnners			
3 rd Bat	27	9	345
SC Royalists 24	2	265	
Kings Rangers	10	5	213
NC Vol	8		71
Total	127	37	1820
Wanting to Compleat			
None listed			
Alterations since Past Return			
None Listed			
Note: NY Vol-New York Volunteers			
BRG DeLancey's 1 st Bat—Brigade Delancey's 1 st Battalion			
SC Royalists—South Carolina Royalists			
NC Vol—North Carolina Volunteers (Clinton 1750-1838 62:38).			

Numerous contemporary accounts of the Siege of Savannah were recorded by officers and observers on both sides of the conflict. These include accounts by Augustin Prevost, Benjamin Lincoln and others (Lawrence 1951; Jones 1897:258-268, 1968; Hough 1975). Prevost described to Lord Germain the events in Georgia in August and September 1779, "On the 18th of August we received accounts from Augusta and its neighbourhood that the rebels were assembled there in force and that...they held the intention of coming down to attack us. Proper dispositions were therefore made at Ebenezer and the other advanced posts to receive them...[September] 7th and 8th. ...Expresses to all the outposts to join, Beaufort, Ebenezer, Cherokee Hill, Ogeechee, *Sunbury, the latter to dismantle the fort and to destroy what could not be carried off*" [italics added](Davies 1978: 17:241).

From January 10 through the first week of September 1779 the British military held control of Sunbury and Fort George. The British, no doubt, made repairs and improvements to the works at Fort George during this period. For most of this period the garrison consisted of the 1st Battalion of Delancey's Brigade and the 3rd Battalion New Jersey Volunteers. The East Florida Rangers, 60th Regiment Royal Americans, and Loyalist Indians, who had helped to capture the place, probably occupied Sunbury for a short period before most of these troops were shifted to the Savannah River region.

Georgian George Walton, the commander of the Georgia militia, who was held prisoner at Sunbury wrote to Major General Lincoln requesting that he be exchanged soon. Walton feared that he and his fellow prisoners would soon be massacred by the unruly loyalist guerillas. The British troops of Delancey's Brigade had abandoned Sunbury for Savannah, which left the American prisoners, who remained in Sunbury on their honor, vulnerable to attack (Walton 1779:1-2). In October 1779 Captain John Baker, Georgia Continentals, wrote to Major General Lincoln advising him that, by Lincoln's orders, Baker had posted 25 men at Sunbury (Baker 1779).

In September 1779 Sunbury changed dramatically from serving as an American to a British prisoner of war camp. Captain French and his fellow loyalist troops must have been held only briefly at Sunbury by the Americans, however, as the Americans retreated towards Charleston by mid-October 1779 following the unsuccessful siege of Savannah. Shortly thereafter the British again reclaimed the town and used Sunbury as a prisoner of war camp and as a hospital. Although British troops were almost certainly posted there af-

ter mid-October, 1779, the identities of the troops in garrison are subject to question. It seems likely that a detachment of DeLancey's Battalion was assigned to that task, possibly led by Lieutenant Colonel Cruger. Most of DeLancey's corp had been engaged in military campaigns in South Carolina earlier in 1779 and again in 1780.

The military events that occurred at Sunbury following the British departure in September 1779 are poorly documented. A "Monthly Return of the Troops in Georgia under the Commd of Major General Prevost March 1st 1780" reveals the troop composition in the months following the Siege of Savannah. A portion of this return is transcribed in Table 5.

Tarelton Brown, an American Ranger, penned his memoirs of the war years noting that he had formed a Ranger company, which was based in Cracker's Neck, South Carolina, and: "During our stay at Cracker's Neck, we took two trips to Sunbury, Midway Settlement, Georgia, under the command of General Pickens and Twiggs" (Jarrell 2002). Brown's recollection does not include specific dates for these events, but the sequence implies that these events followed the capture of Charleston by the British.

The British captured Charleston in May 1780, along with the commander of the Southern District, Major General Benjamin Lincoln. Once the British had captured Charleston, concern with military affairs at Sunbury among the high command was lessened. By mid-1780 the theatre of war had largely shifted from the Georgia coast to the Carolinas. Colonel Cruger and his men were assigned to garrison the British fort at Ninety Six in the South Carolina piedmont. Major victories by the British at Camden led to the replacement of Major General Lincoln's replacement, Major General Horatio Gates. Gates was replaced by Major General Nathanael Greene in October 1780, who established his headquarters in the Carolinas. Greene remained in the Carolinas throughout the duration of the war. During their tenure neither Gates nor Greene were greatly concerned with Sunbury, Georgia.

No historical documents were found to indicate that the British garrisoned Sunbury from 1780 to 1782. Correspondence between Lord Cornwallis, Lord Germain, Royal Governor Sir James Wright, and John Graham, indicate that no British regular troops were stationed at Sunbury in 1780. Governor Wright wrote to Lord Germain on July 19, 1780 advising him of Wright's suggestions to Lord Cornwallis for an adequate defense of Georgia, which included a garrison of 50 men for Sunbury (Wright 1873:310). Lord Cornwallis declined to send the troops telling Wright, "That the Propriety

Table 5. Monthly return of British Troops in Georgia, March 1, 1780.

Regiment Officers Present											
Commission											
	Col	LtCol	Maj	Capt	Lt	Cor/Cn	Staff Chap	Adj	QM	Surg	Mate
16 th											
71 st											
1st Bat			1	2	7	5		1	1	1	2
De Trumbach			2	3	4	3		1		1	5
De Wessenback	1		1	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	5
NY Vol		1		2	5	5		1	1	1	1
Skinnors											
3d Bat		1	1	4	7	5		1	1	1	1
Delancey's											
1 st Bat	1		1	3	3	5		1	1	1	
2 nd Bat	1		1	3	4	1			1	1	1
Kings Rang	1			4	3	3	1	1	1	1	
SC Royal 1	1		1	5	9	5	1	1	1	1	1
Royal NC Vol	1		1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	
Ga Loy			1	2	1	1		1	1	1	
British Legion	1		1	8	8	7		2	4	2	
Fergusons											
Detachments				4	5	1				1	
Light Infantry				3	7	1		1	1	1	
Total	1	9	12	46	68	48	4	13	15	15	17

[Cor/Cn—Corporals and Cornets; Mates—Surgeon Mates; note only 1 Col listed for SC Royalists; Light Infantry includes 16th Reg, 2 Bat 71st NY Vol NJ Company]

Regiment	Serg	Drum Fife
16 th	6	2
71 st		
1st Bat	27	10
De Trumbach	19	18
De Wessenback	10	21
NY Vol	13	5
Skinnors		
3d Bat	22	8
Delancey's		
1 st Bat	16	5
2 nd Bat	8	2
Kings R	6	4
SC Royal	25	1
Royal NC Vol	6	4
Ga Loy	6	4
British Legion	20	13
Fergusons		
Detachments	9	1
Light Infantry	12	3
Total	205	101

Prisoners w ye Rebels

Regiment	
16 th	
71 st	
1st Bat	2
De Trumbach	
De Wessenback	
NY Vol	1
Skinnors	
3d Bat	
Delancey's	
1 st Bat	
2 nd Bat	
Kings R	

(Table 5 continued)

SC Royal								
Royal NC Vol								
Ga Loy								
British Legion								
Fergusons								
Detachments								
Light Infantry								
Total		3						
Effective Rank and File	Present	SickQtrs	SickHos	onComd	Rev	Furl	Prisoner	Total
Regiment								
16 th	71	2	16	1		1	2	93
71 st								
1st Bat	307	117		14	14		48	500
De Trumbach	268	54					49	371
De Wessenback	349	49						398
NY Vol	166	15		16	4	1	43	272
Skinnners								
3d Bat	181	26	1	16	10		52	226
Delancey's								
1 st Bat	131	19		14	10		52	189
2 nd Bat	113	38						
Kings R	97	25		5	8		25	164
SC Royal	223	20		20	13		9	282
Royal NC Vol	98	8		8	12		19	151
Ga Loy	75	4		3	6		36	85
British Legion	357	20		5			1	465
Fergusons								
Detachments	157	4		12	8		28	161
Light Infantry	168	28		6	4		5	211
Total	2761	429	17	120	93	2	331	3793
Provincial Light Dragoons								
Captain	1							
Lieut	2							
Cornets	1							
QM	1							
Sergt	3							
Trumpeters	1							
Rank and file	45							
Rank&filesick	2							
Horses	44							
Royal Artillery	Lieut	NonCom officers	Privates					
Present	1	1	10					
On Command at Ebenezer			5					
Sick			3					
Prisoners w Rebels			1					
Additional from the 71 st Regt			11					
Total	1	1	30					
Total Hessians	1	1	16					
(Clinton 1750-1838 87:30).								

of a Post at Sunbury will of Course be Refer'd to Lieut. General Clarke to whom his Lordship has given the command of the Troops in Georgia & East Florida...." (Wright 1873:314-315). As of August 20, 1780 approximately 500 British soldiers defended Savannah, another 240 in Augusta, but none were in Sunbury (Wright 1873:314-315). Graham wrote to Wright on November 21, 1780 noting that, "...the small Garrisons at Savannah & Augusta" were, "the only Military Posts in the Province..." (Wright 1873:324). Wright wrote to Lord Germain on December 1, 1780 describing his efforts at strengthening the fortifications at Savannah. From October to December, Wright noted, more than 400 negroes had been working to construct five redoubts and batteries around the town. By December, 1780 Governor Wright had apparently given up hope of receiving any troops for a garrison at Sunbury and he focused his resources on Savannah where he resided. No documents were found to indicate that Lieutenant General Clarke dispatched any troops to Sunbury. Any troops that were at Sunbury were probably recalled to Savannah in January 1782 by British Lieutenant General Allured Clarke.

The Americans did not ignore the vulnerability of Sunbury, although it took them some time to muster sufficient strength to approach the place. Captain Patrick Carr and Georgia militia troops were able to make a successful raid on the town in early 1782 without invoking any significant British response. This raid was the last historical reference to military action in the American Revolution at Sunbury. Captain Patrick Carr's Raid on Sunbury took place in the Spring of 1782. Few details pertaining to this raid were located. Captain Patrick Carr was active in Georgia and South Carolina throughout the war. His command has been described as a Company of Burke County, Georgia militia, a Ranger Company, volunteer dragoons, and mounted militia (Jones 2001). By late 1781, Captain Carr was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson, Georgia Legion, although he also received direct orders from Major General Anthony Wayne. In one of these orders from General Wayne, Captain Carr was instructed to proceed to Sunbury, which was possibly the impetus and authorization for Carr's 1782 raid.

In early 1782, Major John Habersham was sent by General Anthony Wayne to intercept a party of Indians who were bound for Savannah. Habersham, who had served as Brigade-Major to Colonel Elbert in December 1778 in the conflict at Midway Church, was captured at least twice by the British at Savannah and Brier Creek (Jones 1891:71). Jones (1891:74) noted that Habersham was accompanied on his 1782 mission by Major Francis Moore, some South Carolina cavalry, and Captain Patrick Carr and his mounted mi-

litia. Major Habersham sought to negotiate with the Indians but, as Jones noted, "His plans were subsequently frustrated by reason of the indiscretion and disobedience of a lieutenant who, with a portion of the mounted militia, slew several of the Indians present, and then, making a rapid descent upon Sunbury, killed eleven loyalists, residents of the town" (Jones 1891:74). The event described by Jones is possibly synonymous with Carr's Raid.

Jones (2001) noted that the British maintained posts at the Ogeechee River and Sunbury in 1781 and 1782. The primary British force, however, was concentrated at the Ogeechee River. The identity of the British military units that garrisoned Sunbury during the latter part of the war was not determined from the present research. The raid on Sunbury by Georgia militia suggests that the British defenses in Sunbury at that time were minimal.

By late July 1782 the British had completely evacuated their troops from Georgia and Sunbury to East Florida. The American Revolution was officially ended by treaty with Great Britain in 1783 followed by an uneasy peace for nearly two decades. Apparently no defensive construction was undertaken at Sunbury during this period. The international border between the United States of America and Spain was further south at the St. Mary's River. There the Americans established Fort Point Peter. This post was one of two federal garrisons in Georgia during this period, the other being Savannah. The American Navy established a fleet of gunboats to patrol and defend the Georgia coast, which reduced the need to defend all of the coastal settlements.

The American Revolution had a devastating effect on the people and businesses at Sunbury, which was further aggravated from the devastating effects of strong hurricanes in 1804 and 1824. These factors contributed to the abandonment of the town (Forts Committee, Department of Archives and History 1968:40). By the 1820s Sunbury had declined in economic importance and the defense of the area became less significant. Coastal defensive strategies in the United States also had evolved by that era with a new generation of fortifications required (Lewis 1970). Apparently, the Fort Morris vicinity was not deemed a suitable or necessary spot for a major fortification at this time.

WAR OF 1812

Tensions between Great Britain and the United States of America mounted at the beginning of the 19th century, culminating in the War of 1812. Georgians prepared for the war and sent soldiers to fight against the Native American

Red Sticks in Alabama but few battles were fought on Georgia soil in this war. Of these few, the worst battles were fought on the St. Marys River, where Fort Point Peter and the town of St. Mary's were attacked and destroyed. These attacks occurred after the war was over and peace had been declared. Consequently, the British did not pursue their campaign against Georgia, and Sunbury never became a point of attack.

The residents of Sunbury were cognizant of the British threat during this period and they desired military protection. They appealed for aid from Major General Thomas Pinckney, who was in charge of the 6th Military District, which included Georgia. Pinckney made his command at Fort Hawkins. The need for a defensive build-up in Georgia was recognized by federal and state authorities. Federal agents were sent to inspect the defenses in Georgia and one of them, Thomas Gadsen, made a schematic plan of the fort. Gadsen observed that the fort was not that well designed but he noted that a substantial amount of energy had been invested in its construction. Consequently, he recommended to Major General Pinckney that its design be left "as is" and the post strengthened by additional artillery pieces. Before any substantial strengthening of the fort was accomplished, however, the war had ended.

The history of the War of 1812 in Georgia has not been fully explored. Although very few battles occurred in Georgia during this war, Georgians were significantly affected by it. The 1814 Fort at Sunbury, now named Fort Defiance/Fort Defense, was being built as the war drew to a close and its interior features were probably never finished. It is unknown if the fort was garrisoned for any period in the War of 1812, but if so, archaeological traces of this occupation are not manifested.

Georgia's role in the War of 1812 is poorly represented in scholarly literature and some surprises may await the diligent researcher (c.f., Mahon 1972 and Hickey 1989). At the beginning of the war state and federal funds were allotted for strengthening Georgia's coastal defenses. These funds were directed at Savannah and St. Marys. The primary threat

to Georgia in this war came a few weeks after the war was officially over, following the Treaty of Ghent. The combined British naval forces, who had suffered a major loss at New Orleans made a bitter retreat. After laying siege and capturing Fort Bowyer on the Mobile River they sailed eastward and attacked the St. Mary's River region, sacked and burned the city of St. Marys. In this invasion the British established a large Army camp on the lower end of Cumberland Island. The British apparently did not consider Sunbury a significant target at that time, as it was not attacked.

During the War of 1812 Fort Defiance was built on the former site of Fort Morris (Figure 5). The earthen remains of this fort are largely intact. Although Fort Defiance was probably garrisoned throughout the War of 1812, and for several years afterwards, no battles are recorded there throughout the period. Jones (1997:219) notes that Sunbury was defended by a company of about 40 men (composed of Sunbury residents), under command of John A. Cuthbert, and another company of boys from the Sunbury Academy, under command of Captain Charles Floyd.

CIVIL WAR

During the American Civil War Sunbury was a minor Confederate post, but no military engagements were recorded in the Sunbury vicinity. The Union Navy established a blockade along the coast early in the war. Sunbury was defended by the Confederate Savannah Mounted Rifles Company. Confederate records for September, 1861, noted that 57 soldiers (3 officers and 54 enlisted men) were stationed there. No artillery pieces were noted in this return (U.S. War Department et al. 1882:286). These troops were likely positioned in the vicinity of Fort Morris, since it represents the most strategic position militarily. General William Tecumseh Sherman's Georgia campaign brought a major influx of Union Army soldiers. In late 1864, these troops captured settlements along the Georgia coast, including Sunbury. Charles C. Jones, Jr., who commanded the Georgia artillery regiments late in the war, noted that several cannons from Fort Morris were taken to coastal forts (Jones

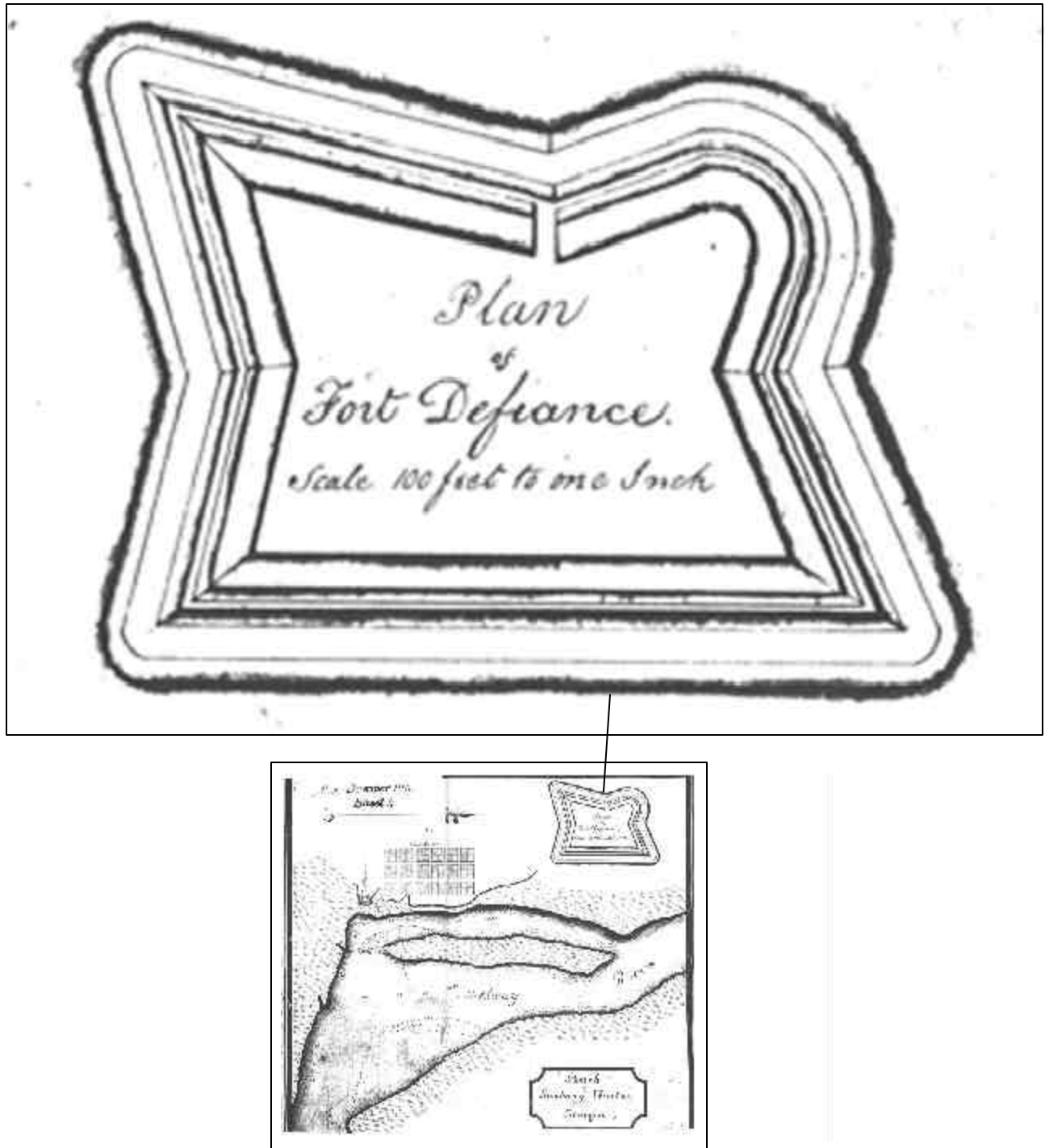


Figure 5. Enlargement of Plan of Fort Defiance(Gadsen 1815).

Chapter IV. Previous Research on Sunbury's Forts

Historical interest in the ruins of Sunbury and Fort Morris was stimulated by the publication of Jones' *The Dead Towns of Georgia* in 1878. At Jones' suggestion, Mr. Samuel L. Fleming made a plan map in 1876 of the fortification ruins, which was published and entitled "Plan of Fort Morris" in Jones' work (Jones 1997:180, Illustration 4). While Jones acknowledged that a later fort, "Fort Defence" had been constructed at the same location, he made no comments distinguishing the two forts in this plan drawing. Jones, who commanded Georgia's artillery for the Confederacy in 1864, apparently mistook the ruins of Fort Defiance for those of Fort Morris. His detailed description is very important, as it provides great insight into the condition of the fortification ruins in the last quarter of the 19th century. Jones' description of the fortifications at Sunbury in 1878 is reproduced below:

Located some three hundred and fifty yards due south of Sunbury, and occupying the bluff where it first confronts Midway River as, trending inward from the sound, it bends to the north, Fort Morris was intended to cover not only the direct water approach to the town, but also the back river by means of which that place might be passed and taken in reverse. Its position was well chosen for defensive purposes. To the south stretched a wide-spread and impracticable marsh permeated by Pole-haul and Dickerson creeks, two tributaries of Midway River, whose mouths were commanded by the guns of the fort. This marsh also extended in front of the work, constituting a narrow and yet substantial protection against landing parties, and gradually contracting as it approached the southern boundary of Sunbury. This fortification was an inclosed earthwork, substantially constructed. Its walls embraced a parade about an acre in extent. The eastern face, fronting the river, was two hundred and seventy five feet in length. Here the heaviest guns were mounted. The northern and southern faces were respectively one hundred and ninety-one and one hundred and

forty feet in length, while the curtain, looking to the west, was two hundred and forty-one feet long. Although quadrangular, the work was somewhat irregular in shape. From the southern face and the curtain no guns could be brought to bear upon the river. Those there mounted served only for defense against a land attack. The armament of the northern face could be opposed to ships, which succeeded in passing the fort, until they ascended the river so far as to get beyond range. It also commanded the town and the intervening space. The guns were mounted *en barbette*, without traverses. Seven *embrasures* may still be seen, each about five feet wide. The *parapet*, ten feet thick rises six feet above the parade of the fort, and its superior slope is about twenty-five feet above the level of the river at high tide. Surrounding the work is a *moat* at present ten feet deep, ten feet wide at the bottom, and twice that width at the top. Near the middle of the curtain may be seen traces of a *sally-port* or gateway, fifteen feet wide. Such is the appearance of this abandoned work as ascertained by recent survey. Completely overgrown by cedars, myrtles, and vines, its presence would not be suspected, even at a short remove, by those unacquainted with the locality. Two iron cannon are now lying half buried in the loose sand of the parade, and a third will be found in the old field about midway between the fort and the site of the town. During the recent war between the States, two 6-pounder guns were removed from this fort and carried to Riceboro. No use, however, was made of them. Two more, of similar calibre, of iron, and very heavily reinforced at the breech were taken by Captain C. A. Lamar, whose company was then stationed at Sunbury, and temporarily mounted on the bluff to serve as signal guns. Notwithstanding their age and the exposure to which they had so long been subjected, these pieces were in such excellent condition that they attracted the notice of the ord-

nance department, and were soon transported to Savannah. There they were cleaned, mounted upon siege carriages, and assigned to Fort Bartow, where they remained, constituting a part of the armament of that work, until the evacuation of Savannah and its dependent forts by the Confederate forces in December, 1864, they passed into the hands of the Federal army (Jones 2001:283-285, *italics added*).

Historian Charles Jenkins visited Sunbury in the spring of 1925 and observed:

but two houses standing on the site of the once thriving town. One of these dated back to the days of its prosperity; the other was a modern cabin occupied by coloured folks. Here and there through the fields, the ruins of brick foundations and of chimneys were to be seen, while the graveyard was a tangle of impenetrable brush and vines. The streets and squares have gone, the high bluff, where once stood the busy warehouses...are empty and bare except for two oyster wharves... (Jenkins 1974:34).

For nearly a century the ruins of Sunbury and Fort Morris lay abandoned and were subject to pilfering by local residents. Modern archaeological interest in Sunbury and Fort Morris dates to the 1950s when Lewis Larson made a surface collection at the town and recorded the area as an Indian village site. Ironically, Larson's surface collection, which was examined in the present study, consisted primarily of 18th and 19th century artifacts, yet his site form contained no mention of the historic resources at the town.

Renewed interest in Sunbury blossomed in the 1960s and 1970s, as historians rifled through historical documents for information concerning Sunbury and Fort Morris (Georgia Forts Committee n.d.; McIlvane 1971). In 1968 the State of Georgia acquired the property later to become Fort Morris State Historic Site. As part of the development of this historical park, the Georgia Historical Commission dispatched archaeologist Steven Baker to conduct a preliminary assessment of the interpretive archaeology potential of Fort Morris (Baker 1970). Although Baker visited the property, he did not conduct any archaeological excavations or record any surface collections. Many of the recommendations contained in Baker's assessment remain valid concerns in 2003. Paramount was his observation of the interlocking character of Fort Morris and the town of Sunbury. Baker urged the acquisition of portions of the original town site so that its

archaeological remains could be compared with the archaeology at Fort Morris.

Georgia Historical Commission Archaeologist Gordon Midgette directed a preliminary study of the Fort Morris site whereupon he submitted a draft report to the State (Midgette 1973). A more complete version of Midgette's research was later submitted for his Masters of Arts thesis at the University of Georgia, Department of Anthropology (Midgette 1976). Midgette's 1976 thesis contains a more comprehensive discussion of his 1971 excavations, as well as a thorough rebuttal of the assertions of his colleagues. Extant collections from the 1971 excavations are presently curated at the Fort Morris facility.

Midgette conducted excavations inside and outside of Fort Morris. His excavation units were designated 1 through 6. Midgette drafted a detailed topographic map of the Fort Defiance ruins, which he labeled, "Fort Morris" (Midgette 1973, Plate 29). Midgette's map roughly corresponds to Swift's 1815, "Plan of Fort Defiance" and Fleming's 1879 "Plan of Fort Morris" (Sheftall 1995:82, Illustration 5; Jones 1997:180, Illustration 4). Archaeological investigations were conducted on the fort in 1971, but the true identity of Fort Defiance was not realized until after this work was complete (Baker 1970; Agnew 1974a-c, 1975a-b; Midgette 1971a-c, 1973, 1976; Sheftall 1995).

Historian Tom Agnew produced a follow-up report on the historical resources at the Fort Morris State Historic Site for the Department of Natural Resources, which was critical of Midgette's interpretation of Fort Morris. In it Agnew presented a photocopy of a ca. 1815 plan of Fort Defiance, that had been discovered at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C. Agnew was critical of Midgette's historical research and Agnew postulated that Fort Morris was not necessarily within the boundaries of the Fort Morris State Historic Site. Agnew's position caused quite a stir, since if confirmed, this meant that the State of Georgia had not actually purchased Fort Morris but had only gotten a War of 1812 fort of lesser acclaim. In his Masters thesis Midgette included Agnew's report as an appendix to his thesis. Midgette's thesis contains a lengthy rebuttal to Agnew (Agnew 1974a, reproduced in Midgette 1976).

The Georgia Department of Natural Resources commissioned a historical study of Sunbury and environs in the 1970s, which was written by historian John Sheftall (1995). Sheftall postulated the differences in the size and configuration of the two forts and he presented his historical conjectural hypothesis and relative relationship of the two forts

(Sheftall 1995:106-107, Illustrations 9 and 10). Sheftall used letters, deeds, plats and maps to weave a convincing argument for his proposed relocation. A particularly key document in Sheftall's study was a 1786 plat made for Josiah Powell, which identified an, "angle of fort's *bulwark*". In his conjectural reconstruction Sheftall interpreted this angle of fort's bulwark to be the southwestern corner bastion of Fort Morris. Sheftall's conjectural model places Fort Defiance only partly within the boundaries of Fort Morris with the eastern wall and approximately 1/3 of the parade of Fort Defiance completely east of the earlier fort. Sheftall's methods for calculating the dimensions of his conjectured Fort Morris are not explicitly described in his monograph. He speculated that Fort Morris was a square construction with four projecting corner bastions. His evidence for the approximate location of the northwestern bastion is based on a description by Lachlan McIntosh. Sheftall places the northwestern bastion, "just south of Lot 93 [in Sunbury]" (Sheftall 1995:104). The location for Sheftall's hypothesized fort, however, had not been tested archaeologically prior to the present study.

Subsequent archaeological research on the Fort Morris State property was conducted by the Historic Preservation Division, first by John R. Morgan in 1974 and 1975, and most recently by the Archaeological Services Unit's Ronnie Rogers and State Archaeologist David C. Crass. Their studies did not locate any 18th or 19th century artifacts nor any other potentially significant cultural resources. Rogers (2002) examined an area for a proposed outdoor interpretive area, which was located east of the Visitors Center. The interpretive museum at Fort Morris has had an active interpretive program since the late 1970s, which most recently has included this area near the Visitors' Center (Townsend 1974; Morgan 1975; Winchester 1990).

Two site numbers have been assigned to Fort Morris (9Li168 formerly 9Li42, recorded by Chester DePratter, and 9Li340). The town of Sunbury is recorded as 9Li4 (Georgia Archaeological Site File (GASF) 2001; U.S.G.S. 1958). Fort Morris was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1970. After consultation with GASF Manager Mark Williams, it was decided to use the designation 9Li168 for the present study.

Chapter V. Results of the 2002 Fieldwork

MAPPING

The first task of fieldwork that was accomplished at Fort Morris was detailed topographic mapping of the site. A two person archaeological crew used a Topcon total station and data recorder. A total of 2,135 topographic points was surveyed. The results were entered into a computer with the aid of SurveyLink, Surfer, and Design CAD software. These data were used to create a series of topographic maps. Figure 6 shows two topographic views of Site 9Li168.

GROUND PENETRATING RADAR SURVEY

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey was conducted as part of a broader study of the cultural resources at the Fort Morris State Historic Site. This pilot study was the first application of GPR technology at Fort Morris. The results of this work were successful and indicate that this technique has useful application for archaeological sites in this environment. The ground penetrating radar survey was conducted from September 21 to 24, 2002 with post-processing conducted immediately following the field survey. The survey examined seven sample areas of the Fort Morris site, covering an area of approximately 985 m² (Table 6). A simplified composite map of these radar anomaly concentrations, which is based on a series of radar cross-sections from each sample block at 16 nanoseconds (the length of time listening for return of radar signal) below surface, is shown in Figure 7. Thirty-four large GPR anomalies were identified in the seven sample blocks. The approximate centerpoint and dimensions for each of these is included in Table 7. The greatest coverage (785 m²) was within the parade ground of Fort Defiance and these samples were designated Blocks A through F. GPR Blocks A through F formed an irregular, contiguous polygon with a maximum extent of 60 m North-South and 35 m East-West. Approximately one-third of the Fort Defiance parade was examined by GPR survey. The Fort Defiance parade was the area that had received the most excavation in 1971, as well as in the present study. This area has yielded the greatest concentration of Revolutionary War

period artifacts at 9Li168. The remaining 200 m² were surveyed as a single block west of Fort Defiance, which was designated Block G. Block G was apparently peripheral to most of the activity in the fort.

The GPR radargram profiles revealed hundreds of small sub-surface anomalies across the site. Excavations indicated that the upper stratum of the Fort Morris site (50 cm and shallower) contains abundant artifacts, as revealed from the various excavations. Many cultural features also are present in this zone, so much so, that the GPR mapping of these shallower depths yielded too many reflected signals. Tree root activity in the upper soil zones has been extensive, which is another factor that affects the GPR display. The density of large artifacts, artifact clusters, and features in the 0-50 cm soil zone, was not well suited for the isolation of individual features using GPR. Some parts of the site, however, contain deeply buried artifact deposits, as indicated in Excavation Blocks A, C, and D, and it is for identified potential features within these deeper deposits that the GPR may be best suited. GPR data from the Fort Defiance parade ground contained more pronounced anomalies than did the Block G sample from outside of the fort.

The three days that were spent conducting GPR fieldwork at the Fort Morris site allowed only a small fraction of the entire site to be examined. Three GPR sample blocks were “ground-truthed” by large block excavations (Excavation Block A in GPR Block A; Excavation Block B in GPR Block C, and; Excavation Block C in GPR Block D) and another (Block G) was examined by two backhoe trenches (Trenches 2 and 3). The findings from each sample block are discussed below.

GPR Block A

GPR Block A examined the northeastern section of the Fort Defiance parade ground. It extended from 3858 to 3880 North and from 3490 to 3500 East. This block measured 22 m North-South and 10 m East-West. An aerial view of Block

Table 6. Summary of Areas Sampled by GPR Surveys.

Block	Interval (cm)	Area	North	East
A	40	Parade	3858-3880	3490-3500
B	40	Parade	3874-3885	3500-3505
C	40	Parade	3860-3868	3470-3490
D	40	Parade	3850-3860	3470-3487
E	40	Parade	3840-3850	3480-3490
F	40	Parade	3830-3840	3482-3490
G	40	West of Parapet	3867-3887	3404-3414

Table 7. Major GPR Anomalies.

GPR Anomaly Number	GPR Sample Block	Anomaly		Dimensions		Confirmed Block Excavation
		North	East	North	East	
1	A	3865	3490.5	3	1	Unexcavated
2	A	3867	3498.5	1	0.5	Unexcavated
3	A	3867	3497.75	1	0.5	Unexcavated
4	A	3867	3494.5	5	1.5	Unexcavated
5	A	3868	3490.25	2	0.5	Unexcavated
6	A	3870	3493	3	1	Unexcavated
7	A	3873.5	3495	4	1	Unexcavated
8	A	3877	3495	2	10	Yes, Structure 1
9	B	3877.5	3502.5	6	3	Unexcavated
10	C	3860.75	3479.5	1.5	0.75	Yes, Structure 2
11	C	3861.75	3477	1.75	0.75	Unexcavated
12	C	3862	3472	2	0.75	Unexcavated
13	C	3862	3471.5	3	1.5	Unexcavated
14	C	3863.25	3486	6.5	2.5	Unexcavated
15	C	3865	3477.5	4	4	Unexcavated
16	C	3865.5	3488.5	6	3	Unexcavated
17	C	3866.25	3482	3	3	Unexcavated
18	D	3850.5	3478.25	1	1	Unexcavated
19	D	3850.75	3470	0.5	1	Unexcavated
20	D	3851.5	3472.5	3	5.25	Unexcavated
21	D	3853	3483	5	7	Unexcavated
22	D	3853.5	3470.25	2	1	Unexcavated
23	D	3855.5	3477	3	0.5	Yes, 2 posts & 1 pit
24	D	3856	3479	6.5	1.5	Unexcavated
25	D	3857.5	3471.5	5	3.5	Unexcavated
26	D	3858	3482.25	2	1.5	Unexcavated
27	D	3859	3486	2.5	2	Unexcavated
28	E	3844.5	3480.75	2	1.5	Unexcavated
29	E	3847.5	3483	4	3	Unexcavated
30	F	3833	3483	6	2	Unexcavated
31	G	3871	3411.5	3	1.5	Unexcavated
32	G	3872	3407.75	4	1	No, Backhoe Trench 2
33	G	3874	3404.75	5	1.5	No, Backhoe Trench 3
34	G	3877	3408	2.5	1	Yes, Feature 51

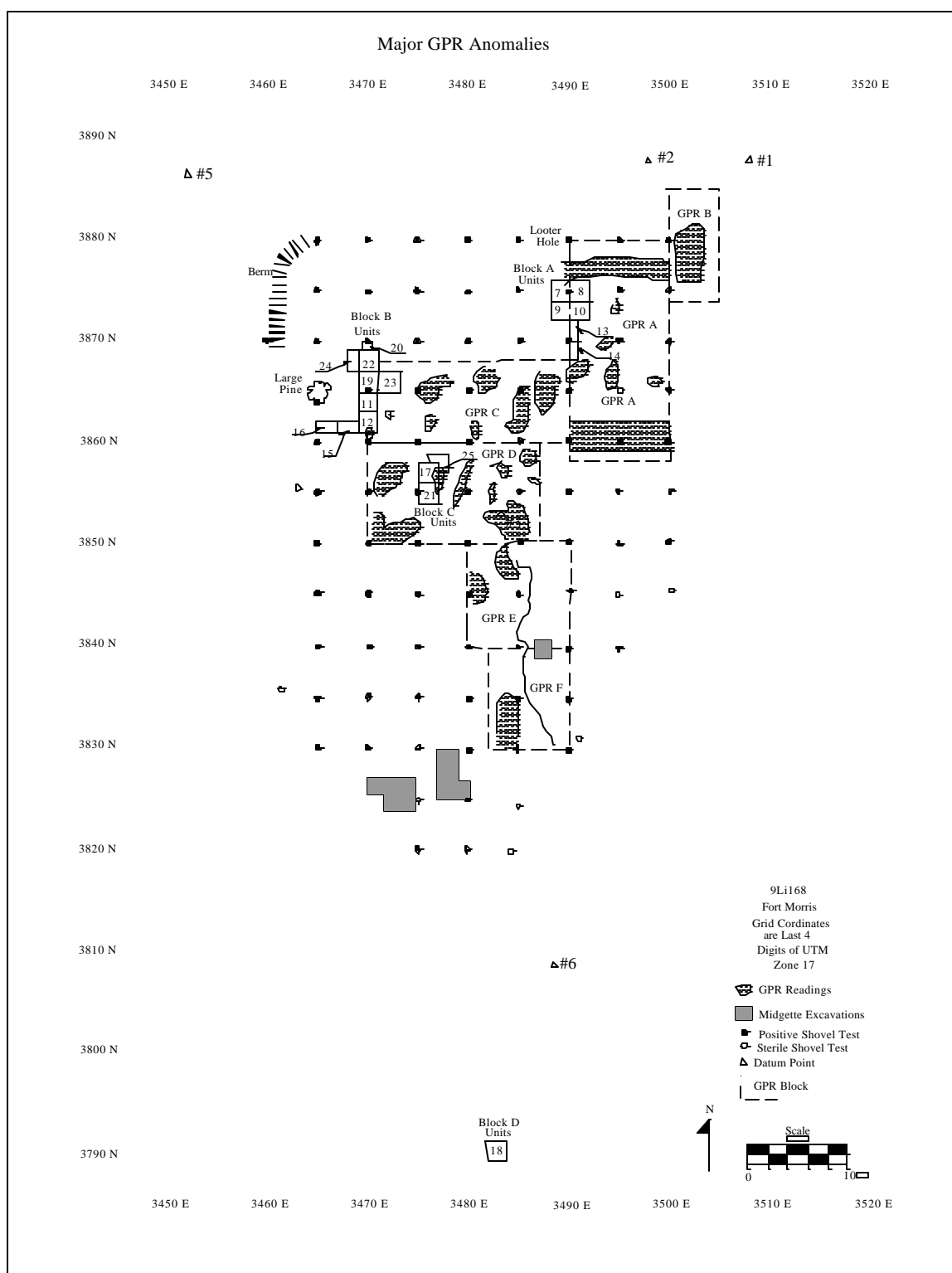


Figure 7. Major GPR Anomalies, 9Li168.

A is presented in Figure 8. This perspective shows a cross-section of the radar data at a time depth of 16 nanoseconds (ns), or approximately 1.3 meters below ground surface.

This GPR sample block exhibited a strong linear East-West trending anomaly, approximately 2 meters wide (North-South) that spanned the entire 10 meters of the sample block. This linear anomaly was centered approximately at 3876 to 3877 North. Another East-West band of anomalies, which was less pronounced than the previously mentioned band, was present at the southern margin of the GPR block at approximately 3862 North. Other scattered anomalies, which were irregularly shaped and smaller in size, were located in the central portion of GPR Block A. Seven of these were classified as major anomalies.

Excavation Block A sampled the northwestern portion of GPR Block A. GPR Block A intercepted a major GPR anomaly that probably corresponds to the deep midden deposit that was discovered in Excavation Block A. Upon ex-

cavation, this area proved to contain a thick, concentrated deposit of Revolutionary War-era debris that was identified as Structure 1. This debris concentration continued unabated to the east, west and north of the excavation, which may indicate that it continues eastward as suggested by the GPR anomaly in Block A, and possibly in Block B. The original function of this part of Fort Morris or Fort George was not conclusively determined in the present study. The GPR data suggest that it is a very large feature that extends at least 10 m to the east. Since no GPR information was gathered to the west of Excavation Block A, the western extent of this anomaly is presently unknown.

GPR Block B

GPR Block B was positioned east and northeast of Excavation Block A on the slope and terreplein on the northeastern bastion of Fort Defiance. It extended from 3874 to 3885 North and from 3500 to 3505 East. Block B measured 11 m North-South by 5 m East-West. A cross-section of the radar data at

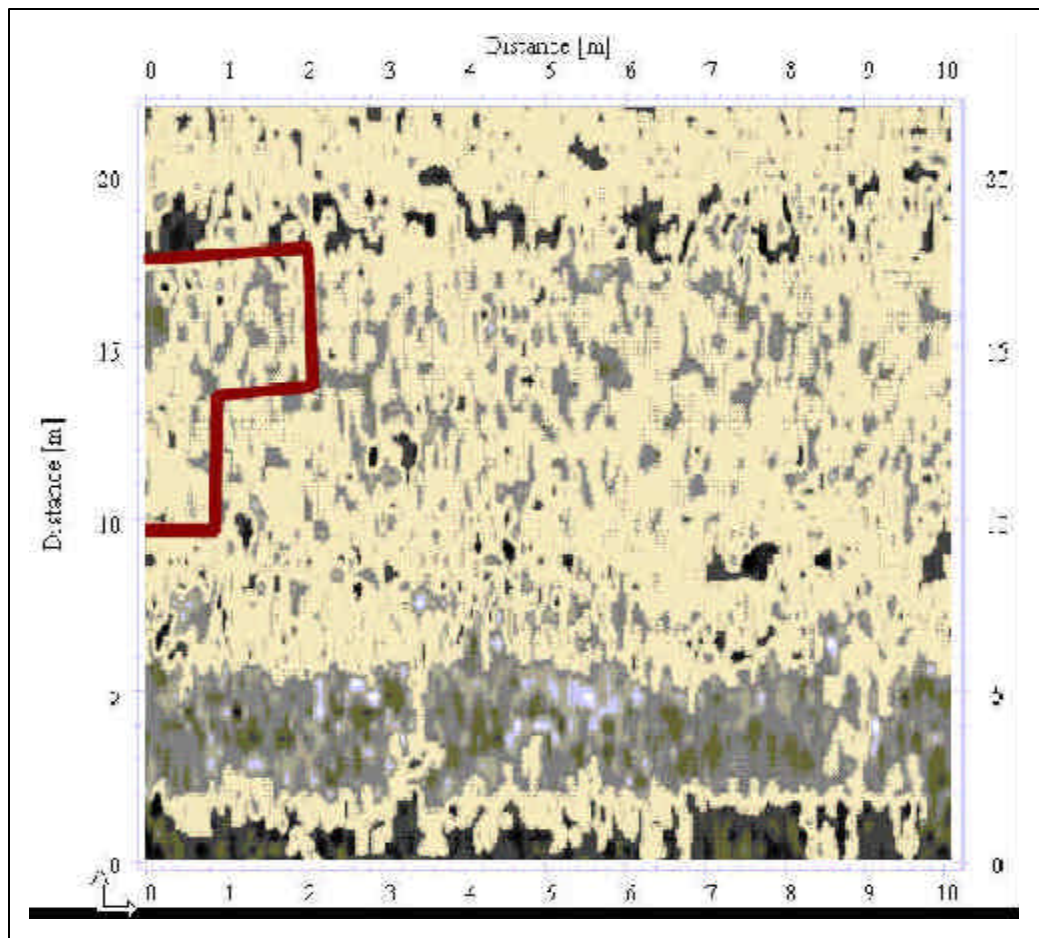


Figure 8. Aerial View of GPR Block A at 16 ns Below Surface.

a time depth of 16 ns revealed several large anomalies in the center of this sample block. These may represent a major structural feature associated with the northeast bastion of Fort Defiance, or they may be part of earlier forts George or Morris. It covers an area approximately 6 m North-South by 3 m East-West and is centered at 3877.5 North, 3502.5 East. This anomaly may be contiguous with the previously described East-West anomaly in Block B.

