

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT  
TABBIES 1 AND 2  
NORTH END PLANTATION  
OSSABAW ISLAND, GEORGIA



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Archaeological Investigations at Tabbies 1 and 2,  
North End Plantation, Ossabaw Island, Georgia

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## ABSTRACT

This report documents the second session of archaeological investigations conducted in the slave quarter and servants' quarters at the North End plantation site, Ossabaw Island, Chatham County, Georgia. This study was conducted by the LAMAR Institute and the Archaeological Services Unit, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources for the Ossabaw Island Foundation. The field study was conducted intermittently from January through October 2006 and this research formed part of the "Save America's Treasures" grant project, funded by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. Site 9Ch1062 is a large site that contains 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century historic components and minor aboriginal components. This archaeological study represents the second look at many of these areas and serves to establish baseline information for future studies at this site. Readers are referred to Elliott (2005d) for additional background information. The present effort included a detailed examination of the interior of Tabbies 1 and 2, as well as limited exploration outside of Tabby 2. Historical and archaeological data obtained from the previous field season is integrated with the present results to provide a clearer picture of the people and events at Ossabaw Island's North End plantation.





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# Chapter I. Introduction

On the northern tip of Ossabaw Island, less than seven airline miles from Savannah, Georgia, lies another world. This was the scene of a bustling plantation in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, known as the North End plantation. Most of the buildings and other above-ground features that comprised this plantation have lain in ruins for many decades. Four tabby buildings have survived the centuries, however, and these architectural gems were recognized as important cultural features by the Ossabaw Island Foundation and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, who sought grant funds to preserve these architectural specimens. Archaeology was included as part of this historic preservation effort in order to understand not only the buildings, but about those who lived in them, used them, and owned them. Grant money was secured from a variety of sources, most notably the National Park Service's "Save America's Treasures" program and the Robert H. Woodruff Foundation. While the emphasis of this project focused on these four extant buildings, the research team quickly realized that the North End plantation site had much more to offer.

This report is the second installment on historical archaeology at the North End plantation produced by the LAMAR Institute research team. The initial results were documented in an earlier report (Elliott 2005d) and the present work incorporates the findings of this earlier treatise, corrects several mistakes and omissions in the earlier volume, and greatly augments the historical and archaeological data sets for this important Sea Island plantation site. The present volume does not completely repeat or reproduce all the findings of the previous field seasons. Rather, this report concentrates on the findings at Tabby 1 and Tabby 2 and the area immediately outside of these former dwellings.

## PROJECT SETTING

The project area is located on the north-central end of Ossabaw Island in Chatham County in southeastern Georgia (Figures 1 and 2; USGS 1985; Bozeman 1997). Ossabaw Island is a large barrier island that was formed as a barrier island during the Pleistocene epoch. Ossabaw Island is bounded on the north by the Egg Islands, Raccoon Key, Ossabaw Sound, and the Atlantic Ocean, on the west by the Ogeechee River, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the southwest by St. Catherine's Island Sound and the Medway River. Elevations on the island range from sea level to 5 m above mean sea level (amsl). The maximum elevation in the study area is 2.5 m amsl. An arbitrarily defined elevation data point (AE 2.0 m) was established for the archaeological site at Datum 1

(1000N, 1000E). All excavation unit measurements and topographic measurements are keyed to this elevation.

The North End plantation occupied a large section on the north end of Ossabaw Island. The obvious historic resources from the plantation days include three tabby duplexes and a tabby smokehouse. These resources were the primary subject of this study at the onset.

## REPORT ORGANIZATION

The report is organized into six additional chapters following this one. Chapter 2 outlines the research methods used in this study. The literature review and archival study is detailed. Archaeological field methods and laboratory analysis methods are described.

The plantation owners and the various residents of the "Big House" are identified in Chapter 3. The first portion of the chapter concerns the John Morel family and their descendants, primarily. It was the Morels who created the plantation and operated it for more than 120 years. That discussion is followed by information on managers and overseers, who were linked to the plantation at various times.

The residents of the North End plantation slave quarter and later worker's residences are identified in Chapter 4. This research presents a compilation of people who were associated with the plantation. The first section of this discussion presents information on the enslaved community. This is followed by a discussion of the servants and other workers, who lived in the area from the 1870s to about 1990.

Chapter 5 contains a discussion of the function and activities on the North End plantation. This includes a discussion of the Morel family's various economic pursuits, which included the sale of imported and locally produced merchandise. The Morels were involved in indigo and cotton cultivation, farm produce, livestock, hunting and fishing, timbering and naval stores, and maritime vessel construction. This section is followed by a discussion of religion and magic practiced by the enslaved community. The impact of the various wars on the operation at the North End plantation are then addressed.

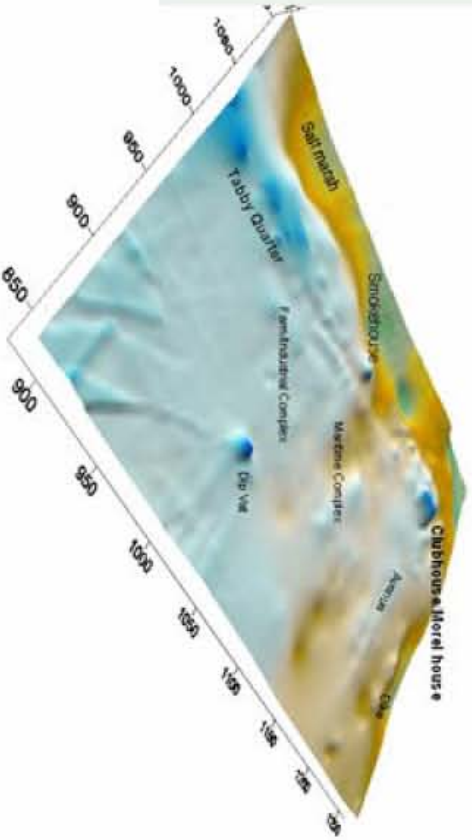


Figure 1. Project Location (Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Wildlife Resources Division 2005).

Chapter 6 presents the archaeological excavation data. The first section of this chapter is arranged by site loci and it contains a discussion of the excavation sample, stratigraphy and associated features. This section is followed by a discussion of the material culture, which is organized following South's Artifact Groups (South 1977).

Chapter 7 contains an interpretation of the historical and archaeological data for the North End plantation. This chapter concludes with recommendations for future research, educational activity, and site stewardship for the North End plantation.

The report text is followed by a bibliography of references cited, as well as those references not specifically cited but that were recognized as relevant to future research efforts at the North End plantation. The report is followed by six appendices. Appendix 1 contains a complete inventory of the archaeological artifacts from the 2005 and 2006 seasons at the North End plantation. Data in this inventory includes Lot Number, Loci, Unit, Level, Feature, Count, Description, Grid Location, Depth or Arbitrary Site Elevation, and other variables. Appendix 2 contains plan and profile maps of various areas, test units and features at the North End plantation. Other plan and profile drawings are contained in the 2005 report (Elliott 2005d). Appendix 3 contains a photograph gallery of selected artifacts from the excavations at the North End plantation. These artifacts are identified by their Lot Number, which is keyed to the Artifact Inventory in Appendix 1. Appendix 4 contains a gallery of field photographs from the excavation project. Appendices 5 and 6 contain Lisa D. O'Steen's zooarchaeological report for the North End plantation. This includes a narrative of the foodways evidence at the North End Quarter, as well as a series of tables detailing the zooarchaeological findings and a series of skeletal diagrams of meat cuts, which forms Appendix 6. Portions of O'Steen's research were liberally interspersed within the site report narrative.



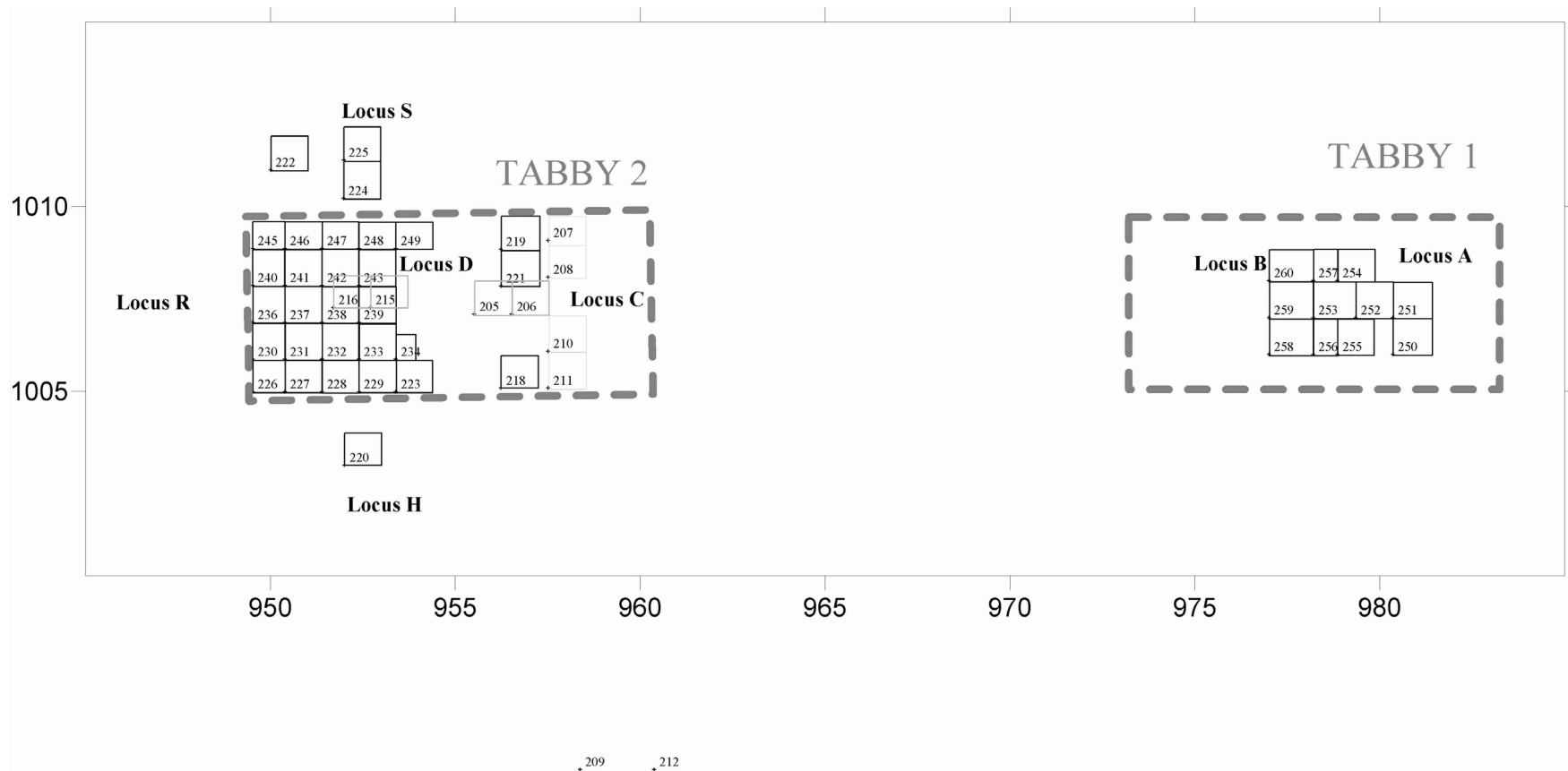


Figure 2. Plan of Excavation Units, 2006.

## Chapter II. Research Methods

### LITERATURE AND ARCHIVAL REVIEW

The 2005 archaeology report contained a summary of the history of the North End plantation and the information presented in that volume need not be repeated here. Readers are directed to the 2005 report for other details about the plantation (Elliott 2005d). Over the course of the present study, additional historical information was collected about the North End plantation and its owners and inhabitants. These new revelations are presented herein, along with some corrections to the previous interpretation of the historical record. The gathering of historical data about the study area was not the primary thrust of the present research and many more avenues of research in the historical and archival domain remain to be explored. Stewards at the Ossabaw Island Foundation and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources (GDNR) are encouraging such research at present. Hopefully, the contributions from this volume will be incorporated into a new and more accurate social history of the plantation complex by researchers in the near future.

The archaeology field project at the North End plantation was accompanied by a preliminary literature and archive review of existing documentation on Ossabaw Island and Chatham County, Georgia. This included a review of the archaeological site files, research reports, and unpublished manuscripts at the University of Georgia, Georgia Archaeological Site File (GASF) in Athens. Historical research also was conducted at the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah. A review of the National Register files and research reports for Chatham County on file at the GDNR also was conducted (Linley 1982; Martin 1975; Edwards 1996).

A wide variety of research topics relating to Ossabaw Island, the Morel plantation, and African-American and Swiss-Huguenot culture were pursued in this study. These included primary historical documents consisting of maps, photographs, manuscripts, and publications. The general history of slavery, particularly for the Sea Islands, also was examined. Relevant African-American archaeological studies were reviewed. Previous archaeological explorations of Huguenot settlements in South Carolina, as well as published histories of their settlements, provided background context for the Morel family (Alexander 1970; Bullock 1895:13-18; Davis 1926, 1940; Elliott 1985b; Hirsch 1999; Howard 1980; Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina 1889-2004; Steen et al. 1996; Shlasko 1997).

Early maps of the study area were discovered in several repositories, including many that were online resources. Internet sites that were particularly fruitful included NOAA's Historical Charts; Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library; Carl Vinson Institute of Government; the Library of Congress, and the Georgia Department of Archives and History. The most detailed maps of the North End plantation are the coastal charts, including charts published in 1860 and 1910. These maps indicate individual buildings on the plantation, as well as fields and fence lines.

Early photographs of Ossabaw Island were located at the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Morrow, Georgia. A number of early images of the island were recently published in a book by Foskey (2001). Other early photographic images of Ossabaw Island are known to exist but were not examined in the present study.

Primary manuscript material that pertained particularly to the North End plantation and the Morel family was scarce. Two slave lists were identified, which include those enslaved at the North End Quarter. No detailed plan maps of the North End plantation were located, nor were any account books or diaries found. Plantation records for Ossabaw Island's South End Plantation, owned by George Jones Kollock, provided a wealth of insight into the organization and daily life on a nearby plantation. These primary documents were only briefly perused for this study and should be the subject of detailed analysis by future researchers.

Early Savannah newspapers provided considerable information about the Morel family and their Ossabaw Island plantations. Kilbourne (1999a-b, 2000, 2001, 2003) provides five volumes of abstracts from these newspapers, covering the period from 1760 to 1774 and 1774 to 1806. These were carefully reviewed for any reference to the Morel family or Ossabaw Island. Savannah newspapers following that period were not explored, although the Georgia Historical Society has many volumes of newspaper abstracts that are available for the later period. Many other clues about life on Ossabaw Island may be contained in newspapers of other cities, particularly Charleston, South Carolina (*South Carolina Gazette*; *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*; *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*; *Charlestown Gazette*; *South Carolina Weekly Gazette*; *South Carolina and American General Gazette*; *Royal South Carolina Gazette*; *Royal*

*Gazette*) and Brunswick, Georgia (*Brunswick Advocate; Advertiser and Appeal; Advertiser; Brunswick Advertiser and Appeal; Brunswick Advertiser; Brunswick Appeal; Brunswick Daily Advertiser; and Brunswick Daily News*).

Many available publications and documents were examined whose content aided the development of the historical context for the North End Quarter. These included autobiographies of former slaves, slave narratives, contemporary accounts of slavery and the plantation system, early history books, traveler's accounts, and governmental records. Many of these records have a strong bias and needed to be used with a critical eye, as cautioned by Thomas (1995:149-157). The WPA slave narratives were consulted for any specific references to slave life on Georgia's sea islands and as general background information on slave life in Georgia and South Carolina (American Memory 2007; Radford 1937). Other primary accounts of slave life, written by former slaves, were reviewed (cf., Ball 1859; Hughes 1897).

Early graphic representations of slaves and slavery have been assembled in three major research institutions, the New York Public Library, the University of Virginia and the University of California at Davis. "The Digital Schomburg Images of 19<sup>th</sup> Century African Americans" hosted by the New York Public Library (2007) contains many early photographs and engravings, including many that were published in New York newspapers. "The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record" webpage is managed by Jerome S. Handler and Michael L. Tuite, Jr. (2007) and hosted by the University of Virginia. This collection contains many images of slaves from plantations throughout the New World, including several images showing slaves engaged in indigo and cotton agriculture in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which were particularly relevant to this study. "The History Project", hosted by the University of California at Davis (2007), contains numerous photographs and engravings of early U.S. history and slavery. These three image libraries were extremely useful during the present research. The "African Diaspora Archaeology Network", hosted by Chris Fennell (2007) and the University of Illinois at Urbana, contains many links to African-American archaeology subject matter.

Published records of the Colonial and the Revolutionary War periods were consulted for information about the study area (Candler 1916, Candler and Knight 1908). Secondary histories of Chatham and Bryan counties, Savannah, and coastal Georgia provided additional background information on Ossabaw Island. These references included: Granger (1947), Harden (1969 [1913]), Hough (1975 [1866]), Jones (1890, 1968 [1874]), Kelly (1980), Lawrence (1951, 1997), Lee and Agnew

(2003 [1868]), Sullivan (2000). Ossabaw Island formed part of St. Philip's Parish, after Georgia was divided into parishes in the early 1750s. Chatham County was formed in 1777. In 1793, Bryan County was formed, and portions of Chatham County were taken to form it. Ossabaw Island was originally in Chatham County, later in Bryan County, and then placed again in Chatham County in 1847, where it remains today (Georgia Legislative Acts 2007 [1847]). The transfer of Ossabaw Island from Chatham to Bryan and then back to Chatham County created a source of considerable confusion in the historical research. This confusion is compounded by the documentary evidence. Maps of the State of Georgia, for example, continue to show Ossabaw Island as part of Bryan County for decades after its transfer back to Ossabaw Island (Colton 1855; Johnson 1863; Rand McNally 1885, 1895, 1910). Similar confusion exists in the early years of Bryan County. Jedidiah Morse's (1796) map of Georgia shows Ossabaw Island in Chatham County. By 1822, however, the Finley map shows Ossabaw Island as part of Bryan County.

## FIELDWORK METHODS

The initial subjects of the 2005 study were three tabby duplexes and a tabby smokehouse, which are scheduled for repair, renovation and restoration. The Ossabaw Island Foundation and the GDNR requested an archaeological study of these resources to better assess their age, function, and research potential. Archaeological study was also deemed important for the proper management of these historic resources and to insure that damage to the archaeological deposits was minimized in the pending construction work. Another purpose of the 2005 study was to help interpret life at the tabbies.

The 2005 field season employed a full battery of field methods to discover and delineate archaeological resources at the Morel plantation site (9Ch1062). Eighty-one shovel tests were excavated on the site in 2005. Four additional shovel tests were excavated in 2006. A total of 21 m<sup>2</sup> was excavated in January and February 2005. Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey was conducted over major portions of the North End plantation. This survey coverage included most of the open ground, or areas not covered with thick brushy vegetation or heavy forest (Elliott 2005d::37).

The 2006 field project focused on the archaeological resources within Tabbies 1 and 2, and to a limited extent of the area north, south, and west of Tabby 2. At the beginning of the 2006 fieldwork, the archaeologists re-established the metric site grid, which was oriented parallel to the plantation plan, or approximately 30 degrees East to the plantation plan, or approximately 30 degrees East of Magnetic North. A primary datum was established at 1000 m North, 1000 m East. UTM coordinates for Datum

1 were established with the Garmin V GPS Receiver at approximately 491264 Easting, 3522307 Northing (Zone 17, NAD 27). The 2006 excavations comprised just under 37 m<sup>2</sup>. These excavation units explored Tabbies 1 and 2, areas north and south of Tabby 2, and in the area between Tabbies 2 and 3. A total of four shovel tests was placed between Tabbies 2 and 3.

## Tabby 1

The 2006 excavations within the East Room of Tabby 1 (Locus A) consisted of Test Units 250 through 257. This comprised a sample of approximately 7 m<sup>2</sup> for the east room of Tabby 1. The 2006 excavations within the West Room of Tabby 1 (Locus B) consisted of Test Units 258 through 260. This area was also explored by Shovel Test 134, a 50 cm by 50 cm test. This comprised a sample of 3.25 m<sup>2</sup> for the west room of Tabby 1. Loci A and B combined represent an excavated sample of 10.25 m<sup>2</sup> for Tabby 1. The interior of Locus A measures 4.95 m east-west by 5.5 m north-south, or approximately 27.2 m<sup>2</sup>. The interior of Locus B is slightly smaller, measuring 4.9 m by 4.9 m, or approximately 24 m<sup>2</sup>. The combined area of usable space in Tabby 1 is 51.2 m<sup>2</sup> and the archaeological excavations represent a 20 percent sample of that space.

## Tabby 2

Excavation within the East Room of Tabby 2 (Locus C) was more limited compared to Locus D. This room was sampled in 2005 by the excavation of Test Units 205, 206, 207, 208, 210 and 211. The 2006 excavations in Locus C consisted of Test Units 218, 219 and 221. A sample of approximately 9 m<sup>2</sup> for the east room of Tabby 2.

The 2005 excavations in Locus D consisted of Test Units 215 and 216, which were placed immediately west of the chimney hearth. The 2006 excavations within the West Room of Tabby 2 (Locus D) was nearly complete and it included Test Units 223, 226-234, and 236-249. Test Unit 234 was a partial unit. The combined excavation represents a sample of approximately 20.7 m<sup>2</sup> for the west room of Tabby 2. The only areas that were not explored in the present study were areas immediately adjacent to this chimney base, margins along the interior walls, a small ledge adjacent to the southern doorway, and the interior, eastern doorway. These areas were left unexplored because of architectural stability issues for the tabby ruin. The Locus D block excavation was stepped down below Level 3, leaving a balk along the walls to preserve the stability of Tabby 2.

The excavations of Loci C and D comprise 29.7 m<sup>2</sup> for Tabby 2. The interior of Locus C measures 4.95 m east-

west by 4.9 m north-south and the interior of Locus D measures 4.9 m by 4.9 m. The combined area of usable space in Tabby 2 is about 48.3 m<sup>2</sup>. The archaeological excavation represents approximately 62 percent of that space.

## Outside of Tabby 2

Excavations north of Tabby 2, which was designated Locus S, included Test Units 222, 224, and 225. These test units were placed just north of the Tabby 2 northern wall and north of Locus D. Test Unit 222 was located north of the window opening and Test Units 224 and 225 were located north of the doorway. These tests each measured 1 m by 1 m, making a total sample of 3 m<sup>2</sup> in Locus S. Previous excavation of a 1 m by 1 m test unit, north of Tabby 1 in Locus S by GDNR archaeologists sampled a septic tank system.

Excavations south of Tabbies 2 and 3 were conducted in 2005. These included Test Units 209, 212 and 214. This area of the site was designated Locus H. In 2006 an additional test unit was placed immediately south of Tabby 2, Locus D. This 1 m by 1 m unit was Test Unit 220 was located immediately outside the doorway to the tabby building. Altogether, 7 m<sup>2</sup> of test units investigated Locus H. Of these, only Test Unit 220 was located north of Canepatch Road. A previous excavation of a 1 m by 1 m test unit was placed south of Tabby 1 in Locus H by GDNR archaeologists (Crass and Rogers 2006).

Four 50 cm by 50 cm shovel tests were excavated in the area between Tabbies 2 and 3, which was designated Locus R. Shovel Test 82 (1005N, 940E) was excavated to 82 cm below ground. Shovel Test 83 (1005N, 945E) was excavated to 85 cm below ground. Shovel Test 87 (1010N, 945E) was excavated to 85 cm below ground surface. Shovel Test 90 (1010N, 940E) was excavated to 90 cm below ground. The soil profiles for these four shovel tests are illustrated in Appendix 2.

Exploration of Loci E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, and Q were detailed in the 2005 report (Elliott 2005d). Additional discussion of these areas, along with some corrected and improved data, are contained in the present report. Loci G and M were sampled by a 2 m by 1 m test unit each, and a series of 50 cm by 50 cm shovel tests. Locus N was sampled by a 2 m by 1 m test unit (Test Unit 213), which was placed immediately north of the tabby smokehouse and a 1 m by 1 m test unit (Test Unit 217), which was placed in the center of the tabby smokehouse. Locus L was sampled by several 50 cm by 50 cm shovel tests. No test units were placed in Loci E, F, I, J, K, O, P, or Q. Loci E, I, J, K, O, and P were sampled by four 50 cm by 50 cm shovel tests.

## LABORATORY ANALYSIS

Upon completion of the field survey all notes, artifacts, photographs, and other records were returned to Birdhouse Laboratory, Rincon, Georgia for processing. The artifacts were accessioned, cleaned, and analyzed. The analysis methods employed were consistent with that used by the LAMAR Institute for similar studies.

Artifacts were placed in acid free polypropylene bags within labeled containers and prepared for permanent curation. Artifacts were classified by functional type, material, age, design, and surface treatment. Temporally diagnostic artifact types were used to study the age of the cultural deposits through the use of applicable artifact dating methods.

For aboriginal artifacts this included grouping the artifacts by raw material, functional, and chronological categories. Two primary classes of aboriginal artifacts were expected, stone and ceramic. Only one stone artifact was recovered. The ceramics were classified by surface decorative treatment, temper, and gross morphological characteristics (rim or body sherd). Potentially diagnostic sherds were separated from the collection for additional study, which is ongoing. Historic period artifacts were classified by material composition (pottery, metal, glass, brick, tabby), functional class (kitchen, architecture, clothing, personal, arms, tobacco, furniture, and activities) following South (1977).

Reference sources included Baldwin (1983), Bartovics (1981), Bealer (1969, 1972), Brown (1971), Burrison (1995), Coysh and Henrywood (1982), Darling (1987), DeBolt (1994), Dickens (1982), Elliott and Elliott (1991), Garrow (1982), Godden (1963), Greer (1981), Jones and Sullivan (1985), Ketchum (1975), Lord (1965), Lorrain (1968), Miller (1980, 1991), Miller and Stone (1970), Nelson (1963), Newman (1970), Noël Hume (1985), Olsen (1963), Omwake (1967; Pollack et al. 1997), Sloan (1964), South (1964, 1977, 1993), Stone (1974), and Walker (1977). References for faunal resources for Ossabaw Island were found in Neuhauser and Baker (2005) or were provided by Georgia DNR staff. A zooarchaeological report by Lisa D. O'Steen is contained in Appendix 5. Floral and faunal remains were noted in the inventory, but no detailed analysis of these materials was conducted at the survey phase. Potential diagnostic artifacts were separated from the collection for additional study. Following completion of the analysis phase, the artifact data was entered into a computer spreadsheet and was arranged into appendix format, which is included as Appendix 2. Selected artifact images from the project are contained in Appendix 3.