GPR Block B was not sampled by any archaeological excavation units. One shovel test (3880 North 3500 East) on the western edge of GPR Block B was extended to a maximum depth of 98 cm below ground surface. The soil profile in that test consisted of 0-15 cm, grey sand above 15-98 cm of reddish brown fine sand with minor amounts of oyster shell. Another shovel test (3875 North 3500 East) five meters south of this shovel test was excavated to 76 cm below ground surface. It revealed a similar soil profile and a few historic artifacts.

GPR Block C

GPR Block C was positioned southwest of Excavation Block A. It extended from 3860 to 3868 North and from 3470 to 3490 East. Block C measured 8 m North-South by 20 m East-West. A cross-section of the radar data at a time depth of 16 ns revealed radar anomalies over many areas in Block C, although they were most concentrated in the eastern two-thirds of the block. GPR Block C was sampled on its western edge by 11 m² of Excavation Block B. The excavation block sampled that part of the GPR block that exhibited the fewest anomalies. Although excavation Block B contained high concentrations of building debris and other Revolutionary War-era artifacts, these were located in the upper soil stratum, which was above the zone reflected in this GPR map. One GPR anomaly was identified on the southern end of the excavated area. This anomaly may be associated with Structure 2, although most of the debris from Structure 2 was in the upper soil levels above the horizontal GPR slice. GPR data for the upper levels, where most of the Structure 2 debris was located, included many strong signals that obscured the recognition of any cultural structure. This background noise may result from several sources including dense artifact scatters, tree roots, rodent burrows, or modern disturbances.

GPR Block D

GPR Block D sampled the area surrounding Excavation Block C. It extended from 3850 to 3860 North and from

3470 to 3487 East. Block D measured 10 m North-South by 17 m East-West. A cross-section of the radar data at a time depth of 16 ns revealed radar anomalies scattered throughout Block D. Pronounced concentrations were observed in the southeast and southwestern quadrants. Several smaller or less prominent anomalies occupied other parts of the sample block. GPR Block D was sampled near its center by Excavation Block C (which covered 11 m² of the GPR block). One major GPR anomaly was identified along the southeastern edge of Excavation Block C. Upon excavation, this area revealed a buried Revolutionary War artifact zone in Levels 4 to 6, three trash pits, and two historic posts.

GPR Block E

GPR Block E was located south and southeast of GPR Block C. It extended from 3840 to 3850 North and from 3480 to 3490 East and measured 10 m North-South by 10 m East-West. A cross-section of the radar data at a time depth of 16 ns indicated that radar anomalies were not as strongly pronounced in Block E as in the other blocks. Two large anomalies were noted in the northwestern quadrant of the block. No test excavations, other than nine shovel tests, were excavated within GPR Block E.

GPR Block F

GPR Block F was located south of GPR Block E. It extended from 3830 to 3840 North and from 3482 to 3490 East. Block F measured 10 m North-South by 8 m East-West. A cross-section of the radar data at a time depth of 16 ns revealed that minor radar anomalies were more pronounced in the western part of Block F and were most prominent in the southwestern quadrant. One major anomaly was identified in Block F. No test excavations, other than six shovel tests, were excavated within GPR Block F.

GPR Block G

GPR Block G was placed west of Fort Defiance. It extended from 3867 to 3887 North and from 3404 to 3414 East and it measured 20 m North-South by 10 m East-West. A cross-section of the radar data at a time depth of 16 ns revealed a few small, scattered anomalies but no major ones. These small anomalies may represent small pit features. Block G was sampled by two backhoe trenches (Trenches 2 and 3) and by several shovel tests. Feature 51 was located at the common intersection of these two trenches and it roughly corresponds to the location of one of the small GPR anomalies. Feature 51 was the base of a large Indian pit. Weather conditions were less than ideal when the survey of Block G was con-

ducted. It was surveyed in between extended bouts of heavy rain and consequently, the soils were very wet sand at the time of the study. Conversely, the weather conditions during the survey of Blocks A through F were fair and the soils were dry sand. Consequently, the GPR map at 16 ns may be showing the GPR horizontal slice at approximately 55 cm below ground surface, rather than 1.3 m, which was the situation for GPR Blocks A through F.

SHOVEL TESTING

Shovel tests were placed in four areas of Site 9Li168. Most (n=93 shovel tests) were contained within the Fort Defiance parade ground where they form a continuous grid at 5 meter intervals. Only two of the shovel tests within the parade did not contain artifacts or oyster shells. A total of 47 shovel tests was excavated on that portion of 9Li168 located outside of Fort Defiance. Twenty-six shovel tests were excavated south of the Fort Defiance moat within an area from 3766 to 3805 North and 3433 to 3499 East (Figure 9). These shovel tests were generally spaced at about 5 meter intervals within a core area, with some variation on the periphery. These shovel tests were generally excavated to a depth of at least 45 cm. The shovel test coverage in this portion of the site should not be considered comprehensive. Most of these tests were devoid of historic period artifacts. Indian artifacts were common in this vicinity. Two shovel tests indicated a deeply buried historic component was present. On this basis, Test Unit 18 (Block D) was chosen for excavation in hopes of intersecting this buried deposit. The western and northern fringes of 9Li168 were sporadically sampled by shovel tests. Eighteen shovel tests were excavated west and three shovel tests were excavated north of Fort Defiance. Most of these shovel tests were devoid of artifacts and none suggested any evidence of buried historic components.

A total of 37 shovel tests was scattered over the balance of the Fort Morris State Historic Site property (Figure 10). These constitute a reconnaissance level survey of the property. Only four of these shovel tests yielded any cultural remains and these are considered isolated finds. The shovel tests were recorded by their UTM location with the aid of a GPS receiver. Shovel Test 1 (E473185 N3513635) contained Indian pottery in the upper 35 cm soil zone. Shovel Test 2 (E473161 N3513548) yielded three oyster shells, which were not collected, from the upper 45 cm soil zone. Shovel Test 8 (E472720 N3513725) yielded six pieces of oyster shell, which were not collected, in the upper 45 cm soil zone. Shovel Test 26 (E473004 N3513940) yielded two pieces of chert debitage in the upper 50 cm soil zone.

A metal detector was employed for a reconnaissance of this area, particularly the wooded area immediately west of the Fort Morris Museum parking lot, which is a low lying area that may have some connection with the Revolutionary War ditchwork surrounding Sunbury. A nonferrous metal signal a short distance west of the museum parking lot proved to be a brass sword scabbard fragment. An area of iron concentration, which was not investigated further, was recorded southeast of the Fort Morris maintenance compound.

BACKHOE TRENCHES

Eight backhoe trenches were excavated at 9Li168 as part of the present study. The purpose of the trenches was to intersect fortification ditches, features, and rapidly sample peripheral areas of the fort. The trench walls and floors were carefully examined for features and artifacts. Most features were examined further by screened samples. A backhoe with a smooth blade bucket, operated by Ricky Ellis, was used for this task. The location of each trench is shown in Figure 11.

Trench 1 began in the apex of the southwest corner of the Fort Defiance ditch and extended 40 meters to the west. This trench contained the best evidence of military ditchwork of the eight trenches that were excavated. The eastern end of Trench 1 revealed a deep excavation that continued to the west, changing soil characteristics before terminating on the west. Artifacts recovered from the base of Trench 1 indicated that this excavation probably dated to the American Revolution. One particularly telling artifact was a large piece of shrapnel from a (approximately 9 inches in diameter) mortar shell. This shell was probably one of those fired by the British from a 9 inch mortar in the January 9, 1779 engagement. This piece of shrapnel was recovered from the base of the ditch in Feature 60. Other early artifacts recovered from Trench 1 included lead balls, nails, and unidentified iron fragments. Interestingly, no ceramic or glass sherds were observed, despite careful inspection and trowelling of the backhoe trench wall and a close inspection of the trench spoil pile.

Multiple interpretations of the ditchwork exposed in Trench 1 may be offered. The preferred explanation is that the eastern portion of the ditch represents the fort ditch from Fort Morris, while the western end of the ditch represents a separate ditch that continued southward and then curved eastward to guard the southern flank of the fort. The visible trace of this ditch is apparent on the modern landscape. This ancillary ditch may have been a rifle trench for soldiers guarding against a southern infantry attack on the fort. Support

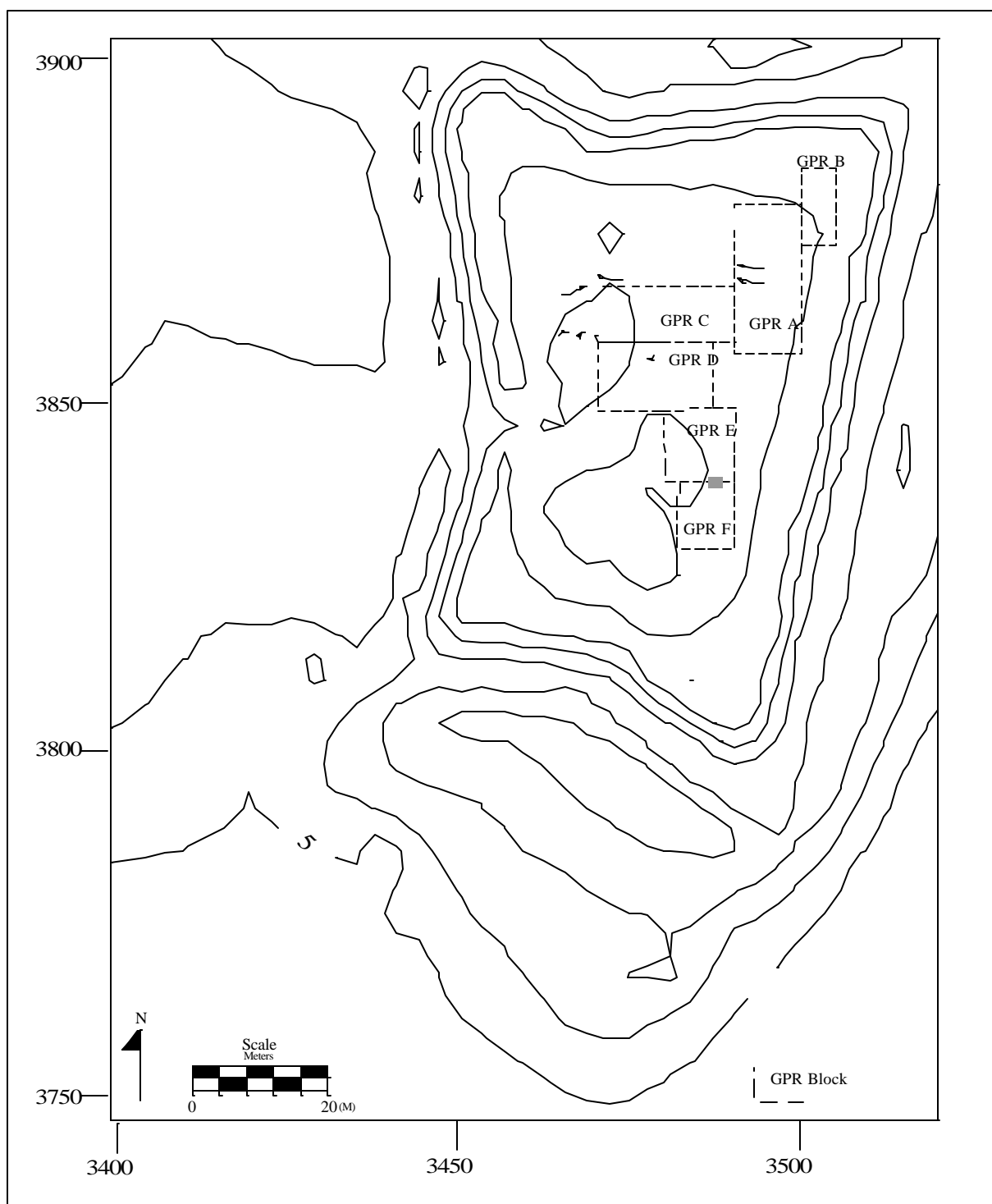


Figure 9. Site 9Li 168, Main Excavation Plan.

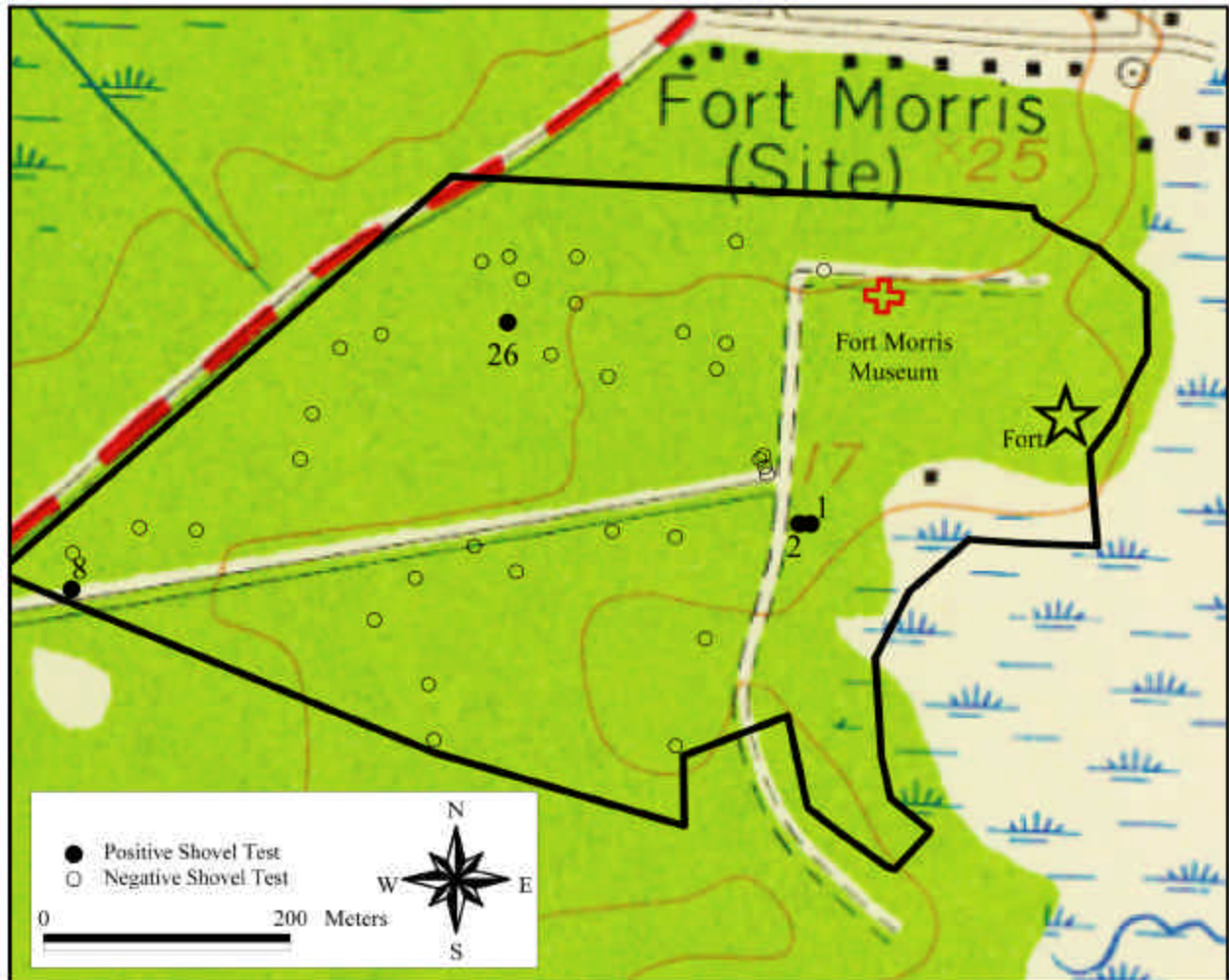


Figure 10. Shovel Tests West of Site 9Li168.

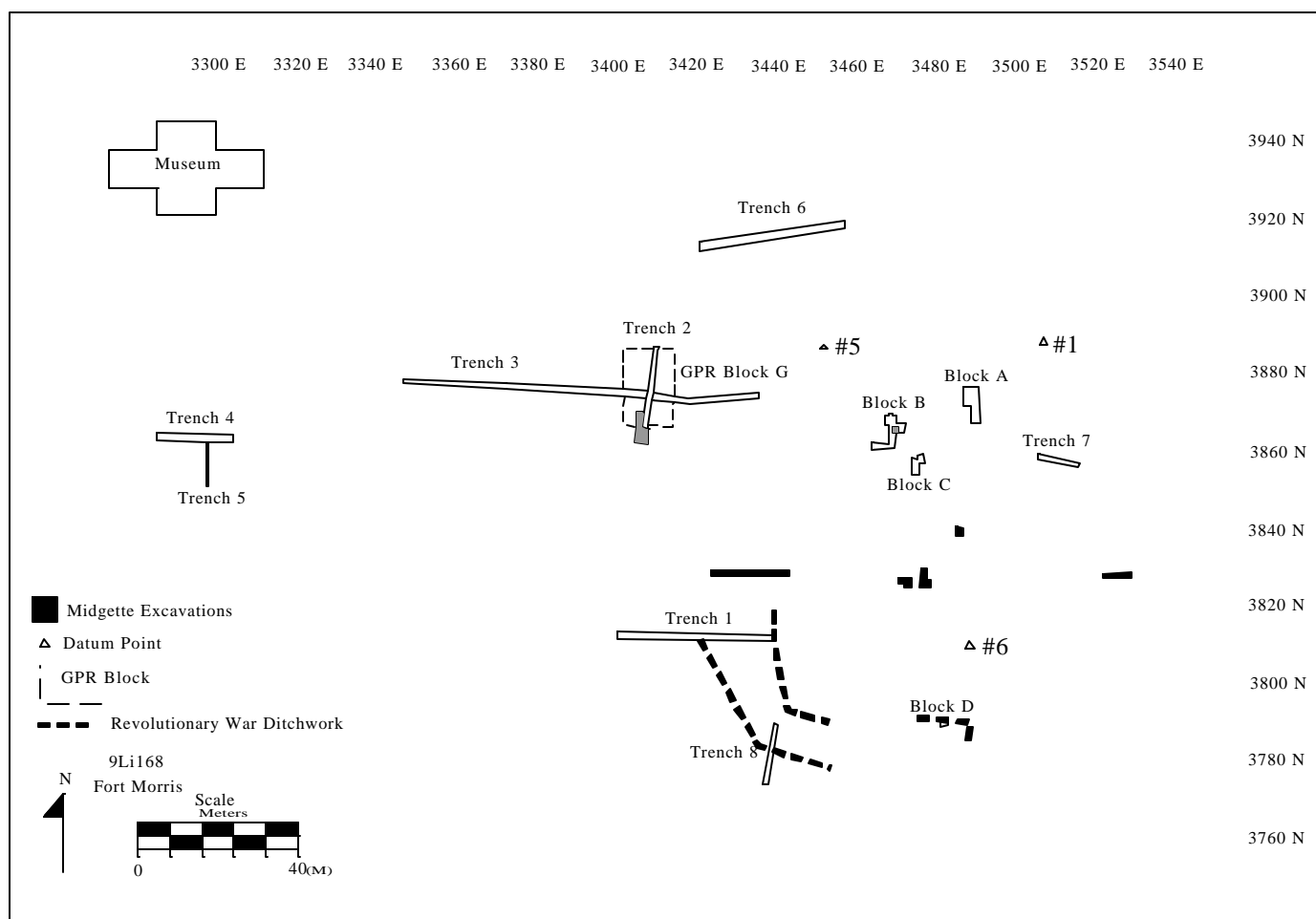


Figure 11. Plan of Excavation Units, Backhoe Trenches, Midgette's Units, and GPR Block G.

Table 8. Test Unit and Backhoe Trench Locations.

Test Unit	Block	Sq. m	North	North	East	East
7	A	4	3874	3876	3488	3490
8	A	4	3874	3876	3490	3492
9	A	4	3872	3874	3488	3490
10	A	4	3872	3874	3490	3492
11	B	4	3863	3865	3469	3471
12	B	4	3861	3863	3469	3471
13	A	2	3870	3872	3490	3491
14	A	2	3868	3870	3490	3491
15	B	2	3861	3862	3467	3469
16	B	2	3861	3862	3465	3467
17	C	4	3856	3858	3475	3477
18	D	4	3789.2	3991.2	3482.2	3484.2
19	B	4	3865	3867	3469	3471
20	B	1	3869	3870	3469.5	3470.5
21	C	4	3854	3856	3475	3477
22	B	4	3867	3869	3469	3471
23	B	4	3865	3867	3471	3473
24	B	2	3867	3869	3468	3469
25	C	3	3857	3859	3476	3478
Total	0	62				
Trench						
1		20	3811.3	3813.8	3409.4	3441.2
2		22	3867.7	3887.2	3408.9	3411.3
3		79	3873.4	3875.6	3415.5	3436.8
4		20	3862.6	3864.1	3296	3316.1
5		12	3851.6	3863	3308.4	3309.9
6		37	3912.8	3917.9	3421.5	3457.2
7		10	3856.5	3859.7	3507.6	3517.2
8		16	3774.4	3790.3	3438.8	3441.1
Total		216				

for this interpretation is tenuously found on Campbell's map, which shows a single curved line following approximately the same route. Alternatively, this ditch may have been excavated for drainage. This second explanation seems unlikely, however, given the importance placed on the careful layout and planning of fortifications and ditchwork in the 18th century.

Trench 1 contained two cultural features, Features 50 and 60, as well as three other features, Features 61, 103, and 104 that were determined upon excavation to be natural tree root disturbances. The southern profile of Backhoe Trench 1 is illustrated in Figure 12. Feature 50 was a large, deep trench that extended entirely across Backhoe Trench 1 on its North-South axis. It was adjacent to Feature 60, which was another large trench, and the boundary between the two military ditches was somewhat arbitrarily defined. This boundary was evidenced by a gradual transition in the color of the fill. Feature 60 also spanned Backhoe Trench 1 on its North-South axis. On its eastern end Feature 50 merged with the southwestern corner ditch of Fort Defiance. Feature 50 contained very few artifacts and those that were found were restricted to brick fragments and severely corroded iron artifacts at

the bottom of the trench. Examination of the spoil heap from Backhoe Trench 1 in the vicinity of Feature 50, with the aid of a metal detector, revealed a few additional metal items, including a large lead shot.

Feature 60 was part of a North-South trench that corresponded to a modern access trail that curved to the southeast and east, flanking the *glacis* of Fort Defiance. The fill of Feature 60 was darker than Feature 50. The artifact distribution in Feature 60 was similar, consisting of a light scatter of brick and metal artifacts at the base of the trench. Artifacts from Feature 60 included nails, flat iron scrap, and the previously mentioned mortar shell shrapnel.

Trench 1 also contained other soil anomalies that, upon excavation, were determined to be natural tree root disturbances. Features 61 and 104 were two examples. Feature 61 was located 22 m from the east end of Trench 1 and was approximately 1 m wide. Feature 61 was oriented with a Northeast-Southwest long axis. Feature fill consisted of grayish brown (10YR5/2) sand mottled with pale brown (10YR6/3) sand. It contained no artifacts. Feature 104 was located 20 m from the east end of Trench 1 and was similar in size and orientation to Feature 61. Its fill consisted of soils similar to Feature 61 flanked on the east by a zone of swirled white (2.5Y8/1) and pale brown (10YR6/3) sand. Three fiber tempered sherds were recovered from Feature 104. These two features were first thought to represent a minor palisade line but this interpretation was discounted after they were excavated and determined to be tree roots.

Trench 2 was oriented slightly east of Magnetic North, approximately 35 m west of the Fort Defiance ditch. It extended approximately 22 m. The primary purpose for excavating this trench was to intersect any North-South trending ditchwork possibly associated with Fort Morris. Conjectural locations of this fort were presented by Sheftall in 1977, as shown in Sheftall (1977: 107, Illustration 10). No 18th or 19th century artifacts, nor any historic features, were identified in Trench 2.

Feature 51 was an oval Indian pit centered at 3875.5 North 3409 East, at the intersection of Trenches 2 and 3. Feature 51 measured 160 cm East-West by 177 cm North-South and was 22 cm in depth. The feature fill was dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sand mottled with very pale brown (10YR8/2) sand above dark brown (10YR3/3) sand (Figure 13). Upon excavation this feature was determined to be the base of a large pit, probably from the Woodland period, which suggests that most of the feature had been truncated. Its shallow depth may be indicative of extensive removal of upper soil layers in the 18th or early 19th century for purposes of

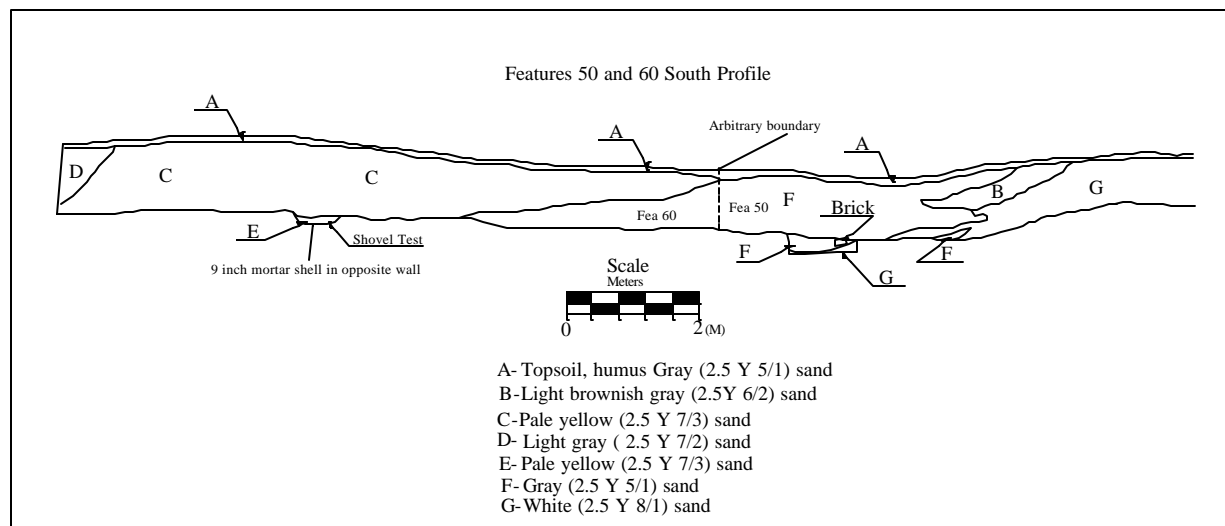


Figure 12. Features 50 and 60, Trench 1, South Profile.

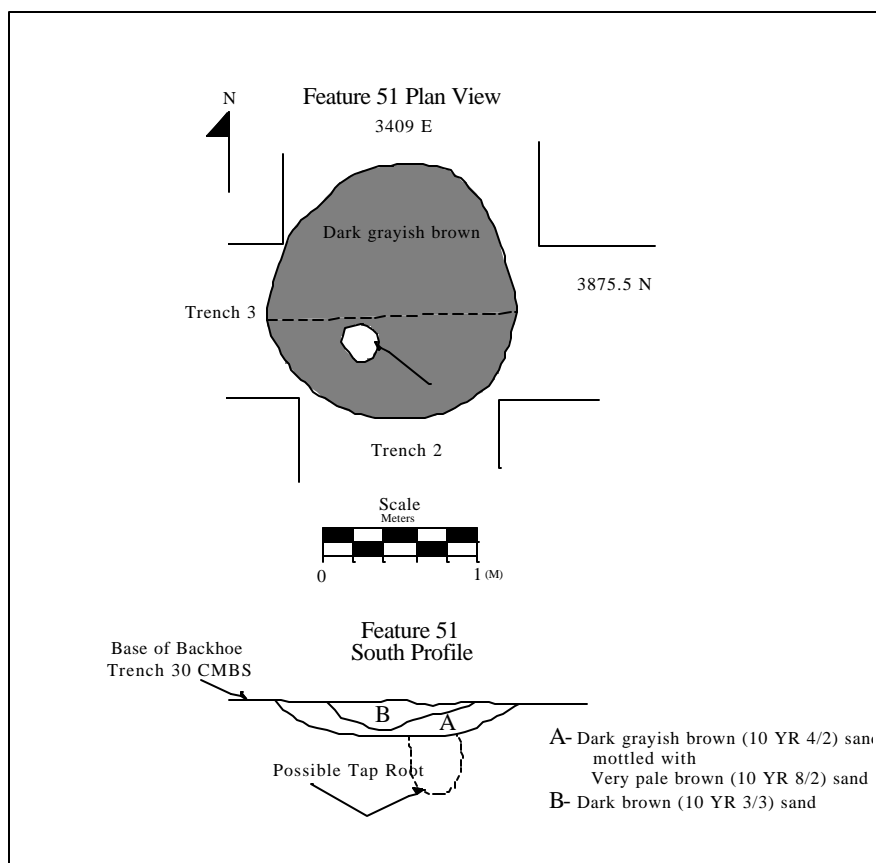


Figure 13. Feature 51 Plan and Profile, Backhoe Trench 2.

fort construction. Alternatively, it also may be the result of 20th century land modification. The base of the pit was disturbed by tree roots to a depth of 65 cm below surface. Artifacts recovered from Feature 51 included: 1 undecorated grog tempered pottery sherd, 3 undecorated grit tempered Indian pottery sherds, 4 residual Indian pottery sherds, daub, and oyster shell.

Trench 3 ran slightly north of east and perpendicular to Trench 2. It extended approximately 79 meters. This trench contained Feature 51, which was previously described in the Trench 2 discussion. The only 18th century artifacts in Trench 3 were military in character and were located at the eastern end of the trench. These included an iron grapeshot and a large lead ball. No military features were identified in Trench 3.

Features 52 and 53 were located in Backhoe Trench 3. Both were modern trenches that ran perpendicular to the backhoe trench. Feature 52 was centered at 3877.4 North 3374.6 East and it measured 3.5 m East-West by 1 m North-South. Feature 53 was centered at 3876.9 North 3380 East and it measured 2 m East-West by 1 m North-South. The fill of both features was similar and consisted of variegated light olive brown (2.5Y5/4), very dark greyish brown (2.5Y3/2) and pale yellow (2.5Y7/3) sands. Feature 52 contained only modern road gravel and no artifacts were recovered from Feature 53.

Features 65, 66, and 67 were located in Trench 3. Feature 65 was a rounded, shallow stain measuring 70 cm in diameter and extending 8 cm below the floor of the trench. The feature fill was dark olive brown (2.5Y3/3) sand. It contained no artifacts. Feature 66 was a small pit that contained seven nails. The feature fill was olive brown (2.5Y4/4) sand. Feature 67 measured 100 cm by 67 cm and extended 6 cm

below the trench floor. The feature fill was olive brown (2.5Y4/4) sand mottled with light yellowish brown (2.5Y6/4) sand. The feature yielded three small oyster shell fragments but no artifacts.

Trench 4 was oriented East-West and measured approximately 20 meters in length (Figure 14). The southern end of Trench 4 contained a filled-in modern cellar. A light scatter of oyster shell was observed on the western end of Trench 4, which was probably associated with the Indian occupation. No 18th or 19th century artifacts, nor any historic features, were identified in Trench 4.

Feature 54 was a modern trench or cellar that was oriented perpendicular to Trench 4 (see Figure 14). It contained hog wire, tin cans, plastic, and other modern artifacts. No artifacts were collected from this modern feature.

Feature 55 was a concentration of oyster shells at the west end of Backhoe Trench 4 (see Figure 14). It continued into the north, south and west walls of the trench. The feature fill was oyster shell and olive brown (2.5Y4/3) sand. One simple stamped Indian pottery sherd was recovered from the feature.

Feature 62 was located in the south end of Backhoe Trench 4 and extended to the south, east and west an unknown distance. The feature measured 100 cm by 80 cm and extended 8 cm into the trench floor. The feature fill was light olive brown (2.5Y5/3) sand and oyster shells. It yielded: one zoned, incised and punctuated Indian pottery sherd; other unidentified decorated Indian pottery sherds; brick; nails; oyster shell and animal bone. A total of 2.27 kg of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field. The presence of brick and nails in this feature may indicate it is possibly associated with the 18th century, although the feature

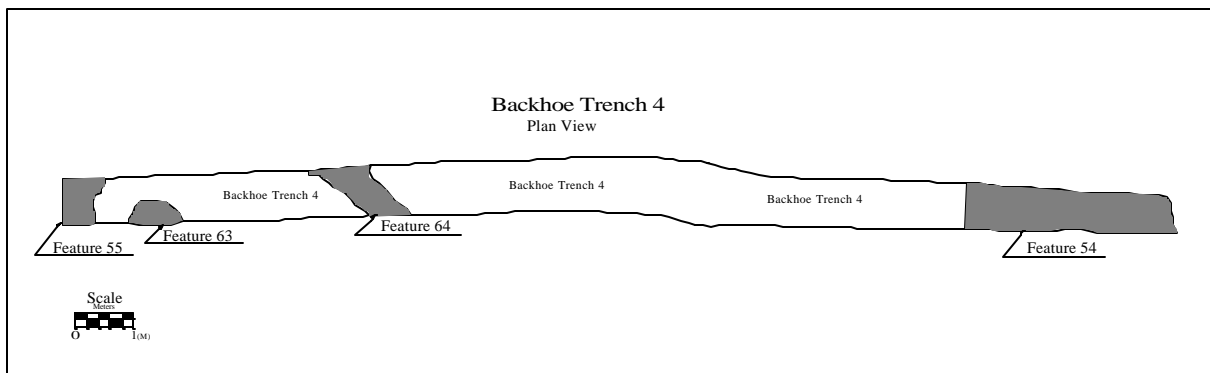


Figure 14. Plan View of Backhoe Trench 4.

was not deeply buried and may have been contaminated by later activity.

Feature 63 was a midden lense or possible refuse pit located in the southern part of Backhoe Trench 4, extending into its southern wall (see Figure 14). It measured 85 cm by 40 cm and extended 9 cm below the trench floor. The feature fill was very dark gray (2.5Y3/1) sand mottled with dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) sand. A total of 227 grams of oyster shell was discarded in the field. No other artifacts were recovered from the feature.

Feature 64 was a very shallow linear stain that was located in Backhoe Trench 4 (see Figure 14). It measured 50 cm in width (Northeast-Southwest) and 170 cm in length (Northwest-Southeast) and extended 5 cm below the trench floor. The feature fill was mottled light olive brown (2.5Y5/3 and 2.5Y5/6) sand. No artifacts were recovered from the feature.

Trench 5 was a North-South trench that extended approximately 12 meters perpendicular to the west of Trench 4. No archaeological features were encountered in this trench, although one modern telecommunications utility line was intersected. The purpose of the excavation of Trench 5 was to examine the cross section of the road trace that led to the Fort Defiance gate. Although this road trace was visible as a

slight undulation on the ground surface no subsurface evidence of it was observed. Local lore contends that this road was a modern 20th century construction and not necessarily related to, or contemporary with, the military fortifications. No 18th or 19th century artifacts, nor any features, were identified in Trench 5.

Trench 6 was placed north of Fort Defiance near the slope break above a low marshy area. This East-West trench was oriented slightly north of east and extended approximately 37 meters. This trench crossed a slight topographic low that was considered of possible interest. The western end of Trench 6 was devoid of any features or artifacts but the eastern end was more eventful. Several small features representing posts or small pits were excavated in this vicinity (Figure 15). These contained quantities of hand wrought nails. These features are probably associated with Fort Morris but their function awaits further study. They were nearly evenly spaced across the trench, which may pertain to their function or placement along a northern fort wall but no ditchwork was observed in Trench 6.

Feature 56 was an oval concentration of oyster shells in the base of Backhoe Trench 6 (Figure 16). It measured 50 cm Northeast-Southwest by 70 cm Northwest-Southeast and 14 cm in depth. The feature fill consisted of oyster shell with brown (10YR5/3) sand. Ballast flint was present in the fill,

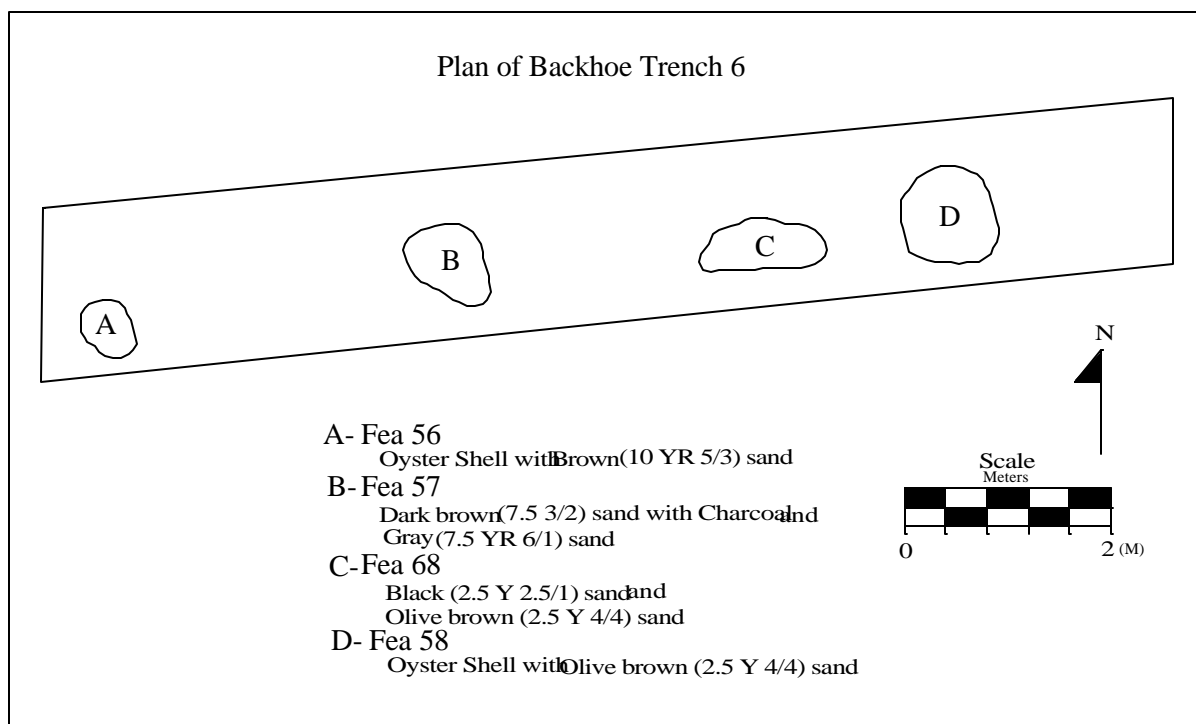


Figure 15. Plan View of Backhoe Trench 6.

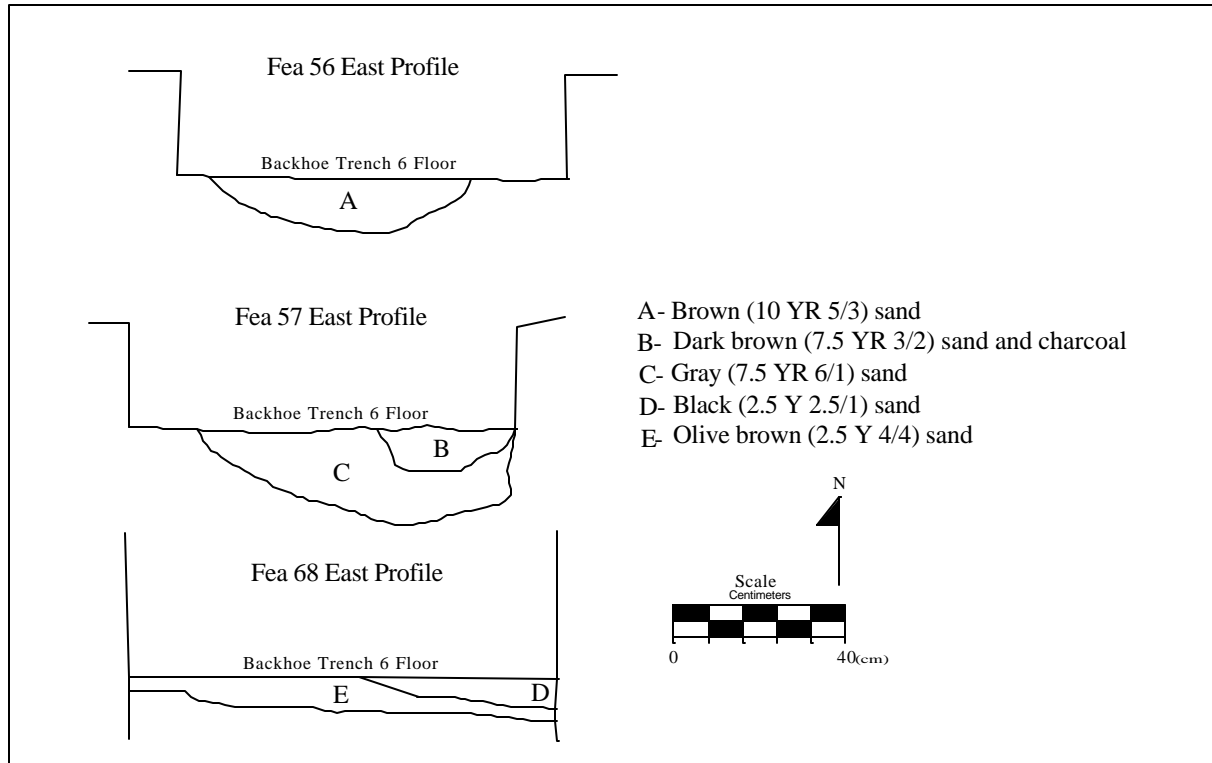


Figure 16. Profiles of Features 56, 57 and 68, Backhoe Trench 6.

which suggests it is associated with the historic period. Other artifacts in Feature 56 included wrought nails, animal bone, and oyster shell.

Feature 57 was a small, irregular oval refuse pit in the base of Backhoe Trench 6 (see Figure 15). It measured 70 cm Northeast-Southwest by 110 cm Northwest-Southeast and 23 cm in depth. The feature fill was dark brown (7.5YR3/2) and gray (7.5YR6/1) sand. The feature had a concentration of 67 wrought nails, which indicates it is associated with the 18th century occupation. Other artifacts from the feature included brick, 2 possibly machine cut nails, 1 undecorated fiber tempered sherd, daub, brick, mortar, and oyster shell.

Feature 58 was an oyster shell concentration that was sub-rectangular in plan (see Figure 15). It measured 75 cm by 90 cm and was 3 cm in depth. The feature fill was oyster shell and olive brown (2.5Y4/4) sand. One Lamar Bold Incised sherd and two daub fragments were recovered from the fill of this feature.

Feature 68 was a shallow, oval refuse pit that measured 60 cm North-South by 125 cm East-West and 10 cm in depth

(see Figure 15). It contained a zone of black (2.5Y2.5/1) sand above olive brown (2.5Y4/4) sand. Artifacts in Feature 68 included: unidentified refined earthenware sherds; nails; building rubble; Lamar Bold Incised, undecorated, and unidentified stamped pottery sherds; animal bone and oyster shell.

Trench 7 was placed on the eastern side of the lower slope of the Fort Defiance parapet and extended to the opposite side of the fort ditch. This East-West trench was oriented slightly south of east and extended approximately 10 meters. This trench was located below an undulation in the crest of the parapet, which was a topographic feature that has been interpreted by C. C. Jones, Jr. and others as a gun embrasure. The location of this backhoe trench near the northeast bastion was thought to be a prime location for refuse discard, which was one purpose of its placement and excavation. The results of its excavation, however, were disappointing. Very few historic artifacts were recovered from the fill and no significant ditch refuse midden was revealed. Artifacts recovered from the fill during excavation included several large iron spikes and the base of a dark olive green spirit bottle. These artifacts could date to either the 18th or early 19th cen-

Chapter V. Results of the 2002 Fieldwork

tury and were not particularly definitive in assessing the age of this military construction.

Feature 59 was the designation assigned to the lower deposits of Backhoe Trench 7. It measured approximately 1 m North-South by 2 m East-West. Soils in this zone were only slightly darker than the overlying sands. Artifacts collected from this zone during excavation included an olive green spirit bottle base, 1 blue hand painted porcelain sherd, iron wire, 3 large wrought iron spikes, tabby, and brick.

Trench 8 was placed on the southern slope of the topographic rise, south of Fort Defiance. It was oriented slightly east of north and extended approximately 16 meters ending just shy of an access road. This access road follows the route of the suspected ditch, which was discussed previously in Trench 1. The northern end of Trench 8 contained disturbed soils that may be associated with military earthworks. This portion of the trench was designated Feature 66 (Figure 17). The only artifacts recovered from this trench were nails and a perforated lead ball/weight.