## CURATION STATEMENT

Artifacts, maps, notes, photographs, and other records related to the project are permanently curated at the Laboratory of Archaeology, Georgia Museum of Natural History on the University of Georgia campus in Athens, Georgia. That curation facility meets current National Park Service standards for a permanent curation facility.

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The northern coastal sections of Georgia have been the scene of considerable archaeological, geological, and paleontological research. Interest in the area was sparked during the mid nineteenth century when Pleistocene fossils were discovered on the banks of the Skidaway Narrows on the western side of the island. Finds of extinct species attracted the attention of international scholars, and the locale was known as *Fossilossa* (Hodgson 1846; Lyell 1840).

Interest in the shell heaps, mounds, and aboriginal antiquities of coastal Georgia and South Carolina swelled throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of these early explorations were documented, including Clarence B. Moore's investigations on Ossabaw Island, but most of them went unreported (Brown 1873; Moore 1897). Moore spent five months exploring nine shell mounds on Ossabaw Island. Moore's excavations included three shell mounds at Middle Place (9Ch158), three shell mounds at the Bluff Field (9Ch160), and a brief study of the Late Archaic shell ring (9Ch35) on Cane Patch Island. Moore was assisted by Dr. M.G. Miller, who aided in the identification of human skeletal remains. Moore left some mounds on Ossabaw Island unexplored, and he lamented, "A few important mounds still remain unexamined, through no fault of ours, however, notably at the north end of Ossabaw Island and on the islands of St. Simon and Sapelo" (Moore 1897:6; Edwards 1996).

When archaeology became a focal point of Roosevelt's New Deal administration, local scholars were successful in initiating Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects on several sites in Chatham County, including Irene, Bilbo, and Deptford (Caldwell 1943, 1958; Caldwell and McCann 1941; Caldwell and Waring 1939a, 1939b; Holder 1938; McCann 1940; Waring 1968a, 1968b; Williams 1968). This pioneering research resulted in a ceramic sequence that proved to be extremely useful in southeastern United States. None of the WPA projects, however, were located on Ossabaw Island due to its remoteness from the mainland.

New Deal historians also compiled documentation on Georgia's historic period resources. Granger (1979)

summarized the research on the Savannah River plantations. Researchers documented several of the former slave dwellings from the coastal region. One example from the Historic American Building Survey (HABS), shown in Figure 3, reveals the interior of surviving slave cabin on the Isle of Hope as it appeared in 1934, seven decades after slavery had ended.

The archaeological exploration of Ossabaw Island during the period from 1941 to 1970 is undocumented. Archaeologists W. Hallett Phillips, A.R. Kelly, and Joseph Caldwell explored some of the islands archaeological resources but they left no record of their exploits (Edwards 1996; Eleanor Torrey West personal communication April 30, 2006).

Survey and excavation research since the 1970s also has resulted in an increased site inventory on other sea islands of the Georgia and South Carolina coast (Brooks et al. 1982; Crook 1975; Crusoe and DePratter 1974; Deagan 1975; DePratter 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1977, 1978, 1979; 1991; DePratter and Howard 1980, 1981;

DePratter and Pearson 1975; Elliott 1985a; Ehrenhard 1976; Honerkamp 1980; Larson 1958; Larsen et al. 1980; Marrinan 1975, 1976; Martinez 1975; McMichael 1977; Milanich 1977; Milanich and Machover 1976; Moore 1985; Otto 1984; Pearson 1977, 1978; Sheldon 1976; Simpkins 1975; Singleton 1980, 1985; Thomas et al. 1978, 1979; Trinkley 1981). These studies provide a sophisticated historic and prehistoric context for the coastal islands, which adds to the research value of archaeological sites found in the region. The surveys that have been conducted provide a better understanding of prehistoric settlement of the islands. Nearly 800 archaeological sites have been recorded within Chatham County to date. These recorded sites are the results of large scale excavations, small test excavations, and numerous archaeological surveys.

The work of Garrow, DePratter (1974), and Pearson (1977, 1978) on Ossabaw Island resulted in the discovery of a variety of sites on Pleistocene and Holocene sediments. More than 158 sites have been identified on Ossabaw Island from this work, including a significant presence of Irene phase sites. Pearson's study of the Irene phase settlement on the island identified four classes of sites.

Using the available survey data from Sapelo and the other islands off the Georgia coast, McMichael formulated a model for prehistoric settlement on the barrier islands. McMichael (1977:190) summarized the sea island settlement by saying: "the majority of sites are located on the Pleistocene sand ridges with fewer sites reported on the poorly drained flats, few sites reported in the sloughs, and no sites reported on the strand." In this area, sites were located on Lakeland, Chipley, Olustee, Leon, Ellabelle, and Kershaw-Osier soils (McMichael 1977:190; Simpkins 1975). Survey on Cumberland Island revealed that most prehistoric sites were located within the oak-palmetto or oak-pine forest community on Lakeland, Chipley, or Leon soils (Ehrenhard 1976:43; McMichael 1977:191). All but a small portion of Black Island was surveyed by DePratter (1973). DePratter identified a correlation between Ona and Scranton soils and prehistoric sites, with all sites being located near the marsh edge. Sheldon's (1976) survey of Colonels Island noted a relationship between the Live Oak vegetative zone and occurrence of prehistoric sites. All of the sites located within this zone were situated along the marsh edge. Crook's (1975) survey of



Figure 3. Slave Cabin Interior, Isle of Hope, HABS 1934 Survey.

Green Island located 57 sites. All but one was located on Chipley or Lakeland soils. All of the sites were adjacent to the estuary.

In addition to the cited studies along Georgia's coastal region, many archaeological studies have been conducted on plantation sites in neighboring Florida and South Carolina. Beaufort County, South Carolina contains quite a few sites with tabby architecture. Many plantations and slave quarters have been studied in there. In Florida, recent excavations at the Kinglsey plantation has revealed new aspects of that site, which contains ruins of many tabby dwellings (Davidson et al. 2006).

As a result of the Work Progress Administration (WPA) excavations, the basic chronological sequence of the Native Americans on the Georgia coast was established (Caldwell and Waring 1939a, 1939b). Since that time, refinements in the chronology have been made and will continue to be made as new data are collected. Most recently, a concise bibliography of the archaeology and anthropology of coastal Georgia has been assembled by Larsen (1979). DePratter (1977:6) has provided a summary of the archaeological sequence for Chatham County covering the ceramic periods. His sequence is most applicable to the project area. Based upon his re-analysis of WPA collections, DePratter concluded that: "At present, there do not appear to be any significant breaks in the ceramic sequence used to construct the Chatham County chronology."

### **Ossabaw Island Archaeological Studies**

Archaeological study of historic sites on Ossabaw Island is, for the most part, a recent development. The prehistoric sites on the island are far better known and described in the archaeological literature. Documented interest in the aboriginal remains on Ossabaw Island dates to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Among the early explorers of the islands past were local historian William Harden, who apparently recovered an Indian burial-urn from Ossabaw Island (Massachusetts Historical Society 1888:283). Noted antiquarian Clarence B. Moore visited the island and explored several of its Indian mounds and he documented his efforts in a well-illustrated publication, as well as a journal article (Moore 1897; 1902).

Extensive archaeological surveys were conducted on Ossabaw Island in the 1970s by Patrick Garrow, Chester B. DePratter, Charlie Pearson, Greg Paulk, John Doolin, Joel Jones and others, but these were rather narrowly focused on defining the aboriginal sites and apparently no attention was paid to the island's historic sites (DePratter 1974; Pearson 1975, 1977, 2001). Most of these early surveys would be more properly described as

reconnaissance-level surveys, since the majority of the sites were located on the basis of the presence of oyster shell or other obvious surface evidence.

Ossabaw Island was officially listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1996 (Edwards 1996). The historic buildings at the North End were included in the nomination, although the nomination contained no reference to any associated historic archaeological remains there.

Interest in the historical setting of the North End plantation dates to the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, if not before. The tabby dwellings at the North End were pictured in the February 1934 issue of *The National Geographic Magazine* in an article by W. Robert Moore (1934:245). Several of the previous owners of the property took photographs that depict various views of the plantation and many of these are illustrated in a recent publication by Foskey (2001). Other photographic images of the plantation are archived by the Georgia Department of Archives and History and may be viewed at its Vanishing Georgia website.

The initial archaeological survey and limited testing of the historic cultural resources at North End plantation site was conducted in May, 2003 and June 2004 by State Archaeologist, Dr. David Crass and former Staff Archaeologist, Ronnie Rogers, assisted by other GDNR staff. Their team initiated the systematic shovel testing at 5 meter intervals on the site. An area measuring 55 meters east-west by 35 meters north-south, surrounding Tabby 1, was covered by the DNR shovel testing. Initial examination of the site included the excavation of two 1 meter by 1 meter test units. One of these, DNR 2, was located in the rear yard of Tabby 1, was unfortunately placed atop a septic tank system. The other, DNR 1, was placed outside of the front door of Tabby 1 and proved to be more productive. Collections from this survey and testing effort were analyzed by the laboratory staff at Brockington & Associates, Norcross, Georgia (Crass and Rogers 2006; Barrickman et al. 2004:27-28).

The Ossabaw Island Foundation was awarded a grant from the National Park Service, Save America's Treasures program in November 2003. In October 2004 a group of 11 students in the Heritage Preservation program at Georgia State University, led by Dr. Richard Laub, descended on the North End plantation to study the four tabby buildings. Laub and his students prepared an assessment of the conditions of these buildings and made recommendations for their interpretation and treatment. The Georgia State University students conducted additional surface reconnaissance of cultural features in the area surrounding the tabby buildings. Their team recorded several visible surface features, fence posts, and

artifact scatters. They recommended continued systematic shovel testing of the entire site, building upon the earlier DNR survey work (Barrickman et al. 2004:28-29).

The LAMAR Institute joined the research effort at the North End plantation in January 2005. A two-week fieldwork session with a small crew examined the archaeological resources associated with Tabby 2 and the suspected smokehouse. In the course of this work, additional archaeological resources were discovered and a fuller vision of the archaeological site began to emerge. Next, the LAMAR Institute research team spent three weeks of fieldwork conducting a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey of open areas of the plantation site. This survey was supplemented by a series of targeted shovel tests, which were designed to ground truth the GPR data and to explore newly discovered site activity areas. As a result of this survey work the site limits were substantially expanded and many newly discovered building ruins and plantation debris areas were identified. The systematic shovel test coverage, which was implemented by the GDNR team in 2003, was continued during these studies around the slave quarter area. Most of the plantation site however, remains unexplored by shovel tests. The results of these two field sessions are detailed in a report by Elliott (2005d; Crass and Rogers 2006).





## Chapter III. Residents of the North End Big House

The North End plantation was most likely the first plantation that was established on Ossabaw Island. Prior to 1760 the entire island was claimed by Mary Musgrove Bosomworth and her third husband Reverend Thomas Bosomworth. The Bosomworth's claim on Ossabaw Island was disputed by the British government and others, as discussed below. The Bosomworths established their plantation home on St. Catherine's Island, where they both later died and were buried. Mary died about 1763 (Thomas et al. 1978:155-248).

Mary Musgrove Matthews Bosomworth was a prominent woman in Colonial Georgia, who was ethnically Creek and part English (Coulter 1927:1-30; Corry 1941:195-224; Todd 1981; Fisher 1990; Baine 1992:428-435; Gillespie 1997:187-201; Green 2001:29-47; Sweet 2002, 2005; Morris 2005). As a reward for her efforts in securing several treaties between the Creek tribes and the British crown, Mary and her third husband were given three barrier islands, which were Ossabaw, St. Catherines, and Sapelo, from the Creek Nation in 1747. The Creek Nation was led in this transaction by the Creek headman, Malatche Opiya Mico, who was a close kinsman of Mary.

William Stephens, an important government official in the Trustee period, wrote on April 15, 1748 advising the government that the Bosomworths were "creating mischief" and that they were, "reserving to themselves Sapola St. Catherine and Ossaba" islands (CRG, volume 25:243). Stephens may have had a personal interest in disputing the Bosomworth's claim to these islands, since he owned property on nearby Beaulieu plantation.

Farris Cadle, a noted authority on land surveys and land ownership in early Georgia, pointed out that the Creeks conveyed the islands to the Bosomworths using European concepts of land ownership and transmission that would have been foreign to the Creeks. Cadle stated,

To form an opinion about the validity of Mary's claims to the islands one must understand the English concept of sovereignty and landownership, and that of the Indians. I doubt we will ever really know what, if any, concept the Indians had. The basic English concept was that land had to be ceded by the Indians to the English government before it could be granted

into private ownership; land could not go directly from the Indians to a private individual. Based on years of study I find no evidence that the Indians had any real concept of private ownership of land before long association with the whites and more or less adopting white ways. I think Mary simply took advantage of the situation by getting the local Creek Indians to convey the islands to her in the fashion that it would have been done by whites if legal, she claimed she was a Creek and therefore not subject to English law, and the colonial government was stuck with a situation in which it was easier to compromise rather than fight it (as determined as she was). There is no other instance in Georgia and few instances in America of Indians ceding land directly to individuals. The Creeks who "conveyed" the islands to Mary almost certainly were not aware of what that meant from the white perspective. They did it by livery of seisin--a totally European concept that could not possibly have been known by the Indians. I think Mary had them to perform livery of seisin to give her claims an air of legitimacy to the English government, but it would have had no meaning to the Indians (Farris Cadle personal communication April 12, 2007).

Thomas and Mary Bosomworth continued to assert their claim for the three islands and, as recorded in government records on January 12, 1748, to demonstrate their ownership they were, "turning cattle to graze on St. Catherines Island"(CRG volume 25:267). The Bosomworth's ownership of Ossabaw and the two other islands was reaffirmed on August 2, 1750 by a deed of conveyance that was signed by Malatchie (Cowetas King) and six other Creek headmen on September 29, 1750 (Bevan Papers 1750).

On June 1, 1751, Indian commissioners were authorized by the Georgia government to meet with the Creeks regarding the purchase of Ossabaw Island. In November 1757, the speaker for the Creeks told Governor Henry Ellis that

Ossabaw Island was reserved for the Creeks, and several Creek headmen (micos) declared that they had never sold Ossabaw Island to Mary Bosomworth. The Creeks offered to sell the island to the Georgia government for “valuable Parcel of Cloth, Guns, Ammunition, Hatchets, Beads, Paint, and other Goods and manufactures Decd” (CRG Volume 1:562; Volume 7:661, 666, Volume 26:389). The Creeks advised the Georgia government on February 21, 1758, of their desire for the right “to land on Ossabaw to cook their victuals” (CRG Volume 7:733). In treaty talks held on April 22, 1758, the Creek chiefs gave ownership of Ossabaw Island to King George II. That document was recorded on September 29, 1760 (Georgia Colonial Conveyance Book C-1:504). Mary and Thomas Bosomworth deeded/granted Ossabaw Island and other property to Georgia Governor Henry Ellis for the sum of 2,050 £ on April 19, 1760, which also was recorded on September 29 of that year (Georgia Colonial Conveyance Book C-1:500-503). These documents mention no improvements on Ossabaw Island.

In June 1755, Thomas Bosset was granted 750 acres at the north end of Ossabaw Island, and in August 1755, Middleton Evans received a grant for 350 acres on the north west point of Ossabaw Island. By April, 1758, the Georgia government recorded that Middleton Evans had refused to take possession of his 350 acres (CRG Volume 7: 193, 235, 750). The Georgia government stated on April 2, 1759 that Josiah Powell and others were, “illegally settled or about to settle on Ossabaw”, and they were “ordered to forbear settling thereon” (CRG Volume 8:11). If either Thomas Bosset, Middleton Evans, or Josiah Powell made any attempt to settle these grants, that settlement was short-lived.

In July, 1759 Governor Ellis decided to sell Ossabaw and the other islands claimed by the Bosomworths and give Mrs. Bosomworth 2,100 £ Sterling. That same month surveyors Henry Yonge and William DeBrahm were ordered to survey Ossabaw and Sapelo islands and the property was to be offered for sale. Also in July, 1760, Grey Elliott notified the Georgia Government that he desired to purchase Ossabaw and Sapelo islands for the sum of 2,100 £ Sterling (CRG, Volume 8:86, 87, 307). In June 1760, Thomas and Mary Bosomworth informed the Georgia government of their wished, “to be relieved of all claim to Ossabaw” (CRG Volume 8:323). Ossabaw Island was offered for sale in 1760 and was purchased by Grey Elliott. Elliott received his grant for Ossabaw Island on October 31, 1760 and the surveyor was authorized in September 1760 to make plats of the property purchased by Elliott, who then sold Ossabaw Island to Henri Bourquin. Bourquin then sold a large section of Ossabaw Island to his son-in-law John Morel in 1760 (CRG, Volume 8:323, 372).

A business partner of the Bosomworths, Isaac Levy, made claim to the island, noting improvements made by him, but his claim to the property was rejected by the British authorities. In 1753 Levy visited Georgia and made a description of the islands of St. Catherines, Ossabaw, and Sapelo and he kept of journal of his trip, which has survived (Levy 1753).

Honerkamp and his colleagues have researched the relationship of Isaac Levy and the Bosomworths, as it pertained to the early settlement on Sapelo Island. The University of Georgia holds several documents pertaining to Isaac Levy’s claim (Levy 1954-1965, 1959b, 1960a, 1960b, 1967). Extracts from Honerkamp’s recent study of Chocolate Plantation on Sapelo are reproduced here:

Seeking official recognition and validation of her claim, Musgrove and Bosomworth traveled to England in 1754 to plead their case. Although the claim was left unresolved by the Board of Trade, Musgrove and Bosomworth met with a London merchant named Isaac Levy and convinced him that their title to the islands was genuine. On October 14, 1754 Musgrove and Bosomworth agreed to sell to Levy a moiety, or undivided half title, in the islands of Ossabaw, St. Catherines, and Sapelo for 300£ and other considerations, including an additional 200£ from the “first rents produced or profits which should be received” by Levy from his ventures on the islands (Levy 1759b, Levy 1760a). Soon thereafter, “on obtaining this conveyance [Levy] settled all his affairs in England & went to live and reside in America and hath been at great Expences in improving his aforesaid Acquisition” (Levy 1760) and he endeavored, again at great expense, “to settle & cultivate the said lands” (Levy 1767).

The British Crown never recognized Musgrove and Bosomworth’s claim to the islands and pursued negotiations with the Creek Indians that resulted in a treaty (the Articles of Friendship and Commerce) which ceded ownership of Ossabaw, St. Catherines, and Sapelo Islands along with another tract of Indian Land near the Town of Savannah to Great Britain in 1757. Henry Ellis, Royal Governor of Georgia, then

negotiated a separate agreement with Musgrove and Bosomworth to settle their claims and demands. Musgrove received compensation for her past services to Crown, through the proceeds of a public auction of Sapelo and Ossabaw Islands. She and Bosomworth also were granted title to St. Catherines Island where they resided and had made improvements.

Published notice for the public auction of Sapelo and Ossabaw Islands to be held in Savannah on December 10, 1759 came as a complete surprise to Isaac Levy, who now was living in Philadelphia. In response he issued his own advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*, setting forth his rights to the islands and warning potential purchasers that their title could be encumbered by his moiety title (Levy 1759a). Levy sought legal remedies to satisfy his claim to the islands through petitions and memorials to the Crown from 1759 through 1768. Levy apparently was never able to have his title recognized and claims settled by the British government. Although delayed because of Levy's claims, titles to Sapelo and Ossabaw were conveyed on April 19, 1760 and the public auction was held (Levy 1760b).

The Isaac Levy affair contributes information significant to understanding settlement at Chocolate and elsewhere on Sapelo Island in years preceding the sale of the island at public auction. Grey Elliott, land speculator and member of the King's Council, purchased Sapelo Island at auction for 725£ on May 17, 1760. Following this sale, Henry Yonge and William DeBrahm (Surveyors General of the Georgia Colony) completed a topographic survey for Elliott and drafted a map titled A Plan of the Islands of Sappola. This remarkably detailed and accurate map shows both natural and cultural landscape features, including the locations of buildings at several points across the island. The map lacks any description of the buildings, but their locations are at the sites of later historic settlements on the

island, and some historians (e.g. Floyd 1937) suggest they may have been the remains of earlier Spanish settlements.

However, given statements by Isaac Levy about his improvements (specifically settlement and cultivation) on Sapelo and Ossabaw Islands, it seems likely that some and perhaps many of the mapped structures are products of Levy's four-year effort to produce rents and profits from his venture with Musgrove and Bosomworth (Honerkamp et al. 2007:4-5).

Grey Elliott was the next owner of portions of Ossabaw Island, after he submitted the high bid of 1350 £ for the property on May 17, 1760 and received the King's grant on October 31, 1760 (Georgia Grant Book B:496). Elliott's title to the property was supported by a plat made by Surveyors Henry Yonge and William DeBrahm on September 2, 1760. Unfortunately this plat has not been located, although a detailed plat of Sapelo Island, drafted by Yonge and DeBrahm for Grey Elliott, which also dates to 1760, is known. Grey Elliott was a prominent resident of Sunbury and one of the original trustees for that town. His possession of the Ossabaw Island property was short-lived, however, and he sold 7,600 acres of Ossabaw Island at a handsome profit to Henry Bourquin for 2,000 £ later that year. Henry Bourquin and his wife, Marie, sold one-half of Ossabaw Island to John Morel for 1,000 £ on October 10, 1760. Henry and Marie Bourquin's remaining Ossabaw Island property was conveyed to John Morel on April 23, 1763 for 2,000 £. The Bourquins realized a profit of 1,000 £ in the sale of Ossabaw Island in less than three years time (Torrey 1926; Alexander 1970:7; Howard 1968a:96).

Dr. Henri Francois Bourquin was a surgeon who originally settled at Purysburg, South Carolina and moved to Georgia in 1742. Henri Bourquin was a native of Switzerland, born sometime between 1689 and 1693. One source lists a Henry Bourquin as a native of Corcelles, Neuchatel, Switzerland, who was born in 1689 and was married to Ester Perrenoud, a native of the same area, in 1718. Henri Bourquin married Susanne Marie Sunier, widow of Isaac Chatelaine, in 1725. Henri Francois Bourquin and Susanne Marie Sunier were the parents of eight children. Their daughter, Mary Ann (or Marie Anne) Bourquin, who was born on February 14, 1731 in Sonceboz, Bern, Switzerland and died on August 15, 1765 (Ancestry.com 2007; Howard 1968a; b:167; Familysearch.org 2005; McIntyre 2000:2).

A direct descendant of Dr. Henri Francois Bourquin and John Morel provided this summary of his lineage,

Henri Francois Bourquin, (Swiss) French Huguenot, born in Switzerland circa 1703, died in Chatham County (Savannah), Georgia, December 1778, Patriot, Representative, Little Ogeechee District, Georgia Commons House of Assembly, 1764-1772, and his wife, Susanne-Marie Sunier (Chatelain), born Switzerland, February 4, 1709(?), died in Chatham County, Georgia, March 3, 1799. Their daughter, ... Mary Anne Bourquin, born Sonceboz, Switzerland, December 14, 1731, died on Ossabaw Island (Chatham County), Georgia, August 15, 1765, married, ... John (Jean) Morel (the elder), also a (Swiss) French Huguenot, Patriot, Member of the Provincial Congress of Georgia, Appointed to the Council of Safety by the Friends of Liberty (Liberty Boys) June 22, 1775, born San Domingo (Hispaniola, West Indies) February 17, 1723, died in Savannah, Georgia, January 3, 1776. John Morel (the elder) was the son of Pierre Henri Morel, (Swiss) French Huguenot, born Zurich, Switzerland, circa 1700, died Savannah, Georgia, October 15, 1752, and his wife Marie (Marie), born Switzerland, married in Switzerland. Pierre Henri Morel was a Member of the Georgia Commons House of Assembly. It is understood that the Bourquins came to Savannah by way of Charleston and Purysburg, South Carolina. (Purysburg was a (now extinct) village of French Huguenots on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River, just North of the City of Savannah. It is understood that the Morels came to Savannah about the same time as the Bourquins (1734), just after the founding of Savannah and the Colony of Georgia in 1733. It is believed that both families came to South Carolina in about 1732 (Butler 2005).

Dr. Bourquin was associated with the Purysburg township of present-day Jasper County, South Carolina. The Purysburg settlement was established on the lower

Savannah River in 1732 by Jean Pierre Pury. It was settled by religious refugees from Switzerland, France and Germany. The Bourquin family sailed with Baron Pury's second transport of Purysburg colonists (Howard 1731-1980; Alexander 1970; Davis 1926; Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina 1889-2004; Hirsch 1999; Elliott 1985b). The town lasted until the 1820s, although most of its inhabitants had moved to other locations in South Carolina and Georgia by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Many original Purysburg colonists developed into wealthy planters. Dr. Bourquin held numerous properties in both colonies and by 1772 was recognized as one of the primary indigo producers and merchants in the region (Hirsch 1999:216-217). A bounty was imposed on indigo in 1748 by Great Britain, which provided for 6 pence per hundred pounds of indigo that was shipped directly to England. This incentive made indigo a desirable commodity in South Carolina and Georgia until the trade, and the British bounty, was interrupted by the war after 1775. Henri Bourquin was living in the Purysburg township of South Carolina by 1733 (Hirsch 1999:83). Henri was active in Georgia politics in the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> century. He served as a Representative from the Little Ogeechee District in the Georgia Commons House of Assembly from 1764 to 1772 (Butler 2005). It is unlikely that Grey Elliott or Dr. Bourquin made any improvements to the island during their brief period of ownership. Their efforts, however, facilitated the establishment of the Morel plantation on Ossabaw Island in the 1760s.

## THE MOREL FAMILY

Soon after Henry Bourquin acquired the property he conveyed his Ossabaw Island land to John Morel, who was married to Henri Bourquin's daughter, Marie Anne (Davis 1926; Ancestry.com 2007). The North End plantation on Ossabaw Island was John Morel, the elder's first plantation, established soon after he acquired the land between 1760 and 1763. Although Ossabaw Island was one of several plantations in coastal Georgia owned by John Morel, he chose it as his residence. On the eve of the American Revolution John Morel was one of the largest slave owners in colonial Georgia and had established his family among the planter elite (Flanders 1933:53).

John Morel was the son of Pierre and Martine Morel. John was born on February 17, 1722/1723 in Zurich, Switzerland, or possibly in Santo Domingo. His father, Pierre Rodof Morel, was born in Zurich in 1700 and he died in Savannah, Georgia on October 5, 1754. Pierre Morel originally emigrated to the Purysburg township in South Carolina. The Morel family moved to Georgia by 1734, where Peter worked as a vintner and victualler. Peter served in the British military and was well respected as

a soldier (Davis 1926; Beckemeyer 1975). Pierre Morel, later referred to as Peter, was an inhabitant of Highgate village near Savannah (Jones 1992:54, 278). Highgate was one of several villages in coastal Georgia that was created during the Trustee period. It was located near the present-day Hunter Army Airfield (Elliott 1989). Little else is known of John Morel's mother Martine. John was the youngest of three children. His older sisters were Nancy and Mary Ann Morel and their ages and vital statistics are unknown.

In October, 1742, Peter Morel, acting on behalf of his son, John Morel, exchanged John Morel's Town lot 9, Holland Tything, Percival Ward and a garden and farm lot of unnamed description, with James Wilson for Wilson's Town lot 2 in Tryconnel Tything, Derby Ward, Garden Lot 63 east, and Farm lot 8 (Beckemeyer 1975). This document establishes that John Morel owned property in Georgia during the Trustee period. Peter Morel's will, dated October 15, 1752 and proven October 27, 1752, left 500 acres on Pipemaker's Creek to his son John. John also inherited an equal share of two-thirds of his father's personal estate, which was distributed among six surviving children (Beckemeyer 1975; Colonial Loose Will Collection, GDAH ).

John Morel was granted 500 acres on a plantation named "Happy Discovery", in the District of Savannah on January 16, 1756. This was the same 500 acres that had been left to him by the terms of his father's will. John Morel received additional land grants on that same date, including: Town Lot 2, Tryconel Tything, Darby Ward, Savannah; Garden Lot 63, East of Savannah, 5 Acres; and 45 other acres (Beckemeyer 1975).

John Morel was granted additional real estate in 1760, consisting of 500 acres on Wilmington Island, and Wharf Lot 8, West of Bull Street in Savannah. In 1762, John Morel was granted 145 acres of additional lands, which included Farm Lot 2 and Farm Lot 6, Holland Tything, Percival Ward, Savannah; Farm Lot 5, Third Tything, Anson Ward, Savannah. John Morel received a grant for 50 more acres, which had been originally granted to John Penrose, deceased, consisting of Town Lot 5, Jekyl Tything, Darby Ward, Savannah; Garden Lot 30, East of Savannah, 5 acres; and Farm Lot 5, Second Tything, Reynolds Ward, Savannah (Beckemeyer 1975).

John Morel married to Mary Anne Bourquin, who was born in Switzerland, sometime prior to 1755 and their marriage produced five children:

- Henry, birth date undetermined;
- Peter Henry, born on February 20, 1757;
- John, born January in 1759 in Savannah;

- Mary Anne, born on February 14, 1761
- Susanna, born on August 10, 1765 (Ancestry.com 2007; Bullock 1895:14).

John Morel and family were settled in Savannah in the late 1750s and early 1760s. On January 3, 1765, John Morel published notice in the Savannah newspaper indicating his intention to move out of Savannah to a country estate,

The subscriber intending to remove into the country, desires all persons who are anyway indebted to him to discharge the same immediately. As the debts due him have been payable at least two years, he hopes none will take it amiss, that do not comply with this advertisement, to find their accounts in the hands of his attorney. For particulars apply to John Morel (*Georgia Gazette* 1765; Kilbourne 1999a:88-89).

Four months later on May 16, 1765, John Morel advertised the sale or lease, "for not more than five years, his house and store on the bay", in Savannah (*Georgia Gazette* 1765; Kilbourne 1999a:114). Less than nine months later, the Savannah newspaper reported that Mrs. Mary Morel, wife of John Morel, died on Ossabaw Island on Thursday, August 15, 1765. Mary's death was around the time of the birth of her fifth child, Susana. This may indicate that Mary died in childbirth. Her newborn child, Susanna Morel, survived only four days, dying on August 14 (*Georgia Gazette* August 20, 1765; Ancestry.com 2007; Butler 2005).

On January 16, 1767 John Morel filed a petition with the Georgia government in which he complained about his obligation to use slaves for "Publick road work & difficulty with passage", from "his place of Residence and planting...on the island of Ossabaw in the Parish of Saint Philip" (CRG volume 14:408). These various lines of documentary evidence show that John Morel had established his plantation and moved his primary residence to Ossabaw Island by mid-1765 and by early 1767 was well established on the island.

Less than two years after the death of his first wife John Morel married his second wife, Mary (Polly) Williamson Bryan. The couple was married on January 24, 1767 in Savannah, Georgia and their wedding announcement in the February 4 issue of the *Georgia Gazette* stated, "Married. On Thursday last at the plantation of the Hon. Jonathan Bryan, Esquire, Mr. John Morel to Miss Polly

Bryan, daughter of the above gentleman” (*Georgia Gazette* 1767; Kilbourne 1999a:197). Mary Bryan was the daughter of Mary Williamson and Jonathan Bryan - a wealthy planter and rancher in Georgia. Mary Bryan was born on February 16, 1744/45 at “Walnut Hill” plantation on the Pocatigo River in Beaufort District, South Carolina. Her father was born in England on September 12, 1708 and he died in Savannah, Georgia on March 9, 1788. Jonathan’s wife Mary Williamson was born on March 23, 1721/22 and died on March 24, 1781 (Ancestry.com 2007; *Georgia Gazette* 1767; Redding 1901:42; Gally 1989).

Gally (1989:108) considered John Morel’s marriage to Mary Bryan, the daughter of a very influential person in Georgia and South Carolina, to be an arranged marriage. The same may also be said for Morel’s previous marriage to Marie Bourquin. Both Jonathan Bryan and Henri Bourquin were wealthy, politically, and socially powerful. John Morel was in a lower echelon of Georgian society prior to these two marriages. Gally wrote,

When Jonathan Bryan arranged his daughter Mary’s marriage to John Morel in 1769 [sic, 1767], he concluded an economically beneficial agreement by which no land was transferred to the groom. In fact, if Morel died, Mary would receive 1000 £ sterling, for which Morel was forced to give her brothers 7,600 acres in trust on Ossabaw Island. In addition, Mary’s slaves were to work the island under supervision of her brothers, in order to provide her with a separate income. If Mary died childless the slaves were to be inherited by her sisters Hannah and Ann and not her husband, thereby keeping them in the Bryan family (Gally 1989:108).

The marriage of Mary Bryan and John Morel resulted in six children:

- Bryan [born in 1768 or 1769, Savannah, Georgia];
- Elizabeth, born on November 1, 1767;
- Isaac, born on August 27, 1770;
- Esther [Hetty], born on August 1, 1772;
- Ann, born on January 9, 1774; and,
- Hannah Bryan, born on August 20, 1776 (Ancestry.com 2007).

By the mid 1770s John Morel shifted his primary homestead from Ossabaw Island’s North End to Beaulieu plantation on Beaulieu Point, adjacent to the Vernon River. Beaulieu was originally a tract of about 500 acres that was deeded by the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia on April 27, 1737 to William Stephens. The areas known as Ship Yard and Pin Point were located on portions of this tract. Both of these placenames relate to the study of Ossabaw Island, as will be discussed later in this report. William Stephens died on his Beaulieu plantation in August 1753 and the property was conveyed to John Morel sometime prior to 1770. The Morels owned Beaulieu from 1770 to 1795, when the plantation was conveyed to Sampson (Groves 2006:1-3). By late 1774, John Morel was using Beaulieu plantation as his primary base of operation rather than Ossabaw Island, as indicated by a September 28, 1774 newspaper advertisement, “Wanted some road work done in the lower part of St. Philip’s parish, which I am due to said parish. Any person inclinable to undertake the same may inform themselves of the quantity of work to be done by applying to the commissioners of said roads, and for other particulars to me at Beulie in person or by letter. John Morel” (*Georgia Gazette* 1774; Kilbourne 1999b: 80).

John Morel, Esquire, died in early January, 1776 at the age of 52 (*Georgia Gazette* January 10, 1776). Neither the cause or location of his death, nor the place of interment was mentioned in the article. The will of John Morel, Christ Church Parish, planter, dated June 23, 1774, proven on April 9, 1777 and recorded on April 10, 1777, provided for the distribution of his substantial estate. His heirs consisted of sons, Peter Henry, and John by his first wife, Mary, the daughter of Henry Bourquin, Esquire, and Bryan and Isaac, sons by his second wife, Mary, the daughter of Jonathan Bryan, Esquire. John Morel’s property including, “all my islands called Ossabaw in St. Phillip’s Parish, to be held as tenants in common, all my stock of horses, cattle, hogs, plantation tools, Negroes, divided equally when they reach the age of twenty-one. Dau: Mary, by first wife, and her two sisters, Esther (Hetty) and Anne Bryan, by my second wife, 1000 £ Sterling each, when they are married or eighteen years old. John bequeathed to his wife Mary, “1000 pounds Sterling, in settlement of her Dower, 150 pounds Sterling to be laid out in furniture, or otherwise as she shall think proper, best carriage, two horses, annuity of 50 pounds Sterling, 3 of my house Negroes, both during her widowhood.” To his eldest son, Peter Henry Morel, John left a “lot at Yamacraw adjoining the Common of the Town of Savannah, known by the number One, formerly the property of James Box, Esq., deceased”, and a “house lot in Savannah, number 10 west of Bull Street, originally granted to Grey Elliott, Esq.”; to his son John [Jr.], he left “lot number two in Savannah”; to his son, Bryan, he left, “lot number three in Savannah”; to his son, Isaac,

he left, “200 acres on Great Ogeechee in St. Matthew’s Parish”. A tract of “500 acres on Vernon River in Christ Church Parish, originally granted to William Stephens, Esq., named Bowlie (Beaulieu)”, was left to his four sons, to be held as joint tenants. All the remaining estate of John Morel was left to his executors, Mary Bryan Morel (during the period of her widowhood), his former clerk and bookkeeper Henry Sheall (of London, England), and Doctor Henry Louis Bourquin (of Savannah), and his four sons, Peter, Henry, John Bryan, and Isaac (once they achieved the age of 21), to be sold for best prices available. Money from the proceeds of this sale was to be “put at interest until children are of age and then equally divided” (Abstracts of Colonial Wills of the State of Georgia, 1733-1777).

A Codicil to John Morel’s will, dated January 1775, added two tracts of land containing 1,900 acres, in St. Andrews Parish to be left to his four sons. It also authorized his executors to sell Bowlie (Baulie) [Beaulieu] plantation on the Vernon River. It also noted that his executor Dr. Henry Louis Bourquin was dead and John McQueen, Esquire, of South Carolina was appointed in his stead (Colonial Will Book AA:312-322).

An estate inventory of John Morel of Christ Church Parish, Georgia was completed in 1777. The inventory included a list of 155 enslaved persons and their values. A typed version of this original document was given to the University of North Carolina by John Morel, of Savannah, Georgia, in 1947. The whereabouts of the original document was not determined (Morel 1947).

John’s widow, Mary Bryan Morel, married Colonel Richard Wylly on June 3, 1784 (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1784; Kilbourne 1999b:346; Redding 1901:42). Colonel Richard Wylly was a well-known veteran of the American Revolution in Georgia (Feltman 2003). The Wyllys were a divided Irish family, his elder brother Captain Alexander Wylly was a loyalist military officer. His younger brother Thomas served in the Continental Army, as a spy for the Major General Benjamin Lincoln. Colonel Richard Wylly served as Quartermaster for the Georgia Continental Army. His signature appears on Georgia Continental Currency from the Revolutionary War era. After the war Wylly acquired several confiscated Loyalist plantations, including Fair Lawn plantation, a few miles below Savannah, and he made Fair Lawn his primary residence. It is most likely that Mary [Bryan Morel] Wylly also made Fair Lawn her home after the couple was married, although their marriage ceremony took place at nearby Brampton plantation. The couple were married until the death of Colonel Wylly at Fairlawn on October 11, 1801. Mary Morel Wylly was living as late as December 4, 1812, when she was mentioned as a survivor to her son Bryan (Genealogical Committee,

Georgia Historical Society 1986:39). Interestingly, a family portrait of Mary Morel Wylly and her children has survived in a Savannah museum. This portrait is missing part of its original form, however, and it probably included her first husband John Morel. This leads us to speculate that Colonel Wylly may have excised John Morel from his widowed bride’s portrait, for some undetermined reason (Tanya Sammons personal communication, February 1, 2006).

John Morel’s male children included Henry, Peter Henry, John, Bryan and Isaac. Henry Morel, the first of John Morel’s children, apparently died in infancy or childhood. No later records pertaining to him were found. John Morel, Sr.’s youngest son, Isaac, was born in 1770 and died on September 12, 1777 (Davis 1926:62). Isaac Morel died at the age of seven leaving no heirs.

Peter Henry Morel, the second and oldest surviving son, was born in 1757 in Savannah. Peter Henry married Tryphena Dunbur in 1778, who died between March 15-22, 1787. That same year Peter sold Middle Place plantation, his share of his father’s inheritance on Ossabaw Island, to David Johnson. Peter Henry remarried to Nancy [Ann] Vallean on February 18, 1790. Peter was educated as a surgeon in Edinburgh, Scotland. Peter Henry Morel died from fever at his Ogeechee River plantation on May 9, 1812. He was survived by his wife, who died on May 19, 1852, and several children (Davis 1926:61; *Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1787; Kilbourne 2000:70; *Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1790; Barrickman et al. 2004:9; Alexander 1970:2).

John Morel, Jr., born in 1759 and died in 1802. John Morel, Jr. served as a Captain in the Georgia militia from 1777 to 1779 during the American Revolution (Heitman 1914:402). In 1782 he was elected to the House of Representatives representing Chatham County. He was reelected in that position in 1784 and 1785. In 1783 and 1785, John Morel was a member of the Executive Council, representing Chatham County. He also served as Justice of the Peace for Chatham County sporadically from 1783 to 1800 (Davis 1926). “The Hon. John Morel, Esq. President of this state”, was married in Savannah to Sally Powell, daughter of Joseph Powell of London, on May 26, 1785. His bride was described as, “a young lady universally acknowledged to be possessed of every qualification necessary to render the married state perfectly happy” (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1785; Davis 1926:61). John Morel, Jr. managed his father’s estate after John Morel, Sr.’s death in 1776. During most of this period, John Morel, Jr. resided at Beaulieu plantation on Burnside Island. By April 3, 1783, he was recognized as Captain John Morel (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1783; Kilbourne 1999b:283). John’s wife Sally, or Sarah, Powell Morel, died in Savannah on February 8, 1787



(*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1787:2). John remarried Henrietta Netherclift after the death of his first wife (Alexander 1970:3). Among his accomplishments, John Morel, Jr. served as President of Georgia. John Morel, Jr. was to inherit a portion of the Ossabaw Island lands but he died in 1802, before the estate was completely divided. John and his second wife, the widow of William O'Brien, were married on June 14, 1789 (*Gazette of the State of Georgia*, February 8, 1787; Kilbourne 2000:62; *Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1789:3; Kilbourne 2000:212; *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, June 10, 1802).

The obituary of Captain John Morel was published in the *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser* on June 4, 1802. It read:

DIED at sea, on his passage to New York, on the 11<sup>th</sup> ult. [May 11, 1802], Capt. JOHN MOREL, aged 43 years. In the death of this gentleman, society has sustained a serious loss. He was an early advocate for American Independence, and during that arduous struggle supported the reputation of an active and valuable officer, an affectionate husband and father -- he was greatly attached to domestic pursuits, but when called by the confidence of his fellow citizens to public life, his talents and industry were conspicuous. As a friend he was truly sincere. A fond wife, five infant children, and numerous relations and friends, are left to lament him (*Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser* 1802).

Bryan Morel was the youngest son of John Morel, Sr. and Mary Bryan Morel and heir to the North End plantation. Bryan was born in Savannah, Georgia at 6:00 p.m. on a Sunday in either 1768 or 1769 and died on December 3, 1812 (Bullock 1895:14; Davis 1926:62; Foskey 2001:13; Familysearch.org 2005; Barrickman et al. 2004:9). In 1788, William and Janey Bryan applied for a partitioning of Ossabaw Island that was, "agreeable to the direction of John Morel's will". Bryan Morel, was described in the 1809 court minutes as one, "who was then an infant". Other documents from 1809 note that Bryan Morel desired the division of the Morel estate. Bryan Morel received, "the Lot No. 3 comprehending the remainder of No. 10, 11, 12 and including all the Hammocks on the west" (Chatham County Superior Court 1809). By July 30, 1789, Bryan Morel, at the age of 20 or 21, assumed control of his business affairs. He placed a runaway slave advertisement on that date, which noted his residence at

Brampton plantation. Brampton, which is near Savannah, was one of several plantations owned by Colonel Richard Wylly and Bryan's mother Mary Bryan Morel Wylly (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1789; Kilbourne 2000:222).

On May 5, 1791, the Chatham County Tax Collector posted a newspaper notice that included a "Water lot at Yamacraw with as much of Bryan Morel's part of lands on Ossabaw Island as will pay said Bryan Morel's tax for 1790, with costs" (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1791:2; Kilbourne 2000:324). This sale by the tax collector shows that Bryan had fallen behind in the tax payments for his Ossabaw Island property. Bryan Morel was listed in the property tax records for Chatham County in 1792 and 1793 (R. J. Taylor Foundation 1986; Ancestry.com 2007). On January 9, 1794, Chatham County Sheriff, Edward Lloyd advertised a Sheriff's Sale that included the Morel's Ossabaw Island property consisting of, "All that valuable land known by the name of Ossabaw, 8,000 acres, in the county of Chatham. On the island are three settled plantations in the occupation of John, Peter Henry, and Bryan Morel, Esquires. The above island seized and taken under execution as of the estate of the late John Morel, Esquire, deceased. Edward Lloyd, Sheriff Chatham County" (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1794; Kilbourne 2001:79). A similar notice for the sale of the three settled plantations on Ossabaw Island appeared in another Savannah newspaper on January 18, 1794 (*Georgia Journal & Independent Federal Regulator* 1794:3). On October 1, 1795, Thomas Collier, C.T.B.C. [Chatham Tax Board of Commissioners] advertised the sale of, "1933 acres on Ossabaw Island, taken as the property of Bryan Morel, for taxes for the year 1794. The Morel's Ossabaw Island was again offered for sale by Sheriff T. Norton on March 1, 1796 (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1795, 1796; Kilbourne 2001:215, 246). Bryan Morel defaulted on his Chatham County taxes for 1802 and on April 4, 1805, Sheriff Peter Shick advertised the upcoming sale on May 7, 1805 of a, "Lot at Montgomery in the district of White Bluff, occupied by Bryan Morel, seized under execution as his property, pointed out by the plaintiff's attorney" Bryan Morel was again listed as a tax defaulter in Chatham County for 1806. Taxes due on the Estate of John Morel [Sr.] for 1806 were \$106.025 (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1802, 1805, 1806; Kilbourne 2003:117, 265, 369; Blair 1971:23).

On February 7, 1794, Chatham County Sheriff Edward Lloyd sold one-third of John Morel's Ossabaw Island (no acreage specified) to William Bryan (for Bryan Morel) as a fi fas sale to satisfy a judgment recovered by Rebecca, the wife of Francis Stebbens, and Benjamin and Edward Lloyd, execturix and executor for the judgment of 574 £ Sterling. This fi fas was not recorded in the Chatham

County courthouse until May 25, 1803 (Chatham County Superior Court Deed Book X:294).

Other historical records tell us that Bryan Morel did not lose ownership of the North End plantation as a result of these delinquent tax sales, but the exact details of how he managed to hold on to the property are obscure. The Morel brothers' financial troubles apparently stemmed from debts realized during the settlement of their father's estate. On December 25, 1793, this advertisement appeared in a Savannah newspaper, "Will be sold on the 3d day of February next at public outcry, on the Island of Ossabaw, all the negroes belonging to the Estate of John Morel, deceased" (*Georgia Journal and Independent Federal Regulator* 1793:3).

Their Bewlie (Beaulieu) plantation was to be sold by the Marshall after March 6, 1794. The Beaulieu property, which had been one of the family's primary residences was, "taken in execution as the property of the late John Morel, Esquire, deceased, and to be sold to the Marshal directed", and included "600 acres, with a dwelling and other out houses thereon" (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1793, 1794; Kilbourne 2001:24, 90). The Sheriff's sale of the Beaulieu property took place on January 6, 1795 advertised, "700 acres on Vernon River in Chatham County, known by the name of Bewlie, seized under executions against the estate of John Morel" (*Gazette of the State of Georgia*, December 4, 1794; Kilbourne 2001:150). Also in 1794, Bryan, John and Peter Morel, as executors of John Morel, agreed to pay a legacy to Mrs. Hetty [Morel] Neyle and Samson Neyle, which included Bewlie. In the same transaction, Bryan Morel gave 800 £ Sterling from his one-third purchase of Ossabaw Island as a legacy for Hetty Morel Neyle. These legacies, which were apparently in satisfaction of John Morel's will, were not recorded in the Chatham County Courthouse until 1797 (Chatham County Deed Book R:23).

In the division of the Estate of John Morel [Sr.], his son Bryan Morel received a portion of the Ossabaw Island property consisting of, "All that Lot No. 3 comprehending the remainder of No. 10, 11, and 12 including all the Hammocks on the west of those numbers being the Northern Allotment of the said Island of Ossabaw" (Ossabaw Island Papers 1804). Lot Number 3 of the estate included the North End plantation property. Superior Court records for the Eastern District of Georgia stated that, "John Morel, the elder, willed the Island of Ossabaw to his 3 sons: Peter Henry, John and Bryan (an infant). The guardians of Brian were: William and James Bryan. Most of the Island was divided in March 1788, but one part was not divided" (T.U.P. Charlton, cited in Dumont 2001). Bryan Morel advertised the North End property for sale in May, 1797 and the property was described as, "lands adapted to the cultivation of cotton, indigo, or

corn—for quantity and quality of live oak timbers, in its wood for excellent and extensive range, for stock of all kinds there is no island in the state, esteemed superior" (Foskey 2001:13). It does not appear that Morel actually sold the property as a result of this advertisement.

Bryan Morel was married to Harriet McQueen, daughter of Alexander McQueen, Esquire, in Savannah on December 4, 1800 (Ancestry.com 2007; Davis 1926:62; *Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1800; Kilbourne 2003:46). The couple had at least four children: Bryan McQueen (born 1803), and Caroline, John, and Elizabeth. The latter three were born sometime after 1795. In an apparent pre-nuptial agreement, or marriage settlement as it was termed, made two days before their wedding, Bryan Morel, Patrick Houston, and Charles Harris sold Harriet McQueen 1000 acres (more or less) of the North End of Ossabaw Island for \$5.00, in order to provide her an estate. This land consisted of division numbers 11 and 12, fronting the mouth of Ogeechee and Vernon Rivers, being part of a tract purchased of Edward Lloyd Sheriff of Chatham County, sold as the estate of John Morel, deceased. This marriage settlement also included 32 slaves that were formerly property of John Morel, deceased, and purchased at the sale of the estate by Charles Odingsell and conveyed to Bryan Morel. Also included were seven slaves (and an unspecified number of enslaved children) that were purchased by Bryan Morel from General [Nathanael] Greene, and also Adam, who was purchased by Bryan Morel from the Estate of John Houston (Chatham County Deed Book V:301).

Bryan Morel, planter, died from a "paralytic stroke" on December 3, 1812 at 44 years of age (Genealogical Committee, Georgia Historical Society 1986:39). His death was registered by the City of Savannah with these notes, "The dec<sup>d</sup> has left a mother (the venerable M<sup>rs</sup> Wylly), wife and sev<sup>l</sup> Children in this City. Lived much respected. Died at his house So: Brd: St. Buried at his plantation" (Genealogical Committee, Georgia Historical Society 1986:39). Bryan's death notice contains several important facts that pertain to the North End plantation. From it we learn that Bryan had a home in Savannah on South Broad Street, where he lived with his wife and several children. His remains were buried, however, at his plantation, which was North End plantation on Ossabaw Island. Bryan Morel apparently died intestate, which probably served to further complicate the land ownership of his Ossabaw Island property.

Harriet McQueen Morel, wife of Bryan Morel, was born on August 27, 1770 and she died at Montgomery plantation on June 25, 1814, about one and one-half years after the death of her husband. Harriet was the daughter of Alexander McQueen and Elizabeth Fuller McQueen (Alexander 1970:16; Ancestry.com 2007).

Bryan McQueen Morel, the eldest son of Bryan and Harriet Morel, apparently was the heir to his father's estate, after the death of his mother, although he was barely 11 years old at the time. The death dates for the other three children of Bryan and Harriet Morel remain uncertain. Caroline died sometime after 1886; Elizabeth Morel died sometime after 1803; and John Morel died sometime after 1804 (Ancestry.com 2007). Nothing is known of the operation of Bryan Morel's estate at North End plantation for the period immediately following the death of his widow Harriet until the management of the plantation was assumed by his son Bryan McQueen Morel. Bryan McQueen Morel was born in Chatham County, Georgia in 1803. Bryan M. Morel, probably Bryan McQueen Morel, and grandson of John Morel, Sr., is enumerated in the 1830 census for Bryan County, Georgia (U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Bryan County 1830:84; Ancestry.com 2007). His household in 1830 contained one free white male, aged 20 to under 30, and one free white male, aged 50 to under 60 and a total of 73 African-Americans. One Free colored person, 36 to under 55, also was included in Bryan M. Morel's household in 1830. At that time Bryan M. Morel was unmarried.

Bryant M. Morrell is also enumerated in the 1840 census for Bryan County, Georgia (U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Bryan 2005). The Bryant M. Morell is probably the same person described previously for 1830, although the names are spelled differently. This household contained 63 people, including five free whites and 63 enslaved African-Americans. The free whites included: 1 Free white male, under 5 years; 1 Free white male, 30 to under 40 years; 2 Free white females, under 5 years, and; 1 Free white female, 30 to under 40 years.

The 1840 census for Bryan County also contains the Bryant M. Murrell household, which may represent a duplication of the above-described household. The Bryant M. Murrell household contain at total of 60 persons (2 free white persons, who included male, aged 40 to under 50 and one female aged 40 to under fifty, and 58 enslaved people (Ancestry.com 2007). Those enslaved by Murrell [Morel] are discussed in a later section of this report.

The discrepancy observed in the 1840 census for Bryant M. Morrell and Bryant M. Murrell is difficult to explain. It may represent the work of careless census enumerator, John Harvey. The actual composition of the Bryan M. Morel household in 1840 cannot be fully determined from these two records. The first listing (Bryant M. Morrell) appears to be the more accurate of the two, in terms of the composition and ages of the free white members of the household. There is a remote possibility that these two families represent distinct households, both residing in Bryan County, Georgia in 1840.