Excavation Block A

Excavation Block A was located within the northeastern parade ground of Fort Defiance. It included Test Units 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, and 14. Archaeologists uncovered evidence of a

building they named Structure 1, which occupied most of Block A and particularly Test Units 7 through 10. The upper soils in these test units were dominated by concentrations of brick, tabby, coquina limestone (not native to Georgia; occurs in Florida-St. Augustine vicinity; likely imported by ship, possibly as ballast) and tabby mortar rubble. Structure 1 was defined by a chimney rubble pile, two perpendicular rubble walls, and several large postholes, as well as a possibly associated midden deposit. The features recorded in Block A are shown in plan view on Figure 18.

The rubble walls of Structure 1 are shown in Figures 19 and 20. A series of soil profiles for the northern part of Block A are shown in Figures 21 through 24. These profiles illustrate Structure 1 and the underlying midden deposit at various points. The midden deposit, which was at first interpreted as the cellar of Structure 1, may represent a filled-in ditch. Most of the artifacts in Block A were contained in this midden. An example of the haphazard spatial arrangement of artifacts contained in the fill is shown in Figure 25. This plan drawing shows a wide variety of military artifacts that were clustered at the base of Level 7 in Test Unit 8.

Feature 69, which formed part of Structure 1, was a rubble pile of large and medium blocks of coquina limestone and a minor amount of brick and tabby mortar (Figures 26, 27 and 28). It covered portions of Test Units 8 and 10 and mea-

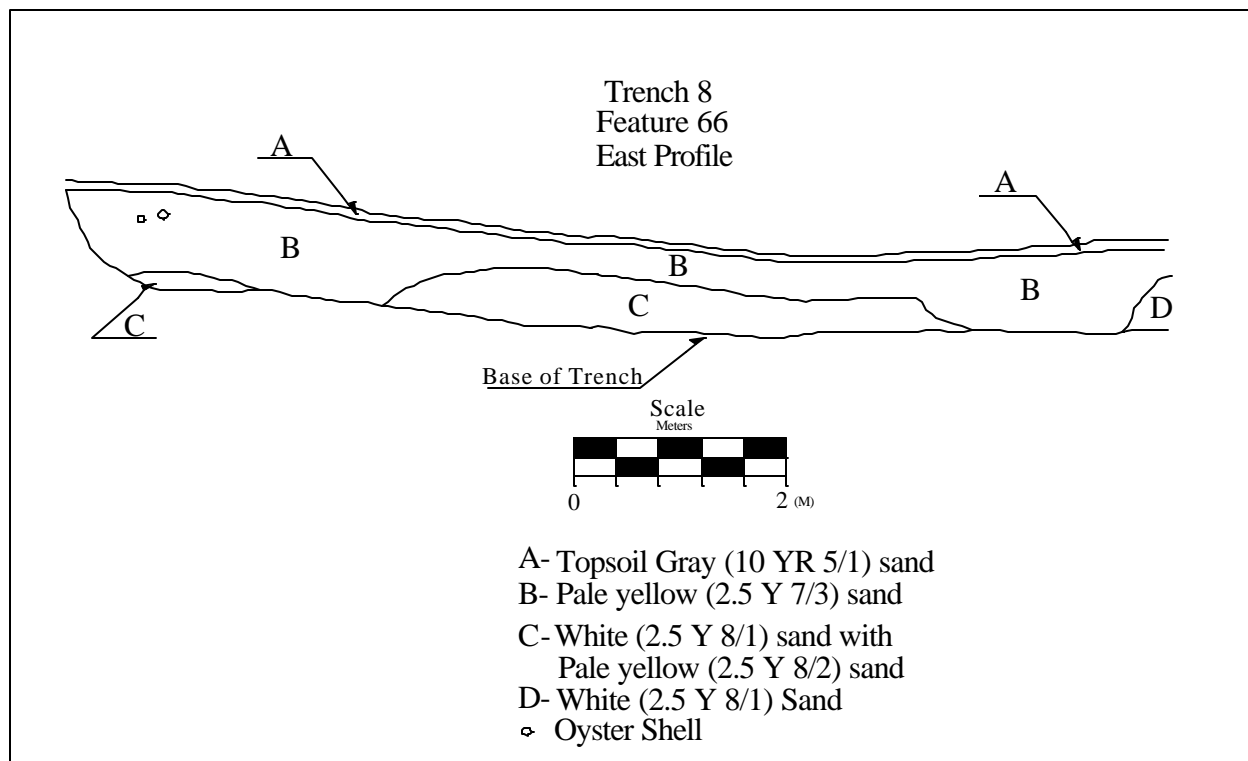


Figure 17. Feature 66, Trench 8, East Profile.

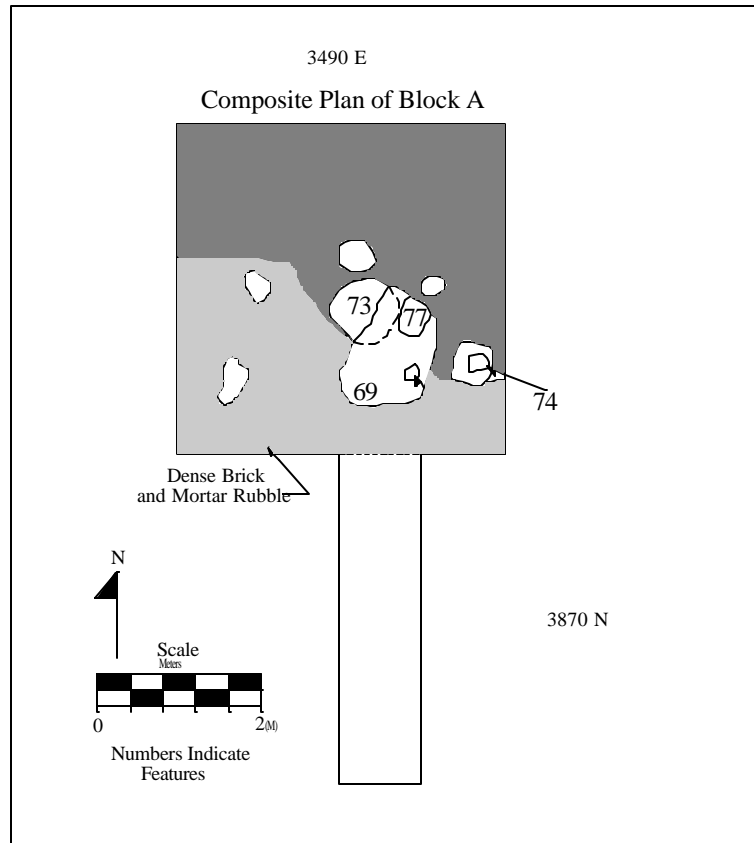


Figure 18. Composite Plan of Block A.



Figure 19. Structure 1, Block A, Facing North.



Figure 20. Structure 1, Block A, Facing West.

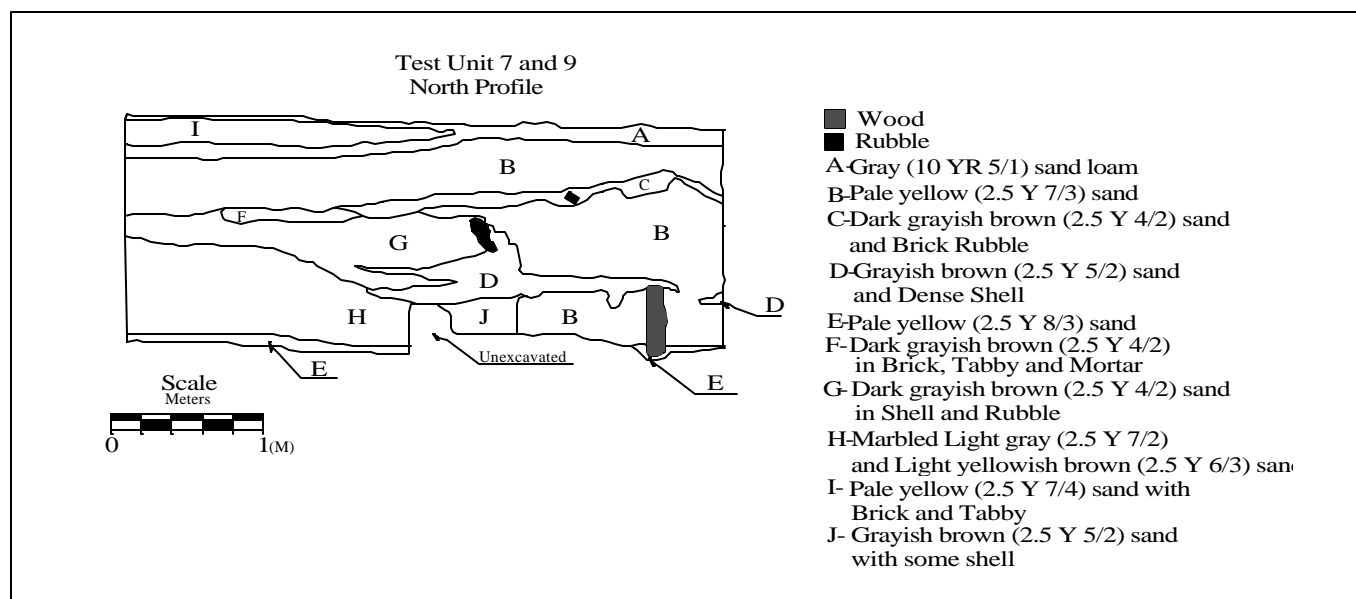


Figure 21. Test Units 7 and 9, North Profile.

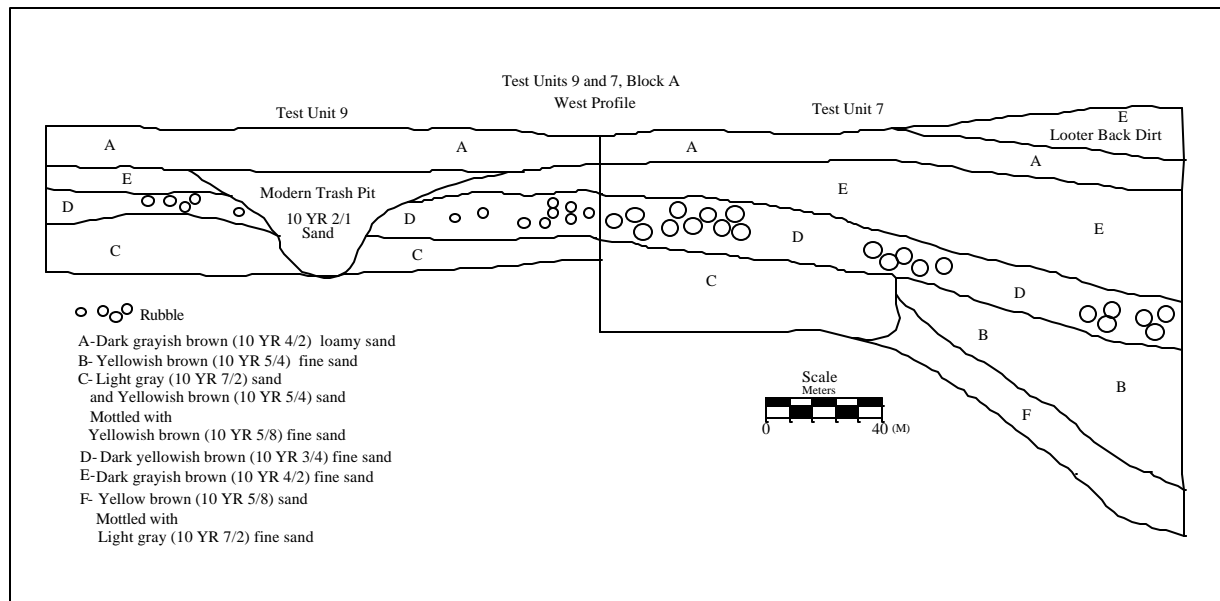


Figure 22. Test Units 9 and 7, Block A, West Profile.

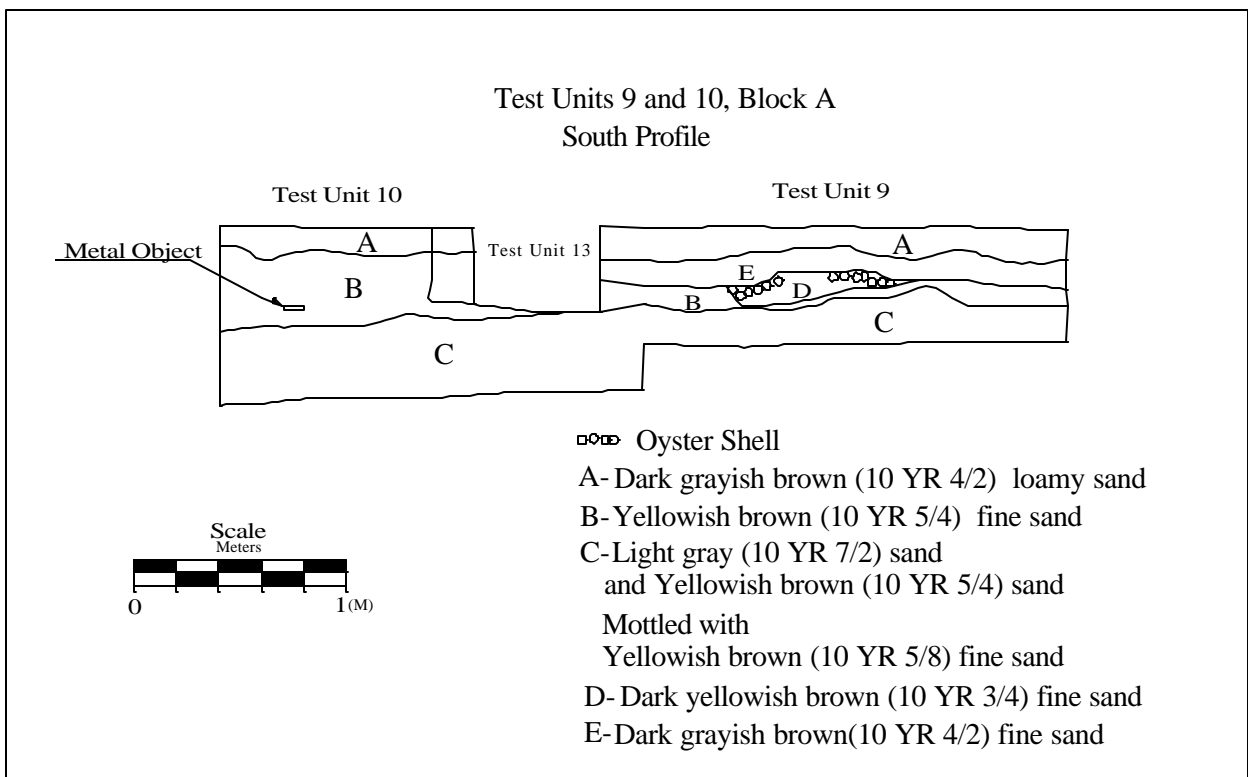


Figure 23. Test Units 9 and 10, Block A, South Profile.

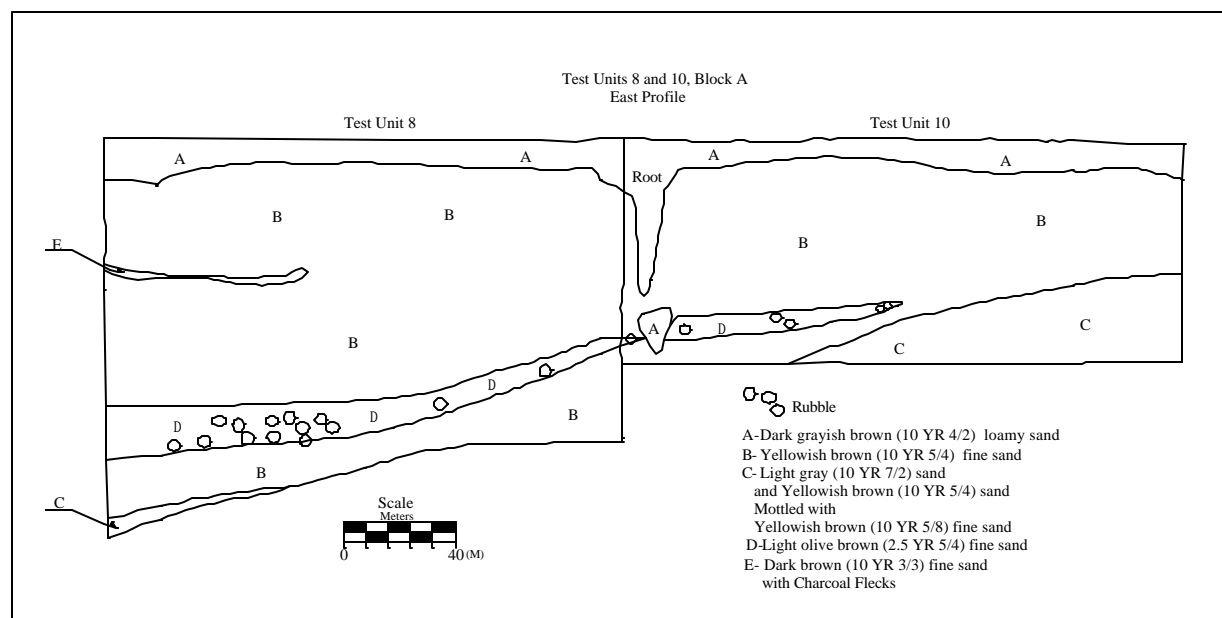


Figure 24. Test Units 8 and 10, Block A, East Profile.

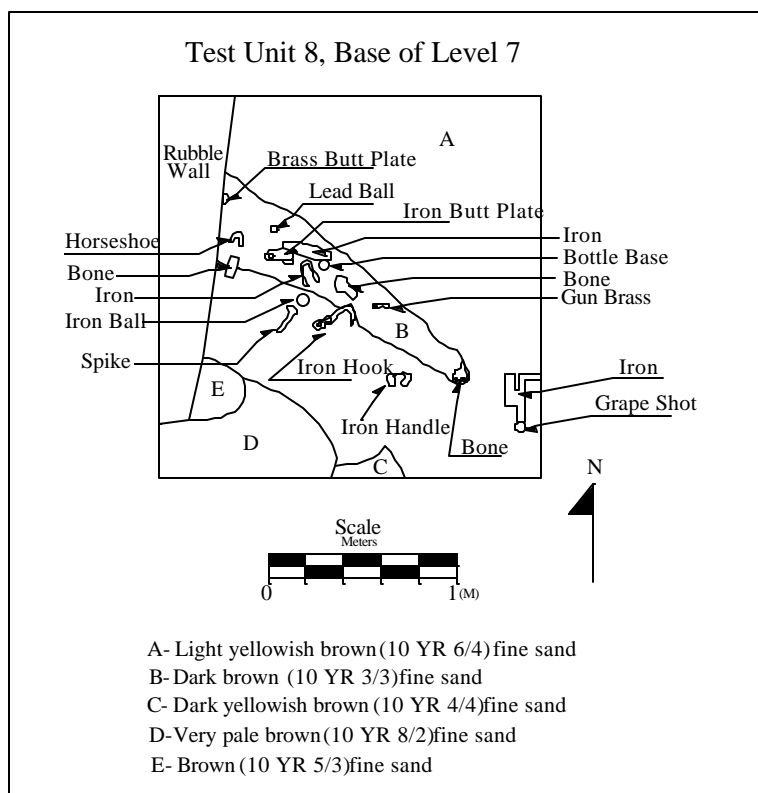


Figure 25. Plan of Test Unit 8, Base of Level 7.



Figure 26. Block A, Feature 69, Facing South.

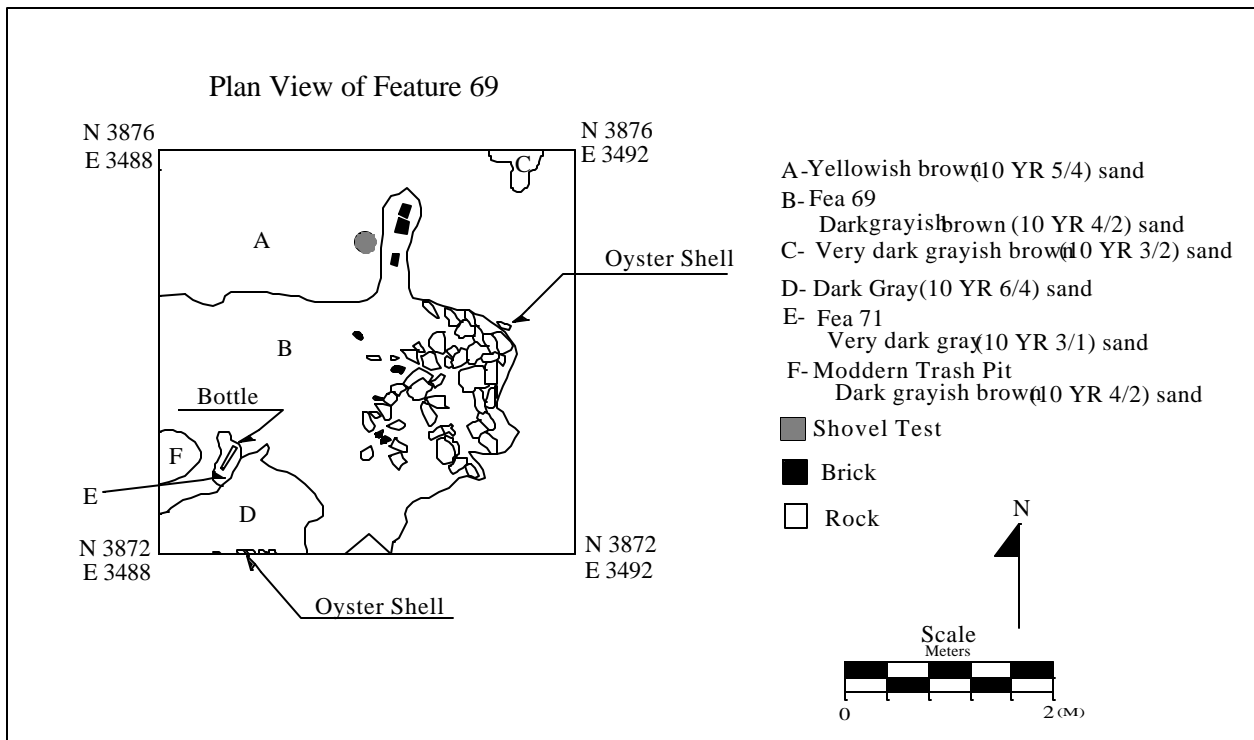


Figure 27. Plan of Block A, Feature 69.

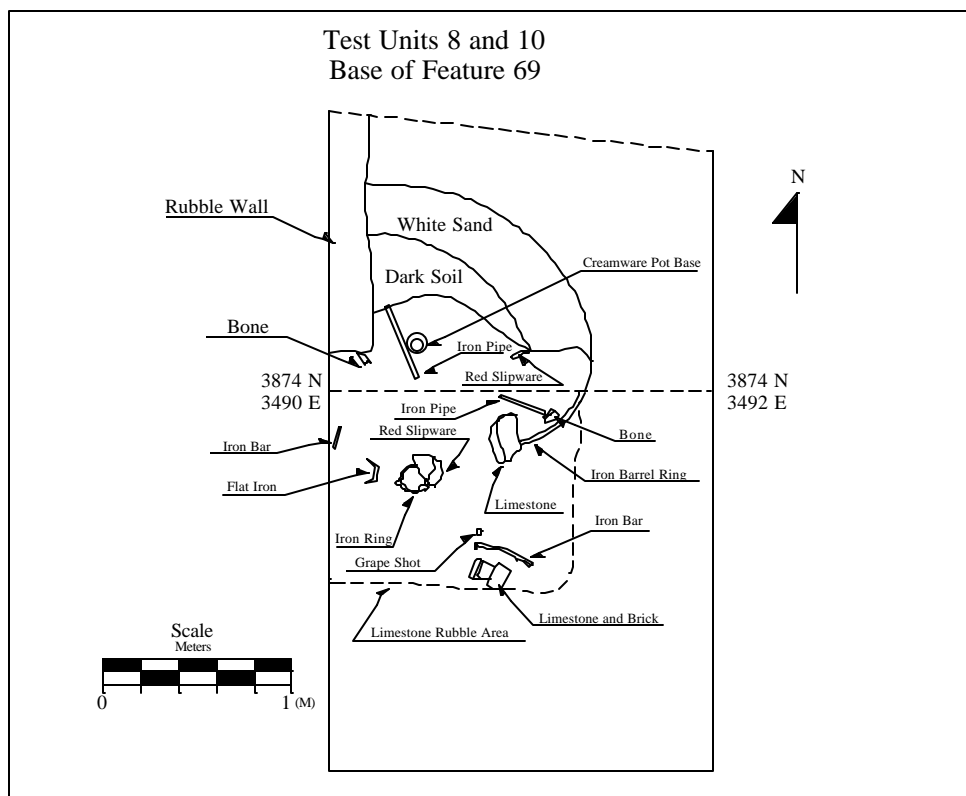


Figure 28. Plan of Test Units 8 and 10, Base of Feature 69, Block A.

sured 1.4 m East-West by 1.75 m North-South and was 23.5 cm thick. Some of the soil around the rubble was removed as Levels 4 and 5, Zone B in the two test units. The approximate centerpoint of the rubble was located at 3873 m North and 3491 m East. The plan outline of the rubble pile was subrectangular to rectangular. The pile did not appear to contain any intact architectural structure, although a zone of midden, which was interpreted as hearth fill, was located beneath it and excavated as Feature 73. Large metal objects also were contained in the rubble and the underlying hearth midden. The rubble deposit was relatively shallow with the main pile distinguished from the surrounding soil at about 30 cm below the existing ground surface. Tabby and coquina limestone fragments, which were probably associated with this feature, first appeared in Level 1 of Test Unit 8. Rock samples were taken from the rubble pile for future identification. This type of stone is uncommon in Georgia but is widely used in architectural construction in the St. Augustine area. Since the British troops that captured Fort Morris sailed from St. Augustine, it is logical to conclude that these stones were brought by them, possibly as ship ballast.

Artifacts recovered from Feature 69 included: creamware, American redware, and redware sherds; aqua, light green and olive green bottle glass; clear pharmaceutical bottle glass and lead tableware glass; clear lamp chimney globe glass; building rubble and wrought nails; 2 iron gun barrel sections; 1 brass button; scrap brass; 1 Deptford Check Stamped pottery sherd; animal bone; and oyster shell. Coquina limestone blocks and clay brick fragments were the primary artifacts in this feature. Although tabby mortar appeared on some of the brick and some of the brick were vitrified from intense heat, none of the structure appears intact. One limestone block was retained as a type sample.

Feature 73, also part of Structure 1, was the hearth deposit that was located beneath Feature 69. The hearth was subrectangular in plan and was basin-shaped in profile. Feature 73 was located in Test Units 8 and 10 and it measured 60 cm Northeast-Southwest by 75 cm Northwest-Southeast and 15 cm in depth. The fill consisted of dark gray brown (10YR4/2) fine sand, chimney rubble, and carbonized wood. Artifacts included: creamware and pearlware sherds; clear and olive green bottle glass; 1 iron eye (from hook and eye fastener); 1 large iron spike; 1 tobacco pipe fragment; 1 En-

glish spall gunflint; 1 brass escutcheon gun hardware; 1 ram rod guide; 1 iron file; 1 iron grapeshot; scrap brass; 1 iron handle; 1 large wheel hub hardware ring; building rubble; 1 long tubular shell bead; egg shell (or crab shell); animal bone; and oyster shell. A total of 1.5 kg of oyster shell and 250 g of brick and mortar from this feature was discarded in the field.

Six historic posts were identified in the excavation of Block A. Three historic posts were identified in Test Unit 10. Feature 74 was an oval post stain in Test Unit 10 that measured 33 cm North-South by 36 cm East-West and was 13 cm deep. The post fill was very dark gray (2.5Y3/1) sand mottled with light gray (2.5Y7/2) fine sand. Artifacts from Feature 74 included: creamware, pearlware, Jackfield ware, and redware sherds; light green, olive green, and clear bottle glass; 1 lead ball; brass and lead scrap; 1 iron hinge; nails; building debris; animal bone and oyster shell.

Feature 75 was an oval post stain in Test Unit 10 that measured 23 cm East-West by 25 cm North-South and 40 cm in depth. The feature fill was very dark gray (2.5Y3/1) fine sand in the center of the stain with light yellowish brown (2.5Y6/4) fine sand on the exterior. It contained undecorated and polychrome overglaze hand painted creamware; 1 overglazed polychrome hand painted porcelain, 1 American redware, 1 redware, and 1 other unidentified refined earthenware sherd; 1 lead ball; nails; brick; building rubble; animal bone and oyster shells. The overglazed porcelain had gold paint on it, which was indicative of the most expensive wares of the day.

Feature 77 was a rectangular, flat-bottomed post stain in Test Unit 10. It measured 50 cm by 50 cm and 52 cm in depth. It contained: 1 overglazed polychrome hand painted porcelain sherd, olive green bottle glass, nails, 1 bone button fragment, unidentified iron fragments, brick, mortar, 1 unidentified Indian pottery sherd, chert debitage, animal bone, and oyster shell.

Feature 99 was a historic post hole that was located at the boundary of Test Units 7 and 9. It measured 35 cm East-West by 45 cm North-South and 50 cm in depth. The feature fill consisted of brown (10YR5/3) fine sand mottled with light gray (10YR7/2) fine sand. It contained building rubble, 1 nail, 1 brass ring (unknown function), 1 small piece of sheet brass, aqua and olive green bottle glass, animal bone and oyster shell. A total of 1.25 kg of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field.

Two historic posts were identified in Test Unit 8. Feature 100, which was located at the margin of Test Units 8 and 10, measured 40 cm North-South by 50 cm East-West and was

15 cm in depth. Feature 100 was located below Feature 77 and was likely truncated by it. Its fill was yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand mottled with light gray (10YR7/2) fine sand. It contained: 1 creamware sherd, aqua and olive green bottle glass, scrap brass, nails, brick and mortar rubble, animal bone and oyster shell.

Feature 101 was a round, flat-bottomed posthole that was 35 cm in diameter and 41 cm in depth. Its fill was yellowish brown (10YR5/4) fine sand. Artifacts from Feature 101 included: 2 creamware sherds, 4 olive green bottle glass sherds, 1 pewter button (South Type 8), scrap pewter, 1 wrought brass upholstery tack, 1 small brass domed button, 1 tobacco pipe stem, window glass, brick rubble, animal bone and oyster shell.

Feature 76 was a small, rectangular, flat-bottomed refuse pit in Test Unit 10. It measured 55 cm East-West by 60 cm North-South and 32 cm in depth. The fill consisted of light olive brown (2.5Y5/4) and dark yellow brown (10YR4/6) sand. Artifacts in Feature 76 included: British brown stoneware, creamware, and redware sherds; aqua and olive green bottle glass; 2 lead balls (1 large, 1 small); nails; slate; brick; animal bone and oyster shell.

Feature 70 was a midden lense or possible shallow, irregular ell-shaped pit in Test Unit 8, which measured 42 cm North-South by 50 cm East-West and 11 cm in thickness. The feature fill was a mix of very dark gray brown (10YR3/2) loamy sand and olive brown (10YR4/3) fine sand. Feature 70 contained olive green bottle glass, 1 iron shell shrapnel fragment, wrought nails, building rubble, animal bone and oyster shell. The presence of shrapnel in Feature 70 may indicate that this layer was deposited during, or soon after the January 9, 1779 bombardment.

Feature 71 was a midden lense in Test Unit 9 that measured 18 cm East-West by 46 cm North-South and 4 cm in thickness. Its fill consisted of very dark gray (10YR3/1) fine sand. It contained aqua and olive green bottle glass; 1 iron grapeshot; 1 dark gray European chert flake (possible gunflint fragment); wrought nails; brick; 1 unidentified Indian pottery sherd; animal bone and oyster shell. The presence of grapeshot in Feature 71 may indicate that this layer was deposited during, or soon after the January 9, 1779 bombardment. Both Features 70 and 71 contained 18th century artifacts and were probably associated with Structure 1.

The southern end of Block A (Test Units 13 and 14) did not contain any cultural features. It did yield a shaped barrel hoop, which probably represents cooking-related activities. This artifact is shown in the plan and profile sketch of Test Units 13 and 14 (Figures 29 and 30).

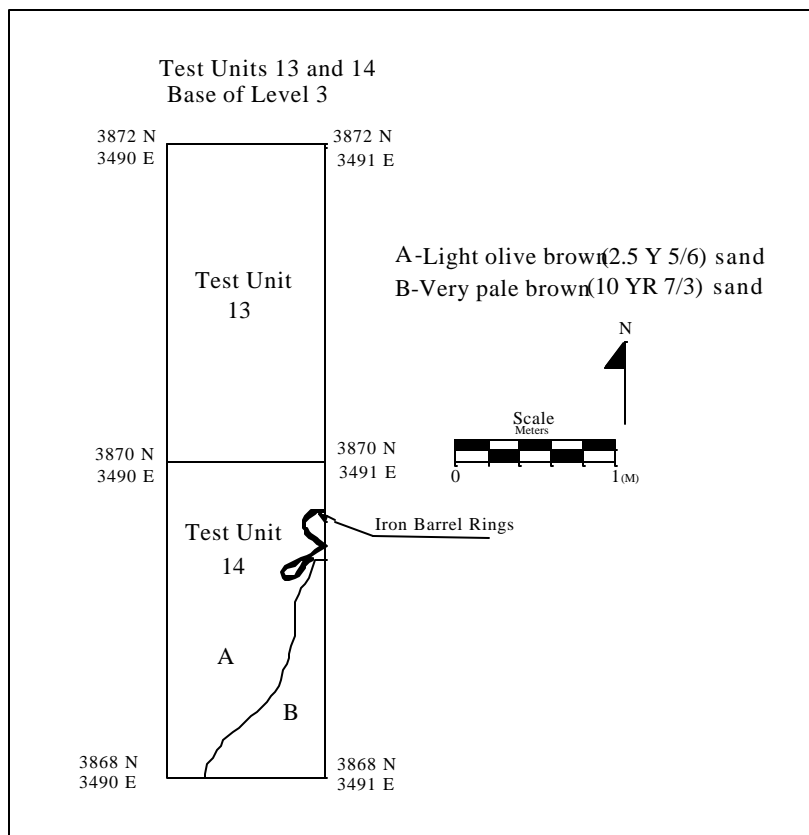


Figure 29. Plan of Test Units 13 and 14, Base of Level 3, Block A.

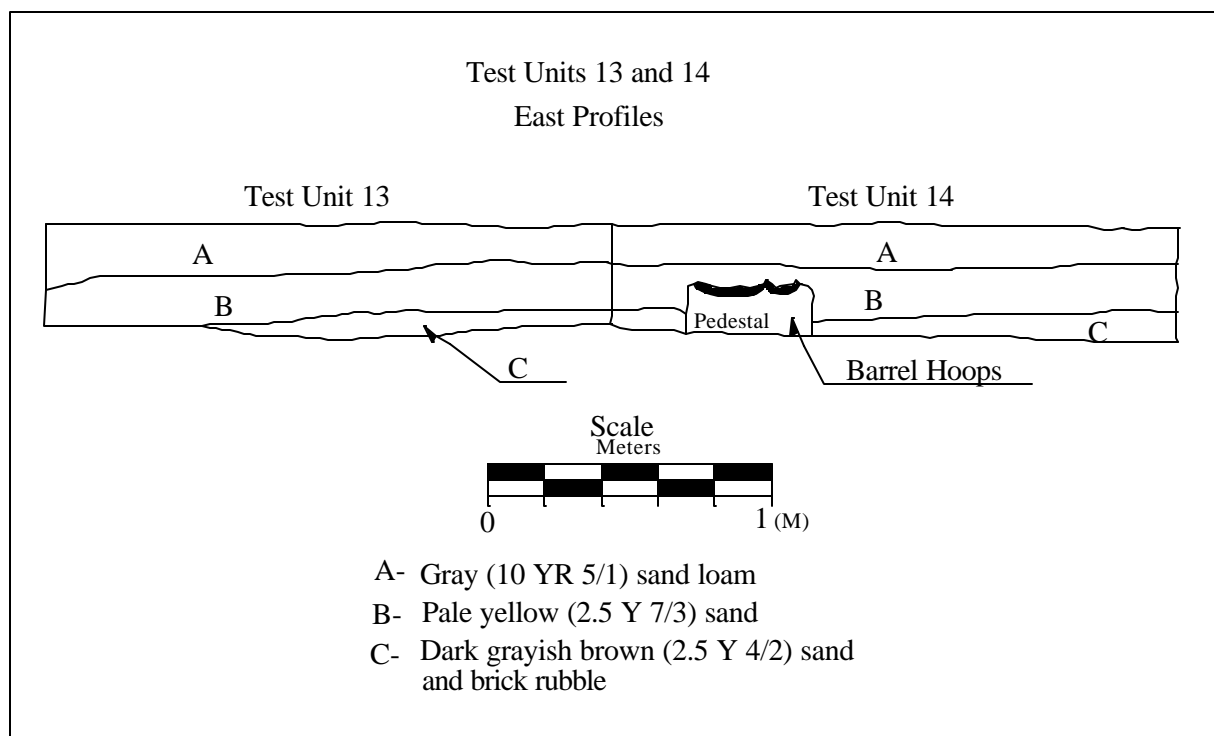


Figure 30. Test Units 13 and 14, East Profile, Block A.

Excavation Block B

Excavation Block B was placed in the northwestern parade ground of Fort Defiance. It included Test Units 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, and 24. Archaeologists recovered evidence of a second structure in Excavation block B. Structure 2 occupied most of Block B, particularly, Test Units 11, 12, 15, 16, and 19. The upper soils in these test units were dominated by concentrations of brick, tabby, oyster shell, and tabby mortar rubble. This rubble formed a compact layer and possibly represented a building floor. No whole brick was recovered from Block B. Small fragments of coquina limestone and red sandstone, possibly representing building stone, were scattered in the rubble deposit. Figure 31 shows Mr. Elliott describing the findings to a group of Georgia Historic Sites managers. The plan view of features in Block B is illustrated in Figure 32. Figure 33 shows a portion of Block B after most of the rubble zone had been removed. Features 83 to 86, 90, 95 and 96 await excavation in this view. Representative soil profiles in Test Units 11, 12, 15, 16, and 19 Block B are shown in Figures 34 and 35. These profiles show parts of Structure 2, which was a relatively shallow deposit. Soil profiles of unit walls in Test Units 20, 23, and 24 reveal the soils outside of Structure 2. These are shown in Figure 36.

Feature 72, associated with Structure 2, was a hearth that was located in Test Unit 11 (Figure 37). This feature was only partially exposed by the excavations and it measured at least 43 cm East-West by 2 m North-South. The upper zone of this feature was a compact light gray ash that contained many small bones and artifacts. Beneath the ash was extremely compact reddish-orange sand, which may represent a prepared hearth. The midden soil immediately north, east, and south of the hearth contained many bones and intensely burned artifacts, but no orange soil. Artifacts from Feature 72 included: 1 white salt glazed stoneware sherd, olive green bottle glass, 5 lead balls, tobacco pipe fragments, nails, lead scrap, unidentified decorated Indian pottery sherds, brick, mortar, animal bone and oyster shell.

Feature 85, which was located in Test Unit 19 and also associated with Structure 2, was the remains of a burned wooden beam that was capped by tabby mortar. The feature measured 50 cm North-South by 70 cm East-West and 7 cm in depth. It was located at the northern edge of the midden deposit associated with Structure 2 and possibly was a support post situated along the building wall. The feature fill consisted of a tabby cap consisting of oyster shell and burned light gray (10YR7/2 and 10YR5/8) sand, which rested above



Figure 31. Archaeologist Dan Elliott Lectures to Georgia Park Managers Tour, Block B Excavations.

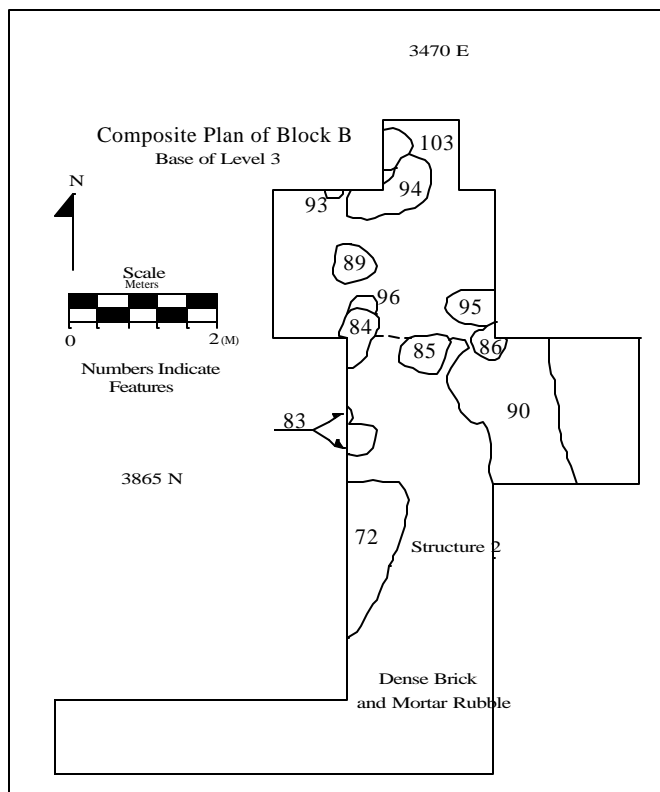


Figure 32. Composite Plan of Block B.



Figure 33. Structure 2, Block B, Facing West.

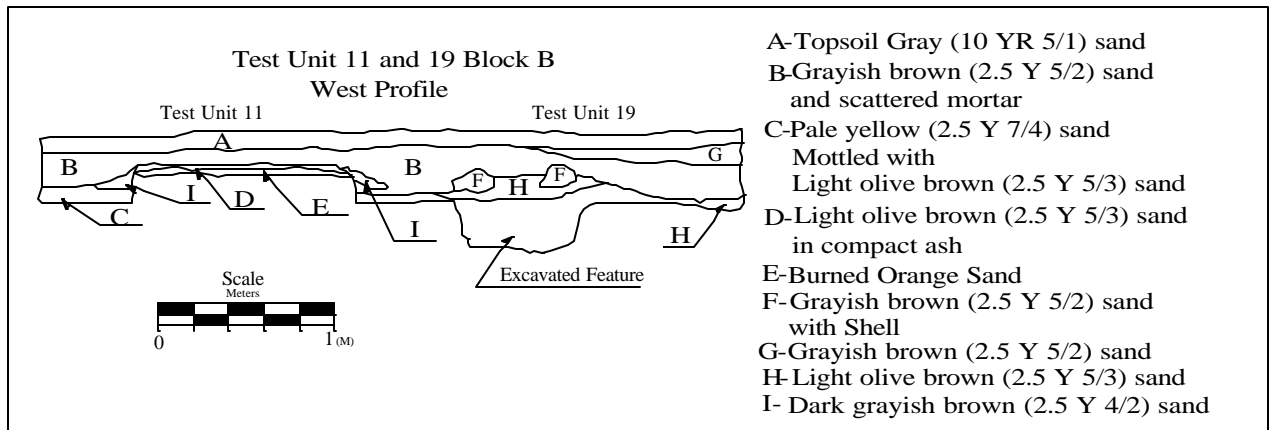


Figure 34. Test Units 11 and 19, West Profile Block B.

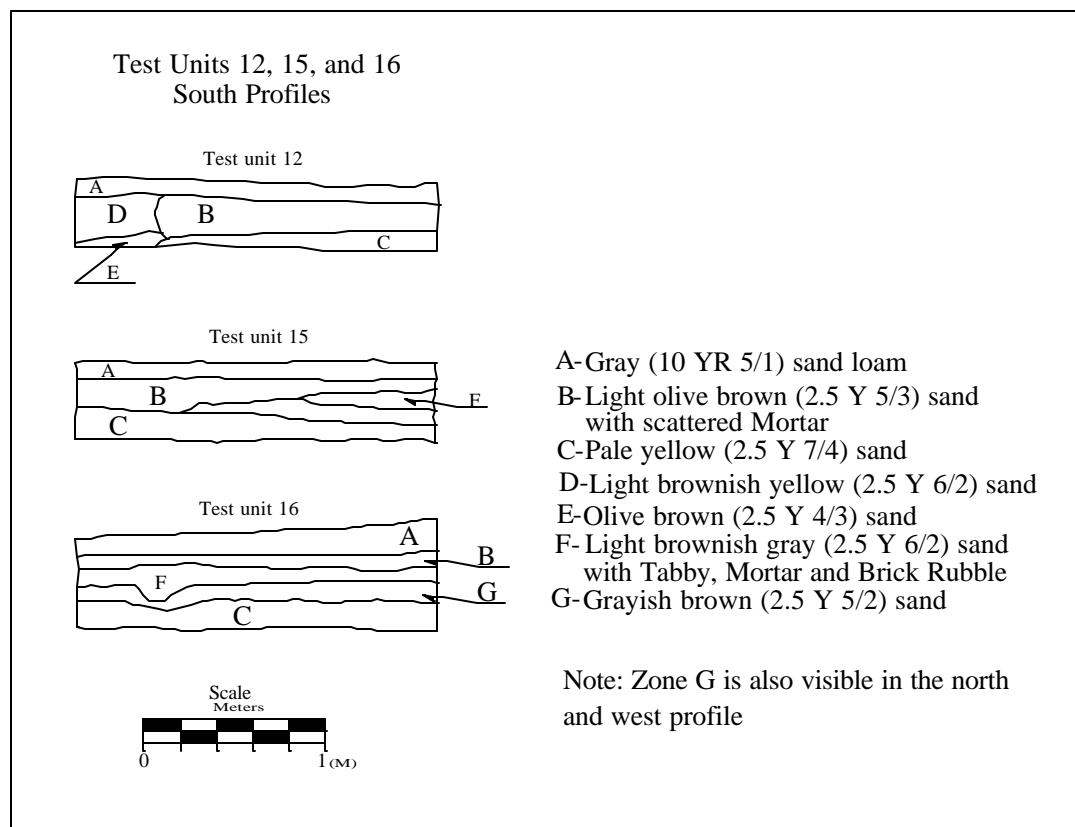


Figure 35. Test Units 12, 15, and 16, South Profile, Block B.

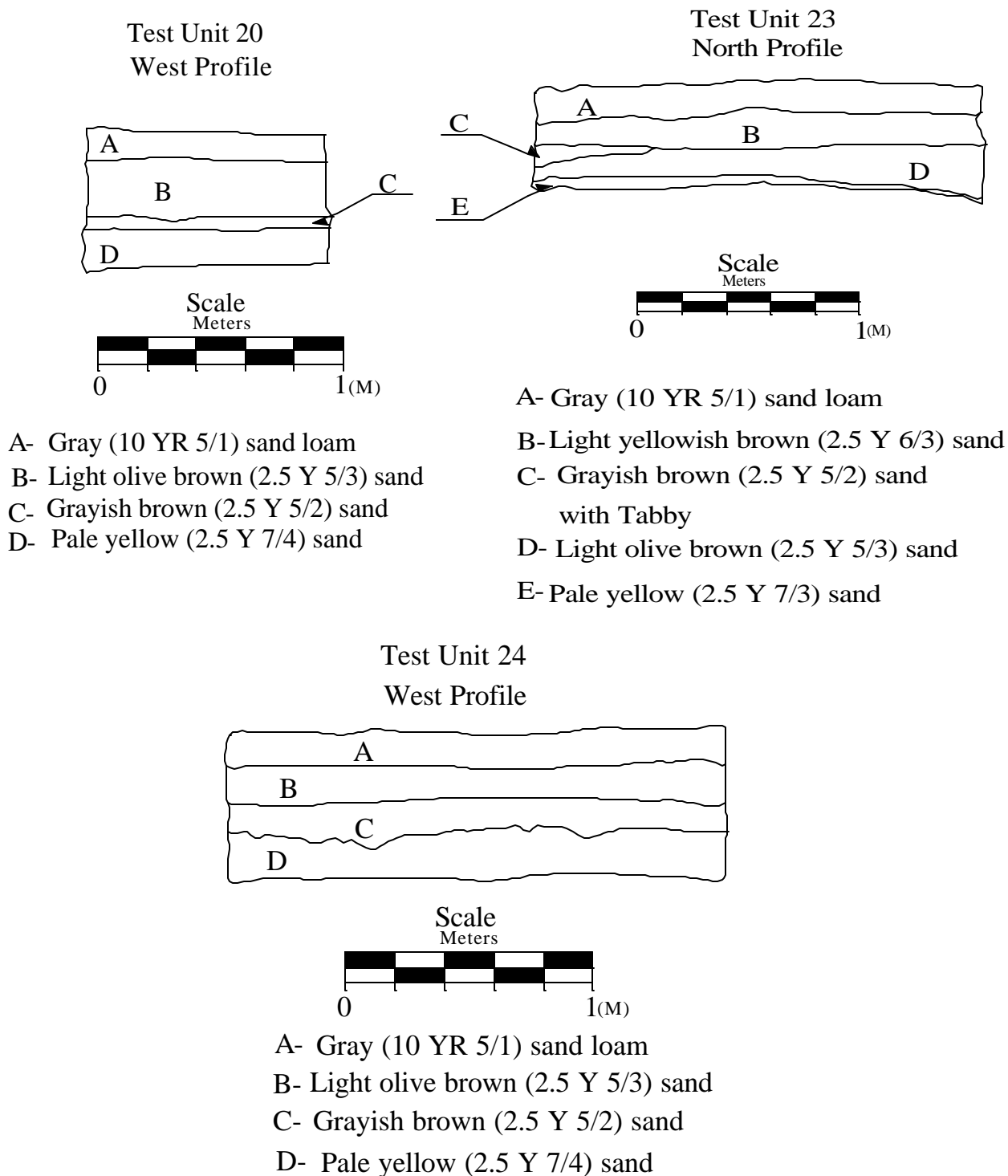


Figure 36. Profiles of Test Units 20, 23, and 24.



Figure 37. Feature 72, Block B, Facing West.

carbonized wood and dark olive brown (2.5Y3/3) sand. Artifacts in Feature 85 included: olive green bottle glass, nails, 1 tobacco pipe stem, 1 plain fiber tempered pottery sherd, animal bones and oyster shell. A total of 500 g of tabby mortar and brick rubble and 250 g of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field.

Feature 90 was a large, shallow trench in Test Unit 23 that measured 80 cm East-West by at least 2 m North-South and 6 cm in depth. This trench flanked the eastern margin of Structure 2 and was likely associated with it. The feature fill was yellowish brown (10YR5/4) fine sand. Artifacts in Feature 90 included: 2 aqua and 10 olive green bottle glass sherds, 1 brass clothing fastener, 1 lead ball, undecorated and unidentified decorated Indian pottery sherds, chert debitage, oyster shell and animal bone. A total of 500 g of brick and mortar rubble and 500 g of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field.

Feature 86 was a circular historic post hole in the wall of Test Unit 19, which measured at least 30 cm in diameter. Part of this feature was removed in the excavation of Fea-

ture 90. The feature fill was black (10YR2/1), very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) and brown (10YR4/3) fine sand and oyster shell. Artifacts from Feature 86 included brick, mortar, animal bone and oyster shell.

Feature 84 was a rectangular basin and posthole located at the boundary of Test Units 19 and 22. It measured 33 cm East-West by 77 cm North-South and was 33 cm deep. The feature fill was dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) fine sand, oyster shell and tabby mortar. The post was a shallow rectangular stain within a deep cylindrical pit that was packed with rubble. Artifacts from Feature 84 included: 1 plain English yellow slipware sherd, olive green bottle glass, 1 possible iron buckle fragment, 1 English gunflint, 1 tobacco pipe bowl, wrought nails, undecorated Indian pottery sherds, building rubble, animal bones and oyster shell. A total of 1.25 kg of brick and mortar rubble and 1.5 kg of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field. This feature is interpreted as a mortar and shell-filled post hole.

Feature 83 was a small refuse pit in the west wall of Test Unit 19. It measured 50 cm East-West by at least 90 cm North-South and was 42 cm in depth. The feature fill was

dark brown (10YR3/3) and dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) fine sand with oyster shell concentrated in two areas of the pit. Artifacts from Feature 83 included 1 lead ball, animal bone, and oyster shell. A total of 21.5 kg of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field.

Feature 89 was a small, artifact-rich, refuse pit located at the boundary of Test Units 22 and 24. It was oval in plan and measured 50 cm Northeast-Southwest by 60 cm Northwest-Southeast and 42 cm in depth. The feature fill was brown (10YR5/4) fine sand and oyster shell. This feature yielded an interesting assortment of 18th century artifacts, including large portions of a restorable Queens pattern creamware plate, other creamware, yellow slipware, overglazed polychrome hand painted porcelain (N=15 sherds), undecorated porcelain, and other unidentified refined earthenware sherds; olive green bottle glass; tobacco pipe stems; 1 bone; 1 brass and 2 pewter buttons; 1 lead ball; 1 bone comb fragment; 1 brass furniture part (a double curved piece, possibly from a portmanteau); 1 brass furniture knob; 1 unidentified iron tool; 3 large iron spikes; nails; 1 wrought iron staple; 2 iron hinges (including one with clinched nails attached); animal bone; egg shell (or crab shell); oyster shell; and building material. A total of 10.25 kg of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field. Figure 38 shows Feature 89 during ex-

cavation. The aforementioned creamware plate is visible in this view.

Feature 93 was a small refuse pit in Test Unit 24. It measured at least 20 cm by 41 cm and was 41 cm in depth. The feature fill was grayish brown (2.5Y5/2) sand and oyster shell. It contained 4 creamware, 2 porcelain, and 5 unidentified refined earthenware sherds; 6 olive green bottle glass; 1 tobacco pipe fragment; 1 Irish halfpenny (dated 1766); nails; animal bone; fish scales; egg shell (or crab shell); oyster shell; and building debris. A total of 22.5 kg of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field.

Feature 94 was an oyster shell-filled refuse pit in Test Unit 22. It measured 135 cm East-West by 65 cm North-South and was 50 cm in depth. The feature fill was primarily oyster shell and building rubble, although it also contained: 1 large, iron mortar shell fragment; 1 cast-iron grape shot; 3 porcelain, 3 creamware, 1 white salt glazed stoneware, and 3 unidentified refined earthenware sherds; 19 olive green bottle glass sherds; scrap brass; 1 large spike; wrought nails; unidentified iron fragments; 2 tableware lead glass fragments; 1 Deptford Check Stamped pottery sherd; and animal bone. A total of 3.75 kg of oyster shell and 1 kg of brick and tabby mortar from this feature was discarded in the field. The pres-



Figure 38. Archaeologist Daphne Owens Battle Excavating Feature 89, Block B.

ence of the large chunk of shrapnel and grapeshot in this feature is very informative. The creation of the shrapnel likely dates to the January 9, 1779 bombardment and its presence in this feature probably reflects the clean-up of the fort after it was taken over by the British. Consequently, Feature 94 is identified as a British trash pit that was probably filled sometime between January 9, and September 10, 1779.

Feature 95 was an oval oyster shell concentration at the northern edge of Test Unit 22, extending beyond the block excavation. It measured 55 cm North-South by at least 70 cm East-West and was 18 cm in depth. The feature fill was primarily oyster shell, although it contained 1 stoneware sherd; complicated stamped and other unidentified Indian pottery sherds; animal bone; eggshell (or crab shell); olive green bottle glass; 1 case aqua bottle base; and 1 wrought nail. A total of 10 kg of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field.

Feature 96 was a small, circular oyster shell-filled pit in Test Unit 22. It measured approximately 30 cm in diameter and was 30 cm in depth. This feature was intruded by Feature 84. The feature fill was primarily oyster shell with one plain fiber tempered pottery sherd. The absence of historic artifacts may indicate that this is an Indian feature. A total of 2 kg of oyster shell and 100 g of brick rubble from this feature was discarded in the field.

Excavation Block C

Excavation Block C was comprised of 11 m² and was composed of Test Units 17 and 21, which were 2 m by 2 m units, and Test Unit 25, which was an irregular Ell-shaped unit. Block C was placed near the center of the Fort Defiance parade ground. No structures were identified within Block C, although two small postholes and three refuse pits were identified (Features 91, 92, 97, 98 and 102). Excavation Levels 4 through 6 in this block contained a buried 18th century midden deposit. Although some artifacts were scattered in Levels 1 through 3, these appeared to be part of a fill deposit, which probably dates to the 18th or early 19th century. Figure 39 shows Carolyn Rock describing the soils in Block C to a prospective future archaeologist. Figure 40 shows a plan view of the features in Block C.

The most noteworthy feature in Block C was Feature 91. The top of Feature 91 was recognized at 60 cm below datum. The artifacts that were recovered from Feature 91 were very informative concerning historical events at Fort Morris/Fort George. Feature 91 was a large oval refuse pit that was located in Test Units 17 and 25. It measured 95 cm East-

West by 90 cm North-South and 47 cm in depth. The feature fill consisted of pale yellow (2.5Y7/3) sand, brick, stone, and tabby mortar rubble, and oyster shell. Figure 41 shows Feature 91 during excavation. A brass pot, barrel hoop, and large sandstone slab are visible in this view. Figure 42 shows the East profile of Test Unit 17, Block C, which includes a profile of Feature 91.

Artifacts from Feature 91 are summarized in Table 9. They included: 19 Euro-American ceramics; 12 plain Indian pottery sherds; 67 bottle glass sherds; 1 cast iron pot fragment; 1 brass pot (approximately 2/3 filled with tabby mortar); 1 window glass; wrought nails; 1 bone button; 1 metal button; 1 iron buckle; 1 iron padlock; 1 large sheet brass collar or flange; 7 tobacco pipe fragments; 1 French blade gunflint; 1 brass trigger plate; 2 lead balls; iron barrel strap fragments; iron or tin bucket fragments (badly decomposed); 1 iron padlock fragment; and numerous small chunks of vermilion (or bright orange ochre). A total of 37 kg of brick, rock and mortar building rubble and 1.5 kg of oyster shell from this feature was discarded in the field. Several fragments of Indian pottery were recovered, including one portion that contained vermilion on the interior. One large, shaped coquina limestone rectangular slab was present in the fill and it was collected as the best-observed example of this material. A sample of 15 historic ceramics from Feature 91 yielded a MCD estimate of 1777.6.

Feature 92 was a historic posthole in Test Unit 21. It measured 38 cm by at least 18 cm and was 32 cm in depth. The feature fill consisted of light yellowish brown (2.5Y6/3) sand and oyster shell. Artifacts included 1 olive green bottle glass sherd and 3 brick fragments. Figure 43 shows the East profiles of Features 92 and 102 in Block C.

Feature 97 was an oval refuse pit that was located in Test Unit 25. It measured 70 cm Northwest-Southeast by 30 cm Northeast-Southwest and was 20 cm in depth. The feature fill consisted of brown (10YR5/3) sand that graded to a light yellowish brown (2.5Y6/3) sand that was indistinguishable from the matrix soils. The lower feature edge was defined by the distribution of artifacts within it. It contained building rubble; 1 large wrought iron spike; 1 wrought nail; other unidentified iron fragments; 8 creamware, 2 delftware, 1 redware, and 1 unidentified refined earthenware sherds; animal bone and oyster shell.

Feature 98 was a small, oval refuse pit that was located in Test Unit 25. It measured 60 cm North-South by 40 cm East-West and was 36 cm in depth. The top of Feature 98 was 75



Figure 39. Archaeologist Carolyn Rock Instructs Young Volunteer in Block C.

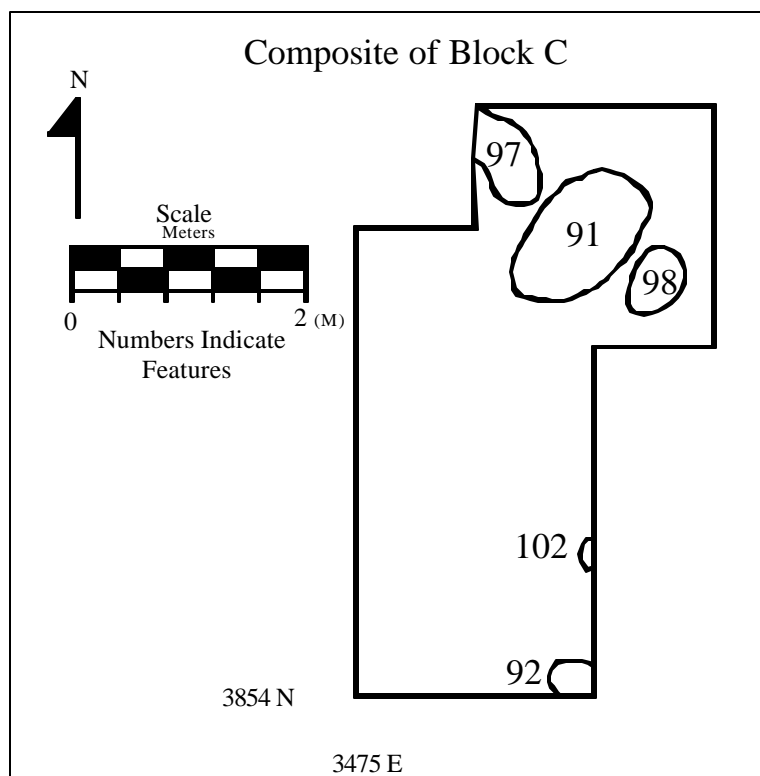


Figure 40. Composite Plan of Block C.



Figure 41. Feature 91, Block C, Facing West.

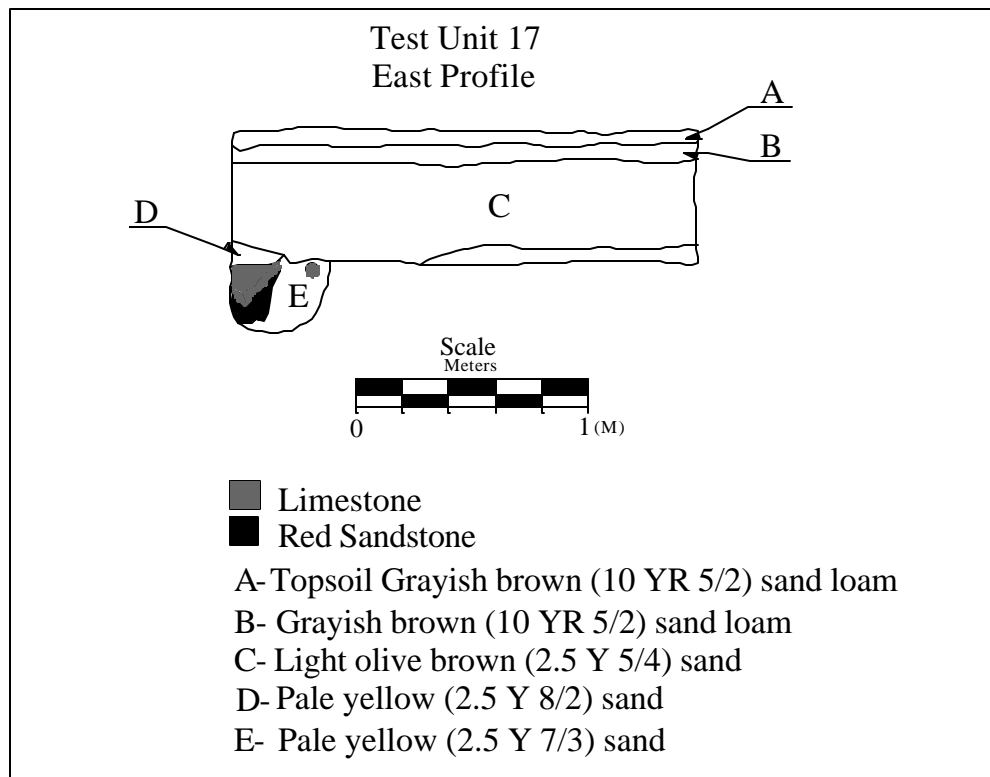


Figure 42. Feature 91, Test Unit 17, East Profile, Block C.

Table 9. Feature 91 Artifact Summary.

Daub (31.9 g)	1
Window glass, unmeasured	1
Unidentified nail	1
Unidentified nail	22
Bone button	1
Unid metal button	1
Belt buckle, iron/steel	1
Porcelain, blue h.p., aravy boat	1
Stoneware, blue and gray rhenish rim	2
Stoneware, white salt glazed	1
Creamware, plain	7
Creamware, molded	4
Redware, thick black glazed	4
Plain Indian sherd, 1 with bright orange paint	12
Animal bone (1.908.4 g)	1
Cowhorn (300 g)	1
Shell (3.3 g)	2
Clear bottle glass	1
Light green bottle glass	1
Olive green bottle glass	39
Olive green case bottle	26
Kettle/pot, cast iron	1
Tin bucket fragments	200
Unid iron/steel	31
Unid iron/steel, iron strap/possible barrel strap	3
Lead ball	2
Other gun part, brass trigger plate	1
French blade gunflint (honev color)	1
Kaolin pipe bowl	1
Ball clay stem/bowl, 4/64	1
Tobacco pipe stem, 4/64	3
Other clay tobacco pipe stem	2
Bucket/bail parts with mortar in bucket	1
Padlock	1
Sheet copper collar	1
Coquina limestone slab	1
Sandstone slab	1
Red ochre	8
Total	389

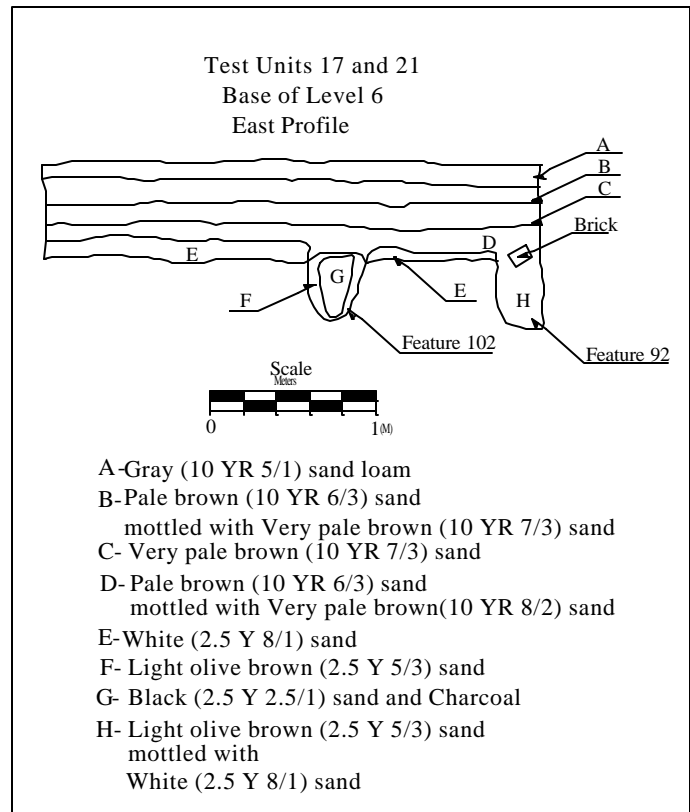


Figure 43. Test Units 17 and 21, East Profile, Block C.

cm below datum. The feature fill consisted of pale yellow (2.5Y7/3) sand. It contained building rubble, 1 nail, 1 creamware sherd, olive green bottle glass, animal bone and oyster shell.

Features 92 and 102 were historic posts, which extended into the eastern wall of Test Unit 21. Feature 92 measured at least 18 cm East-West by 38 cm North-South. Feature 102 was an oval posthole that measured at least 23 cm East-West by 33 cm North-South. Its fill consisted of light yellowish brown (2.5Y6/3) sand and charcoal. It probably represents a burned post. A brick near the top of the feature was used to secure the post. Artifacts from the feature included brick and oyster shell.

Excavation Block D

Excavation Block D was a single 2 m by 2 m test unit, Test Unit 18. Block D was placed south of Fort Defiance on the high ground, which has been referred to by some as a *glacis*. Shovel test data in the vicinity of this block excavation suggested that a historic cultural zone existed about 60 cm below the existing ground surface and this excavation block sought to identify the character of this deposit. The upper soil zones in Block D were a confusing mix of jumbled stratigraphy. Figure 44 shows the excavation of Block D in progress and Figure 45 shows the completed excavation. Figure 46 illustrates the layout of Features 78 to 82, 87 and 88 in this block. Soil profiles of Block D are shown in Figure 47.

Feature 78 was an irregular oval lens of mottled light olive brown (2.5Y5/3) and light yellowish brown (2.5Y6/4) sand that was defined at the base of Level 4 in Block D. Its function was not determined but it may represent backdirt from the trench features that lay beneath it. No artifacts were recovered from it. Oyster shell, weighing 200 g, from this feature was discarded in the field.

Feature 79 was a linear trench that extended across Block D in a Northwest-Southeast direction. It was 15 cm in thickness and varied in width from 70 to 80 cm. It was identified at the base of Level 5 in Test Unit 18. The feature fill was grayish brown (2.5Y5/2) sand with brick, oyster shell, 1 unidentified decorated Indian pottery sherd, and chert debitage. Three small post hole stains were identified at the base of Feature 79. This feature is probably associated with the outer military earthworks of Fort Morris.

Feature 80 was a trench in Block D that was parallel to Feature 79. It measured 70 cm Northwest-Southeast by 15 cm and was 4 cm in depth. The feature was recognized at the

top of Level 7. The feature fill was grayish brown (2.5Y5/2) sand. It contained no artifacts. This feature is probably associated with the outer military earthworks of Fort Morris.

Feature 81 was a post stain along the south wall of Block D. It was recognized in the excavation of Level 7. It measured 65 cm North-South by 30 cm East-West. The feature fill was grayish brown (2.5Y5/2) sand and oyster shell. No other artifacts were recovered from Feature 81.

Feature 82 was a rectangular stain that appeared in the southwest corner of Block D at the base of Level 6. It measured 70 cm East-West by 40 cm North-South. The feature fill was grayish brown (2.5Y5/2) sand and it contained daub and oyster shells. This feature is probably associated with the outer military earthworks of Fort Morris.

Feature 87 was a trench that was parallel to Feature 79 and the other trenches. It was recognized 90 cm below the existing ground surface. It measured 130 cm Northwest-Southeast by 50 cm Northeast-Southwest and varied from 20 to 68 cm in depth. The feature fill was yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand. The artifacts from Feature 87 included olive green bottle glass, wrought nails, 1 iron grapeshot, building rubble, cinders, unidentified Indian pottery, chert debitage, animal bone and oyster shell. The iron grapeshot attests to the military function of this feature.

Feature 88 was a trench that was parallel with Feature 79 and the other trenches. It was recognized 90 cm below the existing ground surface. It measured 2 m Northwest-Southeast by 42 cm Northeast-Southwest and was 55 cm in depth. Artifacts from Feature 88 included 1 redware sherd; 1 clear and 2 olive green bottle glass sherds, 1 glass jewelry piece; wrought nails; brick fragments; plain fiber tempered and other unidentified decorated Indian pottery sherds; chert debitage; animal bone and oyster shells. This trench is probably related to the outer defensive earthworks of Fort Morris. The single redware sherd from this feature had an unusual tortoise shell lead glaze, similar to Bennington wares. It is probably an 18th century ware but is one not widely distributed on colonial sites in coastal Georgia.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The present study yielded an enormous quantity of Revolutionary War era artifacts. It also included a minor amount of later cultural debris, as well as a broad sampling of prehistoric and protohistoric Native American artifacts. The historic artifacts were categorized and are described following South's (1977) artifact pattern groupings. This presentation



Figure 44. Archaeologist Kristofer Beadenkopf Pauses During Block D Excavations.



Figure 45. Block D, Features 87 and 88, Facing East.

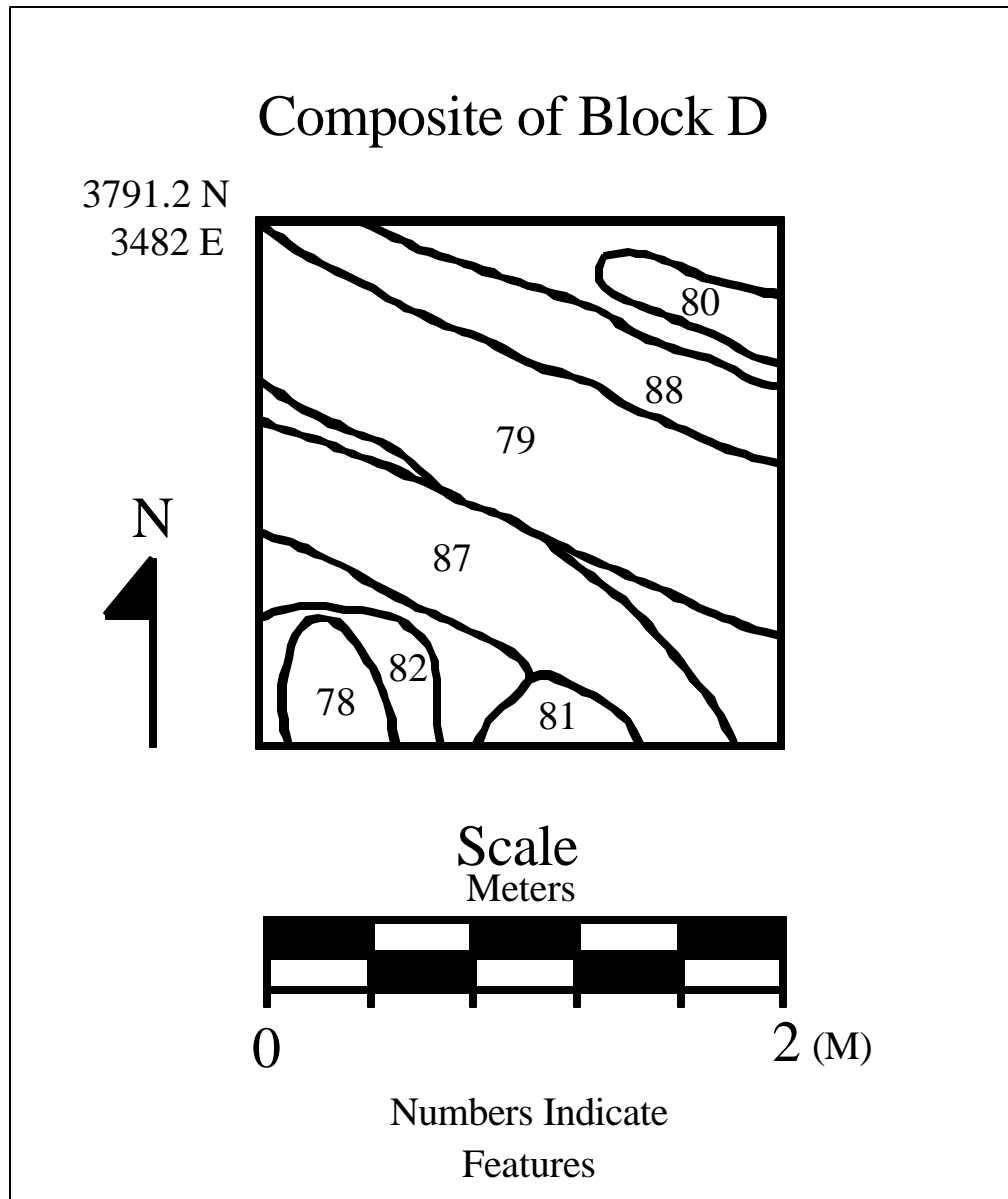


Figure 46. Composite Plan of Block D.

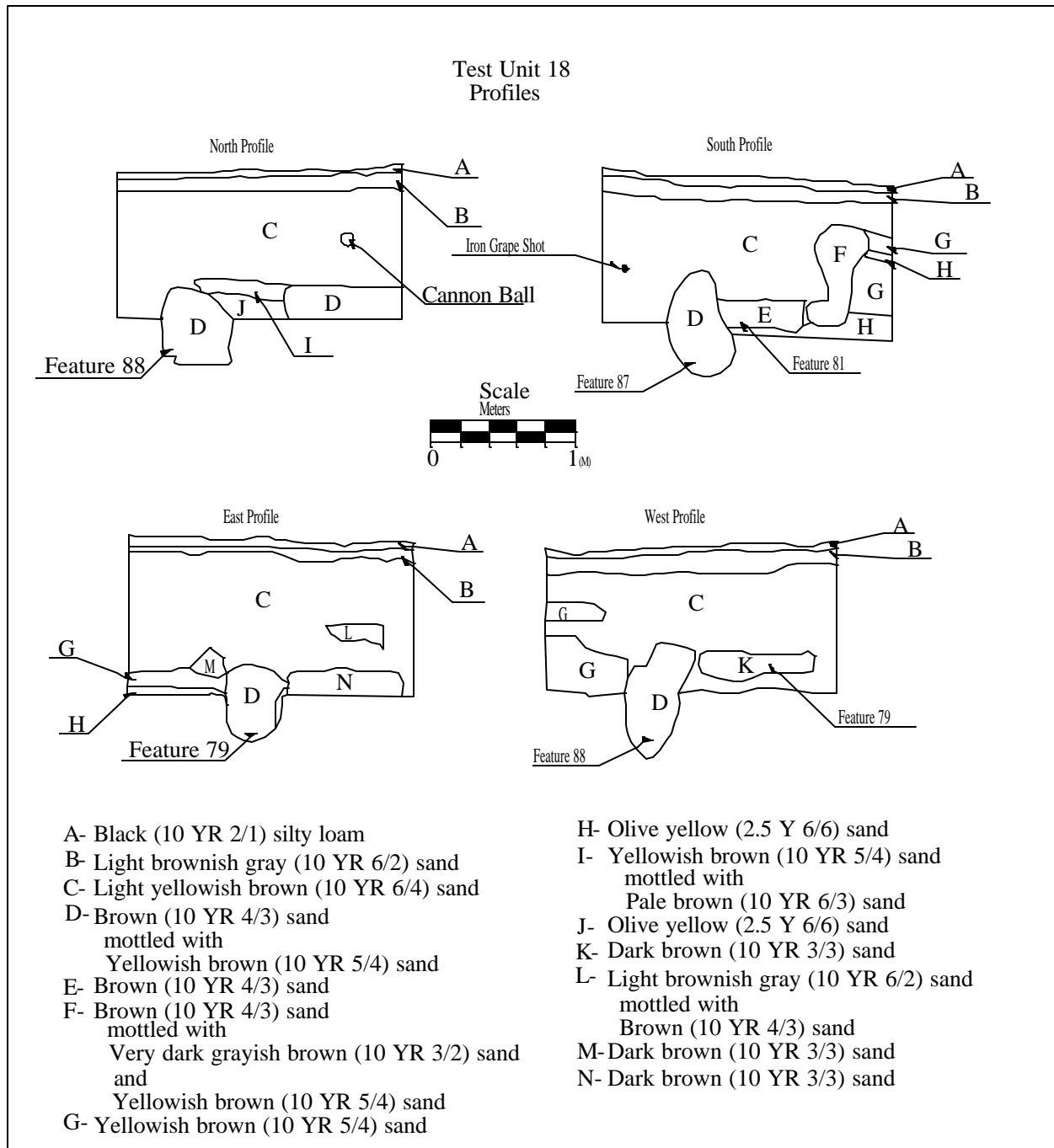


Figure 47. Profiles of Block D.

approach has become fairly standardized in historical archaeology studies in the Southeastern U.S.

Architecture Group

The Architecture Group was the best represented of all artifact categories. Selected examples of Architecture Group artifacts are shown in Figure 48. Many additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 2.

Broken clay brick bats and tabby mortar were abundant in the excavations, and tabby brick, coquina limestone, and sandstone were also common. Complete bricks were exceedingly rare, however, as only three were recovered from the excavations. One nearly complete coquina block was recovered from Feature 91 in Block B. This specimen was recovered as a representative type for permanent curation.

Several brick fragments from Block A and B, Trench 7, and from one shovel test possessed a green alkaline glaze. This irregularly distributed glaze was probably an unintentional byproduct caused by a combination of intense heat and specific chemicals. Glaze of this type is often seen on the interior of kilns and occasionally on the interior of chimneys. One example of glazed brick was recovered by Midgett in 1971 from his Unit 3 (Appendix 3).

Building hardware was another very common artifact type and this category was dominated by iron nails. Approximately 38.4 kg (84 lbs) of nails, or an estimated 7,898 nails or nail fragments, was recovered from the excavations at Fort Morris. Wrought nails were the primary type recovered, although a few wire nails and machine cut nails were found in the upper strata. These later nails do not appear to have been associated with the military occupation of the fort. These nails were probably deposited by hunters or fishermen who camped on the site

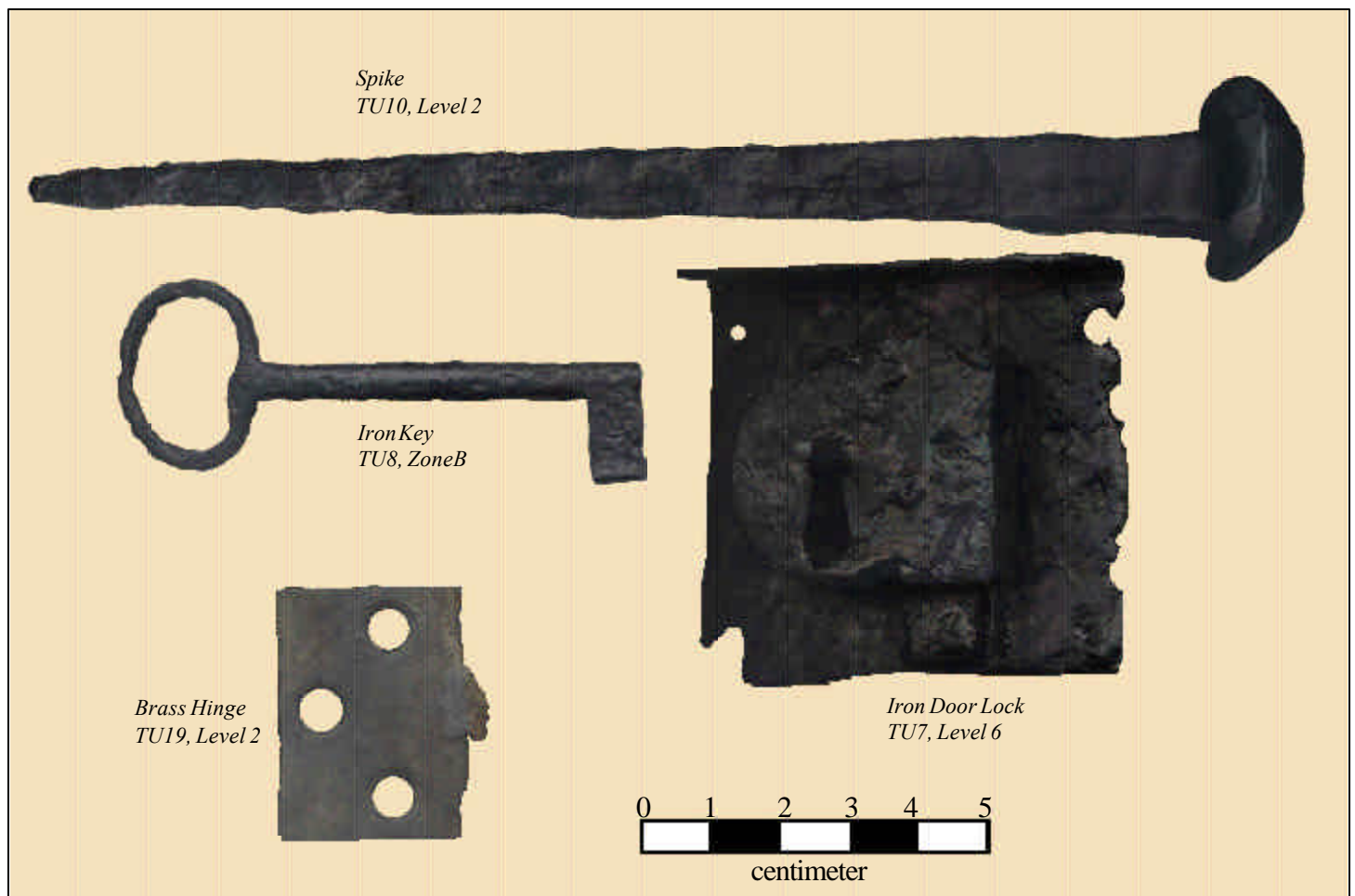


Figure 48. Selected Architecture Group Artifacts.
Scale is 1:1.

in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Two brass nails were recovered from Block A. Brass nails were commonly used in ship construction in the 18th century. These two specimens were likely salvaged from vessels, or intended for marine use.

A total of 34 large wrought iron spikes was recovered from the excavations. These were distributed in Blocks A, B, and C, Backhoe Trench 7, and one shovel test. Most were recovered from Block A (N=21), followed by Block B (N=8) and Trench 7 (N=3). Block C yielded a single example, as did the shovel test. Within a fort context, spikes were used in large timber construction for buildings and in fixed artillery mounts.

Two iron staples were recovered from the excavations—one in Block B and one from a shovel test. Two iron screws were recovered from 18th century contexts in Block A. One was identified as a wood screw and the other a sheet metal screw.

Wrought iron hinges were recovered from Blocks A and B. Feature 89 in Block B yielded one hinge with attached clinched wrought nails. Feature 74 in Block A yielded an iron hinge. Another hinge with nails attached was recovered from Test Unit 8 in Block A. Two small brass hinges were recovered from Blocks A and B. These may be associated with luggage or furniture and are discussed in greater detail in the furniture section. One sheet brass wall mounted candle sconce was recovered from Block B. This item is discussed in more detail in the discussion of the Furniture Group.

Window glass was present in only two shovel tests and three of the excavation blocks (A, B and C). Block D was devoid of window glass. The window glass was hand blown and typical of the 18th century. A total of 323 window glass sherds was recovered in the excavations. The frequency of window glass throughout the Fort Morris excavations was approximately 4.6 sherds per m².

Block A yielded 174 fragments of window glass, which represents a frequency of 8.7 sherds per m² of excavation. Block B yielded 109 pieces of glass, or a frequency of 4 sherds per m². Many of the window glass fragments in Block B, particularly those recovered from Test Units 15 and 16, were melted, which indicates that Structure 2 was consumed by fire. Block C yielded 38 window glass fragments, or 3.5 sherds per m². These data suggest that buildings containing glass windows were present in all three areas of the fort. Window glass was not common on most of the site, however, as none was recovered from shovel tests or backhoe trenching. Midgett recovered at least 111 pieces of win-

dow glass from his 1971 excavations (Appendix 3). Of these, 109 were recovered from his Unit 3. Midgett's data suggest that buildings with glass windows were located in the southwestern quadrant of Fort Morris.

The vertical distribution of window glass in the excavation blocks was examined to determine if any evidence of change over time could be discerned. Block A exhibits a slightly higher frequency of window glass in the upper three excavation levels. Levels 1 to 3 combined yielded a frequency of 5 sherds per m² versus Levels 4 to 8, 3.7 sherds per m². Blocks B and C showed the opposite relationship with 2.8 sherds per m². In Block B, Levels 3 and 4 yielded 3.8 sherds per m² compared to 1.3 sherds per m² in Levels 1 and 2. In Block C, no window glass was recovered from the three upper levels while Levels 4 to 6 yielded a frequency of 3.5 sherds per m². No clear relationship in the frequency of window glass through time at Fort Morris/Fort George was evident from these data.

Kitchen Group

Following the Architecture Group, Kitchen Group artifacts were the most abundant artifact type recovered from the excavations. Selected examples of Kitchen Group artifacts are shown in Figures 49 and 50. Many additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 2.

Ceramic ware was well represented at Fort Morris. A total of 2,384 sherds was recovered (Table 10). The vast majority was recovered from Blocks A (N=1,503), B (N=482), and C (N=355). Block D yielded only two redware sherds. Three historic sherds were recovered from Backhoe Trench 7 but were not observed from the other seven trenches. A total of 32 sherds was recovered from shovel tests.