Bryan McQueen Morel married Louisa Shaw Turner around 1840, apparently after the 1840 census was taken. Louisa Turner was the granddaughter of Major General Nathanael Greene and she was born and raised in Tennessee. Several of their children were born on Ossabaw Island (Davis 1926:62; Foskey 2001:13; Ancestry.com 2007). The date of their marriage may be erroneous, however, since three children (each under 5 years of age) were living Morel's household in 1840. These three children were either newborn triplets, born out of wedlock, children from a previous marriage, or not his direct offspring. One explanation is that these children were orphans under Bryan's custody. Bryan McQueen Morel and Louisa Shaw Turner Morel had at least three daughters and one son by their marriage: Louis Bryan (born October 12, 1842), Amy or Anne (born 1845 or 1846), and Martha or Mattie (born 1848 or 1849), and Caroline (born 1853 or 1854). Anne B. Morel born about 1846, is listed in the 1870 census as living in Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia and Amy B. Morel, born about 1846, is listed in the 1880 census as living in Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia. These two women are likely the same person. Similarly M.W. Morel (1870 census) and Martha W. Morel (1880 census) are likely the same woman (Ancestry.com 2007).

Bryan M. Morel is not listed in the 1850 census for Bryan or Chatham Counties. Bryan M. Morel was listed as a Naval officer in 1850, which may explain his absence from the Georgia census for that year (U.S. Census 1850, Population Schedule, Chatham County, Georgia:253; Davis 1926:62).

By 1860, Bryan Morel had acquired property in Atlanta, Georgia. There is a Bryant Morell listed in the 1860 census for the 4<sup>th</sup> Ward of Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia. His household included:

- Bryan Morell, a 58 year-old married white male Planter;
- Susan [Louisa] Morell, a 42 year-old white female from Tennessee;
- Lewis B. Morell, a 17 year-old white male;
- Amey Morell, a 14 year-old white female;
- Martha Morell, an 11 year-old white female;
- Careline Morell, a 6 year-old white female;
- W.J. Houston, a 28 year-old male and Book Keeper;
- A.C. Houston, a 27 year-old female;
- Anna L.E. Houston, a 5 year-old female;
- John C. Houston, a 3 year-old male;

- Eliza C. Houston, a 1 year-old female (Ancestry.com 2007).

The Morel family endured Sherman's ravaging of Atlanta in November, 1864 and they evidently maintained their home in the same neighborhood. B.M. Morel is listed in the 1870 census in the 4<sup>th</sup> Ward of Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia. He is identified as a 68 year old, married, white male and native-born Georgian, whose occupation was listed as Est. Planter. His real estate was valued at \$15,000.00. His household included L.S. [Louisa Shaw, his wife] Morel, a 52 year-old white female from Tennessee, whose occupation was listed as, "Keeping house"; Ann B. Morel, a 24 year-old white female from Georgia, whose occupation was listed as, "At Home"; M.W. [probably Mattie W.] Morel, a 21 year-old white female from Georgia, whose occupation was, "At Home"; Caroline Morel, a 16 year-old white female from Georgia (Bryan and Louisa Morel's daughter), whose occupation was, "At Home"; and Mary Williams, a 23 year-old Mulatto female from Georgia, whose occupation was listed as "Domest. Svt. [Domestic Servant]" (Ancestry.com 2007). Bryan Morel is not listed in the 1860 census for Chatham or Bryan counties, Georgia.

By 1880 Bryan M. Morel was deceased. His widow, Louisa Morel aged 62, was listed as the head of a household and her occupation was "Keeping House" in the 1880 census for Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia. The household included:

- Louisa [Shaw] Morel, aged 62, a widowed white female, born in Tennessee to parents from Rhode Island;
- Louis Bryan Morel, aged 37, a married white bookkeeper from Georgia and son of Bryan and Louisa Morel;
- Amy B. Morel, aged 34, a single white female born in Georgia and daughter of Bryan and Louisa Morel;
- Martha W. Morel, aged 31, a single white female from Georgia, Literacy Teacher, and daughter of Bryan and Louisa Morel;
- Caroline Morel, aged 26, a married white female and daughter of Bryan and Louisa Morel;
- Lemuel Grant, aged 32, a married white male bookkeeper born in Georgia, son-in-law of Louisa Morel;
- Bryal [Bryan?] Grant, aged 10 months, a single white male and grandson of Louisa Morel ;

- George Sims, aged 17, a single black male from Georgia and a domestic servant;
- Nancy Sims, aged 12, a single black female from Georgia and a children's nurse (Ancestry.com 2007).

Louisa Shaw Turner Morel died in March of 1882 (Ancestry.com 2007). Louis Bryan Morel, eldest son of Bryan McQueen Morel; Amy B. (or Anne) B. Morel, their second oldest daughter; Martha W. (Mattie, Hattie, or M.W.), their second youngest daughter; and Caroline Morel Grant, the youngest daughter, all died sometime after 1886 (Ancestry.com 2007).

The Morels of North End plantation were represented in the Civil War by a possible descendant, Bryan M. Morel. Bryan M. Morell was possibly Bryan M. Morel, Jr., the grandson of Bryan Morel and the likely heir of North End plantation. Bryan M. Morell enlisted as a Private in Company B, 8th Regiment, Georgia Infantry. The 8th Georgia was organized by Colonel F.S. Bartow during the spring of 1861. They were ordered to Virginia in early June and assigned to F.S. Bartow's Brigade, fought at First Manassas...[and the regiment]... reported 41 killed and 159 wounded at First Manassas...(NPS 2005). Private Bryan Morel was one of those killed in the battle at Manassas Junction, also known as the 1st Battle of Bull Run, in late July 1861 (NPS 2005; Ehistory.com 2005a; Lawrence 1997:30-32). Private Bryan M. Morel was one of six soldiers in the Oglethorpe Light Infantry and one of 387 Confederates, who were killed in the battle (Ehistory.com 2005a). Following the battle, Confederate General Beauregard wrote of their heroism, "I salute the Eighth Georgia with my hat off". A memorial service was held in February 1862 in Savannah at the Independent Presbyterian Church for Morel and the other casualties of the Oglethorpe Light Infantry, 8th Georgia Regiment. Smith (1997:34) cites one Savannah newspaper that stated that Ryan Morel [sic, Bryan Morel] and the others slain at Manassas were, "buried together on the battlefield". Lawrence cites a Savannah newspaper obituary that stated that the dead were, "All young, all unmarried, all gentlemen, there was not one of the killed who was not an ornament to his community and freighted with brilliant promise" (Lawrence 1997:30-32).

From 1760 to 1886, the North End plantation on Ossabaw Island was owned by four generations, who were descended from John Morel, a Swiss immigrant. These were:

- John Morel, 1723 to 1776
- Bryan Morel, 1776 to 1812
- Bryan McQueen Morel, 1812 to 1875

- Louis Bryan Morel (and other heirs), 1875 to after 1886.

This chain of ownership was disrupted for short periods over this 126 years span, as the Morel family experienced financial hardships, including the implementation of Major General William T. Sherman's Field Order 15 and the Freedman settlement experiment. For a large part of this time span, the Morels did not actually reside at the North End plantation, although all of the generations spent some time living on the island. The Morel home throughout this period was probably located at the eastern side of the plantation, at the north end of the tree-lined alley. The Morel children may have spent a considerable amount of time playing in the North End Quarter. Following the Civil War, the Morels established their primary residence in Atlanta, Georgia. It is not known how much involvement they had with the North End plantation during the period from 1862 to 1886, when they sold the property. Nor is it known whether they maintained any sort of residence on the island for that period. A family descendant, Richard Thornton, noted that the Morel home was burned after they evacuated it during the Civil War, but no documentary evidence was found to corroborate this assertion. It is reasonable to accept it, however, since when the Wanamakers bought the plantation they moved a dwelling house onto the site and attached it to a pre-existing chimney. That chimney, and the associated archaeological deposit located immediately east of the chimney, probably represent the remains of the final Morel plantation home at the North End plantation. The Federal census data shows that Bryan McQueen Morel and his family had removed to Atlanta in Fulton County, Georgia by 1860 and before the Civil War commenced. Additional fieldwork is necessary to determine if this house was destroyed by fire, and when the dwelling was abandoned.

## MANAGERS AND OVERSEERS

The overseers who were employed on the Ossabaw Island plantations probably include more than a dozen people, although details were discovered for only a few of them. The overseer for George Jones Kollock's South End plantation kept detailed books about the operation of the plantation, some of which have survived. For the North End plantation, however, we are less fortunate as no similar records have been located.

John Morel advertised for an overseer for his Ossabaw Island plantation on July 29, 1767,

Wanted, a person properly qualified to take charge of an indigo plantation

on the island of Ossabaw, on which is about 30 working hands. A person with a family would be preferred. He must be well acquainted with the management of stock of all kinds. Should he have any negroes, they may be put on shares on a separate plantation on that island. Good encouragement will be given on application to John Morel (*Georgia Gazette* 1767; Kilbourne 1999a:226).

Daniel Giroud was employed by John Morel in the operation of Morel's Ossabaw Island plantation in March, 1770, when he was authorized to sell merchandise and farm produce for Morel (*Georgia Gazette* 1770; Kilbourne 1999a:436). Daniel Giroud was the person hired by Morel in response to his 1767 advertisement. On April 18, 1770 John Morel advertised,

On proper notice will engage to cut any quantity of Live Oak and Cedar Ship timbers, or any shape size required, and will deliver the same at proper landings on Ossabaw. On Ossabaw apply to Mr. Daniel Giroud in the absence of John Morel (*Georgia Gazette* 1770; Edwards 1996).

Daniel Giroud is the same person as Daniel Giraud, who was a native of New Rochelle, New York. Daniel was born on March 26, 1725, the son of Daniel Giraud and Catherine Secord Giraud. Daniel's father was a French immigrant, born about 1664 in Poitiers, France and died in New Rochelle, New York on August 10, 1757. His mother was born to parents of French and Dutch ancestry in New Rochelle, New York on October 10, 1704 and she died in North Castle, Westchester, New York on May 11, 1771. Daniel (the younger) married Elizabeth Coutant on January 1, 1748 in New Rochelle and the couple had 12 children. The last child was born about 1769, just prior to Daniel Giroud's documented business association with John Morel (Ancestry.com 2007). None of Daniel and Elizabeth Giraud's children were documented as born in Georgia or Ossabaw Island, rather those whose birthplaces are known were in various parts of New York. The children of Daniel and Elizabeth Giraud included:

- William (born January 17, 1748)
- Esther (born March 8, 1749)
- John (born June 2, 1750)

- Elizabeth (born January 2, 1750 [Note: possibly John and Elizabeth were twins and their birth months are partially in error])
- Catherine (born March 26, 1752)
- James (born September 4 or 14, 1754)
- Daniel (born 1758)
- Jane (born January 1762)
- Elias (born April 9, 1762 or September 4, 1765)
- Deborah (born 1763)
- Mary (born 1767)
- Sarah (born 1769) (Ancestry.com 2007).

Daniel Giroud's family may have accompanied him to Ossabaw Island, or remained in New York. Daniel Giroud remained in John Morel's employ on February 23, 1774, when Giroud advertised, "Wanted, an overseer who understands plantation business in general, the culture of indico [sic] in particular, for Bewlie, where will be about 20 hands employed. A single man will be preferred. John Morel. Also wanted to work at Bewlie, ship carpenters. Apply to Mr. Daniel Giroud, builder at that place" (*Georgia Gazette* 1774; Kilbourne 1999b: 18). At some undetermined date Daniel Giroud returned to New York and he died in February, 1791 in New Marlborough, Plattekill, Ulster County, New York. His wife Elizabeth died in February, 1816 in Plattekill, New York (Ancestry.com 2007).

For a period in early 1775, newspaper advertisements indicate that John Morel had no manager for his Ossabaw Island plantation and so he may have performed that job himself for several months. By May 24, 1775, however, John Hodson was apparently managing the business affairs of the Ossabaw Island plantation (*Georgia Gazette* 1775; Kilbourne 1999b:112, 129). Only very limited biographical research on John Hodson was conducted for this study and no details of his life were found.

John Johannis Buys was a subsequent manager (or overseer) on an Ossabaw Island plantation. At that time North End plantation was the only plantation on the island, so it is most likely that Buys resided at North End plantation. According to one of his descendants, John Buys was from Bergan, New Jersey, born about 1736, and he worked as a manager of a plantation on Ossabaw Island. He lived there with his wife, Lena Annetje Marselius Buys and their children. John and Lena were married about 1758 and they had nine children prior to coming to Ossabaw Island. The couple had a number of children while living in New Jersey, including Eden Edo (born

1762), John Johannis, II (born March 121, 1768), Jacob (born 1771), Catrina Katherine (born April 21, 1773), Enos (born 1774), and Daniel (born June 10, 1775). The couple may have had two more children, Daniel F., born September 24, 1776, and Henry, born March 18, 1779, while living on Ossabaw Island. Lena, who was born about 1740 in Greenbrook Farm, Somerset, New Jersey, died about 1780. John Johannis Buys managed the North End plantation from about 1776 sometime before 1800, when he and his family were enumerated in the Federal census. By 1802 John Johannis Buys had remarried to Elizabeth Gordon and they raised a family of six children in New York. John died on May 16, 1831 in Sodus Point, Wayne County, New York (Elsie H. Wilson personal communication May 26, 2006; Ancestry.com 2007).

Elsie Wilson suspects that her ancestor John Buys may have worked at Ossabaw Island for two distinct periods, returning to the Northeast for some period of time. John Morel, Jr. advertised for an overseer for Ossabaw Island on March 15, 1781 (*Royal Georgia Gazette* 1781:2). This may represent a period when John Buys was not on Ossabaw Island. John Buys had probably left Ossabaw Island by December 6, 1792, when John Morel published the following advertisement,

Wanted by the 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1793, an active, industrious man as an overseer on the island of Ossabaw, who has a sufficient knowledge of the culture of cotton, is well acquainted with ploughing and is capable of directing from 20 to 25 hands. One with a small family, and if he has a few negroes of his own, will be preferred. John Morel (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1792:3; Kilbourne 2000:430).

Bryan Morel placed a similar advertisement for an overseer for his Ossabaw Island plantation on January 2, 1794, which stated,

Ossabaw, Nov. 22, 1793. Wanted, an active overseer, who can be well recommended for his knowledge of the cultivation and manufacture of indigo. A man with a small family, and who is acquainted also with the care of stock, will meet with preference. The situation is a remarkable healthy and plentiful one, being on the north end of Ossabaw. Apply to the subscriber on the above plantation, who is also

frequently in Savannah. Bryan Morel (*Georgia Gazette* 1794; Kilbourne 2001:68).

By 1792, John Morel, Jr. and Bryan Morel were operating separate plantations on Ossabaw Island—John on the South End and Bryan on the North End. Some aspects of their respective plantation operations may still have been cooperative, since Bryan was a relatively “new” planter.

John Morel [Jr.] placed another advertisement for an overseer to run a plantation on Ossabaw Island on December 14, 1798. This advertisement was probably not the North End plantation but rather was John Morel’s South End plantation, since the island had already been divided by that date. Morel noted that his plantation was worked by “forty to fifty hands” with cotton farming and dairying two farm activities mentioned (*Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* 1798; Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

Henry Hoyt is another northerner who is associated with antebellum Ossabaw Island, although his association with the North End plantation is unconfirmed. Henry Hoyt (or Hait) was in the ship-timber business and he died on Ossabaw Island in 1823 (Hoyt 1871:399). Henry was born on December 31, 1780, the son of David and Hannah Hait or Hoyt. He married Sarah Brown on November 13, 1803 and they lived in Stamford, Connecticut. He served as a selectman in 1810 and as a representative in 1811 and 1812. His relationship to the Morel family was not determined. Since other families owned property on Ossabaw Island by 1823, Henry Hoyt may have had business with one of them and was not necessarily affiliated with the North End plantation.

## **OTHER OWNERS OF NORTH END**

The Morel family held possession of Ossabaw Island for 126 years, despite several close calls where financial troubles threatened their control over the property. The aforementioned tax sales of Ossabaw Island in the 1780s and 1790s were somehow resolved by the Morels retaining ownership of the island. It is unclear, based on the present research effort, how that control was accomplished.

An 1809 document in the Ossabaw Island Papers notes that David Johnston was a “tenant in common” of an undivided part of Ossabaw Island that was, “held by Bryan Morel” (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939). David Johnston appears in the 1793 and 1806 tax lists for Chatham County, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2007). In the 1830 census for Bryan County, William M. Johnston is listed immediately following the Bryan M. Morel

household, which may signify that they were neighbors and that the Johnstons were tenants on Morel’s property in 1830. William M. Johnston owned 77 slaves in 1830, compared with Bryan Morel’s 73, which more likely indicates that William Johnston was a fellow Bryan County planter, rather than a tenant (Ancestry.com 2007).

On July 25, 1833, Bryan M. Morel conveyed, “all that tract of land, known as the north part of the Eastern Division of Ossabaw Island containing (300 acres) more or less” to George W. Owens of Chatham County (Chatham County Superior Court Book 12S:109 [1916]; Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939). G.W. Owens later transferred all his rights to the 300 acres consisting of “the Eastern part of the division of Ossabaw in the county of Bryan”, which was previously conveyed to him by Bryan M. Morel, after Bryan M. Morel paid him \$300.00. The date of that transaction from Owens to Morel was not determined, but it was likely prior to December, 1835. G.W. Owens’ ownership of the North End of Ossabaw Island may have been very brief (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

An extract of a deed from J.T. Simmons and Mary R. Simmons to G.W. Anderson, dated December 15, 1835, concerned the sale of Cabbage Garden and Horse Hammock and another hammock, which were bounded on the west by lands of Bryan Morel (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939). A document written by Bryan M. Morel on January 15, 1836, and recorded in Chatham County on November 4, 1837, referred to an earlier marriage settlement and it listed some of John Morel’s slaves (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

By early 1862 the owners of most of Georgia’s Sea Island plantations sought refuge on the mainland. The Morel family abandoned the North End plantation early in the Civil War, around late 1861. For the next four years the North End plantation was largely abandoned. Morel family lore tells of the rapid abandonment of North End plantation by the family members, after which the plantation home was burned by the U.S. troops (Richard Thornton personal communication May 15, 2005).

In early 1865, freedmen were settled on Georgia’s Sea Islands, under the authority of Major General W.T. Sherman’s Field Order 15. Bryan M. Morel’s North End plantation was assigned by the Freedmen’s Bureau to the Paul John family, which consisted of Paul John and two others (possibly his wife and child). Paul John received his grant for 15 acres on the Marel [sic, Morel] plantation on Ossabaw Island on August 9, 1865. Their association with the property was rather brief, since Sherman’s orders were soon contradicted by U.S. President Andrew Johnson and the U.S. Congress (Perdue 1973; Cimbala 1997; Freedmen’s Bureau 2007).

Bryan M. Morel died intestate on March 26, 1875 and his wife Louisa Shaw Morel died on May 27, 1882. On May 25, 1885, Lewis B. Morel, of Fulton County filed a mortgage with a Homestead waiver in Fulton County with Amy [possibly Ann?] B. Morel and Miss Hattie [possibly Mattie?] W. Morel, both of Fulton County for a 3,000 acre parcel of land on Ossabaw Island, “known as the Bryan Morel Plantation and Lands” (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

The heirs of Bryan M. Morel, who included Amy B. Morel, Caroline W. Grant, Mattie W. Morel, and Lewis B. Morel, conveyed the family property on Ossabaw Island to James M. Waterbury of New York City on September 9, 1886. That transaction ended the Morels ownership of Ossabaw Island after 126 years. Liberty County Surveyor William Hughes apparently made a resurvey and plat of the Bryan M. Morel estate on July 2, 1886, but that plat has not been located by the present research. The 1895 deed from Waterbury and Waterbury to Maxwell also cites a plat made by William Hughes of the southern part of Ossabaw Island on May 23, 1853 ((Fulton County Superior Court Book 5Y:35-36; Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939; Foskey 2001:19).

James M. Waterbury had a Clubhouse constructed on the property, which remains today. The Clubhouse, was a prefabricated house originally displayed at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. It was a seasonal residence used by Waterbury and his guests for their hunting and fishing jaunts (Barrickman 2004:9; Foskey 2001).

The limited archaeological exploration on the periphery of the Clubhouse shows that this building incorporated part of an earlier building on its eastern end. The eastern chimney of the Clubhouse probably served this earlier building, judging from the bricked-in hearth that faces east from the Clubhouse. That earlier building, which was likely the remnants of the Morel plantation home, was used in the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, based on a limited archaeological sample. Evidence of an earlier 18<sup>th</sup> and very early 19<sup>th</sup> century building, just southwest of the Clubhouse and possibly extending beneath it, was discovered in 2005 by the archaeological survey. These archaeological remains may be portions of the main house at North End plantation. Other archaeological evidence may exist beneath the Clubhouse, as stated by Eleanor Torrey West, but that area remains to be explored (Edwards 1996; Eleanor Torrey West personal communication, February 15, 2005).

Kate Anthony Waterbury and James M. Waterbury, both of New York, conveyed the North End of Ossabaw Island to Caroline C. Maxwell, of Savannah for \$3,500.00 on June 1, 1895. Caroline C. Maxwell of Savannah. Maxwell

immediately sold the plantation to William L. Nevin, in trust for John Wanamaker of Philadelphia in 1902. William L. Nevin, of Philadelphia, conveyed the “North End of Ossabaw Island” to Thomas B. Wanamaker, of Philadelphia, on March 21, 1902 for \$7,000.00. In 1906 Thomas D. Wanamaker sold the North End plantation to John H. Carr for Henry D. Weed. On May 10, 1907, John H. Carr, of Philadelphia, sold the “North End of Ossabaw” and other Ossabaw Island property to Henry D. Weed, of Savannah (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

A 1916 deposition filed by Henry D. Weed claimed that he was the owner of Ossabaw Island, having purchased it (along with U.H. McLaws and George S. Haines) from John Wanamaker in 1906. He also noted that Wanamaker had purchased Buckhead plantation on Ossabaw Island from C.S. Cary in 1907. A deposition by U.H. McLaws supported Weed’s claim and McLaws noted that S.S. Sasser was living at the North End and was in charge of the North End for Mr. Wanamaker (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

John Wanamaker sold, “Ossabaw North End, Middle Place” and other Ossabaw Island property to John H. Carr, of Philadelphia on November 10, 1909 for \$75,000.00 (Chatham County Superior Court Book 12S:111; Ossabaw Island Papers 1909). Henry D. Weed and George S. Haines sold Ossabaw Island on November 28, 1910 to E.G. Black for \$237,500.00 (Haines 1910, Weed and Haines 1910). The bill of sale from Weed and Haines to Black noted that oyster leases on Ossabaw were not to expire until May 1, 1911 (Weed and Haines 1910; Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

On March 22, 1916, Henry D. Weed conveyed Ossabaw Island to Walker, Armstrong and Company, of Chatham County, for \$225,000.00. George Ferguson Armstrong maintained a kennel of hunting dogs at the North End plantation. Two photographs of these kennels, while they were under construction in 1916 were located (Vanishing Georgia 2005). The boarding house was occupied by the plantation manager and his family during this period (Foskey 2001:19). On August 30, 1916, Walker, Armstrong and Company deeded Ossabaw Island to the Southland Steamship Company for \$226,636.04 (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

The Southland Steamship Company was apparently a subsidiary of the Strachan Shipping Company, who next owned the island. The partners of the Strachan Shipping Company used Ossabaw Island as a seasonal retreat and they used Waterbury’s Clubhouse for this purpose (Barrickman et al. 2004; Foskey 2001). In 1924 the partners of the Strachan Shipping Company sold Ossabaw Island to Dr. and Mrs. Henry Norton Torrey. The Torrey’s



had a large home built, northeast of the Clubhouse, which was completed by 1926 (Foskey 2001).

In 1955, at the height of the Cold War, a geological survey was conducted on the beaches of Ossabaw Island to assess the potential for mining the black sands. These black sands contain heavy metals and other heavy minerals, which were considered to have possibly nuclear applications (Merritt 1995). Fortunately, no mining of these sands was ever conducted.

The Torrey home remains the residence of Eleanor Torrey West (Barrickman et al. 2004:11). Their daughter, Eleanor “Sandy” Torrey West and her brother’s heirs conveyed Ossabaw Island to the State of Georgia in 1978, while reserving a 24 acre life estate surrounding the Torrey mansion (Barrickman et al. 2004:13).

## Chapter IV. Residents of North End Quarter

Who were the residents of North End Quarter and what does history tell us about their lives? Most of the plantation records for the North End plantation have not survived. A few slave inventories, runaway slave advertisements, and other transaction records are the only surviving documents that help to identify the people who built and were forced to operate the plantation.

### THE ENSLAVED

The Morels of coastal Georgia were among the largest slave owners in Georgia during the colonial period. John Morel held more than 155 slaves and his sons owned many more in the early Federal era (Flanders 1933:53; Hewat 1779, Volume 2). Information about the earliest people who were enslaved by John Morel may remain mostly anonymous. Morel owned several vast plantations in coastal Georgia, which were operated by large numbers of enslaved people. The 1777 inventory provides information about 155 people who were owned by the Morel estate on June 27, 1777, when the estate was inventoried by John Habersham, William Bryan, and John Houstoun (Hamilton 1947).

The 1777 slave inventory of the Morel estate was closely studied for any information that it contained about the possible residents of the North End plantation. This list contains some very important items about Morel's enslaved community but it also leaves out some other critical details. The 1777 list provides family groupings, some information on family relationships, monetary value, some gender information, some information on general age (child, old, etc.), and a few details about their physical condition (blind, lame, etc.). What is lacking are details concerning which plantation they resided and their precise age. In many cases their age can be crudely estimated by examining their monetary value. Very young children had relatively little value, and those very old people likewise had little value as property. The personal data from the 1777 list was carefully cross-referenced with later slave lists and newspaper references to Morel's enslaved. Quite a few from the 1777 list were linked to people who were identified in the later 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The 1777 slave inventory was an important document because it listed John Morel's enslaved community by their family units. When this information was merged with the other slave information rudimentary family histories were compiled. The results were the identification of a minimum of 33 family groups. The actual number of

enslaved families at the North End plantation is probably far greater, but later documents did not provide this type of information. Nevertheless, it represents an important starting point for anyone conducting genealogical research on their ancestors, in addition to uncovering the identities of formerly anonymous individuals. These groups are described below. A word of caution--some of these groups were probably not residents of the North End plantation, since John Morel [Sr.] also owned plantations on the mainland. These slave families may have been moved from location to location by the Morels depending on their needs for labor.

A preliminary inventory of slaves and other workers who lived at the North End plantation was compiled as part of this study. This list, which includes 283 individuals, is summarized in Table 1. Some of these people, who were listed as old or "superannuated" may have worked for the Morels for many decades prior to 1777, which is the earliest slave document located by the present research.

Group 1. Charles was John Morel's slave driver. Charles was married to Diana and in 1777 they had four daughters: Clarinda, Rose, Sickey and Hannah.

Group 2. Carolina worked as a cooper for John Morel [Sr.]. Coopers were skilled craftsmen who made wooden barrells of various sorts. Barrells were a basic shipping and storage container in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and a person skilled in their manufacture was a valuable asset on the plantation. Carolina, who was listed as old in 1777, was married to Molly, who was listed as "superannuated". They had four children: Jemmy, George, Cato, and Sarah. Their second oldest son, George was married to Hannah. All four of Carolina and Molly's children were likely older children or young adults by 1777.