Porcelain is generally a reliable indicator of wealth and status on 18th century sites in America, although inflated frequencies of porcelain are well documented on British military sites (South 1977). While some porcelain was produced in Europe in the 18th century, most of it came from China and Japan. The journey of these sherds to Georgia was a circuitous one that involved tens of thousands of miles by land and sea. Most of the porcelain was traded from the Orient via the Philippines, to the west coast of Central or South America. From there the wares were transported to the Atlantic Ocean, either overland or via the cape, and then shipped to England. From England it was loaded onto ships and distributed to merchants in the colonies. In turn, Sunbury, Savannah, and Charleston merchants sold these goods to wealthy Georgians at a greatly inflated price from its origi-

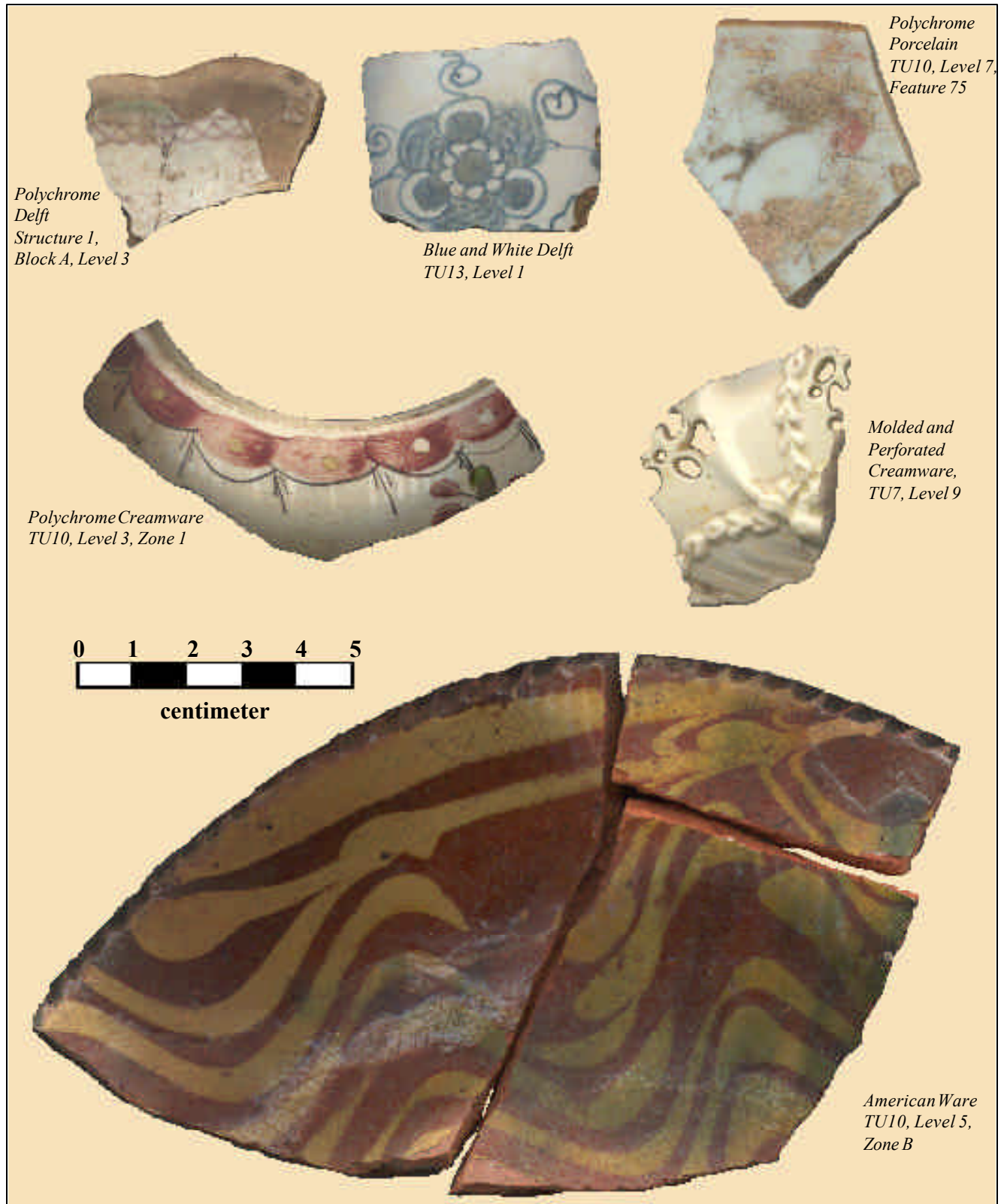


Figure 49. Selected Kitchen Group Ceramics.
Scale is 1:1.



Figure 50. Selected Other Kitchen Artifacts.
Scale is 1:1.

Table 10. Historic Ceramics.

Ceramic Class	Count	Percent
Porcelain	235	9.9
Stoneware	84	3.5
Refined earthenware	1592	66.8
Slipware	29	1.2
Unrefined earthenware	334	14.0
Delftware	110	4.6
Total	2384	100.0

nal purchase price in the Orient. As a result, most commoners in America could not afford porcelain in the 18th century.

Zierden and her colleagues have observed porcelain frequencies of 15 percent of the ceramic assemblage in urban 18th century Charleston, South Carolina (Zierden and Calhoun 1990:87, Table 2). At the town of New Ebenezer, Georgia, Elliott and Elliott (1991, 1992) reported a general frequency of 2 percent porcelain in the German town, but only 1 percent on the outlying plantations. Higher frequencies of porcelain (approaching 10%) have been observed at 18th century military sites in coastal Georgia, including Forts Argyle and Mount Pleasant (Elliott 1991:49; 1997:142-146). At Fort Morris porcelains comprised 9.86 percent (N=235) of the historic ceramics.

Fifty-four of the porcelain sherds at Fort Morris were undecorated. Most of the porcelain sherds, however, were decorated. Blue underglaze hand painted ware was the most common porcelain, represented by 131 sherds. Two of these sherds had gold gilding. One porcelain cup or mug handle was found in Level 1 of Block A. This sherd may postdate the Revolutionary War occupation at the fort since most porcelain cups in the 18th century did not have handles. Blue decorated porcelain was most common in Block A (N=84), followed by Block B (N=20), and Block C (N=14).

Polychrome overglaze hand painted ware comprised 56 sherds in the Fort Morris assemblage. This polychrome porcelain ware was imported and the most expensive ware in 18th century America. Of these, most (N=32) came from Block B, 20 came from Block A, only three from Block C, and one sherd was recovered from a shovel test.

Stoneware was a minority ware at Fort Morris where it comprised 3.52 percent (N=84) of the historic ceramics. British brown stoneware was the most common stoneware, represented by 24 sherds. Rhenish stoneware was the second most common type, represented by 17 blue and gray sherds. Nine of these sherds were recovered from Block C, while lesser frequencies were observed in Blocks A and B. Most of these

sherds probably represent drinking steins, which may indicate a functional distinction in Block C, such as the use of this area for a mess hall. This relatively high frequency of Rhenish stoneware sherds, which have a mean manufacture date of 1775, may also have skewed the MCD estimates from Block C slightly earlier than the actual occupation date.

Refined white salt-glazed stoneware was represented by 11 sherds at Fort Morris. Two of these were molded plate rims of two separate patterns—the bead and reel, and the diaper and basket. South (1977:210) noted that production of molded stoneware plates began in 1740 and had ceased by about 1775, which partially accounts for their low representation at Fort Morris. These white salt-glazed stoneware sherds were lightly distributed in Blocks A, B, and C and in one shovel test. No refined white salt-glazed stoneware bowl forms were identified in the assemblage.

Archaeologists recovered several minority wares, including red-bodied, engine turned stoneware, black basalt, and Whieldon ware. A refined, red-bodied engine-turned, red stoneware was represented by five sherds in the Fort Morris assemblage. All of these were recovered from Block A and they probably represent more than one vessel. One of the sherds was coated with a clear lead glaze, while the remainder were unglazed. These wares were produced between 1690 and 1775 (South 1977:211, Table 31). Black basalt was represented by a single stoneware sherd from Block B. This ware was produced from about 1750 to 1820 (South 1977:211, Table 31).

Refined Earthenwares comprised 66.78 percent (N=1,592) of the historic ceramics at Fort Morris. Most of these sherds were creamware, followed by pearlware, unidentified cream-colored ware, and clouded glazed ware. Creamware, which was first manufactured in 1762 and continued in production until about 1820, was the most common ware at Fort Morris, represented by 1,205 sherds. A wide variety of vessel forms, decorative motifs, and decorative applications was represented in this assemblage. Most of the creamware was found in Block A (N=762), followed by Block C (N=321), and Block B (N=194). Creamware sherds with colored decorations were in the minority (N=70). A total of 221 creamware sherds had molded decorations but were otherwise plain. A total of 898 undecorated creamware sherds was identified from the present study.

Sixty-six polychrome overglaze hand painted creamware sherds were found at Fort Morris. This ware was produced from 1765 to 1810 (South 1977:212, Table 31). These were expensive wares in the 18th century and are considered a high status indicator. Fifty-nine of these were from Block

A, while six were from Block B.

One brown transfer printed creamware sherd was recovered from Block A. Production of this ware began in 1765 and lasted until 1815 (South 1977:212, Table 31). Two blue handpainted creamware sherds were found in Block A. Annular, or dipped, creamware was found in Block A (N=2) and in one shovel test. One brown line ware sherd was recovered from Block A. Other decorated creamwares included an unusual brown, rouletted ware. Sherds of this type were present in Blocks A (N=3), B (N=9) and C (N=1).

Molded creamware motifs included at least nine different designs, which were: Barley garland with flower shaped holes, basket weave, bead and reel, concentric circles, diamond shape (alternating concave and convex), feathered edge, leaf-shaped holes, scalloped edge, Royal pattern and wheat grains.

Clouded glazed ware, commonly termed Whieldon ware, was possibly represented by three sherds from Block A. The best example was a green and brown decorated teapot lid (LN230), although this identification as Whieldon ware was debatable. Creamware was also produced with this type of green and brown decoration. Whieldon ware was first produced by Thomas Whieldon in 1740 and production had ceased by about 1770 (South 1977:211, Table 31).

Pearlware was represented by 298 sherds in the Fort Morris assemblage. Most of these were contained in Block A (N=276). Minor amounts were recovered from Blocks B (N=12) and C (N=8). None were present in the backhoe trenches. Two pearlware sherds were found in shovel tests. Until the 1990s most scholars considered pearlware to be a late addition to the ceramic wares of Revolutionary America (South 1977). Analysis of wares from secure excavation contexts at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, however, has pushed back the beginning manufacture date for these wares (Seidel 1990). Undecorated pearlware sherds comprised the largest single category of pearlware (N=136). These sherds represent a variety of plates and hollow ware.

A total of 112 underglazed blue hand-painted pearlware sherds was recovered from the excavations. Block A contained most of these (N=100). Block C followed with six sherds and Block B yielded five sherds of this ware. One sherd was recovered from a shovel test.

A total of 45 blue-edged pearlware plate sherds was recovered from the excavation. All but three of these sherds were from Block A. Blue-edged pearlware was uncommon below Level 5 in Block A. Block B produced two sherds and one

was recovered from a shovel test. South (1977:212, Table 31) places the beginning manufacture date of blue edgedware at 1780. Its concentration in the upper strata of Block A may indicate it was a late addition to the material culture in the fort, possibly connected with the British occupation after 1779.

Unidentified cream-colored ware, or C.C. ware, was represented by 84 sherds in the Fort Morris assemblage. The highest frequency of this ware was in Block B, which yielded 54 sherds. Block A produced 21 sherds and Block C yielded only one sherd. On 19th century sites this ware is common and spans many decades. These sherds at Fort Morris probably represent creamware or pearlware sherds that cannot be properly identified because of their small size or lack of pooled glaze. The pooled greenish glaze characteristic of creamware and the blue glaze typical of pearlware is often not present on flat sherds. The higher frequency of this ware in Block B compared to Block A may be a result of the intense heat caused by the burning of Structure 2.

Seven sherds of transfer printed ware were found in Levels 2 through 5 in Block A. These sherds date after the American Revolution and are common from the early to middle 19th century. These sherds are probably unrelated to the military occupation in the fort.

Tin enameled ware, or delftware, comprised 4.61 percent (N=110 sherds) of the historic ceramics at Fort Morris. The majority of the delftware sherds were undecorated. Of those decorated, blue hand painted delftware was the most common decoration, represented by 17 sherds in the assemblage. Block B yielded the most blue delftware sherds (N=9). Five were from Block A, and three were from Block C. Polychrome hand painted delftware was represented by only two sherds in the Fort Morris assemblage. Both were from Structure 1 in Block A. Delftware sherds without the tin glaze were relatively common in the assemblage. Delftware was poorly preserved at Fort Morris, which accounts for this category. No large delftware sherds were recovered that would lend themselves to a meaningful study of vessel morphology or design. Interestingly, the majority of delftware was represented in Block C.

Yellow slipware comprised 1.22 percent (N=29 sherds) of the historic ceramics at Fort Morris. Combed, trailed, and dotted motifs were represented in the assemblage. Combed lines were the most popular design element, represented by 11 sherds. One vessel combined combed and dotted motifs. Twenty-two slipware sherds were located in Block B and seven were found in Block A. The higher frequency in Block B compared with Block A may indicate lower status indi-

viduals, such as enlisted men, were eating in the Block B area. Yellow slipware was produced in England from about 1670 to 1795 (South 1977:211, Table 31). By the American Revolution, however, it was waning in popularity and was fast becoming a lower status ware.

Unrefined Earthenwares comprised 14.01 percent (N=334 sherds) of the historic ceramics at Fort Morris. These include redware, American slipware, and coarse earthenware. American slipware is a term applied to decorated redwares or coarse earthenwares that were likely produced in North America. This industry was well established by the American Revolution with production centers in New England, the mid-Atlantic colonies, and in the Moravian Wachovia settlement in central North Carolina. Many of these potters imitated English slipware designs and vessel forms. This type of pottery is not common on 18th century sites in Georgia and apparently no such industry existed in the colony. Local wares, such as those manufactured at Ebenezer and New Windsor, South Carolina were drab lead glazed wares that were usually undecorated. The colonial Georgia and South Carolina pottery traditions remain largely undefined, however, and recent research has indicated that more sophisticated wares were produced in some areas of these two colonies by potters such as Andrew Duche and John Bartlam (Bivins 1972, Ketchum 1991, McConnell 1988, Rauschenberg 1991, South 1993).

Most of the redware assemblage was unrefined lead glazed utilitarian ware. The appearance of the glaze was predominately brown or reddish brown. One unusual clouded-glaze unrefined redware sherd was recovered from Feature 88 in Block D. Six sherds of white-slipped redware, commonly known as Astbury ware, were identified in Block A. Production of this ware lasted from about 1725 to 1750. Two Jackfield refined redware sherds were identified in the Fort Morris assemblage—one each from Blocks A and B. This pottery was produced in England from about 1740 to 1780 (South 1977:211, Table 31).

Dating the Ceramic Assemblage

Mean ceramic date estimates were calculated for the ceramics from 9Li168. This research method, developed by Stanley South, has proven to be a useful tool in assessing the age of archaeological sites.

The reanalysis of Midgett's 1971 excavation materials yielded 180 sherds suitable for MCD calculation (Appendix 3). These yielded a MCD of 1768.9 (Table 11) Although we had hoped to obtain MCDs for each of his excavation

blocks, this proved to be an impossible task since the original provenience of many of the sherds was lost. Many sherds, for example, were not identified to the specific excavation unit from which they came. The date of 1768.9 seems early when compared to the MCDs derived from the present excavations, which are presented below.

Mean ceramic dates for the ceramic assemblage obtained in the present study were calculated using two different methods. The first method was based on a sample of 1,949 sherds, including several types such as porcelains and delftware that are usually excluded from MCD calculations. The entire ceramic collection from the 2002 excavations yielded a MCD of 1781.7 using Method 1 (Table 12). This date is consistent with the known occupation of the fort in the American Revolution. The MCD calculations using Method 2, which excluded porcelain and delftware, are addressed later in this discussion.

MCDs were calculated for block excavations A through C with Method 1. No MCD was obtained for Block D since it contained no dateable ceramics. Block A yielded a MCD of 1785.3 based on a sample of 1,227 sherds. A MCD of 1787.3 was obtained for Levels 1 through 3 combined in Block A (N=584) and a MCD of 1783.2 was derived for Levels 4 through 9 (N=625).

Block B yielded a MCD of 1778.2 based on a sample of 360 sherds. A MCD of 1770.3 was obtained for Levels 1 and 2 combined in Block B (N=108) and a MCD of 1781.5 was derived for Levels 3 through 5 (N=252). The reverse temporal relationship in Block B with the older date in the upper strata is puzzling and not readily explained. While it may be the result of a small sample size, it also may indicate that a zone containing older artifacts were deposited on top of the burned Structure 2.

Block C yielded a MCD of 1770.9 based on a sample of 324 sherds. A MCD of 1777.6 was obtained for Levels 1 through 4 combined in Block C (N=42) and a MCD of 1768.9 was obtained for Levels 5 and 6 combined (N=282). The generally older dates for Block C, when compared with those of Blocks A and B, is noteworthy. The upper soil zones in Block C were interpreted as rapid fill deposits and the ceramic frequency increased dramatically in Levels 4, 5, and 6.

A sample of 38 sherds that were derived from other excavation contexts, including shovel testing and backhoe trenching, yielded a MCD of 1788.1. The features from Fort Morris generally yielded too few dateable ceramics for a statistically reliable MCD calculation. Two features yielded marginally reliable MCD estimates, which were 1777.3 for Fea-

Table 11. Mean Ceramic Date Estimate, Midgette's 1971 Collection.

Count	Ceramic Type	Mean Date	Product
23	British brown stoneware	1732.5	39847.5
12	Yellow slipware, combed	1732.5	20790
17	Yellow slipware, dotted	1732.5	29452.5
16	Yellow slipware, plain	1732.5	27720
3	Yellow slipware, trailed	1732.5	5197.5
3	Blue and gray salt glazed stoneware	1737.5	5212.5
6	Gray salt glazed stoneware	1737.5	10425
1	Molded white salt glazed stoneware plate	1752.5	1752.5
1	Creamware, green decorated	1757.5	1757.5
1	Refined white salt glazed stoneware	1757.5	1757.5
1	Scratch blue salt glazed stoneware	1759.5	1759.5
24	Creamware, molded	1796	43104
60	Creamware, plain	1796	107760
3	Pearlware, plain	1802	5406
1	Pearlware, dipped "annular" polychrome	1805	1805
1	Blue transfer printed whiteware	1818	1818
1	Pearlware, blue transfer printed	1818	1818
1	Pearlware, blue edged	1820	1820
1	Ironstone, plain	1856.5	1856.5
1	Yellow ware, plain	1885	1885
3	Blue transfer printed pearlware	1818	5454
180	TOTAL		318398.5
		MCD=	1768.9

Table 12. Mean Ceramic Date Summary.

	Method 1		Method 2	
Location	Count	MCD	Count	MCD
Block A	1227	1785.3	1090	1791
Block B	360	1778.2	242	1783.6
Block C	324	1770.9	252	1788.7
Other Proveniences	38	1788.1	25	1790.7
Site Total	1949	1781.7	1609	1789.4

ture 89 (N=63) and 1777.6 for Feature 91 (N=15). A sample of 154 sherds from all combined feature contexts, however, yielded a MCD of 1780.9.

The ceramic assemblage was then subjected to MCD calculations using a more traditional method (Method 2), which excluded delftware, porcelain, and unidentified white bodied refined earthenware (C.C. ware). For this a sample size of 1,609 sherds was used. This exercise produced dates that were consistently later than the method cited above. The dates derived from Method 2 postdated the American Revolution. The total sample yielded a date of 1789.4. Block A (N=1,090) produced a date of 1791.0. Block B (N=242) yielded a date of 1783.6. Block C gave a date of 1788.7.

And a sample of 25 sherds from all other contexts yielded a date of 1790.7.

Ceramic Patterning at Fort Morris

The spatial distribution of historic ceramics revealed some interesting differences between the assemblages in the excavation blocks. As in most other artifact categories, Block A contained the greatest number of potsherds, followed by Blocks B, C, and D. Kitchen-related activities in Block D were decidedly minimal, as only two sherds were recovered from this block. Block D was much smaller than any of the other blocks, but in spite of this reduced sample size, this area still seems to contain fewer pottery sherds and other

domestic refuse.

Block A held the lead in nearly all major ceramic categories with these major exceptions—C.C. ware, English slipware and delftware. Block A contained more than 93 percent of the pearlware, 77 percent of the creamware, more than 50 percent of the porcelain and stoneware. Block B contained the highest frequency of C.C. ware and English slipware, followed by Block A. English delftware was most prevalent in Block C, however, followed by Blocks B and A. More than one-half of the delftware came from Block C, despite the low number of sherds recovered from this block (N=143). Block A contained more high status wares and may have housed officers, while most common wares were located in Blocks B and C, which may indicate the location of the enlisted men's quarters and mess, respectively. Alternatively, the spatial differences in ceramic status may reflect the differences in American versus British/Loyalist activity, or perhaps both factors are at play in producing the observed ceramic patterning at Fort Morris/Fort George.

Glassware

A total of 2,764 glass artifacts was identified in the Kitchen Group. At least 276 of these can easily be discounted as modern 20th century glass, four are from mid-19th century bottles, but nearly all of the remainder are in Revolutionary War context. This includes bottle glass and tableware glass.

Bottle glass

No whole bottles were recovered in the excavations at Fort Morris. More than 1,525 olive green bottle glass sherds were recovered that were probably portions of cylindrical spirit bottles. Manufacturing evidence, including pontil types, basal morphology, and lip treatment attest to a late 18th century bottle assemblage. Forty-one olive green square case bottles were identified in the Fort Morris assemblage. These were recovered from Blocks A, B, C, Backhoe Trench 7 and one shovel test.

Definitively identified pharmaceutical bottles were not common in the excavations. Four pharmaceutical specimens were identified and all were from Block A. Many pieces of aqua, clear, and light green bottle glass may have been parts of pharmaceutical bottles but they did not possess sufficient characteristics for an absolute identification.

A variety of other 18th century bottle glass was represented in the assemblage, including clear (N=292), aqua (N=273), and light green glass (N=150). At least two of the aqua bottles

were square, case bottle forms. Amber bottle glass (N=24) was a minority type at Fort Morris. Most of the specimens were recovered from shallow contexts and may be modern beer bottle glass. A few examples are from deeper contexts however, which suggest that dark amber bottles were present at Fort Morris in the 18th century but were very uncommon.

Tableware glass

Sixty-two sherds of lead glass were recovered from the excavations. Most of these are probably tableware glass. A few larger pieces of clear glass had recognizable forms. These included drinking glass tumblers and two decanter stoppers from Block A (LN111). One of the glass tumbler bases had been chipped for use as a cutting or scraping tool and this tool is discussed in greater detail in the Activities Group discussion. One fragment of an air-twist goblet was recovered from Block A (LN111). Other molded clear tableware glass was recovered from Block A but some of these sherds may post-date the Revolutionary War era. Fifty-four pieces of thin, clear, curved glass sherds were recovered from Blocks A through C. These may represent fragments of small bottles, lamp globes, or goblets. Most of these pieces were recovered from Block B, where they were most concentrated in Test Unit 16.

Midgette's 1971 excavations yielded approximately 1,108 pieces of bottle glass and tableware glass (Appendix 3). Most of these were recovered from his Unit 3 (N=967), followed by Unit 6 (N=85), Unit 1 (N=8), and Unit 4 (N=4). Four olive green glass sherds were recovered from the surface. Provenience information for 40 bottle glass sherds from Midgette's collection was not determined. Two specimens exhibit reuse as cutting or scraping tools. One of these is made from an olive green cylindrical bottle while the other is made from clear tableware glass. Midgette (1976) recognized the presence of worked bottle glass in his excavation assemblage. He also remarked on the frequency of melted bottle glass. These data suggest that Midgette's Unit 3 probably sampled buildings in the southwestern part of Fort Morris that were consumed by fire during the January 9, 1779 attack.

Archaeologists recovered several tableware utensils during the current excavations. Four wrought iron forks of the two-tine variety were recovered from Block A. These forks probably had socketed handles, which were presumably made of bone, wood, or antler, and have decayed. One cast pewter tablespoon fragment was recovered from Block A. Four other cast pewter utensil handle fragments (probably spoons) also were recovered from Block A. No recognizable maker's

marks could be identified, although one utensil handle possessed a badly corroded mark. Pewter tableware was a valuable commodity in 18th century America and it was frequently recycled and carefully curated (Martin 1989).

Nine fragments of cast iron cookware were recovered during the project. One example was recovered from the surface of the rampart on the south side of the main entrance to Fort Defiance. The other eight fragments were recovered from Blocks A, B, and C. A large portion of a footed pot was recovered from Feature 91 in Block C. Midgette's 1971 investigations yielded one cast iron kettle fragment from the surface (Appendix 3).

Numerous examples of iron barrel hoops that were used as broilers in cooking are documented from Revolutionary War encampments (Neumann and Kravic 1989:92, Figures 13-15). An *in situ* example was documented in Block A. This specimen, which extended beyond the eastern wall of the test unit, was mapped and photographed and left in place. Other large fragments of barrel hoops that were probably modified for various functions were recovered from Feature 69 in Block A.

One wrought iron cooking tool (LN162) was recovered from

Block A. This item had a slight hook on one end and a concave scoop on the opposite end. It measured 31 cm in length and 1.7 cm in maximum width. The length of the scoop was 4.2 cm.

Faunal Remains

One of the most impressive findings from the excavations at Fort Morris was the abundant, diverse, and well preserved faunal assemblage. Block A yielded the greatest amount of food bones, which was preserved in deeply buried context (Figure 51). More than 34 kilograms of bone, or more than six cubic feet of bone, was recovered. Bone was well represented in both midden and feature contexts. A cursory inspection revealed that the collection includes cow, deer, fish, possible horse, other small mammals, pig, and several species of turtle. Oyster shell and a minority of other shellfish also were abundant at the site. Most of the oyster shell was weighed and discarded in the field. Samples of shell were retained in the laboratory collection. Within the current budgetary framework a complete analysis of this important collection was not possible. The bone was washed, weighed and curated for future study.



Figure 51. Structure 1, Block A, Midden with Bones, Facing West.

Midgette's 1971 excavations also produced a sample of animal bone (N=107), although upon reanalysis this collection was badly degraded (Midgette 1976; Appendix 3). Midgette also reported "large quantities of oysters", although he provided no quantitative data. Midgette concluded, "Most of the bone found in the 1971 excavations was too fragmented for identification by a non-specialist". He did, however, identify cattle and pig bones.

Clothing Group

Selected examples of Clothing Group artifacts are shown in Figure 52. Many additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 2.

Buttons were the most commonly recovered artifact in the

clothing group at Fort Morris and they were widely distributed within the fort. A total of 91 buttons or button fragments was recovered in the Fort Morris excavations. With the exception of one modern re-enactor's button, which still held the thread attached and was found on the ground surface, these were 18th century types (South 1964, Olsen 1963).

Small, single-hole varieties were the most common type of bone button encountered in the excavations. Seventeen single-hole bone buttons were tentatively identified as South's Type 15, which is attributed by South and Noel Hume to an 1837 to 1865 context (Noel Hume 1983:90-91). Since no other evidence supports an occupation of Fort Morris during this period, however, a revised expla-



Figure 52. Selected Clothing Group Artifacts.

nation is in order. Many of these bone buttons may have been used for undergarments, although some may have served as backings for buttons with metal faces. Troiani (2001) describes many examples of this type of button back on Revolutionary War uniform buttons and he notes that these composite buttons were usually worn by officers. Most of these buttons were from Block B (N=10), followed by Block A (N=7). Although other bone buttons or button fragments were recovered from Block C, these were not identified as Type 15 buttons.

Five buttons from the Blocks A and B excavations were identified as bone-backed buttons. One of these had a thin brass foil front with a geometric woven pattern. A similar example was recovered from Test Unit 13, Block A. Another bone-backed button was apparently cloth covered. One 4-hole bone button, which was dome shaped, was recovered from Block B. Other bone buttons or fragments were recovered from Features 77, 89, and 91 in Blocks A, B, and C, respectively.

At least 25 buttons from Fort Morris were not identified by South's button types but were probably 18th century types based on their physical characteristics and archaeological context. Many of these were cast pewter or stamped brass fronts with simple loop iron backs. Many of the buttons were composed of two or more material elements. Many were pewter faced with iron backings, and a number had thin brass foil faces with bone, wood, or possibly horn backs. At least three examples from Blocks A, B and C were clay-filled, including one domed, plain example.

Although most of the buttons from Fort Morris are presumed to be off of military uniforms, most had either plain or decorative faces that were non-military in their design element. For the Americans this is understandable since they were poorly clothed, particularly in Georgia. Troiani (2001) noted that the Hessian mercenaries wore plain buttons or non-military decorative buttons. The same apparently holds true for the loyalist regiments, such as Delancey's Brigade and Skinner's New Jersey Volunteers. Buttons with regimental information were exceedingly rare at Fort Morris—only five were recovered by this project. These included one British 52nd Regiment, one British 60th Regiment, one "P-B" button, one American Continental Artillery button, and one Georgia or South Carolina "I" button.

The 52nd Regiment was a British unit that participated in the Philadelphia campaign in 1777, retreated to New Jersey and was disbanded prior to the Georgia campaign. The officers in that regiment returned to Great Britain in August 1778 while the soldiers were reassigned to other British units, including units involved in the Georgia campaign. The cast

pewter button recovered from Block A is very similar to one illustrated by Troiani (2001:58, Figure B52.c), which he identifies as an Enlisted man's large-sized uniform button. It bore the raised numerals "52" in the center with a simple beaded surround on the edge.

The 60th Regiment, or Royal Americans, marched from St. Augustine to participate in the capture of Fort Morris. Within 10 days the main body of the 60th Regiment moved up the coast to Savannah and other posts in eastern Georgia and South Carolina. One 60th Regiment button was recovered from Level 5 in Block C. This specimen was a poorly preserved cast pewter button with an iron backing. It bore a laurel wreath surround with the raised numerals, "60" in the center. It was approximately 23 mm in diameter. The Fort Morris example was similar in size and appearance (but not identical) to one recovered from Fort Haldimand in upstate New York (Troiani 2001:63, Figure B60.h).

One cast pewter button bore the letters "P-B" beneath a corroded motif that was tentatively identified as a crown. This button was in extremely poor condition but its decoration was a raised PB. The P and B were separated by a dot, centered beneath a crown motif. No similar examples of this button type were found in Troiani (2001) or other published references. Although this button was not specifically identified as to military unit, its design resembled the Royal Provincial buttons, which were marked with an "R.P." beneath a crown (Troiani 2002:77-78). Troiani noted that Royal Provincial (RP) buttons were worn by loyalist troops from New York and New Jersey, both of whom were posted at Fort George, Sunbury. No examples of the RP buttons were recovered from the excavations at Fort Morris, however. Two options for the identification of the PB button are offered. The less likely explanation is that PB may refer to the Pennsylvania Brigade. Alternatively, it may refer to the Provincial Brigade. Since no Pennsylvania regiments were assigned to southern Georgia, other than a small guard detachment that accompanied Major General Anthony Wayne in 1782, and no Pennsylvania buttons of this variety have been described in print, the second explanation seems more plausible (Wayne 1776-1796, 1779-1796, various dates; Bancroft 1606-1887). This button was recovered from Block B.

An American Continental Artillery button in extremely poor condition was recovered from Level 5 in Block C (LN289). It was cast from pewter with an iron backing and measured approximately 21 mm in diameter. It was similar to an illustrated example recovered from the Hudson River Valley (Troiani 2001:105, Figure AcAn). One company of the 1st

Georgia Continental Artillery, commanded by Captain Thomas Morris, was garrisoned in Fort Morris from early 1778 to January 1779 and archaeological evidence of their occupation was anticipated. This single uniform button, however, was the only positive proof of their presence that was recovered by this project.

One American button, bearing the numeral “I” was recovered from Block B. This could be from either the 1st Georgia or 1st South Carolina continental army uniform (Troiani 2001). Both regiments saw service in coastal Georgia. Information on Georgia Continentals buttons is quite scant as Troiani noted (Troiani 2001:112-113). The example from Block B at 9Li168 is similar to a 1st South Carolina Regiment button illustrated by Troiani (2001:141, Figure A1SC.b).

Information on uniforms worn by the New Jersey Volunteers and Delancey’s Brigade indicated that metal buttons were used to distinguish between the various loyalist regiments. The manner in which they were distinguished, however, was by the arrangement and number of buttons on particular parts of the uniform, rather than any particular motif on the button. The New Jersey Volunteers distinguished their first three battalions by their button arrangements, “distinguished by their buttons—the second having their buttons in pairs and the third in threes for distinction” (Cole and Braisted 2002). Uniforms of Delancey’s Brigade also had significant coat button arrangements with, “the 1st Battalion having 10 buttons on each lapel at equal distance; the 2nd, 10 buttons by twos, and the 3rd Battalion, 9 buttons in groups of three” (Sons of the Revolution in the State of California 2003). In the absence of an intact uniform, however, the buttons lose this meaning. Such is the case for most of the buttons at Fort Morris. Although they may have been recognizable when they were worn, now they are only plain or non-military in appearance. Some distinction may be made between officers and enlisted men by their buttons. For example, officers in Delancey’s Brigade wore silver buttons, while enlisted men wore white metal buttons. Troiani (2001) does not specify any identifying buttons for Delancey’s Brigade. Some of the plain white metal buttons at Fort Morris may be from Delancey Brigade uniforms.

Archaeologists uncovered other non-button artifacts in the clothing category, including cuff links and hook and eye combinations. Five small hook and eye clasps were recovered from Block A. Some were made from brass and some from iron. Three brass cuff links were recovered from Blocks A and B at Fort Morris. One example had mother of pearl inlay (LN107). One from Block B had a floral motif, which was in an oval cartouche with a braided surround (LN302).

The third example was an undecorated oval piece. Cuff links were used by men to secure their shirtsleeves. Hook and eyes were used to secure dress seams and collars and were probably used for both men and women’s clothing.

Buckles were well represented in the assemblage at Fort Morris. Twenty-two fragments were recovered. Most of these were 18th century shoe buckle parts, which exhibited a variety of designs. These included silver, brass, and iron examples. One plain rectangular silver shoe buckle frame fragment was found in Block B. Silver shoe buckles are uncommon on 18th century sites in Georgia. They represent a high status item and possibly were worn by officers. This single silver buckle fragment may also represent an artifact plundered or picked up by an enlisted man, who recognized its value. At least 14 brass shoe buckle fragments were recovered from Blocks A, B, and C. Most were from Block B and only one example was from Block C. No complete specimens were recovered and numerous distinct shoes are represented by this assemblage. A fragment of a brass stock buckle, similar to one illustrated in Neumann and Kravic (1989:54, Figure 16) was recovered from Block A (LN117). This buckle type is attributed to the British military. Many small internal buckle tongue fragments, made of iron or brass, were recovered from these excavation blocks. All of the brass buckles were consistent with previously described 18th century types (Abbitt 1973, Stone 1974:25-44). Small iron buckle parts were recovered from Blocks A, B, and C. These buckles were used for a variety of purposes. Some may have served as shoe buckles for soldiers who could not afford brass ones. Other iron buckles secured straps on horse tack and some may have been used with belts.

Sewing apparel, including pins and a thimble, was preserved in Block A. Three straight pins were recovered from Block A. Two pins were made of brass and one was silver or silver-plated brass. The brass thimble was quite small and probably intended for a child or woman’s hand (LN166). Two glass beads and one shell bead were recovered from Block A. The two glass beads were common 18th century types. One was a blue glass wire wound bead fragment measuring 8.5 mm in length and 9.7 mm width. The other was a tubular shell bead.

Midgette’s 1971 excavations produced at least 15 metal clothing artifacts (Appendix 3). These included brass and pewter buttons, a brass button with a glass inset, a brass eye fastener, a brass heart-shaped pin, and two brass shoe buckles. None of the buttons from Midgette’s assemblage had any regimental marks, although two bore geometric designs.

Arms Group

The primary function of the historic occupation at Site 9Li168 was military defense. This role is clearly reflected in the material culture recovered in this study and in previous studies by Midgette (1976) and Sheftall (1995). Consequently, the Arms Group artifacts are well represented in the assemblage. Selected examples of Arms Group artifacts are shown in Figures 53 and 54. Many additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 2.

Heavy Ordnance

Historical documents record more than thirty artillery pieces, including cannons and one brass 7-inch mortar, that were once present at Fort Morris. These weapons ranged in size from 18 pounder cannons to 3 pounders. When the British abandoned the post in September 1779, they most likely took most of these artillery pieces with them to Savannah. Those that were left behind likely included guns that were defective, outdated, and possibly those that were extremely heavy. Cannons are numerous reported at Fort Morris in the historical literature, as well as modern oral tradition. Reports of abandoned cannons were described by C. C. Jones, Jr. in the late 19th century. One of these artillery pieces made its way to Jones' Montrose manor house in Augusta where it was displayed for decades before returning as a museum display item in the Fort Morris State Historic Site.

No cannon barrels were recovered during the project. None of the GPR anomalies were interpreted as buried cannons. Such items would have likely left a distinctive radar signature when viewed in profile because the radar signal does not penetrate them. The signal that results from passing the GPR antenna across massive metal items is quite distinctive. No such signals were observed in any of the GPR profiles.

A small swivel gun was reportedly recovered from Fort Morris in the early 20th century and was mounted on display at the Simon Brewton house in Hinesville (Marshall Brewton, Jr., Personal Communication, October 12, 2002). A mid-20th century photograph has survived that depicts the weapon as it was displayed at that location. An enlargement of a portion of this photograph, showing the weapon, is presented in Figure 55. This artillery piece was stolen from the Hinesville house in the 1960s and its present whereabouts are unknown. The artillery piece purportedly from Fort Morris is similar to one in the Kravic Collection (illustrated in Neumann and Kravic 1989:21, Figure 38). That example was 19 inches in length and had a 1 1/8 inch bore.

A portion of a wrought iron linstock (LN161) was recovered from Block A. Although broken on the bottom and one side, its original width at the top is estimated at 18 cm. Linstocks were mounted on a pole with a smouldering cotton rope attached. They were used by artillerymen to ignite the cannons. This piece from Block A was simple in design, similar to an American design illustrated in Neumann and Kravic (1989:180, Figure 4). The specimen from Fort Morris is probably an American linstock.

Archaeological evidence of heavy ordnance at Fort Morris consisted almost exclusively of projectiles, including solid iron shot, solid lead shot, and hollow iron shells. Although historical documents attest to the presence of several dozen heavy weapons in the fort, including several that lay abandoned in the fort into the late middle 19th century, none were located by the present excavation team. Most of the projectiles that were recovered were probably fired at the fort by the British on January 9, 1779, since no other significant bombardment of the fort is recorded. Consequently, projectiles, particularly shrapnel and to a lesser degree, grapeshot, serve as excellent time markers at Fort Morris. Any feature or buried soil stratum containing shrapnel most likely was created during or after the bombardment of January 9. Since the Americans surrendered the fort that same day, then these areas containing shrapnel are most likely either associated with the Americans on the day of bombardment, or the British occupation and clean-up in the months that followed. Any feature or soil stratum that was created prior to January 9 is far less likely to contain shrapnel.

Although the Americans who garrisoned Fort Morris had more than two dozen large guns at their disposal, the British attacked with only three large guns and carried the day. The weapons that the British had on the battlefield were a howitzer and two mortars. British officers' accounts suggest that one of the mortars fired an 8 or 9 inch shell. The caliber of the other two guns were not noted.

William Falconer summarized the use and effectiveness of the mortar in his 1780 *Dictionary of the Marine*: "Mortars are used in the attack of a fortified place, by sea, to discharge shells or carcasses amongst the buildings. The shell is a great hollow ball, filled with powder, which, falling into the works of a fortification, &c. destroys the most substantial buildings by its weight; and, bursting asunder, creates the greatest disorder and mischief by its splinters" (Falconer 2002:876).

Large shot and explosive shell shrapnel was well represented in the archaeological assemblage at Fort Morris. A total of 23 pieces was recovered in the present study. Three large



Figure 53. Selected Arms Group Artifacts.
Scale is 1:1.

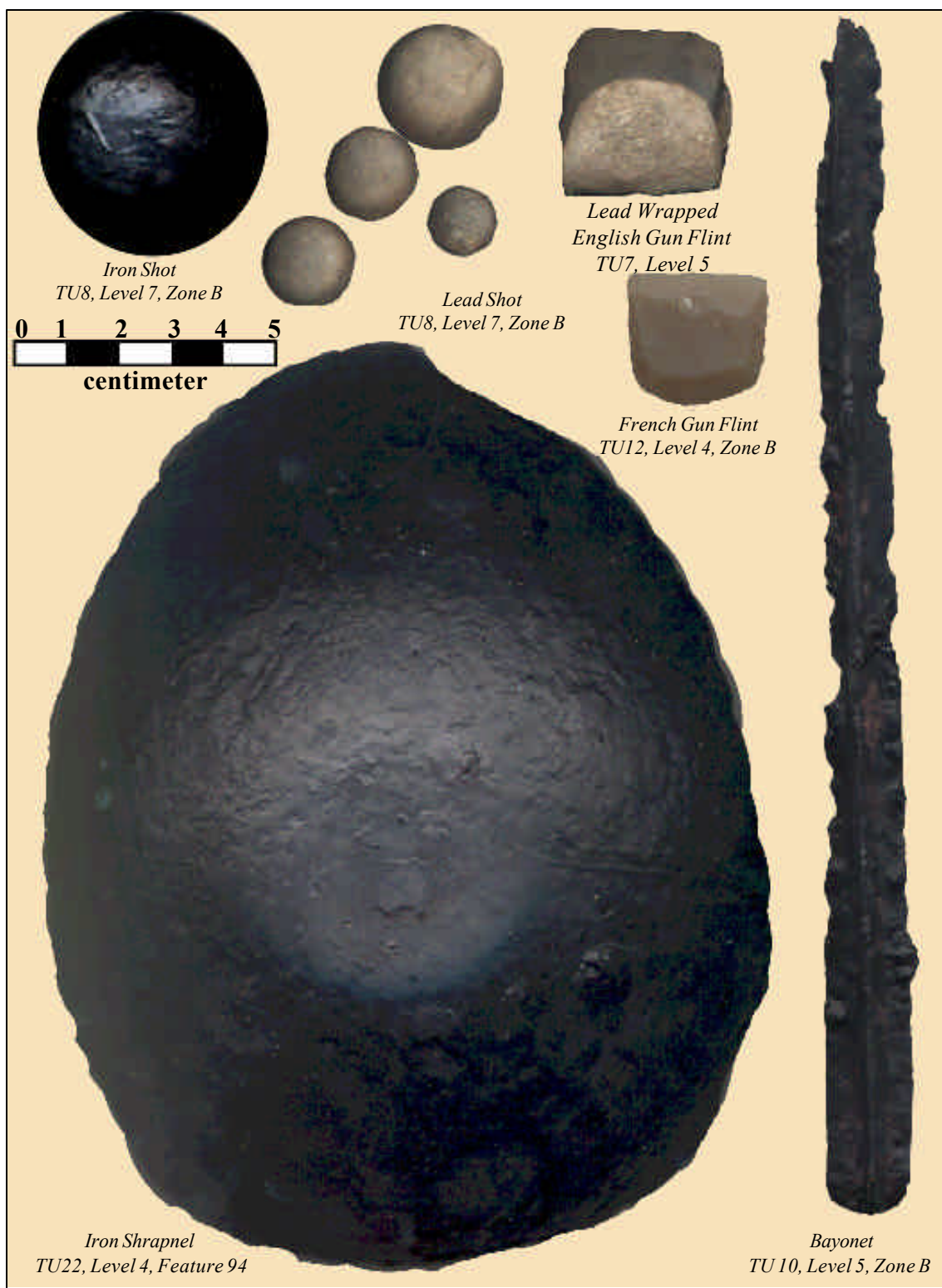


Figure 54. Selected Arms Group Artifacts.
Scale is 1:1.

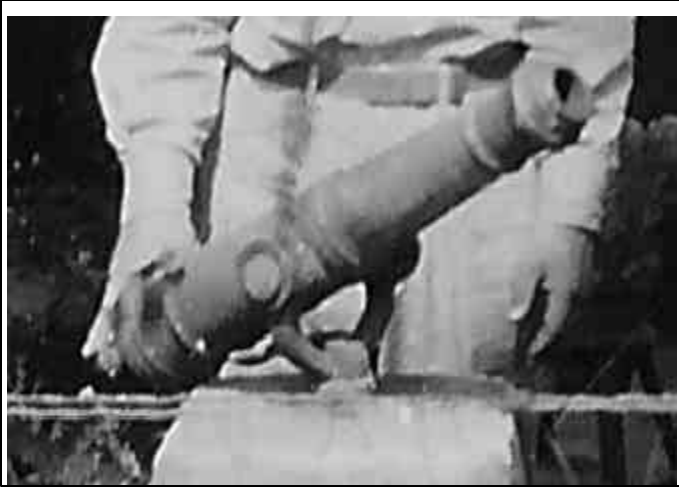


Figure 55. Small Swivel Gun Attributed to Fort Morris.

solid iron shot were recovered, including one weighing 4.75 pounds recovered from Test Unit 18 and two, both weighing 4 pounds, found with the aid of a metal detector on the southern slope of the Fort Defiance *counterscarp*. Features 60, 70 and 94 each yielded single shrapnel fragments of explosive mortar bombshells. The other mortar fragments were mostly from smaller bombshells, and diameter measurements were not attempted for these specimens. Shrapnel fragments were recovered from all four excavation blocks and one backhoe trench. None were recovered from shovel tests. Nine specimens were located with the aid of a metal detector.