Group 3. Sancho and his wife Daphne had a family in 1777 that included five children. Their children were: Billy, July, Minty, Lizzie, and Charlotte. Billy was probably the oldest of their children and he may have been a young

adult, based on his value. Lizzie and Charlotte were likely infants in 1777.

Group 4. Will and Mary were two of Morel's slaves in 1777. The couple had no children. This couple was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 5. Amelia was a widow or unmarried woman enslaved by John Morel. In 1777 she lived with her three young children: Philip, Satira, and Molly. Molly was likely an infant at the time.

Group 6. Toby was listed as old in 1777, and lived with his wife Kate and their four children. Their children included Harry, Jacob, Sampson and Tenah. Harry was probably an older child or young adult.

Group 7. Old Sam and his wife Venus were enslaved by John Morel, along with their older children. Their children were Sam, Tom, Cato, Rachel, Nanny, Begora. Begora had an infant child named Carolina in 1777. Old Sam and Venus' children were probably young adults or adults by 1777.

Group 8. Hercules and his wife Betty lived with their two boys, Peter and Winter. Hercules was from the Angola region of Africa. The entire family ran away from the Morels on October 11, 1781.

Group 9. Dick and his wife Betty, who were both listed as old in 1777, were enslaved by John Morel, along with Dembo, Ned, Ben and Celia. Ned was listed as, "lame & doubtful whether he'll recover" and his value was 50 pounds. Dembo and Ben were probably older children or young adults by 1777. Celia was apparently a child.

Group 10. Old London and his wife Jenny lived with their daughter Peggy. Peggy was probably an older child in 1777.

Group 11. Prince (Mocco) and his wife

Hannah lived with their three children, Tice, Caesar and Sue. All three children were young in 1777.

Group 12. Frank lived with his wife Chloae and their young daughter Beck in 1777.

Group 13. Maurice lived with his wife Daphne with no children. Maurice was listed as old in 1777. This couple was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 14. Jupiter and his wife Peggy, who was described as old in 1777. They had no children at the time. By October 11, 1781, Jupiter had apparently married a woman named Auba. Auba had a son named Sancho, aged 9, possibly by a previous marriage, and she also had a "sucking child", whose name was not documented. This infant child was possibly Jupiter's young son. Peggy, Jupiter's "old" wife, was probably dead by 1781. Jupiter, Auba, and her two children ran away from the Morels on October 11, 1781.

Group 15. Quamina and his wife, Eve, lived with their son Bob on the Morel plantation in 1777. This family was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 16. Hector worked as a blacksmith for John Morel. Hector and his wife Flora were enslaved by the Morels in 1777, along with their two young daughters, Chloae and Judy. Judy was probably an infant in 1777. Hector ran away from the Morel's Ossabaw Island plantation in 1785. He may have left his wife and children behind. Hector was apparently captured and returned to the Morels because in 1789 he had again runaway from their enslavement.

Group 17. Harry and his wife Rose lived with their three young children: Stephen, Billy and Nancy. Nancy was probably an infant in 1777.

Group 18. Old Joe and his wife, Nancy, who was blind lived with no children on Morel's plantation in 1777. This couple was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 19. Prince and his wife Celia lived with their children Molly and Grace. Molly had an infant son named Paul. Grace had a young daughter named Dinah and an infant son named Philip in 1777.

Group 20. Sambo and his wife, Lucy were both listed as old in 1777. This couple was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 21. Tice and his wife, Sarah lived without any children in 1777. This couple was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 22. One of the more interesting groupings of enslaved people in the 1777 inventory were 12 males. These apparently do not represent a family unit, rather they are a large group of unattached boys and men. They include (listed as in the inventory): Billey, Abraham, another Abraham, London, James, Old Primus, Adam, Dick, Munding, Jack, Bob, and Joe. Old Primus and Adam were apparently elderly and of no monetary value. Dick, Munding and Jack were apparently young boys, whose value was minimal. The rest of the group were probably able-bodied adult men. Three of them were specifically identified by their trade. Abraham and Joe were carpenters and London was a sawyer. James was apparently a new arrival on the Morel plantation, since he was identified as "New". Bob, a weaver by trade, was among those who ran away from the Morels.

Group 23. Tom and his wife, Nelly lived with their three children, Bachus, Titus, and Phoebe. Phoebe may have been a young adult but the other

two were probably older children in 1777. A man named Bachus, who may have been Tom and Nelly's son, was enslaved on Ossabaw Island by Bryan Morel in 1809. Titus was one of Morel's enslaved, who ran away from the plantation in the 1780s.

Group 24. Jack, who was listed as old in 1777, and his wife Jenny were enslaved by the Morels, along with their three children: Ishmael, Julia, and Bella. Bella was probably an infant in 1777 and the other two were young children. Ishmael fled the plantation in 1785.

Group 25. Long Jemme and his wife, Abby lived with their three children Larcho, Patty and Jemima. Jemima was probably an infant in 1777 and the other two were young children.

Group 26. Charles lived with his wife Lydia and their son Hager and other child Landy [indeterminate gender] on Morel's plantation in 1777. This family was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 27. Pompey and his wife, Mary lived with their daughter, Christiana, son, Wally and other children, Doll and Look Ye [indeterminate gender]. This family was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 28. Anthony and his wife, Katey were both listed as old in 1777. At that time their household included their three older children (or young adults): John, Pompey, and Betty.

Group 29. Aggey was blind and apparently a widow (or otherwise unattached) in 1777. She lived with her four children Beck, Sally, Unity, and Leah.

Group 30. King was listed as old in 1777. He and his wife, Lucy lived with their son, Harry.

Group 31. Christmas and his wife Sarah lived with their son, Jeffery. Christmas was listed as an old man in 1777. This family was not linked conclusively to Ossabaw Island and they may have resided elsewhere.

Group 32. Mingo and his wife, Betty had five children. They were Peter, Isaac, Hannibal, Monday, and Sylvia. Peter was probably the oldest and a young adult.

Group 33. Leister [Lester?] and Fanny (his wife or consort) and their two young children, Sarah and Polly, were enslaved by the Morels in 1777. Polly was probably an infant at the time.

Some of the best descriptions of the people who lived at the North End Quarter come from runaway slave advertisements that were posted in Savannah newspapers and those notices placed by the Morel family from 1763-1806 were reviewed during the research for this project (Windley 1983; Kilbourne 1999a-b, 2000, 2001, 2003). In early October, 1781, a group of enslaved people who lived on Ossabaw Island made their escape. The Morels posted a notice in the October 11<sup>th</sup> edition of the loyalist Savannah newspaper, giving the details and a reward for their return,

Ran away from the subscriber on the island of Ossabaw on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, the following negroes: Hercules, a short, thick fellow, of the Angola country; Betty, his wife, of a yellowish complexion, has a large scar over one of her eyes, speaks good English, Peter, 13 years old and Winter, 5, her children; Jupiter, black complexion, speaks good English; Auba, his wife, with her son, Sancho, 9 years old and a sucking child; Jack, 45 years old, of the Angola country, speaks bad English; they went off in a new yawl, 20 feet long, which had only her seams paid over with pitch, and it is supposed are gone toward Kilkenny on Ogechee Neck. One guinea reward will be paid on the delivery of each grown negro to Peter Henry Morel in Savannah, or to the subscriber at Bewlie, 2 dollars for each of the children, 1 guinea for the boat. John Morel, Bewlie (*Royal Georgia*

*Gazette* 1781: Kilbourne 1999b:249; Windley 1983:195).

Hercules, Betty, and Winter had escaped previously from the Morels, as noted in a January 4, 1781 advertisement. Their escape, in that instance, was from Kilkenny plantation on Ogeechee Neck (*Royal Georgia Gazette* 1781; Kilbourne 1999b:201; Windley 1983:195). That notice stated that Betty was, “country born”, which means that she was born in America. Once the three were recaptured they were sent to Ossabaw Island, where escape was considered more difficult. Their quest for freedom was apparently successful for, in another advertisement placed on October 20, 1785, Peter Henry Morel noted that Hercules, Betty, Peter, Winter, Jupiter, Auba, Sancho, Auba’s infant child, and Jack had still not been returned to Ossabaw Island. John Morel did note that Hercules, Betty Peter, and Winter, ...have been, since they absented themselves, in the possession of one Col. Thomas Brown, formerly of the British King’s Rangers in East Florida; the boy Peter is now in the sugar house in Charleston”, and that Jupiter, Auba, Sancho, Auba’s infant child, and Jack, “...were sent up among the Indians from St. Augustine, and have not been heard of since” (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1785; Kilbourne 1799b:444). The notice also stated that these runaway negroes belonged, “to the estate of John Morel, deceased”.

These two advertisements tells us several important facts about the North End plantation. First, the entire island of Ossabaw, including the northern end, was being co-managed by John Morel, Jr. and Peter Henry Morel (John Morel, Sr.’s two eldest sons) during the period from 1781-1785. We also may surmise that Bryan Morel, who was a teenager, stood to inherit the north end of Ossabaw, and was not seriously involved in the plantation business at that time. Secondly, Ossabaw Island was lacking an overseer and John Morel, Jr. was residing at Beaulieu on Burnside Island. Thirdly, Peter Henry Morel, the oldest of John Morel, Sr.’s sons, was handling the affairs of the Morel estate from Savannah, and he may not have been directly involved with the Morel family’s plantation operations at Ossabaw Island. Fourth, despite the raging war, the Morels carried on with their plantation enterprise and continued to produce indigo despite British military and authoritative control of the Georgia coast throughout a majority of that time span. Fifth, it indicates that John Morel, Jr. and his brother Peter Henry were attending to the home front and was not off fighting in the war. These last points are important, since coastal Georgia was a British and Loyalist-held region in 1781, which poses questions concerning the Morel family’s relationship with the British government and to the Patriot cause.

Name	Gender	Race	Est. Birth	Birth Range	Association	Group	Comments
Abby	Female	Black		before 1777	Abby	25	No. 115 on 1777 list
Abraham (1)	Male	Black	1766	1766	Abraham		Formerly property of Jonathan Bryan; Possibly same as Abraham (4)
Abraham (3)	Male	Black		before 1777	Abraham	22	Carpenter
Abraham (4)	Male	Black		before 1777	Abraham	22	Possibly same as Abraham (1)
Abram (2)	Male		1788	1788	Abram		Infant child of Patty (2), 9 months old
Adam	Male	Black		before 1777	Adam	22	No. 98 on 1777 list
Adam (1)	Male		1813	1813	Adam		4 years old in 1817, value \$150
Adam (2)	Male			before 1800	Adam		
Aggey	Female	Black		before 1777	Aggey	29	No. 134 on 1777 list
Aggrippa	Male		1775	1775	Aggrippa		42 years old in 1817, value \$300
Amas	Male			before 1800	Amas		Former property of John Morel estate
Amelia	Female	Black		before 1777	Amelia	5	No. 23 on 1777 list
Andrew Morel	Male	Mulatto			Andrew		Free person
Andrew Morel	Male	Mulatto	1792	1792			Free person, Husband of Ann, a tailor, born in Georgia
Ann Morel (2)	Female	Mulatto	1795	1795	Ann		Free person; Possibly same as Anna (1)
Anna (1)	Female			before 1809	Anna		
Anthony (3)	Male	Black		before 1777	Anthony	28	No. 129 on 1777 list
Antony (1)	Male			before 1800	Antony		Possibly same as Tony (2); Former property of John Morel estate
Apollo	Male		1757	before 1812	Apollo		value in 1812, \$400
Auba	Female	Black		before 1781	Auba	14	wife of Jupiter
Bachus (1)	Male			before 1809	Bachus		
Bachus (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Bachus	23	No. 106 on 1777 list
Beck	Female	Black		before 1777	Beck	12	No. 62 on 1777 list
Beck	Female	Black		before 1777	Beck	29	No. 135 on 1777 list
Begora	Female	Black		before 1777	Begora	7	No. 40 on 1777 list
Bella	Female	Black		before 1777	Bella	24	No. 113 on 1777 list
Ben	Male	Black		before 1777	Ben	9	No. 50 on 1777 list
Bess	Female			before 1809	Bess		
Betinda Morel (3)	Female	Black	1796	1796	Betinda		Free person; possibly same as Betty (2)
Betsy				before 1817	Betsy		age not given, value \$500
Betty (1)	Female			before 1781	Betty	8	wife of Hercules, same as Betty (6)
Betty (2)	Female			before 1809	Betty		
Betty (3)	Female	Black		before 1777	Betty	9	No. 47 on 1777 list
Betty (4)	Female	Black		before 1777	Betty	28	No. 133 on 1777 list
Betty (5)	Female	Black		before 1777	Betty	32	No. 146 on 1777 list
Betty (6)	Female	Black		before 1777	Betty	8	No. 43 on 1777 list
Big Patty (1)	Female		1812	before 1812	Big Patty		value in 1812, \$400
Billey (3)	Male	Black		before 1777	Billey	22	No. 92 on 1777 list
Billy (1)	Male			before 1800	Billy		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Billy (2)	Male			before 1800	Billy		
Billy (4)	Male	Black		before 1777	Billy	3	No. 16 on 1777 list
Billy (5)	Male	Black		before 1777	Billy	17	No. 77 on 1777 list
Bob (1)	Male	Black		before 1786	Bob		a weaver by trade; probably same as Bob (2)
Bob (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Bob	22	No. 102 on 1777 list
Caesar (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Caesar	11	No. 58 in 1777 list
Caeser (1)	Male		1777	before 1812	Caeser		value in 1812, \$450
Carolina	Male	Black		before 1777	Carolina	2	No. 7 on 1777 list
Carolina	Female	Black		before 1777	Carolina	7	No. 41 on 1777 list
Cate	Female		1797	before 1812	Cate		value in 1812, \$350

**Table 1. List of Enslaved and Other Workers, North End Plantation.**

Cato (1)	Male			before 1800	Cato		Former property of John Morel estate
Cato (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Cato	2	No. 11 on 1777 list
Cato (3)	Male	Black		before 1777	Cato	7	No. 37 on 1777 list
Celia (1)	Female		1800	before 1812	Celia		value in 1812, \$125
Celia (2)	Female			before 1800	Celia		Former property of John Morel estate
Celia (3)	Female			before 1800	Celia		Former property of John Morel estate
Celia (4)	Female	Black		before 1777	Celia	9	No. 51 on 1777 list
Celia (5)	Female	Black		before 1777	Celia	19	No. 82 on 1777 list
Charles	Male	Black		before 1777	Charles	1	No. 1 on 1777 list
Charlotte (1)	Female			before 1800	Charlotte		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Charlotte (2)	Female				Charlotte		source?
Charlotte (3)	Female	Black		before 1777	Charlotte	3	No. 20 on 1777 list
Child				before 1800	Child		Former property of John Morel estate
Chloae (3)	Female	Black		before 1777	Chloae	12	No. 61 on 1777 list
Chloae (4)	Female	Black		before 1777	Chloae	16a	No. 72 on 1777 list
Chloe (1)	Female			before 1800	Chloe		Probably same as Cloe (2); Former property of John Morel estate
Clarinda (1)	Female			Unknown	Clarinda		Manumitted, wife of George
Clarinda (2)	Female	Black		before 1777	Clarinda	1	No. 3 on 1777 list
Clarissa	Female			before 1800	Clarissa		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Clary	Female		1794	before 1812	Clary		value in 1812, \$400
Cloe (2)	Female			before 1809	Cloe		Probably same as Chloe (1)
Cyrus Martin, "Jimbo"	Male	Black	1900				worker, 1913-1995
Cyrus Martin, Jr.	Male	Black					worker
Daniel	Male	Mulatto	1774	1774	Daniel		
Daphna	Female		1777	before 1812	Daphna		value in 1812, \$400
Daphne	Female	Black		before 1777	Daphne	3	No. 15 on 1777 list
Delphy	Female		1812	before 1812	Delphy		value in 1812, illegible
Dembo	Male	Black		before 1777	Dembo	9	No. 48 on 1777 list
Diana	Female	Black		before 1777	Diana	1	No. 2 on 1777 list
Dick	Male	Black		before 1777	Dick	9	No. 46 on 1777 list
Dick	Male	Black		before 1777	Dick	22	No. 99 on 1777 list
Dick	Male		1782	before 1812	Dick		value in 1812, \$450
Dicy	Female		1810	before 1812	Dicy		value in 1812, \$120?
Dinah	Female	Black		before 1777	Dinah	19	No. 86 on 1777 list
Dorcas	Female			before 1809	Dorcas		
Fancy	Female			before 1800	Fancy		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Fanny (1)	Female		1772	before 1812	Fanny (1)		value in 1812, \$400; Possibly same as Fanny (3 and 6)
Fanny (2)	Female		1806	before 1812	Fanny (2)		value in 1812, \$175
Fanny (3)	Female			before 1800	Fanny		Possibly same as Fanny (1); Former property of John Morel estate
Fanny (6)	Female	Black		before 1777	Fanny	33	No. 153 on 1777 list; Possibly same as Fanny (1)
Fanny Morel (5)	Female		1847	1847	Fanny		Living in Donald MacDonald household; McDonald was Treasurer Gulf RR
Fanny Morrel (4)	Female	White		1780 to 1790	Fanny		Listed as a Free white woman; Possibly same as Fanny (2 or 3)
Flander				before 1800	Flander		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Flora (1)	Female			before 1800	Flora		Formerly property of John Morel estate; possibly same as Flora (2)
Flora (2)	Female	Black		before 1777	Flora	16	No. 71 on 1777 list; possibly same as Flora (1)
Frank	Male	Black		before 1777	Frank	12	No. 60 on 1777 list
Franky	Male		1800	before 1812	Franky		value in 1812, \$275
George (1)	Male			Unknown	George		Manumitted, husband of Clarinda
George (2)	Male			before 1800	George		Former property of John Morel estate
George (3)	Male			before 1800	George		Former property of John Morel estate

**Table 1. List of Enslaved and Other Workers, North End Plantation, continued.**

George (4)	Male	Black		before 1777	George	2	No. 10 in 1777 list
Grace	Female	Black		before 1777	Grace	19	no. 85 on 1777 list
Hanibal	Male		1785	before 1812	Hanibal		value in 1812, \$450
Hannah	Female	Black		before 1777	Hannah	2	No. 13 on 1777 list
Hannah	Female	Black		before 1777	Hannah	11	No. 56 on 1777 list
Hannah (1)	Female		1777	before 1812	Hannah		value in 1812, \$350
Hannah (2)	Female	Black		before 1777	Hannah	1	No. 6 on 1777 list
Hannibal	Male	Black		before 1777	Hannibal	32	No. 149 on 1777 list
Harriet Morel (2)	Female	Mulatto	1805	1805	Harriet		Free person; Possibly same as Harriet (1 and 3)
Harriet (1)	Female			before 1800	Harriet		Possibly same as Harriet (2 and 3)
Harriet Morel (3)	Female		1806	1806	Harriet		Possibly same as Harriet (1 and 2); Living in William Morel household
Harry	Male	Black		before 1777	Harry	17	No. 74 on 1777 list
Harry (1)	Male		1800	before 1812	Harry		value in 1812, \$375
Harry (2)	Male			before 1800	Harry		Possibly same as Harry G. (3); Former property of John Morel estate
Harry (4)	Male	Black		before 1777	Harry	6	No. 29 in 1777 list
Harry (5)	Male	Black		before 1777	Harry	30	No. 141 in 1777 list
Harry G. (3)	Male		1793	1793	Harry G.		24 years old in 1817, value \$600; Possibly same as Harry (2)
Hector (1)	Male	Black		before 1786	Hector	16	a blacksmith by trade, same as Hector (2 and 3)
Hector (2)	Male	Black		before 1786	Hector	16	blacksmith, same as Hector (1 and 3); African born
Hector (3)	Male	Black		before 1777	Hector	16	No. 70 on 1777 list
Hercules (1)	Male	Black		before 1781	Hercules	8	husband of Betty; same as Hercules (2)
Hercules (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Hercules	8	No. 42 on 1777 list; Same as Hercules (1)
infant child of Auba		Black	1781	1780-1781		14	Infant child of Auba
Isaac (1)	Male		1762	1762	Isaac		value in 1812, \$450; Possibly same as Isaac (2, 3 & 4)
Isaac (2)	Male			before 1800	Isaac		Possibly same as Isaac (1, 3 & 4); Former property of John Morel estate
Isaac (3)	Male			before 1809	Isaac		Possibly same as Isaac (1, 2, & 4)
Isaac (4)	Male	Black		before 1777	Isaac	32	No. 148 on 1777 list; possibly same as Isaac (1, 2 & 3)
Ishmael (1)	Male	Black	1770		Ishmael		Probably same as Ishmael (2,3 & 5)
Ishmael (2)	Male	Black	1771	1771	Ishmael		Probably the same as Ishmael (1,3 & 5)
Ishmael (3)	Male	Black	1770	1770	Ishmael		Probably same as Ishmael (1,2 & 5)
Ishmael (5)	Male	Black		before 1777	Ishmael	24	No. 111 on 1777 list; probably same as Ishmael (1, 2 & 3)
Ishmael Morel (4)	male	Mulatto	1803	1803	Ishmael		Not Ishmael (1-3) & not necessarily at North End
Isreal	Male			before 1800	Isreal		
Jack	Male	Black		before 1777	Jack	22	No. 101 on 1777 list
Jack (1)	Male	Black	1736	1736	Jack		Unlikely same as Jack (2)
Jack (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Jack	24	No. 109 on 1777 list; Unlikely same as Jack (1); old in 1777
Jacob (1)	Male	Mulatto	1770	1770	Jacob		Possibly same as Jacob (2 & 3)
Jacob (2)	Male			before 1800	Jacob		Possibly same as Jacob (1 & 3); Formerly property of John Morel estate
Jacob (3)	Male	Black		before 1777	Jacob	6	No. 30 on 1777 list; Possibly same as Jacob (1 & 2)
James	Male	Black		before 1777	James	22	No. 96 on 1777 list
Jemima	Female	Black		before 1777	Jemima	25	No. 118 on 1777 list
Jemmy	Male	Black		before 1777	Jemmy	2	No. 9 on 1777 list
Jenny	Female	Black		before 1777	Jenny	10	No. 53 on 1777 list
Jenny	Female	Black		before 1777	Jenny	24	No. 110 on 1777 list
Jenny	Female			before 1800	Jenny		
Jim (1)	Male		1810	1810	Jim		7 years old in 1817, value \$350
Joe	Male	Black		before 1777	Joe	22	No. 103 on 1777 list
John (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	John	28	No. 131 on 1777 list
Johnny (1)	Male			before 1800	Johnny		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Judy	Female	Black		before 1777	Judy	16a	No. 73 on 1777 list
Julia	Female	Black		before 1777	Julia	24	No. 112 on 1777 list

**Table 1. List of Enslaved and Other Workers, North End Plantation, continued.**



July	Male	Black		before 1777	July	3	No. 17 on 1777 list
Juno	Male		1787	before 1812	Juno		value in 1812, \$400
Jupiter (1)	Male	Black		before 1781	Jupiter	14	husband of Auba; possibly same as Jupiter (2)
Jupiter (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Jupiter	14	No. 65 on 1777 list; possibly same as Jupiter (1)
Kate	Female	Black		before 1777	Kate	6	No. 28 on 1777 list
Kate	Female		1775	1775	Kate		42 years old in 1817, value \$300
Katey	Female	Black		before 1777	Katey	28	No. 130 on 1777 list
King	Male	Black		before 1777	King	30	No. 139 on 1777 list
Kinsey	Male		1812	1812	Kinsey		5 years old in 1817, value \$300
Kiter [Kate]			1799		Kiter		value in 1812, \$300
Larcho	Male	Black		before 1777	Larcho	25	No. 116 on 1777 list
Leah (1)	Female		1767	1767	Leah		value in 1812, \$350; Probably same as Leah (2)
Leah (2)	Female	Black		before 1777	Leah	29	No. 138 on 1777 list; Probably same as Leah (1)
Leister	Male	Black		before 1777	Leister	33	No. 152 on 1777 list
Lit. Harry (4)	Male		1808	1808	Lit. Harry		value in 1812, \$50
Lit. Jimmy (2)	Male		1797	before 1812	Lit. Jimmy		value in 1812, \$350
little Billy (3)	Male			before 1800	little Billy		
Lizzie	Female	Black		before 1777	Lizzie	3	No. 19 on 1777 list
London	Male	Black		before 1777	London	22	No. 95 on 1777 list
Long Jemme	Male	Black		before 1777	Long Jemme	25	No. 114 on 1777 list
Lucy	Female	Black		before 1777	Lucy	30	No. 140 on 1777 list
Luphen?	Male			before 1812	Luphen		problem?
Massa (1)	Female			before 1809	Massa		Probably same as Massa (2)
Massa (2)	Female	Free colored person		1740 to 1785	Massa		Free person; Probably same as Massa (1)
Mima (1)	Female		1799	before 1812	Mima		value in 1812, \$325; Probably same as Mimah (2)
Mimah (2)	Female			before 1800	Mimah		Probably same as Mima (1); Formerly property of John Morel estate
Minerva	Female		1742	before 1812	Minerva		value in 1812, \$25
Mingo	Male	Black		before 1777	Mingo	32	No. 145 on 1777 list
Mingo	Male			before 1812	Mingo		value in 1812, \$350
Minty		Black		before 1777	Minty	3	No. 18 on 1777 list
Molly	Female	Black		before 1777	Molly	2	No. 8 on 1777 list
Molly (1)	Female		1767	before 1812	Molly		value in 1812, \$350; Probably same as Molly (2 & 3)
Molly (2)	Female			before 1800	Molly		Probably same as Molly (1 & 3); Former property of John Morel
Molly (3)	Female	Black		before 1777	Molly	5	No. 26 on 1777 list; possibly same as Molly (1 & 2)
Molly (4)	Female	Black		before 1777	Molly	19	No. 83 on 1777 list
Monday (1)	Male			before 1800	Monday		Possibly same as Monday (2 and 3); Former property of John Morel estate
Monday (2)	Male			before 1809	Monday		Possibly same as Monday (1 and 3)
Monday (3)	Male			before 1812	Monday		Possibly same as Monday (1 and 2)
Monday (4)	Male	Black		before 1777	Monday	32	No. 150 on 1777 list
Mundingo	Male	Black		before 1777	Mundingo	22	No. 100 on 1777 list
Nancy	Female	Black		before 1777	Nancy	17	No. 78 on 1777 list
Nancy (1)	Female		1789	1789	Nancy (65)		28 years old in 1817, value \$500
Nancy (2)	Female		1816	1816	Nancy (73)		1 year old in 1817, Value \$100
Nancy (3)	Female		1785	1785	Nancy (76)		32 years old in 1817, value \$500
Nanny	Female	Black		before 1777	Nanny	7	No. 39 on 1777 list
Ned	Male	Black		before 1777	Ned	9	No. 49 on 1777 list
Ned	Male		1787	before 1812	Ned		value in 1812, \$450
Nelly	Female	Black		before 1777	Nelly	23	No. 105 on 1777 list
Nora	Female			before 1809	Nora		