The largest fragment of an explosive shell was recovered from Feature 94 in Block B. This projectile, which includes a portion of the fuse hole, had a diameter of approximately 8 inches, which may indicate that it was fired from a 8 or 9 inch mortar. The next largest fragment of explosive mortar shell was recovered from the lower zone of Feature 60 in Backhoe Trench 1. It had an outer diameter of approximately 9 inches, indicating that it was fired from a 9 inch mortar. The captured American ordnance at Fort Morris included one brass 9 inch mortar, so it is possible that these shrapnel fragments were fired from this weapon. It is not a reasonable explanation for shells from this weapon to explode so near the fort, however, since the noise and damage would have been devastating to the soldiers in the post. A more reasonable conclusion is that these two shrapnel fragments were fired by the British forces who laid siege to Fort Morris on January 9, 1779.

Archaeologists recovered one hollow bomb fragment with the aid of a metal detector (LN372). This explosive cast iron piece was nearly two-thirds intact and is interpreted as

a hand grenade. It measured 70 cm in diameter (or 2.88 caliber) and weighed 1.5 pounds. The diameter of the fuse hole was 21.7 mm and the wall thickness at the fuse hole was 14.5 mm. The inner diameter of this shell was 44.1 mm. Another hollow bomb fragment was recovered with a metal detector (LN365). It measured 7.2 cm in diameter (or 3.10 caliber) and weighed 1.5 pounds. The diameter of the fuse hole was 18.5 mm and the wall thickness at the fuse hole was 16.8 mm. It was approximately one-sixth complete.

Twenty-three cast iron grapeshot were recovered from Fort Morris in the present study. Grapeshot were small iron or lead balls that filled canvas sacks, which were fired from cannons. Grapeshot was recovered from four features (Features 71, 73, 87, and 94), all four excavation blocks, and two backhoe trenches (Trenches 3 and 6). Some of these balls may have been fired as single shot in a small bore cannon but most were probably used in multiples. The largest example of grapeshot measured 1.88 caliber and weighed 1 pound. All of the other examples weighed well under one pound. The British inventory of the American ordnance that was captured at Fort Morris does not include any cannons smaller than a 4 pounder. While the relationship between cannon “poundage” and the actual weight (in pounds) of a cannonball has changed since Medieval times, an approximate association exists. Diameter measurements were made for 21 grapeshot. These ranged in size from 0.85 to 1.55 inches and they averaged 1.06 inches in diameter.

Four large lead shot (.75 and .76 caliber) and 10 large lead shot greater than 0.76 inches in diameter were recovered at Fort Morris. These may have served as grapeshot in larger weapons or it may have been used as a single load in a swivel-mounted wall gun, also known as rampart gun or amulette (Neumann 1967:130-132). These weapons filled a niche between a shoulder mounted arm and a cannon. They were frequently used in defending fortifications and were popular because of their semi-portability. Surviving examples of this type of oversized flintlock weapon indicate a barrel bore diameter in the .75-.95 caliber range. A museum specimen of an American wall gun in the collection of the West Point Museum weighs 53.5 pounds and has a total length of 61.25 inches. A British example measured 81 inches (6.75 feet) in length and had a .93 to .94 caliber barrel (Moore 1967:113). French and Dutch examples were similar in length but considerably sleeker and weighed under 22 pounds (Neumann 1967:132).

Flintlock weapon hardware

The recovery of flintlock weapon hardware from the excavations was anticipated. Most were recovered from Block A, including many unbroken pieces. Firearm hardware was recovered from Blocks A, B and C at Fort Morris. Historical accounts include reference to 50 American muskets being destroyed by a British bomb blast within Fort Morris. One possible interpretation is that some of the gun parts recovered from Block A may be related to this event. Several of the weapon specimens from Block B also exhibited evidence of traumatic destruction from fire or explosions.

The most complete flintlock mechanism was recovered from Block A (LN161). It included a lockplate, frizzen, pan, frizzen spring, tumbler, and main spring. The lockplate measured 143.2 mm in length and 32 mm in height. The frizzen measured 27.6 mm in width. No identifying marks were recognizable on this specimen, although the outline of the lockplate indicates that it is not from a Brown Bess musket (Darling 1987:41, Figure 33, Type 1). By default, it is most likely from an American or French flintlock. One topscrew and cock from a flintlock mechanism was recovered from Block A (LN166). This specimen measured 92.0 mm in length and 27. mm in height. One broken iron cock and top screw was recovered from Block B (LN181).

Four butt plate fragments from shoulder arms were recovered from the Fort Morris excavations. One brass butt plate fragment from Block A bore two faint stamped maker's marks on the interior. Neither mark was fully identifiable. Both marks were probably crest motifs with crenulated tops (LN201). The butt plate measured 52.5 mm in width and it exhibited one attachment hole. The distal end of the butt plate exhibited a jagged fracture that resulted from intense heat, such as a bomb blast or fire. Another plain brass butt plate fragment came from Block A (LN321). This specimen had a maximum width of 45 mm and was attached to the stock with at least two screws. One of the iron screws was still attached to the butt plate, which suggests that the butt plate was attached to the stock at the time of its deposition in the archaeological record. This specimen bore no identifying marks. A third brass butt plate fragment from Block A was a distal piece with a single attachment hole (LN162). It was plain but its outline was unlike illustrated examples of Brown Bess butt plates, which may indicate it was from an American or French weapon. One iron butt plate was recovered from Block A (LN321). This specimen had a maximum width of 52.1 mm and was attached to the stock with at least two screws. The stock height for this weapon (measured perpendicular to the axis of the gun barrel) was estimated to be more than 117.7 mm.

Brass trigger guard fragments were recovered from Blocks A and B. The most complete specimen (LN244) bore engraved decorations and measured 26.5 mm in maximum width. The width of the trigger aperture was 50.3 mm. The engraved design was a simple starburst motif that was positioned in the lower central, exterior part of the guard. It bore no other identifying marks. Midgette (1976:272) also reported finding an engraved trigger guard in his 1971 excavations. One iron trigger guard was identified from Midgette's Unit 3 in the reanalysis but it did not appear to be engraved (Appendix 3).

Trigger lock plates were recovered from Blocks A, B, and C. The Fort Morris specimens resembled an illustrated example from Fort Stanwix, New York (Hanson and Hsu 1975:66, Figure 43c). One example from Structure 1 in Block A contained the trigger and a small iron pin that secured the trigger (LN355). This specimen was probably still attached to the flintlock stock at the time the weapon was incorporated into the archaeological record, which may indicate a catastrophic event. One brass trigger plate from Block A (LN111) had a maximum width of 17.2 mm. Other examples were recovered from Feature 91 (LN295) and from Level 5 in Block C (LN289). The specimen from Feature 91 measured 14.3 mm in width. One iron specimen was recovered from Block B (LN237).

Two trigger mechanisms were recovered from Block A. Both were probably from flintlock carbines or muskets. One example retained the iron wire pine that held it into the housing (previously described), while the other was a detached trigger (LN321).

Brass ramrod pipes, or guides, were recovered from Blocks A and B. These artifacts are similar to other examples excavated from Revolutionary War sites in the U. S. (Hamilton 1976:17, Plate V, F through I; Hanson and Hsu 1975:69, Figure 44b). One cast brass example is similar to that shown on Brown Bess Short Land, New Pattern (Type 1) Muskets, which were used in the American Revolution (Darling 1987:39, Figure 32a). This specimen from Block A was attached to the weapon with a single attachment hole (LN111). It measured 41.7 mm in length, 13.8 in maximum width (expanded at the center), and had an aperture of 10.7 mm. A similar example was recovered from Block B (LN244). It measured 42 mm in length, 13.7 mm in maximum width, and had an aperture diameter of 10.3. It also had a single attachment hole at its middle. Midgette (1976:277, Plate 30, Number 4) illustrates a similar cast brass example that is probably from a Brown Bess musket. The other specimens are probably from American or French firearms. One speci-

men from Block A was made from sheet brass (LN355). It was 77.8 mm in length and 12.9 mm in diameter. It had an intentionally flattened aperture on one end, which indicates it was positioned on the rear of the weapon (Hamilton 1976:17, Plate IV, A-E). It was attached to the flintlock with two small attachment holes and it was decorated at both ends by a slight, ribbed motif.

Three of the ramrod pipes were positioned at the front end of the weapon (Hamilton 1976:17, Plate IV, F-N). Another example from Block A was made from sheet brass (LN331). It also had ribbed designs at either end but lacked the flattened appendage. It measured 37.3 mm in length and 13.3 mm in diameter and was attached to the flintlock by two small iron pins through small holes in the brass. One of these pins remained present, which indicated that it also had been attached to a flintlock at the time the weapon was lost. Another sheet brass ramrod pipe was recovered from Block A. It measured 35.9 mm in length and 13.2 mm in diameter and was decorated with a similar ribbed motif. It was attached at two small holes with iron pins. One of the iron pins remained attached while the opposite end was intensely burned, again indicating catastrophic events prior to deposit in the archaeological record. A fragmented example of a ramrod guide from Block B exhibited evidence of exposure to intense heat. It was made from sheet brass and measured approximately 33.6 mm in length and had a ribbed decoration similar to the previous two examples.

Small, decorative and undecorated escutcheon plates, or thumb plates, were recovered from Blocks A and B. None bore any identifying marks, although one example had a cast thistle motif, which may indicate Scottish or British affiliation. Another brass sideplate example (LN321) from Block A had a decorative, scroll-like outline but was otherwise undecorated. A different thumb plate escutcheon fragment from Block A was decorated but too small for detailed identification. Another escutcheon was undecorated but cut in the shape of a pineapple. This specimen (LN202) had an iron wood screw attached from where it was mounted to the stock, which indicates that the escutcheon was discarded while still attached to the stock. The cast thistle escutcheon likewise had an iron screw attached, indicating a similar catastrophic fate. Midgett (1976:272) reported finding two brass serpent side plate fragments, which were common on Indian trade guns of the 18th century. Neither fragment was located in the reanalysis of Midgett's collection (Appendix 3).

Two sections of iron gun barrels were recovered from Fea-

ture 69 in Block A. The longest specimen measured 41.5 cm in length with an interior bore diameter of 0.56 caliber (distal) to 0.66 caliber (proximal); an outer diameter of 0.88 caliber (distal and proximal); and is round shaped in cross section. The other specimen measured 40.5 cm in length with an inner bore diameter of 0.66 caliber (distal and proximal) and an outer diameter of 0.88 caliber (distal) and 0.98 caliber (proximal). It also was round in cross section. Neither specimen was complete and no identifying marks were recognized. These caliber guns were used by British officers and American officers and enlisted men.

Archaeologists also recovered some support hardware for guns. Metal gun sling swivel hardware was recovered from Blocks A and C. One example from Block A (LN183) was made from iron and brass. These pieces could be from a variety of weapons.

Two bayonet blade fragments were recovered from Block A (LN354). The best example was stamped from sheet iron and was triangular with concave surfaces. It measured 227.1 mm in length, 18.8 mm in maximum width, and 9.7 mm in height. The other possible example was square in cross-section and measured 218.7 mm in length and 8.8 mm in maximum width. Both are likely American-made and were of crude construction. Two bayonet clips were recovered from the Fort Morris excavations. Both were made from brass and are similar to examples dug by relic collectors from a 1779 encampment of the Virginia Line (Bower 2003, Figures 4, center and right-5, center and right). One bayonet clip, which was recovered from Block A, was a single cast brass piece (LN115). Its size suggests that it was used by a British soldier. The other bayonet clip is a composite brass piece with two rivets. This example was likely used by an American soldier.

Gunflints are a common item on military sites of the 18th century. They are also an informative class of artifacts for what they reveal about the type of weapons that were present at a particular post. Because of width limitations on flintlock hardware the maximum gunflint width (as measured perpendicular to the gun barrel) was dictated by the metal hardware. Hamilton presented a range of gunflint widths and their associated weapon. Elliott and Elliott (1991:87; Elliott 1992) applied Hamilton's gunflint width ranges to study archaeological gunflint assemblages from New Ebenezer and a number of 18th and early 19th century sites in the Southeastern U.S. Hamilton's width ranges were: pistols, less than 20 mm; tradeguns 20-28 mm; carbines or fowlers, 28-34 mm; and muskets, greater than 34 mm.

Chapter V. Results of the 2002 Fieldwork

From these data Elliott and Elliott were able to demonstrate important differences in weapons assemblages on frontier Euro-American settlements, military sites, and Native American village sites. At New Ebenezer, for example, the gunflint assemblage points to a weapons arsenal dominated by smaller caliber weapons, such as Indian trade guns and carbines. At Fort Argyle, which was a military post from the 1730s to 1760s, the gunflints suggest predominately carbines or fowlers. The gunflints from the town and fort at Frederica include a substantially higher percentage of musket flints. Pistol flints, which are the smallest variety, are generally uncommon on 18th century sites in Georgia.

A sample of 27 gunflints from the present excavations at Fort Morris was studied. Table 13 presents metric attributes and other recorded characteristics of these gunflints.

The flints from Fort Morris ranged in width from 24.2 to 39.3 mm.

At least 17 English spall type gunflints were present in the assemblage. Other gray gunflint fragments also were likely English spall types but were too fragmentary for identification. A sample of 16 English spall gunflints was measured. These ranged in width from 25.4 to 39.3 mm. English spall type flints at Fort Morris were likely used with tradeguns, carbines or fowlers, and muskets.

No English blade gunflints were recovered in the excavations at Fort Morris. English gunflint manufacturers did not acquire the knapping skills for making blade type gunflints until after the American Revolution. This secret had been closely guarded by the French, since it was widely known that this technique produced a superior flint. By the 19th century blade types had replaced spall type English gunflints. Consequently, the absence of English blade type flints serves as valuable negative evidence for the absence of 19th century weapons in the fort.

Nine French blades from Fort Morris excavations were measured. These ranged in width from 24.3 to 32.1 mm. The French flints were, on average, smaller than the English spall types, and no large examples fit for musket use were present.

French spall gunflints are present as a minority of gunflint assemblages on colonial sites in Georgia. One French spall type gunflint was recovered from Block A (LN355). This specimen was 30.6 mm in width. The low representation of this type of gunflint at Fort Morris is consistent with a Revolutionary War

assemblage.

Measurements from the 27 gunflints from Fort Morris were tabulated to determine what type of arsenal they represented, based on Hamilton's size gradation. Carbines or fowlers predominated (N=13), followed by Indian trade guns (N=9), and muskets (N=5). Interestingly, no pistol flints were present in the Fort Morris assemblage. Nor were any pistol hardware parts recovered. Many officers at Sunbury probably owned pistols but were evidently careful not to lose them.

The spatial distribution of the gunflints by excavation block was explored. Most of the flints were retrieved from Block A (N=18). Block B produced seven flints and Block C yielded

Table 13. Gunflints.

Lot#	Type	Flint	Length	Width	Weapon	Block
331	Blade	French	23.8	24.3	Tradegun	A
289	Blade	French	17.0	24.4	Tradegun	C
331	Spall	English	25.8	25.4	Tradegun	A
356	Spall	English	21.5	25.7	Tradegun	A
159	Spall	English	17.7	25.9	Tradegun	B
356	Blade	French	23.0	26.5	Tradegun	A
321	Blade	French	22.7	27.1	Tradegun	A
173	Blade	French	25.4	27.2	Tradegun	B
114	Blade	French	22.2	27.8	Tradegun	B
105	Blade	French	17.2	28.2	Carbine	A
161	Spall	English	25.5	28.3	Carbine	A
237	Spall	English	25.5	28.7	Carbine	B
207	Spall	English	22.2	28.7	Carbine	A
244	Spall	English	25.2	29.3	Carbine	B
356	Blade	French	21.7	29.5	Carbine	A
355	Spall	French	21.9	30.6	Carbine	A
166	Spall	English	27.2	30.6	Carbine	A
238	Spall	English	23.3	31.2	Carbine	B
331	Spall	English	27.8	31.3	Carbine	A
114	Blade	French	30.2	32.1	Carbine	B
202	Spall	English	29.1	32.5	Carbine	A
183	Spall	English	31.7	32.5	Carbine	A
189	Spall	English	23.2	34.2	Musket	A
315	Spall	English	30.2	34.2	Musket	C
183	Spall	English	30.8	36.5	Musket	A
166	Spall	English	32.6	38.7	Musket	A
166	Spall	English	31.4	39.3	Musket	A
Total		N=27				

two flints. The preponderance of gunflints in Block A was intriguing and was examined further. Most were carbine/fowler-sized flints (N=9), followed by tradegun (N=5), and muskets (N=4). No pistol-sized gunflints were recovered from the excavations. Although the sample size from Block B was small it exhibited a similar size gradation to that observed in Block A. It had four carbine, three tradegun, and no musket flints. Block C yielded one tradegun and one musket flint and no carbines. The spatial distribution of gunflints in these blocks, except for Block C, which had a very small sample, mirrored the distribution of lead balls, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Midgett reported finding seven gunflints from his excavations at Fort Morris, all from his unit N95 E180 (Midgett 1976:292, 296). He reported finding one English blade type flint, but from the surface at a distance of one-quarter mile from the fort. Midgett summarized his gunflint assemblage as follows: "All seven gunflints excavated from the parade at Fort Morris with the exceptions of items 2 and 5 are of the well known French honey colored stone. Item number 2, which resembles a gunspall could well be described as being grayish with white clouds..." (Midgett 1976:295).

Reexamination of Midgett's 1971 collection, however, revealed one complete English spall type, one English spall type fragment, and two French blade type gunflint fragments (Appendix 3). The location of the three other French blade type gunflints from the 1971 excavation was not determined. Midgett remarked on the possibility of gunflint manufacture at Fort Morris, which was a keen observation that had not been previously observed on 18th century sites in Georgia. His "Item 5" was interpreted as a discarded gunflint that was broken during manufacture. Midgett attributes a possible source of this material to Fort Payne chert deposits of the interior U.S. More recently, however, Elliott and Elliott (1991:87) and Hamilton and Emery (1988:192) have provided evidence of the use of English ballast flint for the manufacture of spall type gunflints in colonial Georgia. Midgett lamented the absence of comparable gunflint data in Georgia (Midgett 1976:294). He places the age of his gunflint assemblage securely between 1760 and 1800, which is an assessment that is firmly supported by the present excavation data. The absence of English blade gunflints, which were commonplace in the War of 1812, in both Midgett's and the present study, serves as strong negative evidence for the lack of an early 19th century military component at Fort Morris.

Lead gunflint patches

Scraps of lead were relatively common in the excavations and several flat and folded flat pieces were recovered. Many of these were suspected to be patches used for securing gunflints in the flintlock weapons (Noel Hume 1983:220-221). One English spall type gunflint was recovered from Block A with the flat lead piece adhering to it. The dimensions of the lead patch on this specimen were measured and were: 49 mm length, 33 mm width, and 2 mm thickness. The patch was attached to a gunflint that measured 27.2 mm in length and 30.6 mm in width. One side of the lead patch exhibited the imprint from the flintlock screw plate.

Henderson (2002) presented a brief discussion of methods of securing flints in firearms used by the British Army just before and during the American Revolution. He cites Bennett Cuthbertson, who wrote in 1768: "The flints should always be screwed firm, between a thin piece of lead, it having a more certain hold, than leather, or any other contrivance." Thomas Simes, who published, *A Military Course for the Government and Conduct of a Battalion...* in 1777 wrote: "The Flints best for service are those most clear, though the colour is immaterial, as there are good and bad of all kinds; neither too small or too thin are best, lest the first may not give good fire, or the latter break: they should be screwed in firm, between a thin piece of lead, it having then surer hold than leather, &c."

Ammunition

Lead shot was common in the excavations at Fort Morris. Diameter measurements were made on 101 lead shot ranging in size from 0.29 to 0.97 caliber. This sample averaged 0.65 caliber. A total of 86 smaller shot was not measured.

The larger lead shot recovered from a military site serves as a good indicator of the type of firearms that were present. This association hinges on one concept—the diameter of the bullets must be smaller than the diameter of the gun bore. While smaller balls can be fired, as well as multiple shots such as the "buck and ball" that were commonly used, gunmen preferred to use balls that were only slightly smaller than the gun's bore. Many of the weapons used in the American Revolution were manufactured to strict standards. The primary shoulder arm of the British Army was the Brown Bess musket, or more precisely, the Short Land, New Pattern Musket (Type 1) (Darling 1987:27-33). This weapon had a 0.75 caliber bore, which meant that any ball it fired was smaller than .75 caliber. Many of the earlier Long Land Brown Bess muskets, which fired a similar-sized ball, continued to be used during the war. Infantrymen in the New Jersey Volunteers were armed with both Long Land and Short

Land pattern muskets. The British also had smaller weapons, whose sizes were standardized including carbines (.65 caliber) and pistols (.56 caliber) (Neumann 1967:36, Blackmore 1961:277). British officers usually carried no muskets, but did sometimes use a carbine or light fusil (Cole and Braisted 2002).

The Americans employed a variety of weapons, many of which were made by local craftsmen in America. France supplied large quantities of “Charleville” muskets for the American cause. German and Dutch military muskets, many produced under government contract, also were present in the American arsenal. French muskets were .69 caliber and their carbines and pistols were .67 caliber (Neumann 1967:37). The bore of American, Dutch, and German firearms varied greatly. American rifles ranged from .43 to .58 caliber.

The larger lead shot from Fort Morris (N=92) was measured by its caliber (100ths of an inch). Most (N=58) fell into the .57 to .68 caliber range. A total of 26 shot were in the .26 to .55 caliber range. A total of 14 shot were .75 caliber or larger. Of these, 10 were greater than .90 caliber. Numerous examples of cut lead balls also were recovered from Blocks A and B.

The spatial distribution of the larger lead balls was examined by their caliber for the excavation blocks. (Table 14) Block A yielded a sample of 44 large lead balls. These ranged in size from .29 to .97 caliber. Twelve balls measured between .26 and .56 caliber. These were probably intended for use with pistols, trade guns, or carbines. Thirteen balls ranged from .57 to .68 caliber. Most of these were intended for carbines or American or French muskets. Eleven balls fell into the .69 to .74 caliber range, or musket ballsize. These were probably used with British muskets. Eight balls measured greater than .75 caliber. These balls were likely shot from large bore wall guns or were included as canister or grape shot that was fired from cannons. This was a higher frequency of the largest category of lead balls than was observed in the other blocks.

Block B yielded a sample of 60 large lead balls. These ranged in size from .40 to .95 caliber. Ten of these measured from .40 to .56 caliber. The majority (N=39) measured from .57 to .68 caliber. Six balls in Block B were .69 to .74 caliber, or musket shot. Only four balls in Block B measured .75 caliber or greater.

Block C yielded a sample of 10 large lead balls. Four balls ranged from .48 to .55 caliber and four ranged from .63 to .68 caliber. No musket balls (.69-.74 caliber) were represented in Block B. Two balls greater than .75 caliber were present in Block C. The pattern observed in Block C is probably skewed by the small sample size. No lead balls were recovered from Block D.

Comparison of these data by excavation block provides clues to the weapons, people, and activities in each area of Fort Morris. Block A exhibited a good distribution of all lead ball size classes. Class I balls were used for pistols, carbines and trade guns. Class I (.26 to .55 caliber) balls comprised 27 percent of the Block A sample, 17 percent of the Block B sample, and 40 percent of the Block C balls. Class II balls were used for carbines or muskets. Class II (.56 to .68 caliber) balls comprised 30 percent of Block A, 65 percent of Block B, and 40 percent of Block C. Class III balls were used with British muskets. Class III (.69 to .74 caliber) balls made up 25 percent of Block A, 10 percent of Block B, and none of Block C's sample. Class IV balls were used as grapeshot or in rampart guns. Class IV (.75 to .98 caliber) balls comprised 18 percent of Block A, 7 percent of Block B, and 20 percent of Block C.

Based on the lead ball data, Indian trade guns and small bore carbines were more common in Blocks A and C than in Block B. Trade gun flints comprised 33 percent of the site's gunflint assemblage. The majority (N=5) were from Block A, followed by Blocks B (N=3) and C (N=1). The absence of any pistol hardware or pistol-sized gunflints indicates that hand guns were not common at Fort Morris.

Table 14. Distribution of Large Lead Balls.

Caliber Range	Weapon Type	Block A	Block B	Block C	Total
.26 to .56	Pistol, trade gun or carbine	12	10	4	26
.57 to .68	Carbine, American or French musket	13	39	4	56
.69 to .74	British musket	11	6	0	17
.75 to .97	Rampart gun, grapeshot	8	4	2	14
	TOTAL	44	59	10	113

Most of the gun hardware was probably from American or other European carbines and muskets. The two gun barrels that were recovered fit this weapon category, as do most of the triggers, ramrod pipes, and butt plates. American and French musket ammunition was most common in Block B but balls of this size were also well represented in Block A. Carbine flints comprised 48 percent of the site's gunflint assemblage. Block A yielded more than twice as many carbine flints as Block B, however, and Block C yielded none.

The Brown Bess musket was the standard weapon of the British army in the American Revolution, yet Brown Bess gun hardware was barely recognized in the Fort Morris assemblage. Lead balls provide indirect evidence of their presence in the fort, however, and Brown Bess ammunition comprised approximately 39 percent of the site's large shot assemblage. The lead ball data suggests that British Brown Bess muskets were most prevalent in Block A. Musket flints, which could have been used in either British or American flintlocks, comprised only 19 percent of the site's gunflint assemblage, however, and most of these (N=4) were from Block A.

No shoulder arms of any sort were represented by the artifacts in Block D. This dearth of weaponry may indicate that the ditchwork in this vicinity was peripheral to most of the activity in the fort. Alternatively, the absence of arms group artifacts (other than heavy ordnance munitions) may result from the small sample size in this part of 9Li168.

Rampart guns may have been used in all three excavation blocks. Although no gun hardware from these weapons was identified, large lead balls (>.75 caliber) may represent ammunition used in this type of gun. Alternatively, these large balls may represent lead grapeshot that was fired by the British into Fort Morris whereupon it was scattered about. The widespread distribution of bombshell shrapnel in all four excavation blocks (and in Midgette's 1971 excavations) indicates a wide distribution of artillery bombardment within Fort Morris.

Swords and Blades

Neumann (1991:54) noted that a 1768 Royal Warrant decreed that British infantrymen, except for sergeants, grenadier companies, fifers and drummers, and the Royal Highlanders, were forbidden to have swords. British sergeants mostly wore small swords, known as hangers. Sergeants in the New Jersey Volunteers were equipped with brass-mounted hangers. Officers in the New Jersey Volunteers, however, wore a silver-mounted sword and beltplate (Cole

and Braisted 2002). The blades of the British and Loyalist enlisted men were not described but they probably included a variety of makeshift belt knives. Most American militiamen were required to have either a sword, bayonet, or axe (Neumann 1991:54-55). Hangers were also popular with American sergeants, although enlisted men also possessed these weapons. A wide variety of hangers and belt knives were used by the American infantry.

Evidence of swords and blades from the Fort Morris excavations was meager but those pieces that were discovered were informative. The most spectacular find was a decorative cast-brass sword counterguard and quillon from near the hearth area (Feature 72) in Block B. This burned and broken artifact tells an interesting story. This specimen bore a death angel, or soul's head motif, as its central design element, with a surrounding floral motif. It is shown in Figure 56. Combs (1986:8, 16) noted that the winged death's head (a winged skull motif) was more common in New England than in the southern colonies. The winged soul's motif was evidenced on a tombstone in Charleston as early as 1736, and Combs noted: "During the last decades of the eighteenth century the winged death's head finally gave way to the winged soul's head, which had appeared, along with grave-stone portraits as early as the 1730s". The winged soul's head motif was used to adorn many everyday items, as well as in funerary art. This artifact was not identified to a specific army or regiment and it was stylistic of many American, English, French, and German weapons of the day. Neumann (1991:63, Figure 6.S) depicts an English infantryman's hanger, ca. 1690 to 1710, which has a cast



Figure 56. Counterguard and Quillon from Brass Hanger, Block B.
Scale is 1:1.

brass counterguard with a raised cherub and floral motif, which is similar to the Fort Morris example. The British example shown by Neumann, however, lacks wings. The Fort Morris specimen is likely from a hanger type weapon and possibly an heirloomed British weapon from the early to middle 18th century. It is quite unlikely that a British or American officer in the American Revolution would have been outfitted with such an antique sword, so it probably was used by an American or Loyalist infantryman. It had been subjected to intense heat, probably in the conflagration of Structure 2.

A wrought iron knife blade was recovered from Block B (LN299). This weapon probably served as a belt knife, possibly for an American infantryman. This blade was probably fixed in a socketed bone, wood, or antler handle, which had decomposed. The distal end of the blade was broken. It bore no identifying marks. An engraved bone knife handle with a cross-hatched design was recovered from Block B. This specimen may have been from a belt knife, such as those commonly worn by the American infantry (Neumann 1991). A plain brass pommel, probably from a sword hilt, was recovered from Block A (LN183). This piece could have been attached to a variety of blade types and is of limited diagnostic utility. A small sword or knife scabbard fragment, made from brass and iron, was recovered from Block A (LN166). This specimen was decorated along the top with scalloped sheet brass that had stamped geometric designs. It also had an attachment clip. The blade that was inserted in this scabbard would have been less than 29.2 mm in width.

Midgette recovered a variety of Arms Group artifacts in his 1971 excavation (Appendix 3). At least 41 items were recovered and these included four iron shrapnel, two English spall gunflints, two French blade gunflints, one coastal plain chert or coral gunflint, lead shot of various sizes, an iron trigger guard, a brass ramrod pipe with a piece of the ramrod wood intact, an iron bayonet tip, and iron shrapnel from hollow shells. Four of the lead balls in his assemblage were cut and several small shot had sprue attached. The larger balls had diameters of 54 (N=2), 56, 64, and 69 calibers. These probably were used with at least two different types of weapons. The smaller balls were probably used with carbines (or fowlers) and the largest two were probable intended for muskets.

Midgette describes two pieces of artillery shrapnel in his thesis but the reanalysis identified four pieces of iron shrapnel in Midgette's collection, including: two small pieces from his Unit 4, one small piece from Unit 3, and one large shell fragment from the surface adjacent to a large looter's pit on

the northern rampart of Fort Defiance (just northwest of Block A) (Midgette 1976; Appendix 3). The wide distribution of shrapnel in Midgette's units and the current excavation blocks and backhoe trench attests to the heavy bombardment experienced by those in the fort on January 9, 1779.

Furniture Group

Selected examples of Kitchen Group artifacts are shown in Figure 57. Many additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 2. The Furniture Group is represented by pieces of brass and iron hardware from Blocks A, B, and C. One cast-brass escutcheon plate, which was an ornate floral piece, was recovered from Block A (LN114). Another ornate cast-brass escutcheon plate, with bolt and washer attached, was recovered from Block B (LN321). Two ornate cast-brass drawer handles were recovered from Block B. One measured 92.7 mm in width and 49.4 mm in height. It was formed in a twisted motif. Matching rococo cast-brass drawer pulls were recovered from Blocks A and B. A brass, side-mounted candle holder was recovered from Block B. This candle holder probably had been mounted on an interior wall of Structure 2.

A simple brass finial was recovered from Block B. This round piece (LN299) had a small hole at the top and was hollow. It measured 51.4 mm in length, 31.2 mm in maximum width, 10.5 mm minimum width, and 18.4 mm at the base. A brass furniture knob was recovered from Block A (LN355). It was a solid brass spherical drawer pull that measured 34.4 mm in length, 20 mm in maximum width, and 13.8 in width at the base. Another simple brass furniture knob, with iron screw attached, was recovered from Block A (LN356). The knob measured 15.2 mm in length and 16.4 mm in width. The screw extended the length another 17 mm.

A total of 44 small wrought brass tacks was recovered from the excavations. These were overwhelmingly concentrated in Block A. Two were recovered from Block B, one from Block C, and two from shovel tests. Although these items were classified as furniture items, they probably were attached as decorations to personal luggage of the officers garrisoned in the fort. Neumann and Kravic (1989:181, Figure 1-3) depict surviving examples of a trunk, chest, and pack bearing this type of decoration. These tacks were often patterned and formed numbers or monograms, which aided in their identification. At Fort Morris these items were scattered in the sand, so no patterns could be discerned. The concentration of these objects in Block A strongly suggests that officers were quartered in this area of the fort. Their low representation in Blocks B and C is negative evidence supporting the absence of officers in these stations.

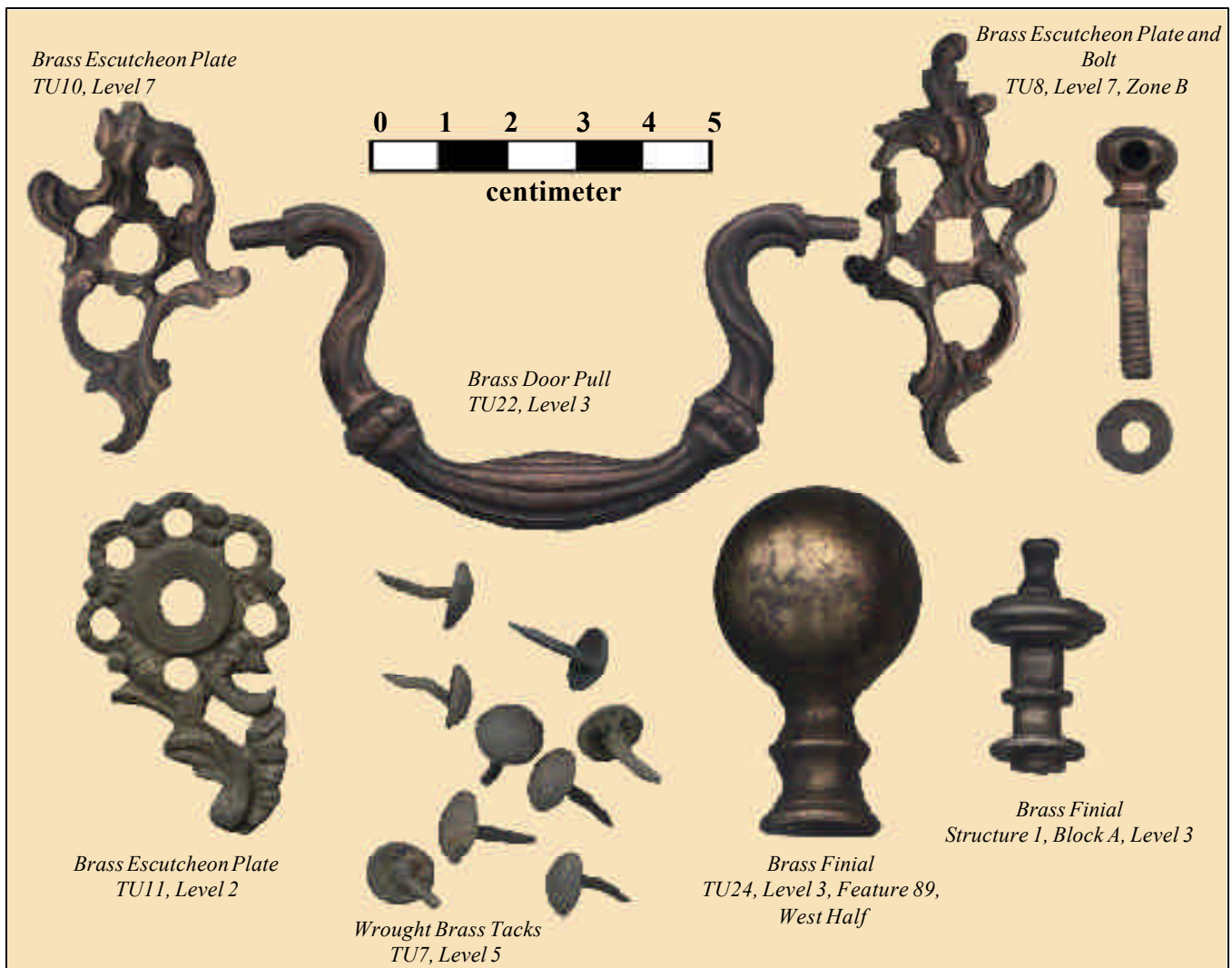


Figure 57. Selected Furniture Group Artifacts.

Three small brass hinge fragments were recovered from Blocks A and B. At first glance two of these appeared to be matching pieces, but upon closer inspection they were determined to be from different-sized hinges. The larger example (LN220) measured 79.5 mm estimated total length, 43.7 mm in width, and 3.4 mm in thickness. It had four attachment holes for screws on one plate and the other plate was absent. It bore no identifying marks. The other example (LN162) was slightly smaller measuring 76 mm in estimated total length, 39 mm in length for one side of the hinge, 43.5 mm in width, and 3 mm in thickness. It also had four attachment holes. It bore the stamped numeral “4” in the center, which probably denotes its size. Both examples were prob-

ably used for a sturdy piece of furniture, a trunk or large box, rather than door hardware. Both were rectangular and undecorated, which probably indicates that they were placed in locations not normally visible to the viewer, such as the underside of a folding lid. A third small brass hinge fragment, with 3 attachment holes, was recovered from Block B (LN238). It measured 36.4 mm in width, 33 mm in length and 1.5 mm in thickness. Its estimated total length was 62.8 mm.

One piece of mirror glass was recovered from Block B (LN173). It was a small, poorly preserved fragment with flaking silver paint. Eighteenth century mirror glass is slightly thicker than window glass. Once the paint backing has weath-

ered away, however, it is often not recognized as mirror glass. Since the thickness of flat glass was not measured in the analysis, that category may include a few additional mirror glass fragments.

Personal Group

The Personal Group is represented by coins, jewelry, a bone comb, and pencils. Selected examples of Personal Group artifacts are shown in Figure 58. Many additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 2. Only two coins were recovered by the project and both were recovered from Block B. One Irish halfpenny, dated 1766, was recovered from Feature 93 in Block B. One blank copper planchet was recovered from Test Unit 16. This coin was the approximate diameter of a British farthing coin. It bore a pronounced dimple where someone apparently failed in an attempt to perforate the disc. One small brass finger ring with a light blue glass inset was recovered from Block A. Another small jewelry fragment was recovered from Block A. It was a small brass fillage piece, possibly from a perfume pendant (LN355). This object was crushed and deformed but retained sufficient integrity to indicate it was from a dainty piece of jewelry.

A small fragment of a bone comb was recovered from Feature 89 in Block B. This two-sided specimen is similar to other illustrated examples from Revolutionary War sites (Neumann and Kravic 1989:89, Figure 2). The narrow teeth of the comb suggest it was used to remove lice or “nits” from infested scalps, hence the name “nit comb”.

One lead pencil and three slate pencils were recovered from the Revolutionary War levels in Block A. Slate fragments were widely scattered in Blocks A, B, and C and some percentage of these artifacts may have been from writing slates. Most, however, exhibited rough surfaces and were likely building material. The cluster of pencils in Block A may indicate that special writing activities, such as conducting inventories of supplies, ciphering, marking on stone, wood, or metal objects, or writing correspondence were conducted in that area of the fort.

Tobacco Group

The Tobacco Group category is represented by clay tobacco pipe fragments. A total of 160 kaolin (or ball clay) tobacco

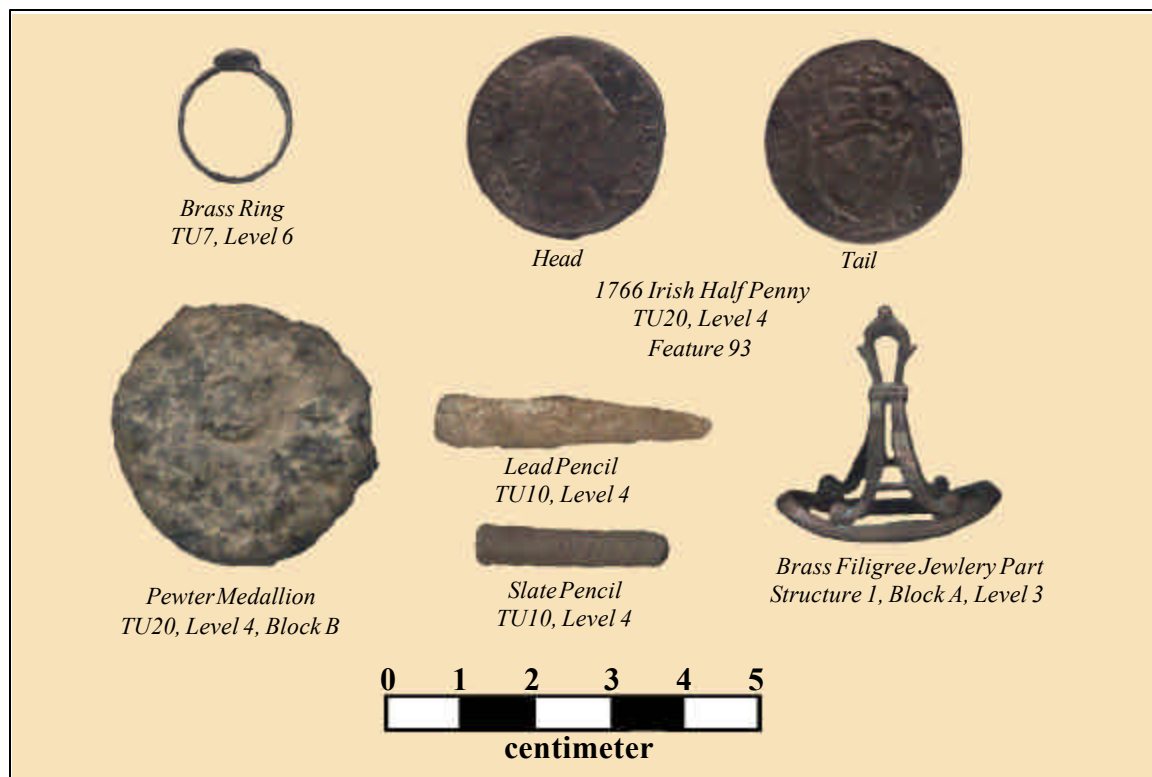


Figure 58. Selected Personal Artifacts.
Scale is 1:1.

pipe fragments was recovered from the Fort Morris excavations. Selected examples of Tobacco Group artifacts from Fort Morris are shown in Figure 59. Many additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 2. This artifact class was restricted to Blocks A, B, and C. Most were recovered from Block A (N=103 specimens), followed by Block B (N=69), and Block C (N=17). The frequency of tobacco pipe fragments in the hand-excavated areas of Fort Morris was 2.3 fragments per m². The frequency was considerably higher in Block A (5.2 fragments/ m²), slightly above average in Block B (2.6 fragments/ m²), and lower in Block C (1.6 fragments/ m²).

A sample of 129 pipe stems from the Fort Morris site was used in calculating pipestem date estimates. Four methods were used in this calculation—Binford (1962), Hanson (Hanson and Hsu 1975), Heighton and Deagan (1972:220-229), and Omwake (1956, 1958, 1967). The results of these calculations are produced in Table 15. The Binford method produced a date of 1766.95 and Heighton and Deagan produced a date of 1769.36, which is considerably older than the American Revolutionary War era. The Hanson method yielded a date of 1771.95, which was more consistent with the known historic use of the site, although still earlier than the American Revolution. The Omwake method yielded a date of 1813.6, which is not consistent with the balance of the dateable material culture recovered from the site. In general, pipestems were not very useful in dating the assemblage at Fort Morris. These results are puzzling since Binford's formula has been used with better success on other late 18th century sites in coastal Georgia. Many historical archaeologists have cautioned against relying on tobacco pipestem dates on sites that were occupied in the last quarter of the 18th century or later and these words of advice are probably relevant at Fort Morris.

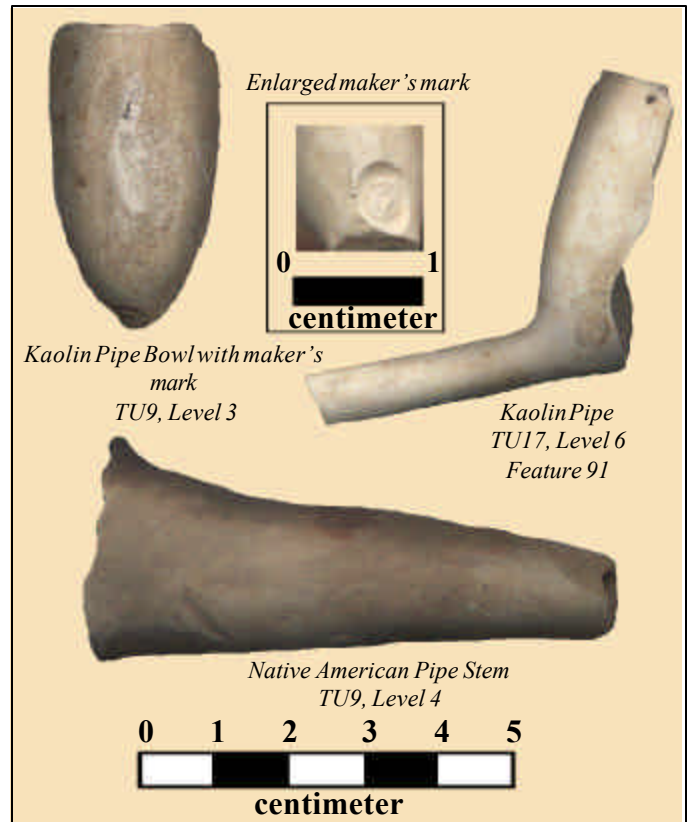


Figure 59. Selected Tobacco Group Artifacts.
Scale is 1:1.

In addition, Midgette's 1971 excavations produced a small sample of kaolin tobacco pipe fragments (N=30). The re-analysis of his collection, however, identified 37 kaolin pipe fragments (Appendix 3). These were most concentrated in his Unit 3, where 31 specimens were recovered. These were distributed in Midgette's Units 3, 4, and 6, on the ground surface, and possibly other excavated contexts. Interestingly, no pipe parts were recovered from Block D or the shovel tests, which suggest that their distribution across the site is

Table 15. Tobacco Pipe Stem Dates.

Stem Bore (1/64")	Count	Bore Frequency	Pipestem Date
4	95	380	
5	30	150	
6	2	12	
7	2	14	
Total	129	556	
$X = [Bore * Freq] / Freq. = 4.71$		4.3101	
Binford: $Y = 1931.85 - 38.26 * X$		1766.95	1766.95
Hanson (1710-1800): $Y = 2026.12 - 58.97 * X$			1771.95
Omwake: $Y = 1929.189 - 26.818 * X$			1813.6
Heighton and Deagan: $Y = -\log X + 1 / -.04435 / .5324$			1769.36

(Source: Binford 1962; Hanson and Hsu 1975; Heighton and Deagan 1972; Omwake 1956, 1958, 1967)

non-random. No attempt was made to date the pipestems in Midgette's collection in the present study. Midgette (1976:310) studied his sample, using the Harrington-Binford method, and he concluded that they, "fell into the 1750 range", which Midgette considered to be too early.

Other clues to the age and source of the tobacco pipes at Fort Morris were limited. Several pipe bowl specimens had feet appendages, which Stone (1974) noted were characteristic of pipes from the middle to late 18th century. Only four pipe bowl fragments bore makers marks or partial marks (LN295, LN109, LN111). One of these was a shield design that was tentatively dated to circa 1730 to 1770. Although these were not specifically identified most appear to be of Dutch manufacture. Four pipe bowl fragments from the excavation exhibited reeded rims (LN295, LN202, LN254), which also is a Dutch tobacco pipe characteristic. Midgette (1976:310) also noted that Dutch pipes were present in his 1971 excavation assemblage. He identified one mark, a Mermaid 6, that was similar to a mark in common use in the 1755 to 1760 period, although Midgette tentatively placed the age of this variant specimen at about 1780. Midgette also recovered a pipestem with the raised molded letters, "GOUDA", which also was a Dutch type.

The low frequency of tobacco pipes at Fort Morris was quite surprising. Previous excavations have demonstrated that pipe smoking was quite popular on Revolutionary War military sites. At Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan, for example, more than 5,328 kaolin pipe fragments were recovered (Stone 1974:145). The paucity of long stemmed tobacco pipes may be indicative of an army on the march. At Fort Laurens, Ohio, which was extensively excavated, no long stemmed pipes were evidenced and only five clay pipe fragments were found. All were the small snub-nosed elbow variety, which were smoked with the aid of a reed or wooden stem. Gramly (1978:32) attributes this tobacco part assemblage as a practical solution for an army on the march. Fort Laurens was in a remote location on the American frontier while Sunbury was a frontier town in many aspects, situated on a seaport with ready access to goods from Europe. Recent excavations of a British revolutionary war encampment at New Ebenezer, Georgia revealed an abundance of long-stemmed tobacco pipe fragments, despite the more remote location of New Ebenezer compared to Sunbury (Elliott and Elliott 2003).

Activities Group

Many activities were conducted by the soldiers and ancillary personnel at Sunbury's forts and these activities are reflected

in the durable material debris that was left behind. Selected examples of Activities Group artifacts are shown in Figure 60. Many additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 2.

Both the British and American occupation forces at Sunbury included dragoons, or cavalry units. Not surprisingly, evidence of them was identified. Horse tack, including a complete wrought iron stirrup, another wrought iron stirrup fragment, and possibly a third, were recovered from Block A. The complete stirrup was of one-piece construction with fixed mounts at the top and an open platform at the base. It measured 124.7 mm in length, 109.1 mm in width and had a platform width of 83.3 cm at the center and 54.3 cm on the sides. This stirrup was similar stylistically to examples recovered from the battlefield at Morristown, New Jersey, which are illustrated in Neumann and Kravic 1989:157, Figures 11-15. This item bore no markings and it was not determined whether this stirrup was American or British. One iron horseshoe fragment (LN321) was recovered from Block A. Other horse tack included two pieces of a wrought iron snaffle bit (LN293) from Block B.

Officers commonly employed washwomen to care for their uniforms and these women were a common, albeit poorly documented, part of daily fort life in the 18th century. Evidence for their presence is indirect and is reflected in the tools that they used. Three sad irons, made from cast iron, or sad iron fragments were recovered by the project. One nearly complete example was recovered from Block A, Test Unit 7, Level 5, and the other nearly complete specimen from Block B, Test Unit 11, Level 3. Both of these two specimens lacked a handle. Another fragment of a sad iron was recovered from Block A, Test Unit 10, Level 4. A small fragment of a sad iron was recovered from the periphery of Fort Defiance with the aid of a metal detector. These items were used primarily for ironing clothes, which indicates domestic activities that were conducted in or near Structures 1 and 2. These items may indirectly indicate the presence of washwomen within the fort. Other evidence for sewing and clothing repair included brass and silver straight pins and one small brass thimble from Block A.

Metalsmiths

Several forms of metal work were performed at Sunbury's forts. Evidence for cutting sheet brass and copper, as evidence by numerous small, irregularly-shaped, cut brass pieces, was present in Blocks A, B, and C and one shovel test. Sheet brass fragments are common on 18th century sites in Georgia. The source material for this industry was brass



Figure 60. Selected Activities Group Artifacts.
Scale is 1:1.

buckets, which were usually included in the trade material inventory on the Indian frontier. The usefulness of this metal transcended the need for buckets. The soldiers at Sunbury used the material to craft a variety of useful items.

One large sheet brass fragment bore numerous perforations and was slightly shoe-shaped (LN166). Another specimen recovered from Block A had a neatly crimped rounded edge and was tentatively identified as a cap or helmet visor (LN185). Both of these may have been part of a cavalryman's helmet. Moore (1967:195, Plate A-28) illustrates an American "jockey-style" dragoon helmet that incorporates cut sheet brass in its design. The 1st and 2nd Regiments of the South Carolina Continentals wore an engraved silver or white metal crescent on their caps. The uniform for musicians in the New Jersey Volunteers included a "black bearskin cap with a metal plate in front" (Sons of the Revolution 2002; Cole and Braisted 2002).

Lead and pewter scrap also was well represented in Blocks A, B, and C. Lead sprue indicated that items were cast on site. Lead bullets were the most likely lead items that were manufactured, although some lead also was used for fishing weights and lead patches for securing flints in flintlock weapons. Both cut lead balls and cut lead blocks were recovered. In some cases lead balls were flattened, without melting them, to create lead patches. Most of the sprue pieces were formless blobs, although some of the lead pieces indicated that they were the byproduct from molding multiple lead shot. The evidence for pewter work was less clearcut. Although numerous small pewter scraps were recovered, no good evidence was found to indicate that pewter items were made on-site. One pewter medallion was recovered from Block B. This cast piece may have been intended for a uniform but it was illegible. It measured 35.7 mm in diameter and was 6.6 mm thick.

Blacksmiths were an integral part of an 18th century army and were almost certainly present at Sunbury's forts. The best positive proof of blacksmithing is the presence of slag, which is the waste product from a blacksmith's forge. Other evidence includes an abundance of small cut iron scrap. Excavation of 18th century blacksmith shops in Georgia include examples at Frederica and New Ebenezer. Generally, 18th century blacksmiths were far more conservative in their wastage of iron than were their 19th century counterparts. Iron was difficult to procure in colonial Georgia, particularly on the interior. Iron stock was brought to Georgia in two forms—sheet metal and iron rods (or bar iron). Although some iron may have been produced locally from bog iron deposits, this activity is not well documented, nor was it likely a major source of raw material.

Scrap iron was abundant in the block excavations in Fort Morris. Block A was particularly well endowed with iron fragments that could have supplied a frugal blacksmith for months. This plethora of waste iron represents an anomaly, especially when compared with other 18th century sites in Georgia. In most cases the amount of iron discarded at Fort Morris far exceeded the discard pattern observed at other sites, including military sites. One large chunk of blacksmithing slag was recovered from the lower levels in Block A. This piece almost certainly indicates that iron working was conducted on site. Slag was not widely distributed in the excavations, however, which suggests that this activity was either very localized, or that most iron working was conducted off-site. The toxic and unpleasant fumes associated with metallurgy may have led to the isolation of blacksmithing to areas away from the troop concentrations.

One large cast iron wheel hub (LN162) was recovered from Block A. This item may have secured the wheel of an artillery carriage or large wagon. It weighed 3.2 kg and had an outer diameter of 15.5 to 15.7 cm and an inner diameter of 12.5 to 13 cm. It was 6.7 cm in length. The hub had three reinforcing bars that project 1.5 cm out from the ring.

Iron tools recovered from Block B included a key hole drill bit and a flat screwdriver. A small pair of pliers or metal snips was recovered from Block A (LN354). Two flat files were recovered from Block A and triangular, rat-tailed files were recovered from Block A (LN311, LN161, LN321, LN202). The specimen from LN311 was broken but it was triangular in cross-section and measured 10 mm in maximum width.

Keys and lock parts were represented in the excavation assemblage. An iron padlock fragment was recovered from Feature 91 in Block C. Two wrought iron door lock plates were recovered from Block A. The larger specimen was badly burned but mostly intact. It measured 68.5 mm in width by 59.6 mm in height. The length of the keyhole was 18.3 mm. It bore no identifying marks, but its internal mechanisms were typical of 18th century door locks such as those illustrated by Diderot, as well as excavated examples (Stone 1974). The other lock was in poor condition.

One large iron key, probably a door key, was recovered from Block B. This specimen (LN173) measured 87 mm in length, 43.1 mm in handle width, and 8.4 mm in shaft diameter. A slightly smaller key, also a door key, was recovered from Block A. This specimen measured 75.2 mm in length, 27.1 mm in handle width, 6.3 mm in shaft diameter, and 17.4 mm in distal (keyhole) length.

Lead fishing weights were present in the assemblage, which indicates fishing was an activity of the soldiers in the fort. Examples were recovered from Block A and the Trench 8 backdirt. Many other examples were observed in the Fort Morris Museum collection, although many of these specimens were from unknown locations in Sunbury. The specimen from Block A was an elongated plummet with a perforation at the top (LN317). The example from Trench 8 was a lead ball with a central perforation (LN343). Most of the fishing weight examples in the Museum collection also were modified lead balls. No fishhooks were recovered. Fish bones were well represented in the faunal assemblage. Two brass nails, possibly from a small watercraft, also was recovered from Block A (LN330 and LN321). Bank fishing or fishing from small boats may have served the dual needs of recreation and subsistence for the garrison. One alternate interpretation for these lead weights is their use for keeping time during infantry drills. British Army drill manuals from the Revolutionary War period mention the use of such items.

Several brass rings of unknown function were recovered from the excavations at Fort Morris. One of these was a crude, flat specimen from Block B that measured 29.8 mm in outer diameter, 22.7 mm inner diameter, and 1.8 mm thickness. A specimen from Block A had an outer diameter of 33.2 mm and an inner diameter of 26 mm (LN117). Another brass ring from Block A measured 87 mm in diameter (LN162).

One of the more curious pieces recovered during this project was a nearly complete brass bucket, minus the iron handle, that was located in Feature 91, Block C (LN326). The bucket measures 20.8 cm in height, approximately 27 cm in diameter at the rim and 25.5 cm in diameter at the base. It would have been suspended by an iron bail handle that was secured to the bucket by two rivets on either side. The handle and one of the iron attachments were missing, although they may have been present at the time the bucket was discarded but had disintegrated since then. This flat-bottomed, cylindrical vessel was filled to approximately 2/3 capacity with hardened tabby mortar. The presence of the hardened mortar indicated building masonry construction or repair work. The presence of this bucket in Feature 91 may indicate repair work that was conducted by the British immediately after the January 9 bombardment of Fort Morris. The unfortunate hardening of the mortar in the bucket is noteworthy, since brass buckets were valuable in 18th century Georgia and the discard of so complete a specimen may indicate that it was hidden in the trash pit by a soldier to prevent his superior officer from learning of this blunder.

One clear, lead glass tumbler fragment from Block A exhibits evidence of reuse as a chipped glass, unifacial tool (LN105). It was made from the vessel base and resembles a gunflint. It measures 27.2 mm in length, 30.5 mm in width, and 13.6 mm in thickness. Other evidence of glass tools was cited by Midgette from his 1971 excavations, which was confirmed during reanalysis of his materials in the present study (Midgette 1976; Appendix 3).

Indian Artifacts

Indian artifacts were recovered from most contexts at Fort Morris, which attests to the popularity and attractiveness of this locale for humans through time. Selected examples of Indian artifacts from Fort Morris are illustrated in Figure 61. Deeply buried Indian features were encountered in at least one shovel test. Indian features were present in backhoe trenches. Feature 51 in Trenches 2 and 3 was the most lucid example. It was a large basin pit that had been mostly truncated. It was tentatively identified as dating to the Woodland period based on the ceramics it contained. Indian features also were tentatively identified in Block B, although this conclusion was based on the absence of historic artifacts in a predominately shell filled feature that contained several fiber tempered pottery sherds.

Indian pottery recovered from 9Li168 spanned the Terminal Archaic through Protohistoric period. A total of 751 sherds was recovered. St. Simons Plain (N=132), St. Simons Incised (N=1), and St. Simons Punctate fiber tempered ware (N=1) were identified. Fiber tempered wares were distributed in Blocks A through D, Feature 104 in Backhoe Trench 1, and Feature 57 in Backhoe Trench 6. It was found in small quantities in three features (Features 85, 88, and 96) in the excavation blocks. The greatest concentration of fiber tempered pottery was in Test Unit 18, Block D, which yielded 43 St. Simons Plain sherds. Fiber tempered ware dates to the Terminal Archaic period in Georgia, which lasted from about 4400 BP to 3000 BP. These wares occur earlier on the coast than in interior Georgia (Elliott and Sassaman Deptford wares, including Deptford Check Stamped and Deptford Simple Stamped types, were present. Twenty-nine check stamped sherds were identified. Twenty-four simple stamped sherds were identified. Both check and simple stamped wares were sand and grit tempered, with the exception of two shell tempered check stamped examples recovered from a single shovel test (LN140). Check stamped sherds were distributed in Blocks A and B and in two shovel tests. Simple stamped sherds were more widely distributed in Blocks A, B, and C, three shovel tests, and in Feature 55 in Backhoe Trench 4. The Deptford series ceramics at Fort Morris date to the Early and Middle Woodland periods.

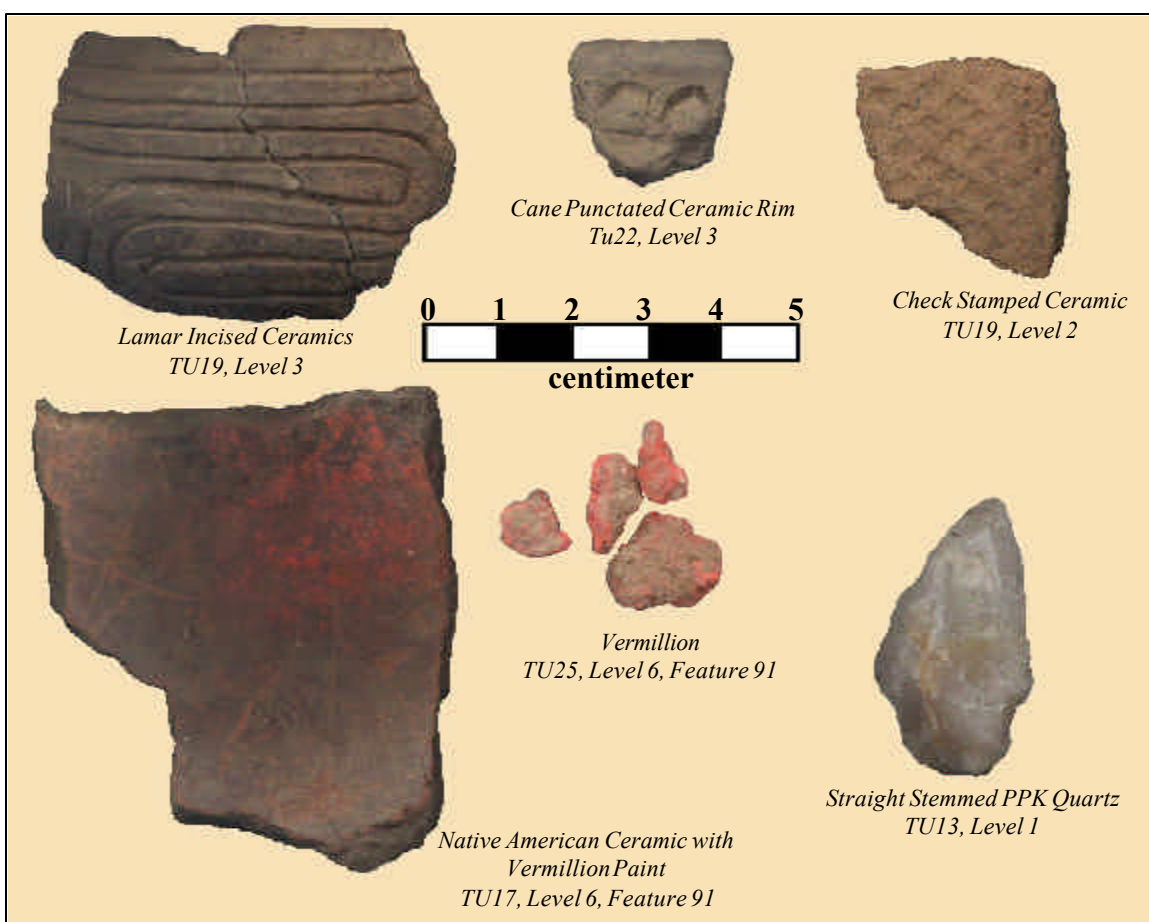


Figure 61. Selected Indian Artifacts.
Scale is 1:1.

Sixty-two incised sherds were identified in the assemblage. Most of these are considered Lamar Bold Incised type of the Late Mississippian/Protohistoric period. A few are possibly Ocmulgee Fields Incised. One zoned, incised and punctuated sand tempered sherd was recovered from Feature 62 in Backhoe Trench 4. The age of this sherd was not determined. Incised sherds were distributed in Blocks A, B, and C, two shovel tests, and Features 58 and 68 in Backhoe Trench 6. None of the incised wares were shell tempered.

Plain, sand or grit tempered pottery was the dominant Indian ware in the Fort Morris assemblage (N=208). One shell tempered plain sherd was recovered from Block A. Minority wares at Fort Morris included unidentified cord marked, fabric marked, and stamped types. Six cordmarked sherds, which probably span several subperiods of the Woodland and Mississippian periods, were recovered from the site. These were not specifically identified by type. One fabric marked sherd was recovered from Block B (LN190). This specimen was not identified by type but it contained heavy grit temper. A total of 17 complicated stamped pottery sherds was identified. Thirteen punctated sherds, including 12 rims, were found. One of these (LN35) was reed punctuated and probably of Mississippian or Protohistoric age. These were sand or grit tempered wares. Unidentified stamped (N=34), unidentified decorated (N=133) and residual sherds (N=750) comprised the largest part of the pottery assemblage. These can be dated after the Terminal Archaic period but have little other diagnostic value.

A total of 150 chipped stone artifacts, excluding European flint associated with gunflints, was recovered from the Fort Morris excavations. Twelve of these were tools and the balance (N=138) was chipped stone debitage. Projectile points or knives (PPKs) at Fort Morris included four contracting stemmed PPKs, one Yadkin PPK, and two nondiagnostic PPK fragments. The contracting stemmed PPKs were located in Blocks A and C and in one shovel test. These tools probably date sometime from the Late Archaic to Early Woodland periods. The Yadkin PPK was recovered from Block B. This tool probably dates to the Early Woodland period. Five other nondiagnostic flake tools from Blocks B, C, and D were identified in the assemblage.

Three pebble hammerstones were recovered, two from Block B and one from Block A. Although these tools are presumed to be used by Indians, these tools may have been used by soldiers in the fort for various tasks.

The chipped stone debitage was dominated by coastal plain chert (N=113), although 17 quartz flakes were identified.

Espenshade and his colleagues documented a previously unrecognized quartz knapping industry in Liberty County where locally occurring small quartz pebbles were used to produce small stemmed PPKs (Espenshade and Brockington 1985).

The quartz debitage at Fort Morris may be related to this industry. Three of four stemmed PPKs in the Fort Morris assemblage were made from quartz. Vein quartz is not available below the fall line in Georgia and coastal plain sites usually possess very little quartz debitage or quartz tools.

One small worked soapstone fragment was recovered from the backdirt of Backhoe Trench 7 on the east moat of Fort Defiance. The age and function of this item was undetermined, although it probably dates after the Middle Archaic period.

Eight small pieces of red ochre, or vermilion, were recovered from Feature 91 in Test Unit 25, Block C (LN326). Traces of this material also were found adhering to plain Indian sherds in this trash pit, which may indicate that the pigment was used by Creek Loyalist warriors as face paint in 1779.

Chapter VI. Interpretations

GEORGIA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Revolutionary War archaeology in the Southeastern U.S. has not been fully developed, despite important work in South Carolina at Camden and forts Moultrie, Ninety Six, and Watson (South 1970, 1971, 1974; Holschlag and Rodeffer 1976, 1977; Prentice 1996; Ferguson 1973). Research in Florida has focused on the forts at St. Augustine and exploratory work to locate Fort Tonyn (Bullen 1951; Chatelain 1941).

Few military sites from the Revolutionary War period in Georgia have been explored by professional archaeologists and a general dearth of literature pertaining to these sites exists. Exploration in Savannah has turned up some evidence of the 1779 battlefield but archaeological traces of the defenses have not been located (Wood 1985; Rutsch and Morrell 1981; Elliott 1999, 2001). Recent research at New Ebenezer has identified many military earthworks and other related Revolutionary War features (Elliott 2002). Survey was also conducted in Georgia on 10 Revolutionary War sites for the National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program (Matt McDaniel personal communication, September 15, 2002). Revolutionary War archaeology in Georgia remains in its infancy, however, and many important sites remain to be located and studied.

SUNBURY TOWN

What have we learned about the forts at Sunbury as a result of the present study that was not widely known before? We have a far better understanding of the geographic location, size and configuration of Fort Morris, the Revolutionary War fort. Nearly all of the artifacts that were recovered by this study are associated with that era. Most of those that were not postdate the military use of the fort and probably represent fisherman or hunter camps, or picnicking or other recreational use. These artifacts span the mid-19th through the late 20th centuries.

Figure 62 presents a tentative functional interpretation of activity areas at Forts Morris and George. This interpretation is somewhat simplified for purposes of discussion. In reality, a wide variety of activities was represented in nearly every location that was studied. This illustration serves as a heuristic device for the following discussion.

Underground remnants of fortifications lie beyond the visible earthworks of Fort Defiance, a War of 1812 fort. These buried fortification ditches and palisades are part of the Revolutionary War Fort Morris. Archaeological evidence from Block D and Trench 1 indicate that Fort Morris was significantly larger than Fort Defiance on its southern end. It was probably not as large, however, as suggested by Sheftall (1995).

One aspect of the fort's layout that has not received serious attention is the configuration of Fort George. Fort Morris was renamed Fort George shortly after its capture. The British garrisoned the post and they outnumbered the previous American garrison in Fort Morris. Understandably, the British required more space for their operations and expanded personnel. Although no specific references were found that describe any rebuilding or expansion efforts by the British, these actions were almost certain. Examples from other locations where the British expanded the fortifications after wresting them from the Americans include Fort Prevost in Savannah and the Star Fort at Ninety Six, South Carolina (Figure 63). In Savannah the Americans had built a series of fortifications in and around the town. The British expanded on these fortifications by constructing Fort Prevost on the lower edge of Savannah. This fort was a complex with at least 13 projecting angles. The engineers who were charged with designing and building Fort Prevost were likely the same ones that would have been available at Fort George. Similarly, when the Loyalist troops, led by Lieutenant Colonels Cruger and Allen, occupied Ninety Six they built a complex star fort, whose remains are extant today. At New Ebenezer, which had been lightly fortified by the Americans prior to 1779, the British wasted no time in building a series of redoubts that were connected by an *abatis*, or palisade line

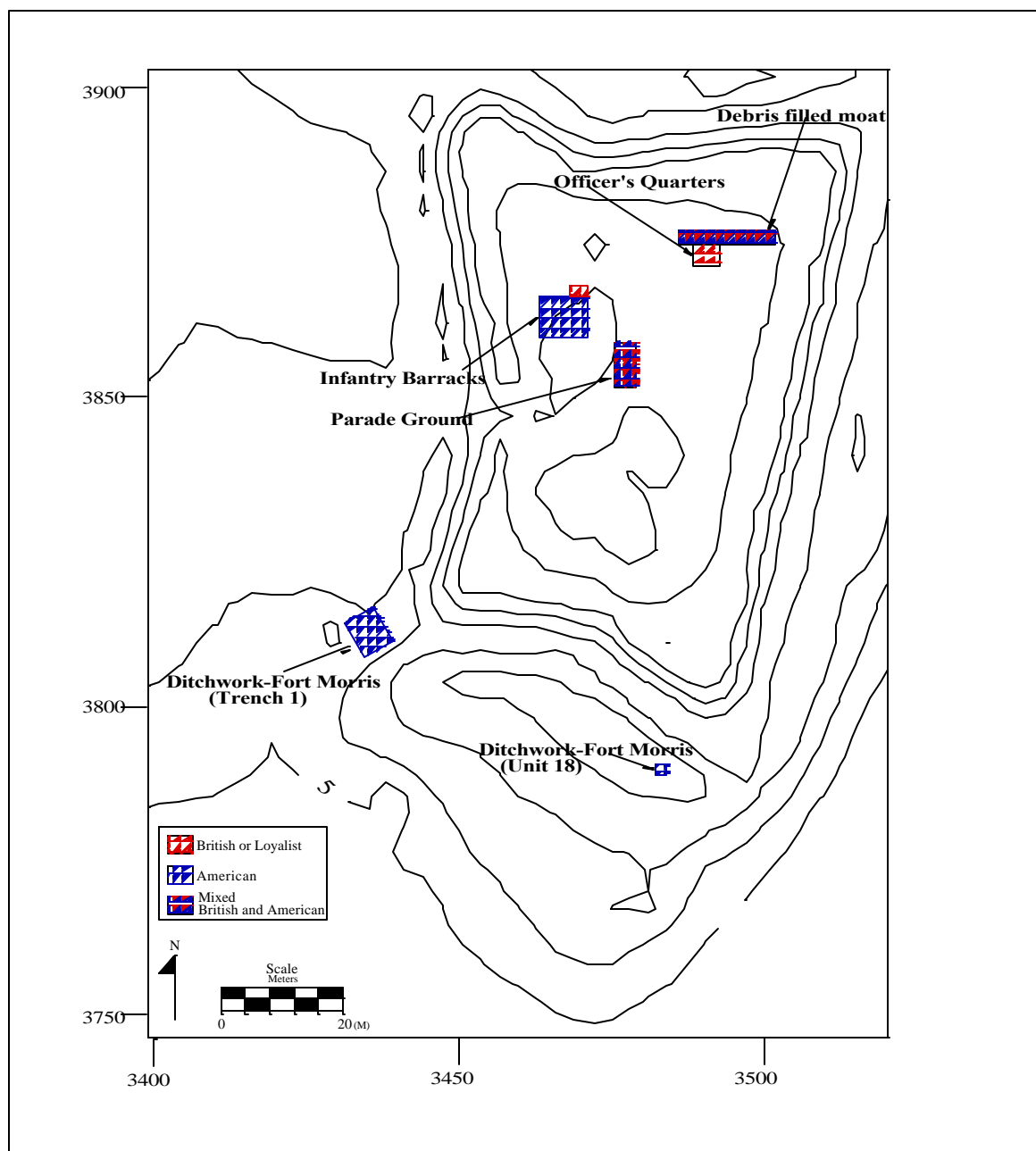


Figure 62. Investigated Area of Fort Morris and Their Interpreted Function.

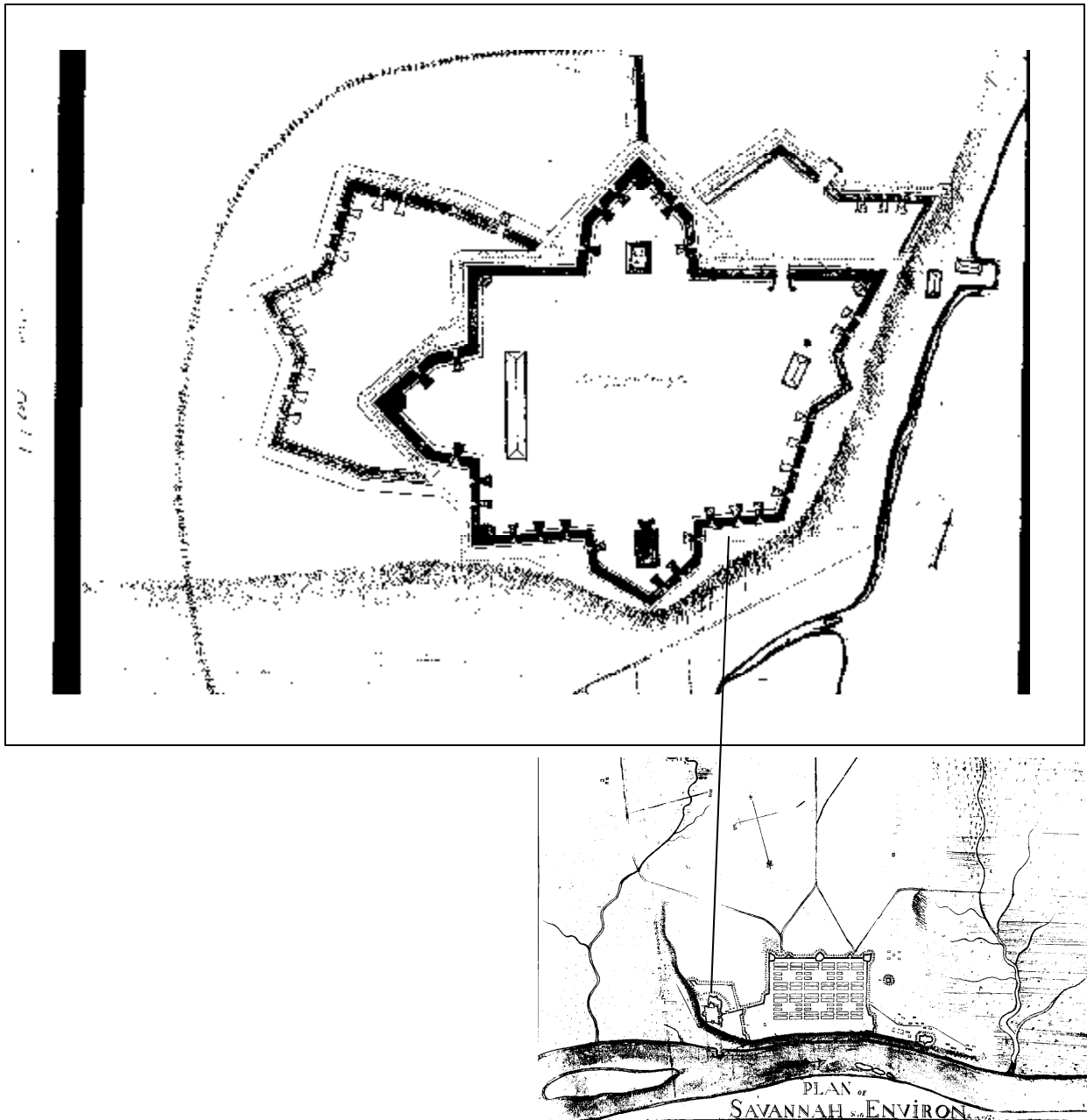


Figure 63. Detailed Plan of Fort Provost, Savannah, 1781.

(Elliott 2002). As at Savannah, Ninety-six, and Ebenezer, the Loyalist troops at Fort George probably made significant modifications to the ruins of Fort Morris. These changes probably included expanding the fort from its original size to accommodate the greater number of troops. Troop size varied at Sunbury's forts as it did at various theaters throughout the war.

The effective force of the British military in Georgia was enumerated at 4,330 men on February 15, 1779. By May 1, 1779, and following the unsuccessful British campaign to capture Charleston, South Carolina, that number had climbed slightly to 4,794 men (Carrington 1877). By July 1, 1779 the number of Loyalist troops in Georgia was slightly more than 1,800 men. The combined number of officers and enlisted men in Delancey's Brigade (1st and 2nd Battalion) and New Jersey Volunteers, 3rd Battalion in Georgia on July 1, 1779, was 961 men. This included 643 effective fighting men, 216 sick, 327 absent on command and recruiting, 124 held prisoner by the Americans, and an unknown number of wounded (Innes, in Clinton 1750-1838). Probably fewer than 500 of these troops were stationed in the Sunbury and Liberty County area after July 1779, since most of the action had shifted further north and east and Sunbury was essentially behind enemy lines.

The hundreds of British troops stationed at and near Fort George, however, left intensive and abundant material culture from this occupation that is preserved archaeologically. This assemblage of cultural material reveals many fascinating details of daily life in a Revolutionary War fort. The British troops of the 16th and 60th Regiments, the Carolina Royalists, New Jersey Volunteers, East Florida Volunteers, Royal Artillery, and East Florida Rangers who had helped to capture Fort Morris were likely present at the site for only a few days. Consequently, these men probably left only a modest trace at Fort George. British Brigadier General Augustine Prevost assigned three companies of New Jersey Volunteers to garrison Fort George in January 1779. These men were supplemented by troops from Delancey's Brigade. Together, the New Jersey Volunteers and Delancey's Brigade comprised the garrison at Fort George from late January to early September 1779. The "lion's share" of the British refuse at Fort George is likely associated with these two military units—New Jersey Volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Allen, and Delancey's Brigade, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John H. Cruger. Theirs is a fascinating and culturally-rich story about America's traumatic birth on Georgian soil waiting to be told through archaeology and history.

A deep dense deposit of material culture is preserved beneath a building in the northeastern part of what was later the Fort Defiance parade ground. A structure was built on top of this deep deposit, which was probably occupied by the British. This building was designated Structure 1. Structure 1 rested above stratigraphically complex zones, whose function is poorly understood at present. The deposit was first considered to be a cellar associated with Structure 1. This interpretation is clouded by the possible presence of a bomb crater on the eastern side of the feature. The southern edge of the deeply buried midden roughly coincided with the southern edge of Structure 1 but the angle of slope of the buried midden deposit is inconsistent with a cellar. The deposit also appears to pre-date the construction of Structure 1.

One possible interpretation for this midden is that it represents the filled-in American ditchwork of Fort Morris. Since all of the dateable artifacts that were retrieved from this midden are Revolutionary War vintage, its association with the war seems unquestionable. Once the British captured Fort Morris and entered it, they were most likely met with a scene of total devastation. Their one-day bombardment probably destroyed most of the buildings in the fort. Those that were not destroyed were probably badly damaged. Bomb craters were common and debris was strewn all about the interior of the fort. The British and Loyalist officers probably wasted no time in having their men police the grounds, fill-in any craters, raze any destroyed or badly damaged buildings, and construct a series of new dwellings and other buildings to suit the needs of the British Army.

The British may have intentionally burned any American debris as part of this clean-up effort. The purpose of burning would have been two-fold. It would have reduced the vermin and pests that probably infested many of the Americans' clothing and bedding. It also reduced the mass of debris, which allowed for greater movement within the fort walls. Since the British occupation force was larger than the Fort Morris garrison, it most likely required an enlargement of the fort to accommodate their troops. Some of Fort Morris' rampart walls may have been dismantled or modified at that time. If so, the obsolete ditches of Fort Morris would have served as easy repositories for debris from the British cleansing. Also as part of this clean-up, any useful or valuable items, such as weapons, coins, and jewelry, were probably claimed by the British and reused.

Archaeologists located evidence of a burned building in the northwestern part of what was later the Fort Defiance parade ground. This is interpreted as an American barracks

building. It was designated Structure 2, although the architectural plan of the building was not fully delineated. The floor of this structure was composed of brick and tabby rubble. Its hearth was a burned sandy clay area of minimal preparation. The building possessed some glass windows and these were most evident on its southwestern side, where many melted window glass fragments were recovered.

Archaeologists also located a buried deposit of Revolutionary War material culture and features in the central parade ground of Fort Defiance. This deposit contains a mixture of American and British occupation materials, which is capped by a zone of nearly sterile soil. The age of this deposition was not determined. One pit feature in this block was associated with the British occupation and possibly dates to immediately after the January 9 conflict.

Evidence of the January 9, 1779 bombardment of Fort Morris is widespread. Shrapnel, large solid shot and grapeshot were recovered from Blocks A through D and in Trenches 1 and 3, as well as in several other contexts that were located with the aid of a metal detector. Direct evidence of the bombardment was suggested by stratigraphic discontinuities on the northeastern side of Block A and by a concentration of scattered gun hardware. These arms were probably part of a destroyed weapons cache of American muskets that was mentioned by British Captain Patrick Murray, 60th Regiment, participant in the 1779 engagement.

The weak defense of Sunbury from October 1779 to July 1782 is suggested by the lack of correspondence between the primary British officers. The defenses were weak enough to allow American patriot Captain Patrick Carr and his Georgia militia to make a successful raid on Sunbury in early 1782, which apparently met with little British military resistance. Carr's raid is poorly documented. One can conclude that Sunbury's military history from October 1779 to July 1782, when the British evacuated Georgia, was not vital to the success or failure of the war. The economy of Sunbury had been wrecked by that period, so its importance as a port was lessened and the Americans focused on more strategic locations to the north and east.

The southern flank of Sunbury was probably used in defense of the town since its founding in 1758. It is at this location that an excellent opportunity is afforded to fire artillery at any sailing ships that may have been approaching the town from up the Medway River. We know from historical documents that a battery for eight cannons was built by the late 1750s and that by 1760 the defenses at Sunbury consisted of "a good log fort". No maps of these early de-

fenses have survived, nor has any archaeological evidence been recovered that would verify their location.

The urgency to defend Sunbury abated in 1763, however, when the Seven Years War ended by treaty. For the next decade, history suggests that the people of Sunbury worried little about the military defense of their town since the threat of a sea attack by Spain and France was greatly diminished. By 1774, a new enemy was being recognized in Sunbury—Great Britain. The people of Sunbury and St. John's Parish included many of the strongest and most vocal proponents for independence from British rule.

Sunbury as a Prisoner of War Camp

We know from historical sources that Sunbury was used as a military hospital and prison for both the British and American armies. The precise location of the hospital and prison facilities remains unknown. The British fleet in Georgia included a number of prison ships, which were anchored in the Savannah River. It is not known if any prison ships were berthed in the Medway River. Although its role as a British prisoner of war camp for the captured American officers is well documented, Sunbury's role as an American camp for British prisoners is not as widely known.

The American captors, on the other hand, had very few men and no prison ships at their disposal. Their prisoners were likely held on land in Sunbury, possibly at Fort Morris/Fort George. When the Americans conducted their assault on Savannah, their Sunbury prisoners were likely relegated to secondary importance. When the American assault failed, Major General Lincoln recalled his army to South Carolina and the American contingent at Sunbury probably marched with them. The fate of their British prisoners is not clear. Most of these men were invalids prior to their capture and consequently, many died in the ensuing days and weeks. At least some of them, including Captain French, lived to fight another day in South Carolina. Invalids from Delancey's Brigade were listed as sick at Sunbury in official British troop returns.

We know that most of the officers that were placed on parole were allowed free movement within the town. Their quarters were probably in private residences in Sunbury. American non-commissioned officers and enlisted men were mostly kept off shore on prison ships. Some of these ships may have been moored in the Medway River, but most were concentrated in the Savannah River nearer to the British high command. When Savannah was taken by the British troops under Colonel Campbell in December 1778, George Walton

commanded a battalion on the right of General Robert Howe's army. In this battle he was wounded and taken prisoner. He was paroled until he recovered from his wound, and then transferred to Sunbury, as a prisoner of war. In 1779 he was exchanged, and in October of that year he was elected Governor of the State of Georgia (White 1854:211).

In mid September 1779 Sunbury served as a prisoner of war camp for captured members of Delancey's Brigade, 1st Battalion, commanded by Captain Thomas French, who were captured on the Ogeechee River by Colonel John White, Georgia Continentals. Colonel White marched the mostly invalid prisoners to Sunbury, where they were to be care was to include hospital facilities. The events pertaining to the outcome of their capture were not recorded. The Americans lost control of coastal Georgia following the Siege of Savannah in early October and the American Southern Army retreated to South Carolina. Within a few months Captain French was back in action. On October 17, 1779, Captain John Dollar, an American prisoner of war and senior officer in Sunbury, wrote to Lincoln from Sunbury requesting vessels to move the families of continental officer's who were prisoners of war there to Carolina (Allis 1967: Reel 4). This indicates that by mid October, Sunbury was once again a prisoner of war station. Negotiations for the release of American soldiers in the south continued for many months, even involving highlevel negotiations between General George Washington and Sir Henry Clinton.

DISPOSITION OF THE MILITARY DEAD

As a class, military dead from the American Revolution represent an enigma in the United States. Although historical records tell us about the hundreds of officers and soldiers that were killed, most of their graves are unknown. This dearth of locational information for military cemeteries is particularly true for Georgia (Arnold and Burnham 1993).

Many American officers and soldiers that were killed in battle were hastily buried on battlefields in Georgia. The most deadly engagement in the American and French allies' siege of British-held Savannah from September through October 1779 was the attack on the Spring Hill and Ebenezer Redoubts that defended Savannah's southwestern flank. American, French, and other allies (including a number of Haitian soldiers) losses were quite high (possibly as many as 750) contrasted with British losses, which totaled less than 100. Although contemporary estimates of the number of men killed in this battle vary wildly, it is clear to all that several hundred people died on the battlefield on October 9, 1779. An unknown number of those killed were buried on, or near,

the battlefield. Their burial is weakly documented in contemporary military accounts, and in mid-nineteenth century newspaper accounts of revolutionary war graves that were disturbed by railroad construction crews in the Spring Hill locale in the 1840s. War records indicate that the American and French allies were granted several truces during the battle to gather and bury their dead, and the British buried their own dead, as well as those of the allies who had reached their parapet. Although some of the war dead may have been later interred in other cemeteries (such as Bonaventure cemetery near Thunderbolt), many were left on the battlefield.

During the battle of Savannah, the combined forces of the Americans and other allies numbered approximately 7,000 men (Hough 1975; Lawrence 1951). The British, led by General Augustine Prevost, held Savannah with 2,500 British and Loyalist troops (Rogers 1997). The loss of life among the American and French armies was severe and many battlefield cemeteries were created. A letter from a loyalist citizen of Savannah, dated November 24, 1779, provided these casualty estimates: "The French lost 67 Officers killed, and 594 Privates killed and wounded. The Rebels lost 633" (Hough 1975:81). Contemporary accounts published in the *Royal Gazette* noted that the British granted several requests from the Americans and French to bury their dead on the battlefield (*Royal Gazette*, December 15, 1779, cited in Hough 1975:73-74; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 22, 1780). Peter Horry, an officer in Francis Marion's brigade, recalled the mass burials following the Spring Hill assault: "We then proceeded to bury our dead; which was done by digging large pits, sufficient to contain about a hundred corpses. Then taking off their clothes, with heavy hearts, we threw them into the pits, with very little regard to order, and covered them over with earth" (Horry and Weems 1859:70). One example, described by historian Georgie White was Major John Jones, Continental Cavalry: "Major [John] Jones was in the forlorn hope which led on the attack upon the Spring Hill battery. A French and an American standard were for an instant planted on the parapet of the redoubt; and here, in the fiercest and most desperate part of the contest, he was struck by a cannon-ball in the breast, and instantly killed. The attacking columns, although literally mowed down, pressed gallantly on, and sustained the murderous fire for nearly one hour before a retreat was ordered. The dead were hastily buried. An intimate friend, passing by one of the pits, discovered an exposed hand, which he recognized as that of Major Jones. He had his body disinterred, and carefully and properly buried" (White 1854:537).