**Table 1. List of Enslaved and Other Workers, North End Plantation, contined.**

Ol Sary [Granny Sary?]	Female		1747	before 1812	Ol Sary		value in 1812, \$250
Old Dinah	Female		1743	before 1812	Old Dinah		value in 1812, \$25
Old Jimmy (3)	Male		1742	before 1812	Old Jimmy		value in 1812, \$25
Old London	Male	Black		before 1777	Old London	10	No. 52 on 1777 list
Old Mars	Male		1755	1755	Old Mars		62 years old in 1817, value \$25
Old Primus	Male	Black		before 1777	Old Primus	22	No. 97 on 1777 list
Old Sam	Male	Black		before 1777	Old Sam	7	No. 33 on 1777 list
Parker, Roger	Male	White			Roger		worker 1960s-1991
Patty (2)	Female	Black	1770	1770	Patty		Possibly same as Patty (3 & 4), mother of Abram
Patty (3)	Female			before 1800	Patty		Possibly same as Patty (2 & 4); Formerly property of John Morel estate
Patty (4)	Female	Black		before 1777	Patty	25	No. 117 on 1777 list
Paul (1)	Male		1774	before 1812	Paul		value in 1812, \$500
Paul (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Paul	19	No. 84 on 1777 list
Paul John	Male			before 1850	Paul		
Peggy	Female	Black		before 1777	Peggy	14	No. 66 on 1777 list
Peggy (1)	Female			before 1809	Peggy		
Peggy (2)	Female	Black		before 1777	Peggy	10	No. 54 on 1777 list
Peter	Male	Black		before 1777	Peter	32	No. 147 on 1777 list
Peter (1)	Male	Black	1768	1768	Peter		Child of Betty
Peter (2)	Male		1802	before 1812	Peter		value in 1812, \$250
Peter (3)	Male	Black		before 1777	Peter	8	No. 44 on 1777 list
Phillip (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Phillip	5	No. 24 on 1777 list
Phillip (3)	Male	Black		before 1777	Phillip	19	No. 87 on 1777 list
Phillip (1)	Male			before 1800	Phillip		Former property of John Morel estate
Phillis	Female			before 1800	Phillis		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Phoebe	Female	Black		before 1777	Phoebe	23	No. 108 on 1777 list
Pluto	Male		1737	before 1812	Pluto		value in 1812, \$25
Polly	Female	Black		before 1777	Polly	33	No. 155 on 1777 list
Polly	Female		1807	before 1812	Polly		value in 1812, \$175
Pompey	Male	Black		before 1777	Pompey	28	No. 132 on 1777 list
Prince	Male	Black		before 1777	Prince	19	No. 81 on 1777 list
Prince (Mocco)	Male	Black		before 1777	Prince (Mocco)	11	No. 55 on 1777 list
Priscilla	Female	Black		before 1781	Priscilla		wife of York, "born in this country"
Quamina	Male		1785	1785	Quamina		
Rachel	Female	Black		before 1777	Rachel	7	No. 38 on 1777 list
Rachel	Female		1794	1794	Rachel		23 years old in 1817, value \$500
Rose	Female	Black		before 1777	Rose	17	No. 75 on 1777 list
Rose (1)	Female		1793	before 1812	Rose		value in 1812, \$400
Rose (2)	Female			before 1800	Rose		Former property of John Morel estate
Rose (4)	Female	Black		before 1777	Rose	1	No. 4 on 1777 list; Probably same as Rose (2)
Rosy Morel (3)	Female	Mulatto	1827	1827	Rosy		Born in Georgia, possibly same as Rose (1 and/or 2)
Sally (1)	Female			before 1800	Sally		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Sally (2)	Female	Black		before 1777	Sally	29	No. 136 on 1777 list; Probably same as Sally (1)
Sam	Male	Black		before 1777	Sam	7	No. 35 on 1777 list
Sambo	Male			before 1809	Sambo		
Sampson (1)	Male			before 1800	Sampson		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Sampson (2)	Male	Black		before 1777	Sampson	6	No. 31 on 1777 list
Sancho	Male	Black	1775	1775	Sancho	14	Child of Auba
Sancho	Male	Black		before 1777	Sancho	3	No. 14 on 1777 list
Sandy	Male		1790	before 1812	Sandy		value in 1812, \$450
Sarah	Female	Black		before 1777	Sarah	2	No. 12 on 1777 list

**Table 1. List of Enslaved and Other Workers, North End Plantation, contined.**

Sarah (1)	Female		1793	before 1812	Sarah		value in 1812, \$400
Sarah Morel (2)	Female	Mulatto	1785	1785	Sarah		Free person; Possibly same as Sarah (1)
Satira	Female	Black		before 1777	Satira	5	No. 25 on 1777 list
Several other children				before 1800			
Several other children				before 1800			
Several other children				before 1800			
Sickey	Female	Black		before 1777	Sickey	1	No. 5 on 1777 list
Sike	Male			before 1800	Sike		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Silus	Male			before 1809	Silus		
Stephen	Male	Black		before 1777	Stephen	17	No. 76 on 1777 list
Suckey	Female	Unknown	1795	1795	Suckey		22 years old in 1817, value \$500
Sue (1)	Female	Unknown	1770	1770	Sue		47 years old in 1817, value \$400
Sue (2)	Female	Black		before 1777	Sue	11	No. 59 on 1777 list
Sylvia	Female	Black		before 1777	Sylvia	32	No. 151 on 1777 list
Tenah	Female	Black		before 1777	Tenah	6	No. 32 on 1777 list
Tice	Male	Black		before 1777	Tice	11	No. 57 on 1777 list
Tira	Female			before 1800	Tira		
Titus	Male	Black		before 1777	Titus	23	No. 107 on 1777 list
Toby	Male	Black		before 1777	Toby	6	No. 27 on 1777 list
Tom	Male	Black		before 1777	Tom	7	No. 36 on 1777 list
Tom	Male	Black		before 1777	Tom	23	No. 104 on 1777 list
Tony (2)	Male		1772		Tony		value in 1812, \$350, possibly same as Anthony (1)
Unity (1)	Female			before 1800	Unity		Formerly property of John Morel estate
Unity (2)	Female	Black		before 1777	Unity	29	No. 137 on 1777 list
Venus	Female	Black		before 1777	Venus	7	No. 34 on 1777 list
William (4)	Male			before 1800	William		Former property of John Morel estate
William Morel (5)	Male	Mulatto	1795	1795	William		Free person, Possibly same as William (4) and other Billys
Williams, Emmanuel	Male	Black					worker
Williams, Emmanuel, Jr.	Male	Black					worker
Williams, Lucinda "Queenie"	Female	Black			Queenie		worker, wife of Emmanuel

**Table 1. List of Enslaved and Other Workers, North End Plantation, contined.**

Throughout the American Revolution the plantations on Georgia's barrier islands were vulnerable to attack. Throughout most of the war the North End plantation managed to escape any ill effects. In October, 1782, the enslaved community on the North End plantation was drastically affected by events of the American Revolution. This event may have completely reshaped the demographics of the enslaved population. This event is described below.

Correspondence between Georgia Governor John Martin and East Florida Governor Peter Tonyn record that 30 enslaved people were taken from John Morel's plantation on Ossabaw during a raid by the Captain Scallon and the galley *Arbuthnot* on October 18, 1782 (Martin 1917:334). Governor Martin wrote to Governor Peter Tonyn on October 19 advising him,

Information has also just come to hand that a Captain Scallions, in a galley from St. Augustine, did last evening secretly come into one of the inlets of Ossabaw in this state, & burnt a new vessel on the stocks, nearly finished, taken off thirty negroes & two thousand weight of indigo belonging to the Est. of John Morel, & three negroes belonging to the estate of Thomas Netherclift, Esq." (Martin 1917:334-335).

In a follow-up letter, dated October 22, Governor Martin wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Cooper,

After my dispatches for Gov. Tonyn were closed I heard that it was uncertain what boat or vessel it was from Florida that did the mischief at the southward in burning the vessel, carrying off the negroes & indigo of Mrs. Morel belonging to an undivided estate, in which misfortune a number of helpless children are involved; also those negroes of Mr. Netherclift's (Martin 1917:334-335).

Captain Scallons (aka Scallon, Scanlon, or Scanlan) is a most obscure person in Georgia history, although he and his loyalists aboard the *Arbuthnot* left a permanent mark on the cultural landscape of the Georgia coast. In addition to their raid on the plantations in Ossabaw Sound, in April 1782, they burned much of the town of Sunbury (Sheftall 1995:56). Captain Scallon was possibly

the same person as Captain Roger Scallon, who was an Irishman and merchant naval officer in New York in 1780 (O'Keefe 2007). Captain Scallon was not commissioned by the British Royal Navy, which may indicate that he served in the merchant Navy (Ancestry.co.uk 2007). The British Public Record Office has documents for the galley *Arbuthnot*, including muster lists for the period 1780-1783; pay books for the period 1780-1786; and masters' ship logs from the period from 1783-1786 (National Archives [BPRO] 2007). Additional research of these records may shed light on this mystery.

Although Governor Martin pleaded for the return of the enslaved, it is not known whether they were returned or if they were replaced by Morel with a fresh supply of bondsmen. If they were not returned to the plantation, then this has important ramifications for the interpretation of the archaeological record. The later enslaved population may have been quite different, ethnically and culturally, from their predecessors. At least two of John Morel's slaves, prior to the 1782 raid, were obtained from "the Angola country" (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1785; Kilbourne 1999b:444).

John Johannis Buys, who was discussed earlier, worked as manager of the North End plantation at the approximate time of Captain Scallon's raid. Perhaps these traumatic events encouraged Buys to return with his family to the Northeast.

Numerous enslaved people fled the North End plantation in the decade following the American Revolution. On September 8, 1785, John Morel advertised that one of his slaves on Ossabaw Island had run away, along with a young slave named Titus, who worked on Morel's Savannah River plantation. The notice stated, "Also ran away from Ossabaw, a negro boy named Ishmael, 14 years old, 4 feet 9 inches high, rather slender, dark complexion, had on a brown jacket and trousers very much broke. They [Titus and Ishamel] keep together and have been frequently seen at Yamacraw." (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1785; Kilbourne 1999b:436-437). An August 24, 1786 newspaper advertised two runaways from Morel's plantation, "Run away from the island of Ossabaw, two negro fellows, belonging to the estate of John Morel, one of them named Hector, 5 feet 2 inches high, black complexion, stutters when he speaks, he is a blacksmith by trade, had on a green jacket and breeches when he went away. The other is Bob, a stout young fellow, of a black complexion, has very thick lips and is a weaver by trade, had on a blue jacket and round hat. Peter H. Morel, Ossabaw" (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* August 24, 1786; Kilbourne 2000:39-40).

Titus and Hector, probably the same persons as those described above, ran away from John Morel's enslavement

on May 21, 1789 (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1789; Kilbourne 2000:208). That notice provided additional details about these two people. Titus was described as, “22 years old, 5 feet 9 inches high, black complexion, regular features, formerly my waiting man and well known”, and Hector, “5 feet 7 inches high, a blacksmith, of the African country, flat nose, thick lips, well made”. Titus was previously kept at Morel’s Savannah River plantation but Hector was previously at Ossabaw Island.

Peter Henry Morel advertised on October 20, 1785, “October 8, 1785. Ran Away from Ossabaw Slaves belonging to the Est. of John Morel deceased. Reward for return. Peter Henry Morel” (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1785:2). Peter Henry Morel placed another runaway slave notice for Ishmael on June 28, 1787, which apparently indicates that he was still on the loose. That notice read, “Ran away from the island of Ossabaw some time ago, a negro boy named Ishmael, 5 feet 6 inches high, 15 years old, had on a jacket and overalls of white negro cloth. Peter Henry Morel” (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1787; Kilbourne 2000:87). Peter Henry Morel posted this notice for runaways on May 21, 1789,

Run away from the subscriber, two negroes, viz. Patty, a young, likely wench, of a black complexion, 19 years old; she carried her child, Abram, with her, 9 months old. She had on a green negro cloth wrapper and coat, but having others she may change them. Daniel, a young lade, 15, of a yellowish cast, had on an old white negro cloth jacket and a pair of blue trousers very much worn. The said negroes were enticed away from Bewlie by a negro fellow named Titus, belonging to John Morel, Esquire. If they are not gone to Florida, it is supposed they are in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, on Great Ogechee Neck. A reward of twenty silver dollars will be paid on delivery of said negroes to the subscriber. If they return home of their own accord they will be forgiven. Peter Henry Morel (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1789; Kilbourne 2000:208).

Bryan Morel, who was living at Brampton plantation at the time, offered a reward of \$20.00 on July 30, 1789 for three slaves, Abraham, Jacob and Ishmael. This was probably the same Ishmael described by Bryan’s brothers in 1785 and 1787. The 1789 description stated,

Run away from the subscriber, the following negroes, viz. Abraham, 23 years old, 5 feet 9 inches high, has a very bushy head of hair is very likely. He was formerly the property of Mr. Jonathan Bryan, and well known as his waiting man. He has been frequently seen at Rae’s Hall and in Savannah. Jacob, 19 years old, 5 feet 8 inches high, well made, of a yellow complexion, has a smiling countenance. Ishmael, 19 years old, 5 feet 8 inches high, very black, speaks thick. Ishmael and Jacob have been seen on the island of Burnside, and it is probably they will remain about Bewlie...” (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1789; Kilbourne 2000:222; Windley 1983:168-169).

Six slaves on John Morel, Jr.’s Ossabaw Island plantation (South End plantation) escaped on January 12, 1795. Morel noted that the runaways, “carried with them a small, two oared canoe, their pots, blankets and clothes”. Morel suspected that these people were assisted (or enticed) in their escape by one of his former slaves named Titus. Titus, it seems, had made it his duty to pester the Morels and he had helped several others enslaved by the Morels to find freedom (*Gazette of the State of Georgia*, January 22, 1795; Kilbourne 2001:160). While none of the slaves in John Morel’s runaway notice lived at the North End plantation, the lure of freedom was no doubt shared by the enslaved community on his brother, Bryan’s plantation. Two more slaves escaped from Bryan Morel’s North End plantation on February 8, 1795 and he advertised for their return on February 19,

...two negro fellows, viz. Simon, 30 years old, very dark complexion and pretty well made. Lester, 20 years old, yellow complexion, also well made. Both are new negroes, 5 feet 7 inches high, and speak very little English. The subscriber supposes them to be with negroes advertised by John Morel, Esquire, and has reason to believe that they are all together on the island of St. Catherines, or some one adjacent. As a large reward is offered for them, altogether amounting to \$120.00, the subscriber thinks it would be an object for some of the neighboring inhabitants to go in quest of them. Bryan Morel (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1795; Kilbourne 2001:166).

Slave communities could be united or divided by a single act of marriage within a planter's family. A marriage settlement [pre-nuptial agreement] between Bryan Morel and Harriet McQueen, which was made two days before their wedding in 1800, listed more than 40 slaves that were deeded to Harriet, in order to provide her with an estate. These included 32 slaves that Bryan Morel acquired from his father's estate, more than seven slaves that Bryan bought from Major General Nathanael Greene, and one slave (Adam) that Bryan bought from the John Houstoun estate. The slaves from the John Morel estate were: Billy, Unity, Flander, Fanny, Sampson, Monday, Isaac, Phillis, Johnny, Celia, Amas, Antony, Child, George, Sally, Cato, William, Rose, George, Molly, Philip, Mimah, Patty, Celia, Jacob, Chloe, [illegible] Harry, Flora, Fancy, Clarissa, Charlotte, and Sike. Those purchased from Major General Greene were Isreal, Billy, Tira, Jenny, Harriet, little Billy, and several children (Chatham County Deed Book V:301). Most, if not all of Bryan and Harriet Morel's 40 or more slaves, were living at the North End plantation in 1800.

The Ossabaw Island papers include a barely legible list dated October 16, 1809, of 12 slaves who were to be divided equally between Lots 1 and 3 [North End plantation]. It is unclear from this list how the slaves were divided and which ones went to the North End Quarter, although check marks annotated six of the slaves and this may signal the division. Their names were: Silus, Charlotte, Bachus, Eve, Monday, [illegible], Massa, Sambo, E[illegible], Nora, B[illegible], Dorcas, Isaac, Bess, C[illegible], [illegible], Cloe, Peggy, Anna, Betty, and Vo[illegible] (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939). This transaction represents an increase of approximately six slaves at the North End plantation by 1809.

The number of slaves at the North End plantation decreased slightly by 1812. An 1812 inventory of enslaved African-Americans on the Morel plantation includes 40 persons on Lot Number 3 [North End plantation], whose combined value was \$12,250.00. Those on this list, who likely resided at the North End plantation included: Apollo, Big Patty, Caeser, Cate, Celia, Clary, Daphna, Delphy, Dick, Dicy, Fanny (1), Fanny (2), Franky, Granny Sary, Hanibal, Hannah, Harry, Isaac, Juno, Leah, Lit. [Little] Harry, Lit. Jimmy, Luphen, Mima, Minerva, Mingo, Molly, Monday, Ned, Old Dinah, Old Jimmy, Paul, Peter, Pluto, Polly, Rose, and Sandy (Torrey 1926:31; Vaughn 2007).

A list of 15 enslaved African-Americans on Lot 3 [North End plantation], which was drafted in 1817 but not recorded in the Ordinary Court until 1827 included the following persons, their respective ages, and their estimated monetary value:

- Quamina, 52, \$600
- Nancy, 28, \$500
- Jim, 7, \$350
- Kinsey, 5, \$300
- Adam, 4, \$150
- Harry G., 24, \$600
- Agrippa, 42, \$300
- Kate, 42, \$300
- Suckey, 22, \$500
- Nancy, 1, \$100
- Sue, 47, \$400
- Rachel, 23, \$500
- Nancy, 32, \$500
- Old Mars, 62, \$25
- Betsey, age not given, \$500 (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939).

Several of those enslaved persons associated with the North End plantation on the 1817 list were probably living on other plantations on Ossabaw Island in 1812. Quamina, whose name is on the 1817 list, may be the same as Quamenes, who was living on Lot 2 of the division of the John Morel estate on Ossabaw Island. Quamenes, or Quamina, was likely exchanged by the Morels sometime between 1812 and 1817. Similarly, Adam, Agrippa, Nancy (2 examples), Old Mars, Rachel, Sue, were probably slaves on other Ossabaw Island plantations owned by the Morels, and these slaves were probably exchanged and came to live at the North End plantation sometime between 1812 and 1817. The link between slaves on the 1812 list and the 1817 list is more problematic for others. For example, Betsey, listed on the 1817 list, may be the same as Old Betsy, who was living on Lot 2 of the John Morel, Sr. estate in 1812, but she may be a different individual.

A "Valuation and No. of Lots of the Negros of the Estate of John Morel as divided in 1812 Feby 24<sup>th</sup>" included these notes: "I will exchange Ruffer val. At 400 for Roso val at 400; in Thos Lot No. 3 Thos Mow [illegible] bargaind" (Ossabaw Island Papers 1812). Another entry on this document contains these notes: "For a nanny and her family valued at \$1750 I will give Brister [Brester or Bruster?] and family valued at 1300 & Luky [illegible]" (Ossabaw Island Papers 1737-1939). Luky and Brester

was identified as slaves on Lot 1 of the Morel estate in the 1812 list (Torrey 1926:31). Ruffer and Roso were not identified on the 1812 list, although three women named Rose were listed (2 on Lot 1 and one on Lot 3 of the Morel estate). These cryptic notes on these early documents serve to indicate that following the division of the John Morel, Sr. estate the resident slave population was rearranged to some extent. Documentation for some of the exchanges has survived but probably for most of them no records are available to substantiate these exchanges.

By 1830, Bryan McQueen Morel owned 59 slaves and most of these were probably kept at the North End plantation. These 59 people who were enslaved on Morel's plantation in Bryan County in 1830 were not identified by name. One "Free Colored Person", a male between the age of 24 and 36, was living in Bryan Morel's household in 1830 (Ancestry.com 2007). Those enslaved included:

- 11 Male slaves, under 10;
- 5 Male slaves, 10 to under 24;
- 3 Male slaves, 24 to under 36;
- 4 Males slaves, 36 to under 55;
- 14 Female slaves, under 10;
- 12 Female slaves, 10 to under 24;
- 4 Female slaves, 24 to under 36;
- 4 Female slaves, 36 to under 55, and;
- 2 Female slaves, 55 to under 100 (Ancestry.com 2007).

Fifty-eight enslaved African-Americans in the Bryant M. Murrell household (probably the same as the earlier Bryan [McQueen] Morel household), as recorded in the 1840 census for Bryan County. None of the enslaved were identified by name but they included:

- 13 Male slaves under 10 years;
- 8 Male slaves, 10 to under 24 years;
- 3 Male slaves, 24 to under 35 years;
- 5 Male slaves, 36 to under 55 years;
- 2 Male slaves, 55 to under 100 years;
- 8 Female slaves, under 10 years;
- 6 Female slaves, 10 to under 24 years;
- 5 Female slaves, 24 to under 35 years;
- 3 Female slaves, 36 to under 55 years;

- 5 Female slaves, 55 to under 100 years (U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Bryan County, Georgia 1860:110; Ancestry.com 2007).

Ossabaw Island became part of Chatham County, for the second time, in 1847. The Slave Census for District 13, Chatham County, Georgia, which was taken on October 21, 1850, lists 63 slaves owned by Bryan M. Morel. None of these people were identified by name. They are listed in Table 2, which includes their age and gender. They include 36 men and 27 women. The average age for the males was 19.7 years and for the females, 20.6 years. Fifty percent of the males were under 15 years of age compared to 48 percent of the females. Their race was also listed and consisted of one Mulatto and 62 Blacks. The Mulatto was an 18 year male. All were listed as residents of District 13.

Historian Byrne noted that Bryan Morel's plantation included at least two manumitted servants. Byrne recorded that, "Bryan Morel freed George and his wife, Clarinda, on the condition that they continue to live at his residence and take care of the house and any other articles entrusted to them. Clarinda had to agree to raise poultry, wash clothes, cook, and "in all respects obey any orders which may be given her." (Byrne 1979). Byrne provides no documentary source for this information. Clarinda Morel may be the same person as Clarinda, an enslaved person whose name appeared on an 1812 slave bill of sale. That document listed Clarinda as property of the owners of Lot 2. Similarly, George Morel may be the same person as George, an enslaved person whose name appears on the same list and linked to the same lot division of the John Morel, Sr. estate (Torrey 1926:31). If they are indeed the same persons, then Bryan Morel acquired them after 1812 and manumitted them sometime prior to 1862. George Sims was a 17 year-old single black male from Georgia and a domestic servant in the household of the widow Louisa Shaw (Turner) Morel in Atlanta, Georgia in 1880. George would have been born about 1863, and was possibly the same George cited by Byrne (1979), or perhaps his son. Nancy Sims, a 12 year-old single black female from Georgia who was also working in the same household in 1880, may have been George Sims' younger sister. She was born after slavery times, so she was not enslaved by the Morels (Ancestry.com 2007).

Another slave was manumitted following the death of John Morel, Jr. in 1802. Morel's will, dated 1802, provided for a 12 year-old slave named Diana to be emancipated and given \$250.00, and that his wife was to care for Diana until she reached maturity (Smith 1985:31). It is unclear whether John's wishes were carried out. A slave named Diana was listed as living on Lot 4 of the Morel estate in 1812 slave sale list (Torrey 1926:31). If this Diana is the

**Slaves owned by  
Bryan M. Morel,  
1850**

Males	Females
Age	Age
60	70
55	60
50	50
45	45
40	40
40	35
35	28
30	27
30	25
30	25
30	25
28	21
25	20
25	18
18	10
18	10
16	8
15	8
12	8
12	6
12	6
11	4
10	2
8	1
8	1
6	1
6	1
6	<b>Total</b>
6	27
5	<b>Average Age</b>
4	20.6
4	
4	<b>Combined</b>
3	<b>Total</b>
2	63
1	<b>Combined</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>Average</b>
36	Age
<b>Average Age</b>	20.1

**Table 2.** Slaves Owned by Bryan M. Morel, 1850.

same person, she would have been about 22 years old by that time, or she had reached maturity.

A number of mulattos named Morel are listed in the 1850 census for the 13<sup>th</sup> District, Chatham County, which included parts of the coastal region. These 24 people were listed as follows: Andrew, Ann, Benjamin M., Harrison, Ishmael, Julia, Rosy, Susan, Betinda, Calhoun T., Caroline, Frances A., Harriet, James S., Jane S., Louisa C., Lydia, Peter S., Sarah, Thomas D., William, and William W. Morel. They were almost certainly former slaves, or the immediate descendants of former slaves of the Morels. One example may be the household of Andrew Morel, a 58 year-old mulatto tailor who owned real estate valued at \$1,600, had a wife (Ann, a 55 year-old mulatto) and three mulatto children (Susan, aged 18; Julia, aged 12, and Harrison, aged 10). Andrew Morel was also listed as a free person and mulatto in the 1840 census for Screven County, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2007). At present, Andrew Morel cannot be conclusively linked to residency on Ossabaw Island, although more document research could discover some connection. It seems likely that somewhere in his family’s lineage, a relationship existed with the white Morels.

Throughout the operation of the North End plantation, 20 enslaved persons are documented as escaping (or attempting to escape) bondage. Since this research is incomplete and the historical record is fragmentary, the actual number of Morel’s runaways is probably larger. Runaways were a problem for the Morels, particularly in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Those who fled included 16 males, 3 females, and one infant whose gender is unspecified. The slaves attempted to escape individually and in groups. The slave advertisements state that several of them were likely “enticed” from the plantation by former runaways in Morel’s bondage. These instigators may have been part of a renegade population of runaway slaves who established themselves in remote camps in coastal Georgia. At least a portion of Morel’s enslaved community sought refuge under Colonel Thomas Brown, a Loyalist officer whose East Florida Rangers included an ethnic assortment of renegades. Some of Morel’s runaways were repeat offenders. Interestingly, the list of runaways included several skilled tradesmen, such as Hector the blacksmith. It is likely that most of Morel’s enslaved community made no attempt at escape and they lived out their lives in bondage. The loss of a bondsman was no trivial financial loss, which is why the Morels advertised for their return. The ultimate outcome of freedom was achieved by some of the runaways but this story was not researched. In colonial times, runaway slaves from Georgia sought refuge among the Spanish in Florida. Others may have allied themselves with Native American groups, such as the Seminoles. During and immediately after the American Revolution some may



have accompanied Colonel Thomas Brown and his Loyalists to St. Augustine and, later, to the Caribbean. Others may have sought a new life in the British colonies in eastern Canada. It is quite possible that future research will be able to trace the later lives of some of these former North End plantation bondspople.

A review of the current telephone directory for Savannah revealed few entries for Morel, or any of the variant spellings. This is somewhat surprising given the pervasiveness of the Morel family dynasty in late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century coastal Georgia. A study of the modern-day Morels in the region may be fruitful in understanding the relations and attitudes that may have existed between the Morel slave owners and the enslaved community.

## **SERVANTS AND WORKERS**

The North End plantation was abandoned by the Morel family by late 1861 (Richard L. Thornton personal communication, April 16, 2005). The evacuation of the enslaved population on the island is not well documented, although a description of the place, made on December 11, 1861, indicated that the North End Quarter was completely abandoned and the furnishings of the dwellings had also been removed. The anonymous writer stated, “They found it perfectly deserted not a living animal, man or beast, upon the plantation. All the negro cabins were vacant and empty. On their flight they had removed household furniture, poultry, and pigs, and every thing movable. It was desolation itself” (Anonymous in U.S. Congress, Joint Select Committee 1872:464-465).

After Georgia was conquered in the Civil War, slavery on the North End plantation ceased. Tunis Campbell, who was a prominent leader in coastal Georgia during the reconstruction era, led several colonies of Freedmen to settle on Georgia’s barrier islands (Cimbala 1997). Campbell established his headquarters in the former Button Gwinnett mansion on St. Catherines Island, where he directed the activities of the freedmen on the nearby islands, including Ossabaw Island. The next residents of the North End plantation would be the family of freedman John Paul, who settled on the place in 1865 with two others, under the authority granted by Major General William T. Sherman’s Field Order 15. By August 1865, 78 freedmen claimed 2,000 acres of land on Ossabaw Island. By Summer 1866, however, 60 freedmen on Ossabaw Island were working under contract for white planters, although 11 freedmen continued to hold their grants in keeping with Sherman’s plan (Cimbala 1997:168, 179). The freedmen were being pressured to exchange their grants for new warrants in early 1867, but the Ossabaw Islanders resisted this, following the advice of Tunis Campbell. Things turned sour for Ossabaw Island’s

freedmen on January 25, 1867 when soldiers were ordered to Ossabaw Island, “to ‘arrange’ the ‘difficulty’ between planters and freedmen and to enforce the law” (Cimbala 1997:186). Sherman’s Field Order 15 was rescinded by the U.S. Congress and President Andrew Johnson. Thus, the freedman occupation of North End Quarter may have lasted fewer than two years. Little was learned of John Paul and his family from the present historical research.

The various owners of the North End plantation from 1886 to the Torrey’s period of ownership probably hired servants and laborers, some of whom likely resided in the tabby dwellings at the North End Quarter. Few details were located pertaining to these people, however. The Torrey family purchased Ossabaw Island in 1924 and had completed construction of their home by 1926. The Torreys hired a number of servants and field hands. While the Torrey family were only seasonal residents of Ossabaw Island, some of their workers were year-round residents. Several of their employees lived in the North End Quarter, including Roger Parker, the Martin family, and the Williams family.

## Chapter V. Operation of The North End Plantation

### MERCHANTS

Not only was John Morel, Sr. a successful planter, he was also a merchant. The history of his mercantile business can be partially reconstructed from a review of early Savannah newspapers and various legal records. As early as 1760, John Morel was acting as a financial agent for colonists (Kilbourne 1999a). On August 14 of that year, Morel entered into a partnership with George Galphin, a major player in the lucrative Indian trade and who lived at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, to lease 600 acres of land on the Wilmington River in Christ Church parish from Isaac Young (Walker 1978:177). By October 1, 1766, John Morel owned a store “on the Bay” in Savannah where he offered for sale, “an assortment of iron ware and other goods suitable for the season”, which Morel had acquired from the importers, Cowper and Telfairs (*Georgia Gazette* 1766; Kilbourne 1999a:173). Morel advertised a wider variety of items for sale in the July 27, 1768 Savannah newspaper, “To be sold by the subscriber, myrtle wax and tallow candles, hard soap, fine onions and potatoes, West India rum, muscovado sugar, chocolate, coffee, silver, gold lace, cord, chain, buttons, Indian trading flints, ten penny nails, sein twine, six pair of tame summer ducks. John Morel” (*Georgia Gazette* 1768; Kilbourne 1999a, Volume 1:302).

Several of the items that Morel listed for sale, including the candles, soap, onions, and potatoes could have been products of his own plantations. The other items were likely acquired as imports. Some of these probably arrived in the port of Savannah. It is tempting to explain some of Morel’s acquisitions by a less formal, coastal trade. Since his Ossabaw Island plantation had direct access to the Atlantic Ocean, he may have bartered from there directly with the shipmasters, including those of diverse nationalities, thereby avoiding import fees or taxes. It is noteworthy that Indian trade flints were included in the sale list, which may indicate that Morel was engaged in the Indian trade as an intermediate supplier. His supply of luxury imports, such as rum, sugar, chocolate, coffee, and silver and gold lace shows that he was supplying the high end market of Savannah’s elite.

Morel placed two additional advertisements for merchandise in the *Georgia Gazette* on January 3 and March 14, 1770. One of these is discussed in the following section regarding indigo. The later advertisement read,

To be sold by the subscriber in Savannah or on the island Ossabaw,

well cured hams, barreled beef, indico, cotton seed, myrtle wax and tallow moulded candles, hard soap, Dutch tile, marble slabs, hinges and locks, claret, Jamaica rum, a hammock made of silk grass, a handsome Wilton carpet, shoes and hose, furniture, 10,000 feet of red bay logs, a tract of land known by the name of Bewlie containing 400 acres. It has a quarter mile front on the Vernon River. On Ossabaw apply to Mr. Daniel Giroud in the absence of John Morel, who begs the favour of all those indebted to him to settle the same to his satisfaction (*Georgia Gazette* 1770; Kilbourne 1999a:436).

Morel had substantially expanded his inventory of items for sale from that offered two years earlier. Of these items, hams, beef, indico, cotton seed, and red bay logs were probably products of the North End plantation. The other items were mostly all imports, including more expensive luxury items for his discriminating clientele. That these items could be bought in Savannah or on Ossabaw Island denotes that Morel had a Savannah business, as well as one on the island. The more bulky farm produce was likely what was available on the island, whereas the more expensive imports were kept at his Savannah location. His reference to well cured hams and barreled beef may indicate that Morel sought ocean-bound clients, who needed well preserved stores for their journey. The many household items, such as hinges and slabs, tiles, marble slabs, and furniture were probably destined for the local housing market.

The Morel family maintained a mercantile business in the city of Savannah after the death of John Morel, the elder. On March 13, 1783, Peter Henry Morel advertised, “All persons indebted to the copartnership of Sawyer, Morel and Keall are requested to make immediate payment” and on February 17, 1785, Morel placed this notice, “The subscriber requests all persons indebted to the late copartnership of Sawyer, Morel and Keall, to call and pay off their respective accounts. Peter Henry Morel, Surviving copartner” (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1783, 1785; Kilbourne 1999b:280, 384). On January 12, 1786, Peter Henry Morel advertised for sale, “. . .that valuable lot in Johnson’s Square, at present occupied by Sawyer, Morel and Blogg”, which reveals a reformed

partnership involving Peter Morel (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1786; Kilbourne 2000:4).

## INDIGO PLANTERS

The primary cash crops that were planted and harvested by those enslaved at North End plantation included cotton and indigo. Archaeological examples of cultigens unearthed in the Quarter include corn, peaches, peanuts, pecans, and walnuts. Other crops that were grown on the island in the early to mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, as noted in Kollock's records by overseer Abraham H. Geiger in 1855 and 1856 for the South End plantation, included corn, oats, potatoes, peas, and rice (Kollock 1837-1861).

History records that indigo was an important cash crop produced at the North End plantation, particularly during the period prior to the American Revolution (Anatharaman 2005; Beeson 2006; Bonyng 1852:130-143; Brunk 1901; Harvey 1970; Jelatis 1993, 1999; Leopold 2000; Metcalfe 2002; Payne 2005; Rembert 1980; Risner 1945; Schafer 2000; West 2007; Winberry 2002; Wulfert 2002). Indigo was used to dye many types of material. One of the most prevalent was calico print cotton or linen cloth. It was also used to dye wool and silk, and was used for other artistic purposes. In 1758 Georgia shipped 25,000 weight of indigo, compared to 216,924 pounds shipped by South Carolina the same year (Stevens 1847, Volume I:457; Flanders 1933:40). In 1763 Georgia produced approximately 9,633 pounds of indigo (Hewat 1779, Volume II:266-267).

John Morel, Sr. was a staunch advocate of indigo cultivation. Indigo also was a passion of his father in law Dr. Henry Bourquin. Bourquin encouraged John, Sr. in the production of indigo, and his conveyance of the Ossabaw Island property was probably intended for this purpose.

Indigo cultivation was introduced to South Carolina in 1739 and was developed locally by Eliza Lucas Pinckney. By 1747, Pinckney had produced enough indigo for a shipment to England. The indigo industry in South Carolina reached its peak in 1773 (Leopold 2000; Holroyd 1783; Payne 1998). John Morel was growing indigo at the North End plantation by July 1767, when he advertised for an overseer to manage the enterprise (*Georgia Gazette* 1767; Kilbourne 1999a, Volume 1:226). By March 14, 1770 Morel was advertising "indico" for sale at his Ossabaw Island plantation. Morel placed another advertisement in the January 3, 1770 issue,

Wanted on hire by the day or month,  
a carpenter who perfectly understands

making of indigo vats. For other particulars apply to John Morel, who has for sale on the island of Ossabaw, 150 barrels of exceedingly good beef and fifty barrels of pork, well saltpetred and put up in proper casks; a large number of shoats and hogs, all kinds of poultry; 700 raccoon furs, 200 bushels of ground nuts, 200 pink root and some rye. He also has to dispatch of in Savannah, 2 or 3 sets of Dutch tile, some marble slabs fit for chimney hearths, London crown glass, linseed oil, white lead ground in oil (*Georgia Gazette* 1770; Kilbourne 1999a:415).

Indigo continued to be cultivated by the Morels on Ossabaw Island after the death of John, Sr. in 1776. On March 15, 1781, John Morel, Jr. advertised, "Wanted, an overseer for the island of Ossabaw who understands the making of indigo. Apply at Bewlie to John Morel" (*Royal Georgia Gazette* 1781; Kilbourne 1999b:216). The exact year that indigo cultivation ended on Ossabaw Island is not documented. The indigo harvest at North End plantation was dealt a severe blow in 1782, when the plantation was raided by Loyalists and the valuable crop of processed indigo was stolen. Indigo production in the former British colonies was dealt another blow when the bounty provided by the British government ceased (Flanders 1933:55).

In spite of the lack of British subsidies, Bryan Morel continued the cultivation of indigo on the North End plantation as indicated by an advertisement for an overseer, posted on November 28, 1793, "who can be well recommended for his knowledge of the cultivation and manufacture of indigo" (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1793; Kilbourne 2001:68). Some production of indigo on the North End plantation may have continued into the very early 19<sup>th</sup> century, although this production was soon dwarfed by the Sea Island cotton bonanza.

Early nineteenth-century historian, John Crawford (1820, Volume I:461) observed, "Of all productions called colonial, indigo is the one which demands in the manufacture, the largest share of intelligence and judgment." The culture of indigo required knowledge of agriculture, chemistry, production, and processing. People who "knew" indigo and the chemical processes that were required to yield a high quality product were in great demand by the indigo plantation owners. Many scholars in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century wrote about the chemical properties of indigo, in what was an on-going learning process about the plant and its dye characteristics. Indigo was grown on plantations worldwide by all of the major

colonial powers. It was a very expensive and desired commercial product (Pickering 1765:250-255; Ure 1865:961; Directors of the African Institution 1812:78-87).

The U.S.D.A. has identified 11 species of indigo that presently grow in Georgia. These include: *Indigofera caroliniana* (Carolina indigo), *Indigofera colutea* (rusty indigo), *Indigofera decora* (Chinese indigo), *Indigofera hendecaphylla* (trailing indigo), *Indigofera hirsuta* (roughhairy indigo), *Indigofera kirilowii* (Kirilow's indigo), *Indigofera parviflora* (smallflower indigo), *Indigofera miniata* Ortega (coastal indigo), *Indigofera pilosa* (softhairy indigo), *Indigofera tinctoria* (true indigo), and *Indigofera trifoliata*. The species *Indigofera miniata* Ortega is indigenous to Florida and Texas and may not have been present on Ossabaw Island in colonial times, although Georgia is currently included in its range (USDA, NRCS 2007). The species of indigo that were grown on the Morel plantation has not been determined. Surviving indigo plant descendants dot the landscape in several areas of the plantation as a testament to this former cultigen.

The processing of indigo required a substantial amount of labor. This work also required special vats for soaking the plants, racks for drying the extract, screws, presses, and forms for compacting the indigo paste and making it into cakes (or otherwise convenient form for shipping) (Barham 1794:77-78; Bonyng 1852:130-143; Nicholson 1800:477-482). Indigo processing facilities constitute an important part of the former plantation landscape, but thus far, none of the locations of these facilities have been identified archaeologically. Many of these constructions were probably above-ground wooden structures that did not leave a substantial footprint in the archaeological record. Perhaps one way to narrow the search for the indigo processing area would be through chemical analysis of the soils.

By 1749 the British Parliament had placed a bounty of 6p per pound-weight upon Carolina indigo. Between 1756 and 1757, indigo exports from South Carolina rose from 232,100 to 894,500 pounds per annum. Approximately 1,122,200 pounds were exported from South Carolina in 1775. Indigo continued to be produced in the Southeast during and after the American Revolution but the British bounties and protective tariffs no longer existed. In 1788, 833,500 pounds of indigo were exported from South Carolina and by 1790, 1,694 casks of indigo were exported from that state. Indigo production continued in the Southeast throughout the 1790s but was largely replaced by cotton agriculture as an upland crop after the development of the cotton gin (Payne 2005).

Payne (2005) provides this summary of the indigo production process in the 18<sup>th</sup> century,

Indigo processing was very precise and remained a precarious aspect of indigo culture for it determined the quality of the dye. The indigo plants were placed in three successive fermentation vats for the dye did not exist in the plant per se. A liquid called indican was formed chemically in an oxidation process which the colonial planters did not fully understand. Contemporary accounts simply said that the plants rotted. The fermented indigo/indican was then agitated by slaves with paddles which aerated the liquid. After the addition of limewater, the clear alkaline solution changed to blue. After the liquid was drained, the residue was strained, bagged, and left to dry. The resulting fine stiff paste was cut into cubes and placed into barrels for shipment to England. An average harvest for a planter usually resulted in thirty to eighty processed pounds of indigo per acre.

James Roberts, a Virginia indigo planter, provided a description of 18<sup>th</sup> century indigo cultivation and the health hazards for its workers,

Indigo.--Four crops are raised on one piece of ground in a year. In the first cutting, a sprout is left at the bottom. By the time one field is gone over, we turn back and begin at the beginning, leaving a sprout, as at first, and so until the fourth crop is gathered.

Each cutting is put into water, stalk and blade; kept there twenty-four hours; taken out, and leaves and shell beaten off the stalks; put in the troughs, and churned, as butter is churned, about two hours, or until it is as thick as paste. The churning is performed with paddles fixed through the sides of the troughs. It is then cut, with an iron knife made for the purpose, and spread on a tin scaffold to dry. In a short time it is ready to be put into kegs, and sent off to market. From fifty to sixty hands

work in the indigo factory; and such is the effect of the indigo upon the lungs of the laborers, that they never live over seven years. Every one that runs away, and is caught, is put in the indigo fields, which are hedged all around, so that they cannot escape again (Roberts 2001).

A 1773 map of the Parish of St. Stephen, South Carolina by Mouzon and Lodge (1773) depicts an active indigo operation (Figure 4). This engraving shows enslaved workers and their overseers laboring at various tasks. One man is shown pumping water from a large scaffold that rises above a small reservoir. The water is directed by other men into above-ground vats or settling ponds. These men are busy soaking the indigo to extract its active ingredients. Two large wooden paddles rest unattended on a large log frame. These paddles are apparently for stirring the indigo broth, or possibly for thrashing the indigo plant to soften it for soaking. Other workers are seen bringing bundles of unprocessed indigo plants to the scene. One man is shown attending to a series of above-ground drying racks. Nearby a man is busy cutting the indigo into cakes on a wooden table. Another is shown sealing up a large hogshead barrel. An unidentified feature is shown in the foreground, which may represent a subterranean dye vat.

Barham (1794:77-78) provides a thorough description of 18<sup>th</sup> century indigo production in Jamaica,

The seed is sown in rows by a line, and if they have good seasonable weather, that is moderate showers of rain, the weed will be fit to cut in six weeks time, which is done by a crooked knife, in the shape of a sickle, but not jagged, and are called indigo-hooks. Then they have three vats or cisterns, into which they put the weed, and press it down with their feet as close as they can, and, when full, they lay large sticks over it, which are pressed down with beams that go across the cisterns, fastened in a post in the ground, four or five feet deep; all which is to keep the weed from rising up when they put water to it, which they do as much as it will imbibe, and over-top it five or six inches; which in twenty-four hours, will grow so hot that you cannot put your hand into it, and it will boil and bubble like a pot boiling over the fire, and the water will be tinged of a blackish-blue color. When the weed is steeped so long that it begins to rot, then they let go the water from it into another lower adjoining cistern, where



Figure 4. Indigo Operation in South Carolina (Mouzon and Lodge 1773; Courtesy, Duke University).

it stands about twenty-four hours; and then they beat or churn it very well for three or four hours, until its grain appears, and separates from the water. The way of beating is by a pole, with boards made tapering at the end of the poles, bored full of holes, which they beat or churn the liquor with; and when it is near finishing, they take some of the liquor, and put it into a porringer, and let it stand, to see how the grains, or fine muddy particles, precipitate to the bottom; which if it doth well, and the top looks clear, then they leave off, and let it stand twenty-four hours longer, for the mud to separate from the water. They then have two or three tap-holes, to let out the water into another small square hole, which runs out as long as it runs clear. Then they lade out all that water, and let out the mud into the square hole; which they put into bags made tapering, or like Hippocrate's sieve, of coarse osnaburghs, and let the water drain from the mud as long as it will drop. Then they empty these bags into a square frame, stir it well together, and dry it in the sun. If they make it into flat cakes, they have boxes on purpose; if into lumps, which they call fig indigo, they put spoonfuls, or lumps upon a cloth, stretched out, and dry it in the sun (Barham 1794:77-78).

Indigo continues to be produced in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and in some areas of the world, the production process is little changed from that practiced centuries earlier. Modern examples of indigo vats can be found in Africa and India, where older methods of indigo production are still employed (Anantharaman 2005; Bonyng 1852:130-143). Anatharman notes,

The process of extracting indigo dye is quite complicated and involves a lot of labor. The plants are soaked in a vat or a sloping tank. Two or three people actually get into the tank and paddle the water continuously for two to three days. The blue rises to the top. The water is drained out. The remaining blue substance is taken out and made into cakes. The blue that emerges cannot be matched. It is believed that the term "blue collar" worker is

derived from the indigo workers, who used to wear the cheap blue cloth. The less charitable say the workers used to be blue all over!

The process of extraction of dye is also difficult because of the strong odour that the vat emanates. Also, the vat should not be exposed to sunlight. It is buried in the ground, with only the neck showing. There is also a belief in India that working on an indigo extraction unit makes a woman sterile. Hence, only men used to undertake this job (Anantharaman 2005).

## COTTON PLANTERS

John Morel advertised cotton seed for sale at his Ossabaw Island plantation as early as 1770 (*Georgia Gazette* 1770; Kilbourne 1999a:436). Sea Island cotton was grown in the colonial era, although the boom in cotton production occurred after the introduction of the cotton gin in the 1790s that enabled short staple cotton to be a lucrative crop. Cotton was an important crop on Georgia's barrier islands because the cotton fields there yielded a variety that was superior to the upland cotton, or short staple cotton, that dominated the mainland (Figure 5). The longer fibers of the sea island variety were preferred by cotton merchants and textile millers because it resulted in a superior fabric. It was also quicker and easier to process.

Captain Basil Hall, of the British Royal Navy, provided this detailed description of early cotton production on a Sea Island cotton plantation, which was based on his observations in 1827 or 1828 on St. Simons Island:

On a 'Sea Island' plantation which I visited, there were 122 slaves employed in the culture of cotton. Of these, 70 were men and women, between the ages of fourteen and fifty--48 children under the age of fourteen--and 4 superannuated. The 70 workers were classed as follows: 39 of them were called full hands; 16 three-quarter hands; 11 half hands; 4 quarter hands. Making in all, out of the 70 persons, 57 ½ 'taskable hands.' Those actually in the field were 44 taskables, while the remaining 13 ½ were employed as cart drivers, nurses, cooks for the negroes, carpenters, gardeners, house servants, and stock-minders---what we should



Figure 5. Cotton Picking and Timbering, 19th Century Illustration.

call in Scotland herds; in England, I believe, herdsmen.

The ground under tillage consisted of 200 acres of cotton, and 25 of Indian corn, potatoes, and other things of that description. This gave about 5 acres to a full hand in the field. Several ploughs were occasionally used, the ploughmen being included in the 44 field hands.

The fields are divided by temporary stakes, into square patches of 105 feet each way, equal to a quarter of an acre. These portions, which are called 'tasks,' are laid off in ridges or beds, five feet apart, on which the cotton is to be planted. When land has been thus previously bedded, the first operation in spring, is to hoe down the weeds and grass from the beds, into the furrows between them. This is what is called 'listing.' A full hand lists half an acre

per day. The next operation is with the plough, throwing up two furrows on each side of the list, which forms a ridge. The people then follow with the hoe, and finish off the bed. Here, as the work is light, the 'task' or portion of ground staked off, is three quarters of an acre.

Two hands then proceed to open holes on the top of the beds, crosswise, 18 inches apart, and of the width of the hoe. Another hand follows, and scatters about 50 cotton seeds in each hole, while two hands come up after to cover them up to the depth of an inch and a half, patting the soil down.

The planting is scarcely finished before hoeing is required, as the weeds and grass spring up very fast. The 'task,' during this stage of the business, is half an acre. It is necessary to hoe the cotton about once a fortnight. At the second hoeing the cotton plants are thinned out, till only about seven of every group remain, each one as far apart as possible from another. On the third hoeing, a further thinning takes place amongst the plants, when one or two only are left, the cotton being thickest on poor lands.

In September, or perhaps earlier, the cotton begins to open in 'good blow,' at which stage it is fit for gathering. One hand picks from 90 to 100 pounds of what is called seed cotton, from the seeds being still in it. A woman generally performs about twice as much of this kind of work as a man can do. After gathering it into the barns, it has to be assorted according to its quality. This also is generally done by women, assisted by those men who happen to be on the invalid list, or who from age are incapable of heavy labour. The different kinds of cotton are, 'first quality white,' 'second quality white,' and 'yellow.'

It is a very troublesome job to get rid of the seeds, in consequence of their being so closely enveloped in the cotton. They form nearly two thirds of

the weight of the whole.

The process of cleaning is commenced by carrying the cotton into the open air, and allowing it to dry in the sun, which is necessary in all cases before taking it to the 'gin-house,' where the seeds are separated from the cotton by machinery. The ingenious apparatus, called the Cotton Gin, is the invention of an American of the name of Whitney; it consists of two little wooden rollers, each about as thick as a man's thumb, placed horizontally, and touching each other. On these being put into rapid motion, handfulls of the cotton are cast upon them, which of course, are immediately sucked in. But there being no room for the seeds to pass, they are left behind, while the cotton is drawn through and delivered clean on the other side of the rollers. It is obvious, however, that the mere motion of the rollers, during this sucking-in process, would not alone be sufficient to detach the seeds from the fibers of the cotton in which they are wrapped up. In order to loosen them, a sort of comb fitted with iron teeth, each of which is a couple of inches in length and seven-tenths of an inch distant from its neighbour, is made to wag up and down with considerable velocity, in front of the rollers. This rugged comb, which is equal in length to the rollers, lies parallel to them, with the sharp ends of its teeth almost in contact with them. By the quick wagging motion given to this comb by the machinery, the buds of cotton cast upon the rollers are torn open just as they are beginning to be sucked in. The seeds, now released from the coating which had encircled them, fly off like sparks, to the right and left, while the cotton itself passes through between the rollers.

In spite of all this tugging and tearing, however, certain seeds, or portions of seeds, more obstinate than the rest, do contrive to insinuate themselves between the rollers, and so pass along in company with the cotton, getting of course well crushed for their pains. I observed that the tips or sharp ends of



the teeth of the iron comb sometimes gave the seeds a tap which broke them in pieces, and allowed the fragments to be drawn forward along with the cotton. These stray particles are afterwards separated by hand--a process which is called moting. One hand can mote from twenty to thirty pounds per day. The smaller bits of the seeds, which may still remain, are afterwards blown away, when the cotton is whisked about in a light wheel, through which a current of air is made to pass. On its being gathered up, when tossed out of this winnowing machine, it is carried to the packing-house, where, by means of screws, it is forced into large bags of 300 pounds each. They are sewed up and sent to the sea-coast, where they undergo a second squeezing, which reduces them to half their original size, by a process I shall have occasion to describe at Mobile and New Orleans--after which they are ready for being shipped as the cotton of commerce.

With respect to the amount of labour performed by the slaves in the culture and preparation of cotton, I may mention, that in all cases of tasking--whether this term be applied to field or to housework--a three-quarter, a half, or a quarter hand, is required to work only that proportion of a task per day. Applications are made every year by the slaves to the overseer, or to their master, to reduce the quantum of labour from the higher to lower grades. This method of tasking, or defining their work, is that which the slaves prefer to any other. Active hands get through their proportion generally by the middle of the day, others in two-thirds of the day, after which, they are left to employ the balance, as it is rather well called, or what remains of daylight, in their own fields, in fishing, or in dancing; --- in short, as they please. The driver puts them to work in the morning, and sees that all is properly executed before they go away (Hall 1829:218-227).

## FARM PRODUCE AND LIVE-STOCK

Cattle, pigs, and poultry were major products of John Morel's plantation on Ossabaw Island. Morel's newspaper advertisements from 1770 offered preserved beef and pork and a variety of poultry (*Georgia Gazette* 1770; Kilbourne 1999a). The beef was sold in wooden barrels and was preserved with saltpetre. The pork was sold as hams, and possibly in other forms. The species of poultry was not specified but they probably included chickens, ducks and possibly geese. By 1775, John Morel's animal products continued to be offered for market, as noted in this February 1<sup>st</sup> advertisement, "For sale on Ossabaw, good beef by the quarter, beef and raccoon hides, etc. Apply at that place to the manager, John Morel" (*Georgia Gazette* 1775; Kilbourne 1999b:112). Morel's beef was no longer offered in wooden casks but was now offered as fresher meat. This is noteworthy as it probably indicates that John Morel was managing his own plantation on Ossabaw Island, without the aid of an overseer, in early 1775. Of the crops and livestock grown by John Morel at North End plantation, few records survive. The brief account by Georgia Governor Martin in 1783 noted that "a large quantity of indigo" were taken from the plantation by Captain Scallon and his Loyalist raiders.