In the decades following the American Revolution the Spring Hill locale was urbanized and vestiges of the important mili-

tary events were obliterated by development. Railroad construction workers encountered on at least two occasions human remains that were probably associated with the Siege of Savannah (*Daily Georgian*, December 30, 1842:p.2, c.7; *Savannah Morning News*, June 6, 1870:p.3, c.2). Since 1870 no human remains from the American Revolution have been reported in Savannah. Of the more than 1,000 soldiers that were killed in that battle, only the grave of one (Brigadier General Casimir Pulaski) is known. Although historians and military leaders continued to deify the heroic, albeit poorly planned and implemented and unsuccessful siege, the collective memory of the siege in the minds of many Georgians quickly faded.

Other National battlefields and historical parks in the South, such as Yorktown (Virginia), King's Mountain (North Carolina), Cowpens, and Ninety Six have not located the burial sites of the military dead. The South is not alone in seeking the missing graves of America's Revolutionary War dead. Archaeological attempts to locate the cemetery at Morristown battlefield in New Jersey were unsuccessful (Rutsch 1972). Nor have the graves of any war dead been located at Trenton or Monmouth, New Jersey, or Saratoga, New York. At Cherry Valley, New York, a monument commemorates the mass grave of Americans killed in a massacre (Rosman 2003). At Washington Square in Philadelphia, the tomb of the Unknowns purportedly rises over the bodies of 2,000 Revolutionary War soldiers who were buried in a mass grave (Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution 2003). And in New York, 19th century accounts tell of nearly 11,000 patriots buried in mass graves that were discovered during construction of the Brooklyn Bridge. These corpses were allegedly American prisoners who died aboard British prison ships that later rotted and sank in the harbour (The American Revolution Round Table 2003; Schecter 2002). The cemetery at Salem, New York contains the graves of approximately 200 Revolutionary War soldiers. A website for the cemetery notes: "Local legend has it that after the Battle of Saratoga in 1777, about 100 soldiers bodies were loaded like 'cord wood' on wagons and brought to Salem for burial in one common grave in this cemetery" (Childs 2003).

Camp Security, Pennsylvania provides an excellent example of a site that cannot account for the dead that were buried there, which is a situation relevant to Sunbury. Camp Security was a large prisoner of war camp near York, Pennsylvania, which was built by the Continental Army to contain more than 1,000 British prisoners (Historic York, Inc. 2002; Sav-

ing Graves 2002). Many of these prisoners probably died in camp and were buried. No grave sites are currently known, however, in the Camp Security locale.

Excavations at 18th century forts in the northern U.S. confirm an association between forts, battlefields, and military graveyards. British dead were buried at forts, prisoner of war camps, hospitals, and battlefields. In some instances, the sites where British officers were killed also became their graves. For example, Major William Montgomery, British 40th Regiment of Foot, was "Killed by a Spear in entering the enemy's works" during the capture of Fort Griswold in Connecticut, September 6, 1781. He was buried in the fort's parade ground (Regiments.org 2002; Revwar.com 2002). Excavations at Fort Stanwix, located in Rome, New York revealed a military cemetery approximately 50 meters west of the fort (Hanson and Hsu 1975:163-164). Excavations at Fort Laurens, an American fort in Ohio, revealed a cemetery about 70 meters west of the fort (Gramly 1978:89, Map 2, 92, Map 5). Gramly suggests that the Fort Lauren's cemetery was immediately adjacent to the hospital, which is certainly plausible. Fort Laurens, Ohio is a most relevant example, since it was built under command of Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh, who formerly commanded the Georgia Continentals at Sunbury. The Fort Stanwix and Fort Laurens examples both demonstrate a close association between military fortifications and military cemeteries. In both cases the cemeteries were less than 100 meters from the fort wall.

Recent research has shown that 18th century forts in Georgia often have cemeteries located nearby. This was the case from investigations at Fort Argyle, Fort Mount Pleasant, and New Ebenezer; and soldier's graves are also mentioned in contemporary accounts of forts at Beards Bluff, Carney's Cowpen and others (Elliott and Elliott 1991, Elliott 1991, 1997). The grounds of Sunbury and its adjacent fortifications almost certainly contain buried Revolutionary War dead. The burials probably include soldiers who died from sickness while in garrison, such as men of the 8th Virginia Continental Regiment, or soldiers killed in the struggle for Fort Morris, such as British Captain McDonald, the enslaved African-American Bristol Munro, Jr., or other unknown American, British, and Loyalist soldiers. No human graves were located in the present study and those that may exist await future discovery. The present study eliminated several areas for consideration as possible graves sites.

Chapter VII. Future Research Avenues and Site Management

Obviously the task of understanding the people, places, and events of Fort Morris and Sunbury's past is far from complete. In the present study we have attempted to organize the known historical and archaeological information into a cohesive story. Writing the next chapters of the story will require additional historical and archaeological research. Several avenues for future research are outlined in the following discussion.

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Daily Management

The current manager and staff of Fort Morris State Historic Site are keenly aware of the problems presented in maintaining and operating a public historical site. In spite of budgetary and marketing challenges, the park staff has an active program of tours, interpretive presentations, seasonal events, and reenactments. Personnel also respond to daily visits by dozens of tourists who venture the seven miles from Interstate 95. Staff also accommodates visiting school children. Southern Research's research team offers a few comments and suggestions regarding management of the below and above-ground resources that make up the archaeological component of the site.

Erosion Control

Within a few years of its creation Georgia DNR archaeologists and Parks and Historic Sites staff recognized that the Fort Morris State Historic Site had an erosion problem (Morgan 1978). The fragile earthworks of Fort Defiance have continued to degrade, as a result of pedestrian and vehicular traffic since 1978. Some measures were taken to limit pedestrian access to the ramparts and parapets, including permanent signage and warnings in tour brochures. Our observation during the project was that many visitors found the temptation of climbing the earthworks for a view too attractive to resist.

As older trees on the grounds die, these are taken down with minimal impact to the grounds. Future plans will limit the size of new growth so that large tree roots do not continue to damage the buried archaeological resources. This approach is consistent with National Park Service guidelines for stabilizing and maintaining military earthworks.

Additional measures should be taken to stabilize the site and prevent future erosion. One way this can be accomplished is by restricting the use of off-road vehicles from highly sensitive areas. The park staff presently uses a four wheel drive vehicle for many maintenance activities. A dirt trail circles the earthworks and, in places, it follows and transects traces of the earthworks. This vehicle should be kept off of the earthworks and should not be driven on the dirt trail that surrounds the fort.

One option is to channel the foot traffic along boardwalks and overlooks. Construction of such facilities, however, should first include archaeological study of the areas that will be impacted. One possible option would be to construct a replica fort, or fort skeleton, at some distance from the actual archaeological ruins. Such a construction should include an elevated overlook that affords visitors a better view of the fort and its environs.

Reenactor Camps

Several reenactor groups use Fort Morris State Historic Site for their programs. This has proven to be a symbiotic relationship between the park and the reenactors and affords excellent educational opportunities for the public. Currently, the reenactors are allowed to camp in an area southwest of Fort Morris. This area appears to have only limited archaeological potential and it represents no significant impact to the resources. A firm policy for reenactors and reenactor programs should be developed in order to avoid any future damage to sensitive areas of the site and to avoid contamination of the site with period artifacts or replicas such as gunflints, lead shot and other items. The policy should in-

clude prohibitions against digging in the soil or discarding replica artifacts on sensitive areas.

Faunal Analysis Recommendations

More than 34 kilograms (74.8 lbs) of animal bone was recovered in the present study and a sizeable portion of this was obtained from sealed midden or feature contexts. As such, it represents a wonderful opportunity to examine the subsistence lifeways in a Revolutionary War fort in Georgia. The faunal materials are well preserved with many recognizable elements and species. It is a large enough collection to comprise an adequate sample size for studying the meat portion of a soldier's diet.

A thorough study of this collection by a qualified zooarchaeologist is necessary. The funds that were allocated for this purpose under the current budget were woefully inadequate. The expected yield of animal bone was based in part on the previous findings by Midgette's excavations (Midgette 1976). The 2003 excavations recovered a much, much larger amount of bone per square meter than prior excavations. After consulting with State Archaeologist David C. Crass, the project team opted to store the collection for future study rather than conduct what, by necessity, would be merely a small, sample study at this time. The faunal collection was washed, stabilized, weighed and stored for permanent curation. A detailed study of this collection, by a qualified zooarchaeologist, should receive the utmost attention in future research at Fort Morris State Historic Site.

Conservation of Metal Artifacts

The 2002 excavations at the Fort Morris State Historic Site produced an enormous assemblage of metal artifacts dating to the American Revolution. Although Southern Research anticipated the recovery of many interesting metal artifacts that would require cleaning and stabilization through appropriate metal conservation techniques, the resulting yield of interesting metal was overwhelming. These were prioritized for cleaning according to their information potential and uniqueness. Several dozen artifacts were conserved in this manner. Priority was placed on buttons, gun parts, coins, other clothing metal items, and munitions. An intermediate class of metal artifact remain to be properly conserved for permanent curation. This class includes a variety of brass, iron, lead, and pewter items of varying sizes. Many of these items were not conserved because of their redundancy. Funds should be allocated for additional conservation of metal artifacts of this intermediate class in the near future. Lack of attention to these artifacts will likely lead to their

continued degradation. The remainder of metal items include many kilograms of nails and other unidentified metal fragments that do not need full conservation treatment.

*Opportunities for Interpreting King George's War
(1737 to 1747)*

The link between the Fort Morris State Historic Site and the early colonial era in Georgia is tenuous at present. The property was granted to Mark Carr, who played an important role in military events in Georgia in the 1730s and 1740s. Captain Carr commanded a small troop of Georgia Rangers, who were marines. They patrolled Georgia's inland waters in a small, shallow draft vessel. Their garrison, when they were not on patrol, was probably at some place maintained by Captain Carr, although clear historical facts on this point are elusive. Prior to the 1750s the Medway River contained no major Euro-American settlements and even if Carr had a fortified settlement in the area, it was most likely lightly defended.

To date, no archaeological evidence has been recovered to indicate that any of Carr's fortifications or other improvements were located in the study area. Historical support for this possibility is ambiguous as well. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that Carr did maintain a settlement in the vicinity of the study area and any such establishment was almost certainly fortified. The history of Mark Carr's fort on the Medway River presents an opportunity for interpreting King George's War, although its archaeological confirmation awaits the next generation of archaeologists.

*Opportunities for Interpreting the French and Indian War
(1755 to 1763)*

The French and Indian War, or Seven Years War, was fought mostly outside of Georgia. With the exception of major campaigns against the Cherokee in northeastern Georgia, no significant battles were fought in the colony. This does not mean, however, that Georgia was completely out of the fray or that Georgians were not influenced by the war. Georgians and their leaders recognized a need to defend the colony and numerous fortifications were established. Sunbury's residents undoubtedly felt the strain of increasing tensions between France and Great Britain. When war ultimately erupted, historical information suggests that Great Britain constructed fortifications at Sunbury in order to protect an important settlement and strategic shipping port. It is not know if these fortifications were permanently garrisoned. Most of these fortifications were associated with populated places, including Sunbury. Funding from Great Britain for homeland se-

curity arrived in a trickle. The engineer and architect of most of the fortifications in Georgia was William DeBrahm. It is not known if DeBrahm had a hand in the design of the fortifications at Sunbury since no maps or correspondence have been found to support this. It is likely that whatever was constructed at Sunbury was similar to the defenses designed and built at other places in coastal Georgia, such as Ebenezer and Savannah. At Ebenezer and Savannah rectangular defenses with projecting corner bastions were built. At Ebenezer, these fortifications defended less than a quarter of the town, whereas at Savannah they encompassed the entire town.

*Opportunities for Interpreting the American Revolution
(1775 to 1783)*

While George Washington did not sleep at Sunbury, many famous Revolutionary War figures, including Major General Robert Howe, Brigadier Generals John Peter Muhlenberg, Samuel Elbert, Lachlan McIntosh, and others did stay there. In addition, many famous British and Loyalist officers, such as Major General Augustin Prevost, Lieutenant Colonel John Cruger and others, also made Sunbury their temporary homes. The roles and actions of these key military figures are both intriguing and significant in how they helped shaped the events and outcome of the revolution. Hopefully, however, the interpretation of historic sites in the United States has evolved beyond hero worship or the sole study of famous white men. Modern historical interpretation incorporates many aspects of people, places and events to provide a fuller and more accurate version of the historical saga. The British perspective, the Loyalist perspective, and the stories of the common soldiers, townspeople, washerwomen, enslaved African Americans, Loyalist Creeks, and other support personnel are underdeveloped avenues of public interpretation. Currently, living history demonstrations at the site provide the visitor with some of the enthralling sites, sounds, smells, tastes, and touches of everyday people in Fort Morris' past. The resources at Fort Morris and Sunbury possess great potential for continuing to address these lines of interpretation in all interpretive aspects of the site, including demonstrations, tours, museum exhibits, and outreach materials.

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

An important aspect of future research should include the development of summary biographies of the various officers and soldiers posted at Sunbury. This list should include both American Patriot, Loyalists, and British soldiers. Fig-

ure 64 shows images of several American officers who served at Sunbury and were instrumental in events in Georgia during the American Revolution. Table 16 contains a preliminary list of American, British and Loyalist officers who served at Sunbury. Those American officers who were most influential in Sunbury's history include:

- Major Generals Charles Lee, Robert Howe, Benjamin Lincoln and John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg;
- Brigadier Generals Samuel Elbert, Lachlan McIntosh, and William Moultrie;
- Colonels Charles C. Pinckney, Thomas Morris, George Walton, John White;
- Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Sumter;
- Major Joseph Lane;
- Captains Mark Carr, Patrick Carr, John Baker, John Dollar.

Biographical data on American enlisted men at Fort Morris was not compiled in the present study. A wealth of information is available for these men in pension applications, muster lists, troop returns, and scattered throughout official correspondence. Some of this information is available in family histories and other genealogical sources. This study identified many primary and secondary sources where additional information about the common soldier at Fort Morris can be gleaned. No images of these men were located. An artist's rendition of soldiers in the Continental Artillery, ca. 1777, is reproduced in Figure 65.

Biographical information and images of British and Loyalist officers proved to be more elusive to obtain. Images for only one of the officers at Sunbury was located—that of Major General Augustin Prevost (Figure 66). Important British and Loyalist officers who served at Sunbury who deserve further study include:

- Major General Augustin Prevost;
- Lieutenant Colonels Isaac Allen, Thomas Brown, John Harris Cruger, L. V. Fuser, and John Marc Prevost;
- Captain Patrick Murray.

Muster lists, troop returns, and payroll lists for some of the British and Loyalist regiments that were at Sunbury have survived. These were not fully researched in the present study. As for the Americans, few period images of British or loyalist soldiers exist. None were located that specifically pertained to the troops at Sunbury. An artist's rendition of men in Delancey's Brigade is presented in Figure 67.

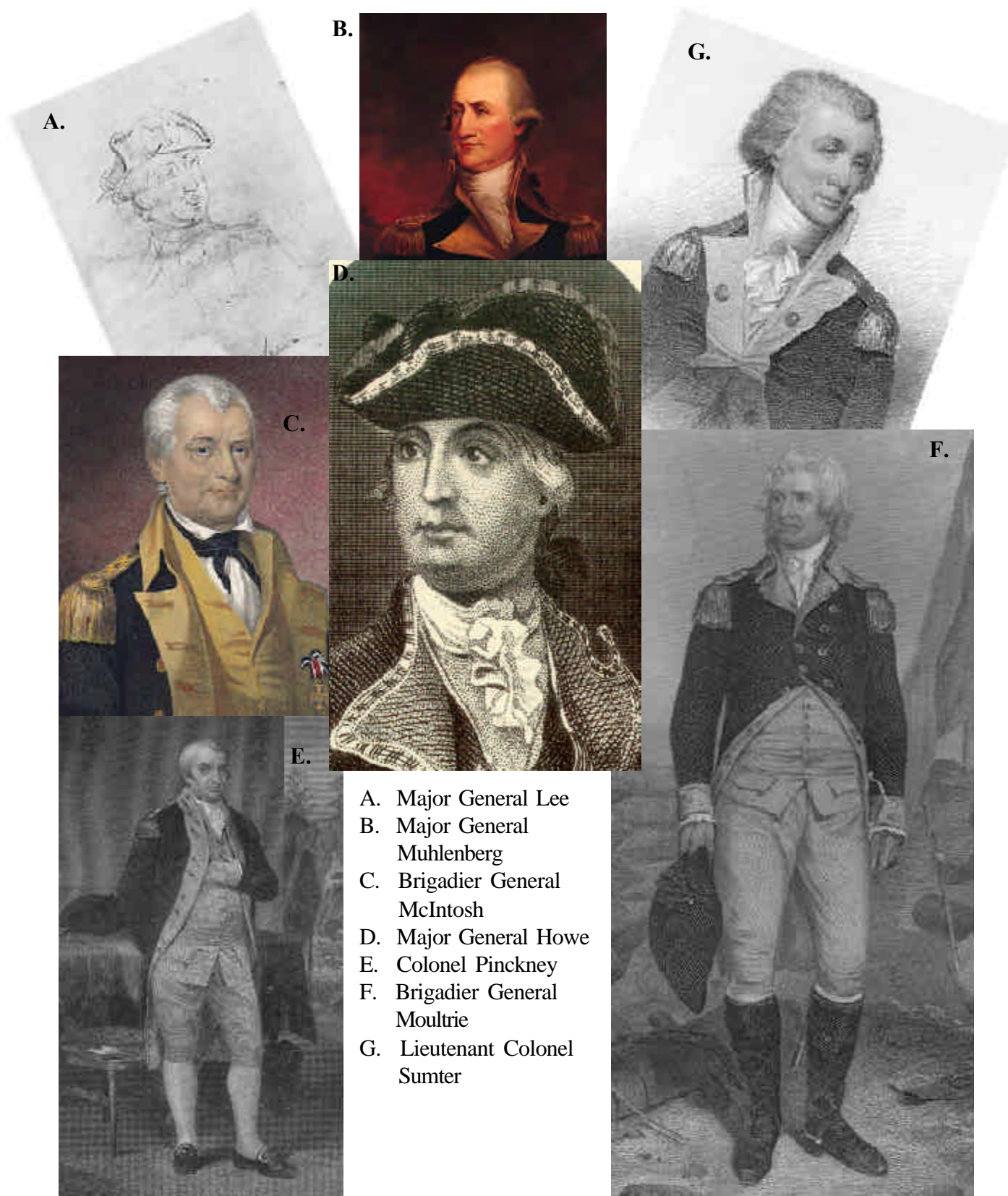


Figure 64. Important American Officers at Sunbury.

Archaeological Investigations at Fort Morris State Historic Site, Liberty County, Georgia

Table 16. Commissioned Military Officers Associated with the Fort at Sunbury in the American Revolution.

Name	Affiliation	Rank	Unit
Baker, John	American	Colonel	Cavalry, Georgia militia
Elbert, Samuel	American	Lieutenant Colonel	Georgia militia; 1 st Georgia Battalion, Continentals
Howe, Robert	American	Major General	Commander, Southern Continental Army
Lane, Joseph	American	Major	3 rd Georgia Battalion, Continentals
McIntosh, John	American	Colonel	3 rd Georgia Battalion, Continentals
McIntosh, Lachlan	American	Brigadier General	1 st Georgia Battalion, Continentals
Morris, Thomas	American	Lieutenant	2 nd Company, Georgia, Continental Artillery
Moultrie, William	American	Colonel; Brigadier General	Continental Artillery
White, John	American	Colonel	4 th Georgia Battalion, Continentals
Muhlenberg, Peter	American	Colonel	8 th Regiment, Virginia Continentals
Gwinnett, Button	American	Governor	Commander-in-Chief, Georgia militia
Sheftall, Mordecai	American	Commissary General	1 st Georgia Battalion, Continentals
Pinckney, Charles C.	American	Colonel	South Carolina, Continentals
Collins, Cornelius	American	1 st Lieutenant	2 nd Georgia Battalion, Continentals
Cook, Rains	American	Captain	3 rd Georgia Battalion, Continentals
Maxwell, Josiah	American	3 rd Lieutenant	3 rd Georgia Battalion, Continentals
Meanly, John	American	1 st Lieutenant	3 rd Georgia Battalion, Continentals
Douglas, [undeter]	American	Major	Georgia militia
Henley, Philo	American	1 st Lieutenant	2 nd Company, Georgia, Continental Artillery
Walmore, John	American	Quartermaster Sergeant	2 nd Company, Georgia, Continental Artillery
Dollar, John	American	Captain Lieutenant	2 nd Company, Georgia, Continental Artillery

(Table 16. Continued)

Robinson, James	American	2 nd Lieutenant	3 rd South Carolina Battalion, Continentals
Kell, John	American	Captain	Georgia militia, Sunbury Company
Cubbage, George	American	1 st Lieut; Captain	Georgia militia, Sunbury Company
Huger, Isaac	American	General	South Carolina, Continentals
Walton, George	American	Colonel	Commander, Georgia militia
Sumter, Thomas	American	Lieutenant Colonel	2 nd Rifle Regiment, South Carolina Continentals
Grimke, John F.	American	Major	General's Staff, Continental Army
Brown, Thomas	British	Lieutenant Colonel	Carolina Rangers, King's Rangers
Cruger, John Harris	British	Lieutenant Colonel	Delancey's Brigade, 1 st Battalion
French, Thomas	British	Captain	Delancey's Brigade, 1 st Battalion
Fuser, L. V.	British	Lieutenant Colonel	60 th Regiment, Royal Americans
Prevost, Augustine	British	Brigadier General	Commander Southern Army, 60 th Regiment, Royal Americans
Prevost, James Marc	British	Lieutenant Colonel	Commander, 60 th Regiment, Royal Americans
Skinner, Cortland	British	Brigadier General	New Jersey Volunteers (Skinner's Greens)
Murray, Patrick	British	Captain	Light Company, 4 th Battalion, 60 th Regiment
Schoedde, C. L. T.	British	Ensign	4 th Battalion, 60 th Regiment
Allen, Isaac	British	Lieutenant Colonel	1 st Company, New Jersey Volunteers
Campbell, [undeter]	British	Lieutenant	
Johnstone,	British	Captain	Brown's East Florida Rangers
Wulf, [undeter]	British	Captain	Grenadiers, 60 th Regiment, Royal Americans
Graham,	British	Major	(3) Companies, 16 th Regiment
Moncrief,	British	Captain	
Mackintosh, Roderic	British	Captain	Captain, Fort George
MacDonald,	British	Captain	Grenadier Company, 3 rd Battalion, 60 th Regiment
Breitenback, Baron	British	Lieutenant	4 th Battalion, 60 th Regiment
Fairlamb, Jonathan	British	Captain	Light Royal Artillery



Figure 65. (at left) Artist's Rendering of American Artillery Corps, 1777.

*Figure 66. (at right) Major General Augustin Prevost.
(Courtesy of Sir Christopher Prevost)*





Figure 67. Leffert's Rendering of DeLancey's Brigade and Other Loyalist officer.

The gathering of relevant, comparable archaeological excavation data on Revolutionary War military sites proved to be a difficult task. Although many survey and excavation projects have been conducted on major military sites in the country over the past 150 years, most of the reports on this work were produced in very limited quantity, are unpublished, and are not widely circulated. A bibliography of these types of studies was included in John Cotter's bibliography on historical archaeology (Cotter 2003). A review of Cotter's compilation reveals quite a few references to Revolutionary War era excavations at battlefields, encampments, and forti-

fications, such as, Monmouth, Saratoga, Trenton, Valley Forge, and Yorktown but most of these are manuscript reports on file in state or federal park offices. They are not readily available to researchers in Georgia since most of these offices are located in the northeastern states.

A wide range of archives, libraries, agencies, private collections, and other sources were consulted for the present research. As the researchers delved deeper into the mysteries of Fort Morris, more potential sources were uncovered. It was not possible to examine all of them and much historical

research remains to be conducted on future Fort Morris projects. A few potential sources that were identified in the present study, but were not examined, are discussed below. Continued study of these materials will allow a more comprehensive and interesting story to unfold about Sunbury's forts.

One of the best sources for information on the American Revolution in Georgia is the University of Georgia. In addition to numerous primary documents, The University of Georgia Libraries possess vertical files including information pertaining to Captain Patrick Carr. These were not researched in the present study.

Additional research should be conducted at the Library of Congress and the National Archives and Records Administration at their facilities in College Park, Maryland and Washington, D.C.. A few collections that have particular bearing on Sunbury and the American Revolution in Georgia include: The Papers of William Drayton (Drayton 1778) and other materials in the Peter Force Papers (Force 1848, various dates). The Papers of the Continental Congress and the Journal of the Continental Congress were consulted in the present study, but were not fully explored (NARA 1959, 1774-1789; United States Continental Congress 1959). Additional study of these records is advised. The Journal of the Continental Congress is available online at the Library of Congress website (LOC 2003).

The Duke University Library in Durham, North Carolina maintains a collection of Revolutionary War primary documents, including many that are relevant to a study of Sunbury and Fort Morris (Dunn 2002). Budgetary constraints did not permit a visit to this institution for the present study, but a visit to examine these collections is highly advised. Collections of particular note include those of Samuel Elbert, William Few, John Gibbons (Gibbons family), Nathanael Greene, Charles C. Jones, Jr., Benjamin Lincoln, Samuel Stirk, John Twiggs, George Walton, and Sir James Wright.

Documents pertaining to the history of British East Florida and subsequent Spanish East Florida are located in various sources within the State of Florida, including the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, and the University of Florida Library, Gainesville. None of these repositories were visited in the present study. A more thorough examination of the historical documents from the loyalist Floridian perspective would enhance the accuracy of the story of Fort Morris and Sunbury.

Collections of the New York Historical Society include many books and documents pertaining to the loyalists from New York and New Jersey who were associated with Sunbury, Georgia. Although a minor amount of research was conducted at this repository, which benefitted this study, many more sources were identified from their BOBCAT search engine but not physically examined. These include limited edition books by Dawson (1886) and many unpublished manuscripts. Relevant manuscript collections in New York include: the Captains Frederick DePeyster, Sr., and Frederic DePeyster, Jr. papers. Captain DePeyster commanded the New York Volunteers, who participated in the Georgia campaign, although he and his men are not positively linked to Sunbury. The DePeyster papers may contain information relevant to the loyalist troops at Sunbury, Georgia (DePeyster 1758-1834).

Sources in Europe were not directly examined in the present study but many exciting archival resources were identified by the research. The primary resource for research in England is the British Public Records Office at Kew. Many libraries and private manuscript collections also have the potential to shed new light on events in Sunbury in the American Revolution. One example identified by this research is the private papers of Sir Christopher Prevost, which are located in Europe and include numerous documents pertaining to his ancestor, Major General Augustine Prevost. Copies of these materials are available on microfilm at the National Archives in Ottawa, Canada, where they form part of the Sir George Prevost fonds (Reference Number R9686-0-4-E, Transcripts No: MSS982). The author corresponded with Sir Christopher for this project. Sir Christopher was kind enough to provide an electronic image of his ancestor, Augustin Prevost, which is included in this report.

Online resources on the World Wide Web proved to be a vital research tool in the present study. The future trend should make this type of research even more significant and useful. Several websites were cited in this report. An exemplary case is "The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies", which contains a wealth of information on the men and loyalist units in the American Revolution (Cole and Braisted 2002). Other distinguished examples include: AmericanRevolution.org (2002), The American Revolution Round Table (2003), The Brigade of the American Revolution (2003), Independence Hall Association (2003), Revwar.com (2002), Sons of the Revolution (2003), and Land & Sea Battles of the American Revolution (Robertson et al. 2002).

FUTURE INTERPRETATION

The story of American Colonel John White's capture of so many Loyalist troops and five British ships by so few of his own men has immense interpretive value for Fort Morris. Although the capture took place elsewhere, the players in this historical drama were closely associated with Sunbury. Loyalist Captain French and the sick and injured men of Delancey's Brigade had garrisoned Fort George. Ironically, the next time they saw Sunbury they were prisoners of the Americans.

The investigations described in this report clearly demonstrate that the Fort Morris State Historic Site possesses an enormous wealth of archaeological information about the American Revolution in Georgia, particularly for the years 1778 and 1779. Unlike many sites, this archaeological record is supported by extensive primary historical documents. The combined interpretation of both can result in an unusually educational and vivid picture of early historic Georgia and her role in American independence. The lion's share of the 2003 study dwells on the American Revolutionary War history of Sunbury and Fort Morris/Fort George. And rightly so, for it was during that era that most of the military action occurred. As our report demonstrates, this was a complicated story. It was also a story in which the British side held most of the glory. In addition to this compelling story, the site offers important tangents to other avenues of our past. These include King George's War, the Seven Years War (French and Indian War), and the War of 1812. These, along with Fort Morris' association with the American Revolution, are addressed below. The linkage of Fort Morris to larger national and global issues is key in interpreting the site and fostering a real understanding of American history rather than a tiring litany of names and dates that often passes for history in our schools and among the public. The fascinating specifics of the individual men and women who constructed and destroyed the fortification, and lived and died on the site, are what captures the visitor's attention and allows for an understanding of the broader picture that we call American history.

Interpretive Recycling: Drawing Comparisons Between Fort Morris and Similar Public Sites

In order to place Sunbury and its Revolutionary War fortifications in perspective for purposes of interpretive development it is important to examine how other historic sites have addressed the problem of interpreting the American Revolution. Resolution of interpretive issues at similar sites can offer viable options to the Fort Morris Historic Site. One

reason for low attendance numbers may be related to geographic and demographic issues. Cowpens National Battlefield, which is located in the South Carolina piedmont, is one comparable example; others listed below.

Cowpens shares many features in common with the Fort Morris State Historic Site. Like Fort Morris, Cowpens is located within easy access of an Interstate highway. Although its setting is rural, Cowpens, like Fort Morris, is located approximately 35 miles from a large metropolitan area and represents an easy day trip for people living there. Both Cowpens and Fort Morris were the scene of military engagements that lasted less than one day. Both engagements, however, had an enormous impact in determining who held military control of the Southern colonies. An important difference between the two, however, is that Cowpens was won by the Americans, whereas Sunbury was won by the British.

Preservation efforts at Cowpens first began in 1856 when one acre was set aside and memorialized. The annual number of visitors to Cowpens in 1946, when it was still a one-acre park, is estimated at 336. Despite numerous attempts, it was not until 1972 that the battlefield site was truly on the way to historic preservation after the U.S. Congress appropriated funds for the acquisition of more than 840 acres. A master development plan soon followed in 1975, but only minimal archaeological study was conducted at that time and the results of these efforts yielded no significant results. At Cowpens National Battlefield the annual visitation quadrupled during the period from 1960 to 2000. Presently more than 200,000 tourists visit that park each year (Binkley and Davis 2002). The popularity of Cowpens is probably due in large part to the fact that this is where the Americans gave the British, "a devil of a whipping" (Bearss 1974; Walker 1986, 1990; Babits 1998; Binkley and Davis 2002). Archaeology has played a very minor role in the interpretive development of this park and it is likely that additional archaeological investigation and resultant public interpretation could produce increased park visibility, greater attendance, and a broader understanding of the past.

In stark contrast to Cowpens, Ninety-Six State Historic Site, in the South Carolina piedmont, registered only 29,861 visitors in Fiscal Year (FY) 2001. This low attendance is very surprising, particularly considering that Ninety-Six was the scene of repeated important military engagements, it has visible evidence of several fortifications and siegeworks, and it has been studied archaeologically for more than 30 years. Unlike Cowpens, Fort Morris, and Kings Mountain, however, Ninety Six is not located near a major Interstate highway and as a tourist destination, it is relatively remote.

Other Revolutionary War sites in the Southeastern U.S., which are managed by the National Park Service, have visitation figures comparable to Cowpens. The annual attendance in FY2001 at Kings Mountain Battlefield (SC), near Charlotte, North Carolina was 264,477. Moore's Creek Battlefield, North Carolina, which is comparable to Fort Morris in terms of its size (88 acres) enjoyed 892,247 visitors that same year. Guilford Courthouse, which is located in the small town of Guilford, North Carolina with ready access to an Interstate highway, is one of the more popular destinations. It had slightly fewer visitors in FY2001 (886,527 people) than Moore's Creek.

To place these statistics in perspective, one should consider that Valley Forge Historical Park near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania had 1,295,121 visitors in FY2001. Camp Morristown National Historical Park, New Jersey, had 422,758 visitors and Saratoga National Historical Park, which has relatively easy access from the New York Thruway, had only 152,854 visitors in FY2001. Attendance at Revolutionary War sites in the northern states is generally higher than those in the South. Apparently, sites near greater population centers, whether it be one large city or in an area convenient to several cities, tend to attract a larger visitorship.

So where does the Fort Morris State Historic Site fit into this tourism picture, in terms of annual visitation? The interpretive park has been in existence approximately the same number of years as Cowpens and their visitor's centers were completed about the same time. Since its opening, however, Fort Morris has come close to extinction two times, as Georgia's governors and legislators struggled to manage the state's budget. In FY 2001, Fort Morris State Historic Site had an attendance of 13,600 persons and the following year that number rose to 15,700. For the current year, which ends on June 30, 2003, that number of visitors is approximately the same as for the previous year (Arthur Edgar personal communication, February 4, 2003). These figures indicate attendance at Fort Morris is approximately one-half that of Ninety-Six Historic Site in rural South Carolina and far below the other federally operated Revolutionary War parks that were considered. One possible reason for lower interest in the American Revolution in the South and related historic sites is a preoccupation with the American Civil War, which is so hearty that it often eclipses the people, places and events of earlier history.

Fort Morris Historic Site can use the factor of its geographic location to focus on two opportunities. One is its location. Not only is it convenient to the populations of Savannah, Georgia and Jacksonville, Florida but it is directly on the

seasonal migration path of Florida tourists. The other factor is the site's participation as part of the Colonial Coast tourism trail. Both opportunities should be capitalized on more heavily than they are currently. Advertising should be a key component of this, including local, regional, statewide, and national efforts.

Advertising can consist of both low budget and higher-end marketing. The very first, relatively easy task should be to install an official brown, Georgia DNR sign on Interstate 95 specific to Fort Morris, rather than the generic and confusing trail signs currently in place. Extensive advertising should be pursued with the DNR networks, the Georgia Department of Trade and Tourism, and the Georgia and Florida Visitors' Centers. The Colonial Coast theme should be emphasized, with sites such as Fort Morris highlighted as one of the many gems in the area that attract tourist and entice them to spend time and money on a several day sojourn along the trail. A heightened awareness of Fort Morris among the New York-to-Florida tourists traveling Interstate 95 through better signage and riveting brochures at the visitors centers, would tap a potentially huge market of visitors to the site.

Other more specific marketing efforts can include inviting Southern Living and other high-profile magazines to do stories on Fort Morris, by focusing on a specific event or program such as the Come and Take It Day, Artillery Program, Independence Day Faire, Revolutionary War Programs, Colonial Christmas, 18th Century Women, Tradesmen of Sunbury, and Labor Day and Memorial Day Musket Firings. Likewise, marketing "outside the box" can include contacting some of the many relevant cable and satellite television shows constantly in search of material. This can include history, archaeology, and historic architecture shows on The History Channel, The Learning Channel, The Discovery Channel, and Home and Garden T.V.

One avenue for public interpretation and marketing that has not been fully developed for Fort Morris State Historic Site (or other Georgia parks for that matter) is the internet. Many examples can be found on the World Wide Web where virtual museums, tours, maps, photographs, text, and other audio-visual aids combine to tell the story of historic forts, towns, and battlefields (U.S. Department of the Interior, NPS 2002). One good example of a website that presents an interpretation is Fort Arbuckle, a small Revolutionary War fort in West Virginia, whose website was created by the Greenbrier Historical Society (2000). Their site includes: a short history, photographs of two seasons excavations in progress, excavation plan maps, and 3-D artist's renderings of how Fort Arbuckle may have looked. Since there is already a good

web site for Fort Morris, it would be relatively easy to further enhance the site with additional content in high and low-tech formats. This will be especially important with the expected development of the new museum exhibit.

Another marketing and interpretation opportunity is related to the calendar. The year 2004 marks the 225th anniversary of the British capture of Fort Morris. Several other Revolutionary War parks in the eastern United States are celebrating this milestone. Fort Morris managers and the state should take advantage of this opportunity in promoting the resource to the public. Such promotion should occur on a state-wide level, but also take advantage of advertising and promotional opportunities through other similar celebrations and calendars of events nation-wide. If this milestone is lost, the next anniversary of British capture will not be until 2029—the 250th Anniversary. Meanwhile, the bicentennial of the War of 1812 is fast approaching. Most Georgians are unaware of the role played by Georgians in this war and the 200 year milestone represents an excellent opportunity for public interpretive development of historical and archaeological studies associated with this conflict. Fort Defiance offers vivid testimony to War of 1812 activities on the grounds of Fort Morris State Historic Site.

While Sunbury was peripheral to most of the events of the War of 1812, the remains of the Fort Defiance earthworks are among the best-preserved fortifications from this war in the Southeastern U.S. Other fortified sites in Georgia from this period, including Fort Hawkins, Point Peter, and Savannah, are not nearly as well preserved. Historical data suggest that Fort Defiance was never completed and the interior features, such as dwellings, casemates and other improvements were not finished. Consequently, the fort was not garrisoned and before these public works could be completed, the war had ended. What is apparently lacking from the War of 1812 story at Fort Defiance, therefore, is evidence of material culture. This “empty shell of a fort” theory is borne out by the present archaeological findings, as well as previous evidence produced by Midgette (1976). In spite of the lack of occupation by troops, the construction of Fort Defiance can be a key element towards the interpretation of threats to Georgia from the war, military and economic strategies, and the overall direct and indirect effects of the War of 1812. The survival of much of the remains of Fort Defiance provides an excellent visual and interpretive tool for site managers, educators, and historians.

SUMMARY

The present historical and archaeological study of the Fort Morris Historic Site by Southern Research represents a significant advance in understanding the value of the cultural resources this property contains. This study’s additional primary document research and synthesis of past historical research helps to create a research context that can be used in future studies. Research included information on the American, Loyalist, and British troops that garrisoned the fort at Sunbury. Contemporary letters, military records, newspapers, maps, and manuscripts were supplemented with biographical data on many of the key officers who supervised the soldiers in the post. This biographical information enriches the story of Fort Morris by providing a more human face to the litany of names, dates, regiments, and figures associated with these historic grounds. The facts and figures associated with the various regiments who manned the fortifications has served to improve existing knowledge of the timeline of occupation and events at Fort Morris. The historical research component of the 2002 project explored numerous facets of fort life, including many that had been overlooked in the past. This historical synthesis provides the a compendium of data necessary for developing future interpretive programs.

The physical structure of the fortifications at Sunbury remains a subject of study. The 2002 excavations resulted in additional baseline data towards a more comprehensive understanding of the various fort plans and their chronology. In addition, the project generated many new questions about the forts that have not been considered in the past. The initial question on this subject prior to the 2002 project was, where is the Fort Morris component located and how does it relate to the later Fort Defiance? A crucial part of this equation that has been left out in the past, however, is, where is Fort George? To compound the issue further, where are the remains of the French and Indian war-era forts that guarded Sunbury? The present archaeological study recovered no information on the French and Indian war-era forts. Components of Fort George, however, were located. Extricate Fort George from Fort Morris proves to be a daunting task, particularly within the framework of the excavations from the 2002 season. Such delineation will be further refined as future archaeological and historical studies continue to reveal stratigraphic sequences, historic fill zones, features, and diagnostic military artifacts providing relative and absolute dates.

While the 2002 study resulted in the excavation of less than one percent of the fortifications at 9Li168, most of the site

remains protected for future study. The 2002 hand-excavated blocks identified several important areas of activity. These are tentatively interpreted as the following: an American enlisted men's barracks, an area thought to be a British or Loyalist officers' quarters, a section of the central parade ground within both Forts Morris and George, and a previously unknown area of the outerworks of Fort Morris. The 2002 fieldwork also revealed defensive ditchwork associated with Fort Morris in Backhoe Trenches 1 and 8. These ditches are located south of the southern Fort Defiance rampart and southwest of the southwest corner bastion of Fort Defiance. The findings in these two trenches and in Block 8 revealed that a fort larger than the visible earthworks of Fort Defiance once existed in that area. This disproves Midgette's conclusion that the visible earthworks were that of Fort Morris, and that Fort Defiance represented simply a "revetment" of Fort Morris (1976). The Southern Research findings indicate that the differences between the size and shape of Forts Morris and Defiance represent considerably more than cleaning out the old trenches. The backhoe trench data further revealed that the Fort Morris ditchwork did not extend very far to the west, although historian Sheftall previously suggested that they did (1995). Our understanding of the northern edge of Fort Morris remains cloudy. A series of small pit/post features were discovered in Backhoe Trench 6 that contain Revolutionary War era artifacts but no ditchwork was intersected in this trench. The least explored was the eastern side of Fort Defiance. Backhoe Trench 7 demonstrated that the Fort Defiance moat near the northeastern corner bastion was nearly devoid of 18th century artifacts. This may mean that the moat was either cleaned out in 1814, as Midgette suggests, or the Revolutionary War moat of Forts Morris and George were not in this location. Parts of Fort Defiance may have been built on similar parts of the earlier forts. An area where this is a strong possibility is the eastern rampart.

Perhaps the singlemost important finding from the 2002 archaeological fieldwork at the Fort Morris Historic Site was the discovery of a major deposit of cultural material that dates from the American Revolution and is remarkably well preserved beneath the ground. While Midgette's 1971 research provided a glimpse of the material culture at the site, his excavations did not reveal any deeply buried deposits, and his excavations suggested that the artifact midden was restricted to the upper 50 cm soil zone. Block A from the present study, however, revealed an extensive deposit of well-preserved Revolutionary War debris that was buried well over one meter below ground. Furthermore, the 2002 GPR results suggest that this deposit extends horizontally for more than 10 meters eastward. The GPR data also revealed dozens of other major anomalies within the Fort Defiance parade ground that may harbor great stores of Revo-

lutionary War artifacts still lying in their original, and significant context, which can provide further evidence of life during this period of American and British conflict.

It appears that the construction of Fort Defiance in 1814 served both to protect and destroy the archaeological remains of the Revolutionary War. The southern ditch of Fort Defiance, for example, probably cut through the parade ground of Forts Morris and George. On this part of the fort a large swath, perhaps 10 m wide, may be missing. The same result occurred on the eastern ditch of Fort Defiance but the extent of this damage was not determined from the backhoe trench excavation.

The great volume of earth that formed the Fort Defiance ramparts served to protect any Revolutionary War deposits located beneath it in some areas. This case is most certainly true for the northern rampart of Fort Defiance. Excavation Block A, in 2002, was located on the lower interior slope of this rampart and the archaeological findings there suggest that well preserved, deeply-buried deposits continue unabated to the north, beneath the Fort Defiance rampart, for an unknown extent. The same situation is probably true on the western rampart of Fort Defiance near Block B.

The presence of deeply buried Revolutionary War deposits in Block C, which was situated near the center of the Fort Defiance parade was also surprising. More than a foot of sterile sandy soils cap the Revolutionary War strata in this area. The source of this overburden was not identified, but it is not modern. It may represent sands deposited during one of the several hurricanes that struck the area in the early 19th century. Alternatively, it may represent intentional filling during the Revolutionary War or the War of 1812. Whatever the reason, this area contains a well-preserved midden deposit and features from the American Revolution, and its full extent remains to be determined.

The data produced by the archaeological fieldwork in 2002 represents a major advance in our knowledge of the Revolutionary War in Georgia. The abundant material culture recovered from the excavations will help to recreate a visualization of the daily aspects of fort life. Many of the artifacts can be linked to specific events or specific regiments living in the fort. In addition to the visual connection offered by newly uncovered revolutionary war artifacts, the artifacts comprise a database that will be crucial to a better understanding of the events and people associated with this site. This understanding will come through current interpretations of this database, but even more importantly, through the new interpretations of future archaeologists and historians who apply as yet unfathomable questions and techniques to these same data.

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