The 1850 Census recorded agricultural statistics for Bryan M. Morel's Chatham County plantation. Morel's plantation consisted of 600 acres of improved land and 1,400 acres of unimproved land. The cash value of the farm was estimated to be \$10,000.00 and the value of farm implements and machinery was an additional \$150.00. In 1850 his plantation contained 18 horses, 2 asses or mules, 18 milk cows, 10 working oxen, 36 other cattle, and 100 swine. The total value of the livestock was estimated at \$1,150.00. The plantation produced 50 pounds of butter and an estimated \$100 worth of animals were slaughtered that year. Plant crops grown by the enslaved on Morel's plantation in 1850 included: 1,500 bushels of Indian corn, 10 bales of upland cotton (each weighing 400 lbs), 100 bushels of peas and beans, 700 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 240 gallons of molasses. In addition to this produce, an estimated \$12.00 worth of unspecified items (household manufactures) were produced in the household (U.S. Census 1850, Chatham County, Agricultural Schedule: 245). No agricultural statistics were recorded for Bryan Morel in the 1860 Agricultural Census for Chatham County, Georgia.

Residents of Ossabaw Island raised livestock for several hundred years, beginning with John Morel in the 1760s. Their livestock included cattle, pigs, chickens, oxen, horses, mules, and other domesticated animals. In some instances, particularly with pigs, the domesticated hogs went feral and were hunted as wild game. While

visiting the island in 1878 Bishop observed, “One of the late proprietors informed me that there must be at least ten thousand wild hogs there, as they have been multiplying for many years, and but few were shot by the negroes”. The current population estimates for wild hogs on Ossabaw Island numbers in the low thousands (Jim Simmons and Andy Meadows personal communication February 2005).

By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Ossabaw Island was transformed from an agricultural plantation to a private hunting preserve. Many of the cultivated fields were allowed to go fallow and revert to second growth maritime forests. Cattle continued to be raised on the island, however, until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, when they were removed from the island in an intentional round-up.

Sicilian burros were brought to Ossabaw Island at some point in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These animals went feral and continue to inhabit the island. One early attempt to eradicate them from the island by a form of birth control was not successful. The burros were not present on the island in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These animals are quite fond of the tabby buildings on the North End plantation and they visit them frequently.

## HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting has a long history on Ossabaw Island dating thousands of years into antiquity. Evidence for hunting in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was preserved in the archaeological record at the North End plantation. To some extent, hunting behavior continues on Ossabaw Island into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, although it is carefully regulated and intended to balance the game population of deer and hogs on the island. Wild game was a source of food for the occupying U.S. Army troops during the Civil War. Corporal Waage, 47<sup>th</sup> New York Volunteer Infantry, noted that hogs were plentiful in 1863, but they were wild and had to be shot (Brown 2005:1). Corporal Waage also noted that alligators were plentiful on the island and at least one large alligator was killed and eaten by the U.S. troops in 1863.

George Jones Kollock’s plantation books (1837-1861) for South End Plantation contain one or more references to the fishing activities of his slaves. His records also contain references to enslaved work crews traveling to plantations on other barrier islands to perform work tasks. The archival data from Kollock’s plantation probably documents activities that were practiced on other Ossabaw Island plantations, of which we have no written record. Sea life that was harvested by the enslaved fishermen at North End plantation probably wound up on the dinner tables of their own families, their

master and overseers, as well as households in the greater Savannah area. Any surplus was likely sold or bartered on the mainland. Fresh, dried, smoked or salted fish were probably available to the residents of the Quarter. A wide range of salt water fishes were available immediately offshore from Ossabaw Island and in the numerous estuary creeks. These range in size from tiny fishes to large sport fish. Marine mammals, including whales, dolphins, and manatees also frequented the area and would have represented a potential food source.

While passing through the region in his canoe, Bishop (1878) observed, “I entered the Great Ogeechee through the Don Island passage, and saw sturgeon-fishermen at work with their nets along the shores of Ossabaw, one of the sea islands....A few negroes occupy the places abandoned by the proprietor, and eke out a scanty livelihood”.

Fish bones were well represented in the faunal assemblage at the North End Quarter. Fish scales and bones from a variety of large and small fish species were recovered. See Appendices 5 and 6 for a detailed report.

Indirect evidence of fishing also was recognized in the North End Quarter by the recovery of two fish hooks and 18 lead fishing weights. The lead weights may have been used on either fishing lines or fishing nets. Cast nets are a popular method used for fishing in coastal Georgia today. One person using a cast net can quickly gather enough food to feed a family, if the fish, shrimp or crabs are present. This type of fishing can be done from a pier or bank and does not require a boat.

Oysters have been consumed by humans on Ossabaw Island for more than 4,000 years. The earliest evidence for oyster harvest and consumption can be seen at the Cane Patch Island shell heap, west of the North End plantation. Middle Place Plantation abounds with small oyster shell heaps and several large burial mounds (with substantial amounts of oyster shell used in their construction). These oyster shell deposits at Middle Place date to the Woodland and Mississippian periods.

The oyster industry, whereby oysters were intentionally seeded in beds, got its start in the Savannah area about 1840 (Ingersoll 1881:191; U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey 1891). By 1880, the small inlets on the northern end of Ossabaw Island were noted for their cultivated oyster beds. The Savannah oysters were referred to as, “raccoon or ‘coon oysters”, which were described by Ingersoll (1881:190). “Though some of them will not furnish a meat much larger than the thumbnail, they are sweet and well flavored when brought from a good locality”. Ingersoll described the harvesting procedure for raccoon oysters in the Savannah area:

At low water the planter takes a bateau and four men, and goes to the shore where he designs to work at the time of low water. Getting out upon the exposed mud, one or two of the men pull or rake up out of the mud the small bunches of oysters imbedded there, and the rest follow after and pick them up. The instrument used is a rude piece of iron of convenient length, bent at one end so as to act (as it is called) as a 'hooker'. Old wagon tire is a favorite material out of which to make the instrument. One of these bateaux will carry 100 to 200 bushels, and four men can often fill it in a tide, breaking the bunches in pieces as they pick them up (Ingersoll 1881:191).

The seeded oyster beds were ready for harvesting after about four years. Ingersoll (1881:191) described the processing areas:

Each of the planters has a small hut built upon posts at the edge of the water, where he opens his oysters. In these houses he opens almost all of the stock he sells, and only takes the meats to town, receiving about fifty cents a solid gallon. The method of opening is the same method that is used in New York, the knife and handle being of one piece, and the latter very heavy. The shells are used to make causeways from the land to these huts, and also to build roads....Each oysterman owns a sloop, the hull of which is skiff-shaped and not at all handsome. They are only half-decked, in many cases, but have a little cabin aft, and a hatchway to the hold; they are far from beautiful boats, but are worth an average of \$200 each (Ingersoll 1881:191).

Ingersoll noted that Georgia laws pertaining to the oyster culture were recent. He reported that oystermen established their rights to their oyster beds by posting a wooden sign marked with the letter "O", although he noted,

One of these oyster signs at the mouth of a narrow creek would prohibit any boat gathering oysters above it; and it seems

to be universally respected, except by the vagrant negroes, who catch and sell oysters when they want a little money to prevent utter starvation, or to pay for some sport. (Ingersoll 1881:191)

Ingersoll (1881:190) noted that oyster harvesting in the Savannah area was primarily an occupation of "colored people" and he noted that "three or four men" handled most of the oyster business in Savannah in 1880.

The North End plantation contains scattered deposits of oyster shells, which form dense concentrations in some areas. Oyster shell was the most common archaeological evidence found at the North End plantation. It was so abundant within the Tabby excavations that it was quantified by weight and discarded on-site. The age of the oyster shell deposits at the North End plantation remain a subject of investigation, although many of the oysters appear related to the historic period occupation. Oyster shells were used in tabby as a building material. Oysters were also used as an unconsolidated paving material for roads and buildings. An undetermined amount of these oysters likely represent food debris, where oysters were consumed by the occupants of the plantation. Some of the oyster deposits may represent stockpiles that were used in tabby production, or possibly the residue from oyster shucking for the Savannah oyster market. Some oyster shells from aboriginal oyster shell beds, such as the shell ring on Cane Patch Island, were also redeposited at the North End plantation in historic times. The best archaeological evidence for this behavior was documented in Test Unit 220, which was located outside the "front door" of Locus D at Tabby 2. There large oyster shells were found with a small assemblage of Stallings Island series pottery in a soil zone that lay above a U.S. cent, dated 1918. This find attests to the removal of oyster shells and other incidental material (aboriginal pottery) from the Late Archaic shell ring, sometime after 1918. Ample reserves of edible oysters are near the North End plantation at present. Oysters were probably readily available to the residents of North End plantation, as well.

The sandy shores of Ossabaw Island have served as a nesting ground for several species of sea turtles for many thousands of years. Four species are commonly found along the Atlantic coast, which include: Green (*Chelonia mydas*), Kemp's ridley (*Lepidochelys kempii*), Leatherback (*Dermochelys coriacea*), and Loggerhead (*Caretta caretta*) (Orsulak 2007). In addition to their value as a predictable food source, sea turtle shells and bones were useful for other purposes. Sea turtles represent a seasonal resource from July through November that would have been available to the enslaved people who lived on the island, as well as those from neighboring areas. The

female sea turtles are quite vulnerable to capture during the nesting process, and their clutches of eggs are even more of a target for predators. Humans were one of the predator species.

Sea turtles were a source of food for the occupying U.S. Army troops during the Civil War. Corporal Charles Waage, 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, noted that a female sea turtle with “129 full grown eggs” was caught and consumed by troops stationed at Fort Seymour on Bradley Point, Ossabaw Island (Brown 2005:1).

Ossabaw Island was noted for its turtle egg hunts that were “often held along the shore” during the Torrey’s period of ownership in the early 20<sup>th</sup> to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century (Federal Writer’s Project 1937:47). The eastern side of the island is still noted for its sea turtle activity, although the eggs are no longer collected or eaten, at least not legally. While sea turtles and their eggs represented a reliable, seasonal food source on Ossabaw Island, the archaeological study of the North End plantation produced no evidence that they were consumed by the enslaved residents.

## TIMBER AND NAVAL STORES

Ossabaw Island abounded with old growth timber when it was acquired by John Morel. Virginia Wood (1981) provides an excellent historical introduction to the early timber industry on Georgia’s barrier islands. The activity on Ossabaw Island at the North End plantation reinforces her statements on the economic importance of this industry. John Morel made an extremely successful business in supplying timber for ship construction in the 1770s. His advertisement, dated 1770, listed red bay timber, for sale (*Georgia Gazette* 1770; Kilbourne 1999a:436). Prior to 2000, Ossabaw Island formerly contained extensive stands of red bay trees. (This tree species was recently decimated on Georgia’s barrier islands by an introduced insect pest.) On April 18, 1770 John Morel advertised, “On proper notice will engage to cut any quantity of Live Oak and Cedar Ship timbers, or any shape size required, and will deliver the same at proper landings on Ossabaw...” (*Georgia Gazette* 1770; Edwards 1996). On February 23, 1774, he advertised, “A large quantity of live oak timber is advertised for sale on Ossabaw by John Morel” (*Georgia Gazette* 1774; Wood 1981; Edwards 1996). And again the following year, on May 24, 1775, Morel advertised, “For sale on Ossabaw, a quantity of live oak ship timbers, etc. Apply on Ossabaw to John Hodson, in Savannah, or at Bewlie to John Morel” (*Georgia Gazette* 1775; Kilbourne 1999b:129).

## SHIP AND BOAT CONSTRUCTION

Shipbuilding was one industry on Ossabaw Island that has a long history but one that has not been fully explored. Wood (1981) discussed the importance of the live oak timber on Georgia’s barrier islands in early American shipbuilding. The Morel plantations were noted for its shipbuilding, although the exact location where this was accomplished remains a subject of investigation. Certainly, one location where ships were built was along Shipyard Branch near Beaulieu plantation, which is on Burnside Island in present-day Chatham County.

Ossabaw Island was an important place for various maritime activities. Its location near the mouth of two rivers (Ogeechee and Vernon) and its ready access to the Atlantic Ocean made it a useful site for casual coastal trade and for boat and ship construction. This type of trade at Ossabaw Island is documented in early advertisements in the Savannah newspapers (Kilbourne 1999a). The Morel plantation on Ossabaw Island contained shipwrights and ship building facilities in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The *Elizabeth*, a sailing ship with a keel of 84 feet, was built on Ossabaw Island in 1770 by John Wand (*Georgia Gazette*, April 18, 1779; Edwards 1996).

Maritime vessels were also built on Morel’s mainland Beaulieu plantation in an area known as Ship Yard. The brig *Bewlie*, a vessel of 200 tons burden, was built in 1774 by Daniel Giroud [Giraud], who also built several row galleys for the Continental Navy and other small watercraft at this site (Georgia Historical Commission 1958; Groves 2006:2). Thomas Rich, Philadelphia shipwright, supervised the construction of the Continental galley fleet. Construction on several of these galley ships also took place in Savannah, Sunbury and at a nearby shipyard on Colonel’s Island in present-day Liberty County (Elliott 2005d:50; Fleetwood 1995:73-83).

The row galleys, whose construction was authorized by the Continental Congress in 1776, that were built in Georgia for the Continental Navy included the:

- *Bulloch*, or *Bullock*, commanded by Captain Archibald Hatcher;
- *Congress*, commanded by Captain Milligan;
- *Lee*, commanded by Captains John Cutter [Cutler] Braddock and Boitar (or Boitard);
- *Trumbull*, commander unidentified, and;
- *Washington*, commanded by Captain John Hardy, or Hardee (Elliott 2005d:50; Elliott 2003:213).

All of these galley ships were ill-fated. Two of them, the *Lee* and the *Congress*, were captured by the British in March 1779 in a naval engagement on the Savannah River near Purysburg. Two others, the *Bulloch* and the *Washington*, were beached and burned on the south end of Ossabaw Island on January 9, 1779, as the Georgia Naval troops were fleeing the besieged town of Sunbury. Another unidentified Continental row galley, possibly the *Trumbull*, was bombed and sunk in the Medway River in that same battle (Sheftall 1995; Elliott 2003:213; 2005:50).

Fleetwood (1995:73-83) noted that the design and appearance of these galley ships is mostly unknown. No ship models, drawings, or illustrations of any of these vessels have been identified. Fleetwood surmised, based on his vast experience with coastal vessels, that these row galleys were shallow draft vessels, probably outfitted with a lateen sail, and rowed by a crew of about 10 seamen. The row galleys were outfitted with 18 pounder cannon and swivel guns, and many smaller firearms. The vessels probably measured between 50 and 70 feet in length. The sails on each galley required 229 yards of canvas. In addition to the two masts rigged with lateen sails, the galleys were powered by 20 double-manned oars on each side, requiring a crew of at least 80 seamen (Sons of the American Revolution, Marshes of Glynn Chapter 2007).

The Morels also had another ship yard, other than the one at Ossabaw Island and Beaulieu. This one is mentioned in a newspaper advertisement from July 7, 1785. John Morel offered an adjacent tract for sale in the Savannah newspaper, "For Private Sale. 500 Acres on Ogeechee, fronting the marshes of Bear Island river adjoining a place called the Ship Yard" (*Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1785). Bear Island is located on the western side of Ossabaw Island.

Early Savannah newspapers provide us with glimpses of Ossabaw Island's maritime history for the Revolutionary War era. On August 12, 1779, Peter Henry Morel placed a notice for a stolen canoe, which was likely used at Ossabaw Island, "Stolen from Telfair's wharf, a large seven oared cane, Bryan built. Whoever will bring the above boat to the subscriber at Bewlie or Savannah shall receive 50 shillings reward." (*Georgia Gazette* 1779; Killbourne 1999b:185). And on October 11, 1781, a yawl, that was partially completed, was stolen from Ossabaw Island by nine runaway slaves (*Royal Georgia Gazette* 1781; Killbourne 1999b:249).

Ship construction on Ossabaw Island continued through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Sloop *Etti* was constructed on Ossabaw Island in 1895. She measured 28 feet 6 inches in length, 12 feet 8 inches in breadth, 3 feet 4 inches in

depth, and weighed 6.32 tons. Savannah was this vessel's homeport (Chamberlain 1897:59).

Indirect archaeological evidence for ship (or boat) construction at Ossabaw Island was documented by the present excavations, as well as the previous study. This evidence consisted of brass nails of varying sizes. Since boats were obviously not built within the confines of the enslaved people's residences, the presence of these brass nails is indicative of a secondary deposition. Possibly the nails were lost by a shipwright who resided in the house, or the nails may have been introduced to the house accidentally as firewood (as fragments of wrecked or abandoned boats reduced to driftwood along the shore). Alternatively, the brass nails may have been brought home by the workers to use around their own houses. Brass nails would have lasted longer than iron and been better for some tasks.

## RELIGION ON THE PLANTATION

Religion and magic were integral parts of African-American life on the Sea Island plantations and interior Georgia. Ethnographers, historians and archaeologists have explored many aspects of religious life among the enslaved and some have attempted to link certain behaviors of religious expression, magic and conjuring to African antecedents Jones 1888; Steiner 1899a-b, 1900a-b, 1901a-b; Ferguson 1992; Puckett 1926; Young 1996, 1997a-b, 1999; Wilkie 1995, 1997; Yakubik et al. 1995; Brown and Cooper 1990; Stine et al. 1996; Yronwode 2002).

Religious instruction among the enslaved in Georgia was discouraged by the legal system. It was encouraged, however, by several prominent plantation owners along the Georgia coast, including Reverends Charles C. Jones, Sr., Charles Screven, James O. Screven, and Abram Harmon. Savannah and Sunbury both had established Baptist Churches with enslaved African-Americans in the congregations by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Liberty County was a hotbed of religious tolerance, where religious instruction of the enslaved was encouraged by many prominent citizens (Association for the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in Liberty County 1847). Their motives may have been self-serving, since their teachings encouraged subservience and the loyalty of slaves to masters. Among them was the Reverend James O. Screven. Screven was raised in Sunbury, Liberty County, where his father Reverend Charles O. Screven ministered to the Baptist congregation there as early as 1806 (Benedict 1814:532). After graduating from Franklin College (now the University of Georgia) in Athens,

James married Eleanor S. Talbird and they lived on “the Retreat” plantation in Bryan County. From about 1832 to 1839, the Reverend James O. Screven, a Baptist minister, actively preached to “the negroes on St. Catherine’s and Ossabaw Islands, and also to the destitute in the upper part of Bryan [County]” (Campbell 1874:449).

The Morels were Protestants, as were the rest of the Swiss immigrants who settled at Puryburg, South Carolina in the 1730s. Most Euro-American settlers in Colonial Georgia were, in fact, Protestants. The Puryburg colony was settled by Huguenots (Hirsch 1999). Most of the Huguenots conformed to Calvinist teachings. The Puryburg colony had difficulty securing and keeping a pastor and formal church services were quite erratic to non-existent in that town throughout its existence. Many of the Huguenot settlers sought religious expression at the Lutheran town of New Ebenezer, where the Reverend Johann Martin Boltzius maintained a vigorous congregation. The Reverend Johann Joachim Zubly, who was an original Huguenot settler at Puryburg, pastored a Presbyterian church at White Bluff, which was probably the closest formal sanctuary for the Morels, when they lived on Ossabaw Island or at Beaulieu.

Both the Huguenots of Puryburg and the Lutherans of New Ebenezer fled Europe as a result of Catholic persecution. The Catholic faith was probably the last choice that the Morels would have made for religious instruction to their enslaved community. Nevertheless, a thriving Catholic community emerged in Chatham County by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The City of Savannah allocated the first property for the establishment of a Catholic church in 1799. The Catholic diocese in Savannah grew in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as the region experienced an influx of Catholics from Ireland, Germany, and African-Americans from the West Indies. The introduction of slaves from Caribbean plantations, where Catholicism was encouraged by their French masters, allowed for the spread of Catholic beliefs to the rural plantations of Chatham County. Enslaved blacks, and free blacks were drawn to Catholicism, partially because Catholics tolerated the incorporation of traditional cultural religious practices into their fold (McDonogh 1993:26).

In spite of the establishment of a Catholic congregation by 1800, Roman Catholics have always been a minority in Chatham County. The Federal census recorded one Roman Catholic church in Chatham County in 1850 and 1860. In comparison, Chatham County had 20 other non-Catholic churches in 1860. By 1870 two Roman Catholic churches were reported in Chatham County. The “Aggregate accommodations of Roman Catholics” in Chatham County in 1850 was 500. The number of “Roman Catholic sittings” in Chatham County in 1860 was 1,200 (University of Virginia 2007). The Sisters of Mercy established a Catholic School in Savannah,

although Blacks were not allowed to attend (McDonogh 1993:26-27; O’Connell 1879). The Sisters of Mercy also established a hospital and sanitarium at Vernonburg during one of the yellow fever epidemics in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. That facility would have no doubt drawn the attention of the enslaved population of Ossabaw Island, since it was considerably closer to them than Savannah.

Christianity was evidenced in the archaeological record at North End Quarter. This evidence was a single Catholic medallion made of brass, which was excavated in Locus D, Test Unit 245, Level 2. This object is shown in Appendix 3 (LN 476). This medallion contained the French inscription, “Soyez mon guide, mon soutien ange gardien Jesus Marie Joseph”, which translated to English as, “Be my guide, my support, guardian angel, Jesus Mary Joseph” (Google.com 2007). This phrase may refer to a French Catholic canticle (a song or chant taken from biblical text) that was popular in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and published in 1851. That canticle and its English translation are shown below (Gardien 1851; Google.com 2007).

*aA l’Ange gardien  
O vous qui, nuit et jour,  
Céleste Intelligence,  
Dans ce mortel séjour,  
Veillez à ma défense,  
Qui portez mes soupirs, mes vœux  
Aux pieds du Monarque des cieus !  
Ange de paix, par quel retour  
Paierai-je tant d’amour ?*

*L’enfer veut me ravir  
A vos mains paternelles ;  
Mais je ne puis périr  
A l’ombre de vos ailes.  
Satan s’est armé contre moi,  
Mais peut-il m’inspirer l’effroi ?  
Soyez mon guide, mon soutien,  
Et je ne crains plus rien.*

*Mais, ô combien de fois  
Mon cœur léger, volage,  
Fut sourd à votre voix,  
A votre doux langage !  
Je repoussais un tendre ami,  
Pour suivre un cruel ennemi :  
Ah ! désormais, vous obéir*

*Fera tout mon plaisir.*

*Expirer dans les bras  
De Jésus, de Marie,  
O bienheureux trépas  
Qui nous donne la vie !  
Dans ce moment, saint Protecteur,  
Vous pouvez tout pour mon bonheur ;  
Répétez-moi les noms chéris  
De la Mère et du Fils (Gardiens 1851).*

*[English Translation]  
With the Guardian angel  
O you who, night and day,  
Celestial Intelligence,  
In this mortal stay,  
Take care of my defense,  
Who carry my sighs, my wishes  
With the feet of the Monarch of the skies!  
Angel of peace, by which return  
I so much will pay love?*

*The hell wants to charm me  
With your paternal hands;  
But I then to perish  
With the shade of your wings.  
Satan was armed against me,  
But can it inspire fear to me?  
Be my guide, my support,  
And I do not fear anything any more.*

*But, oh how much time  
My light heart, unsteady,  
Was deaf with your voice,  
With your soft language!  
I pushed back a tender friend,  
To follow a cruel enemy:  
Ah! from now on, you to obey  
Will give all my pleasure.*

*To expire in the arms  
Of Jesus, Mary,  
O happy demise  
Who gives us the life!*

*In this moment, holy Protective,  
You can all for my happiness;  
Repeat to me the dear names*

*Of the Mother and the Son (Google.com 2007).*

Wilkie noted that African-Americans frequently used Catholic medallions as protective charms (Gardiens 1851; Wilkie 1997:94-96, 100). The presence of a French Catholic charm on an English/American plantation remains somewhat of a mystery. At least one African-American woman with the surname Morel, who lived in Savannah in the 1830s was Catholic. James Butler and Victoria Morel, both identified as “free negroes”, were married in Chatham County in a Catholic church on November 16, 1836 (Genealogy.com 2007). Victoria Morel is not specifically identified as a former slave of the Morel family, although that linkage is almost certain, since all of the Morels in the Savannah area were derived from the single family line of Pierre Morel. Victoria Morel is not associated specifically with Ossabaw Island, as no one named Victoria appears on any of the slave lists. Her status as a “free negro” may indicate that she, or her parents, was manumitted by a member of the Morel family.

Several anthropologists have observed a potential relationship between the color blue and African religion or magic. A preference for blue glass beads have been cited as a possible Africanism, although blue beads were also common on Native American and Euro-American sites throughout the same period (Yakubik et al. 1994:10-94; Stine et al. 1996; Wilkie 1997:93). The use of blue paint to scare away “haints” or spirits, is well established in local lore and oral tradition of coastal Georgia (Yronwode 2002). The cultural origins of “haint blue” remain a subject of debate, although its use is widespread among African-Americans in coastal Georgia and South Carolina. This color paint was used liberally in the interior of the North End Quarter tabbies.

Engraved “X”s and cosmograms on ceramics have been identified in archaeological collections from slave settlements in the Carolinas and Mississippi (Ferguson 1992:110-116; Wilkie 1997:98). Yronwode notes that “laying out cross-marks” with powders, chalk and goofer dust (made from powdered sulphur, gum arabic

and hemp rope), with snake skins filled with graveyard dirt, or roots was an ancient African type of magic. These signs were placed where the intended person would walk over the mark and thus fall under its spell. The type of “cross-marks” magic described by Yronwode would be extremely difficult to identify archaeologically, due to their impermanence.

Bottles containing roots, powder, or potions that were intentionally buried so that a person would walk over it and fall under its spell is described by Yronwode as “direct foot-track magic”. She considers this type of magic to be one of the oldest forms of “laying down tricks”, and the most African. Foot-track magic was an evil form of magic. Its users and victims believed that the magic acted by entering the victim through his or her feet, thereby causing the intended illness or effect. Other terms for this type of magic included hot foot powder, goofer dust, and crossing powder. This ritual practice is mentioned in the lyrics of numerous early 20<sup>th</sup> century blues songs. Yronwode noted that bottle spells and prayer bottles were ritually disposed in an appropriate manner, which may be, “buried under a doorstep, buried in a graveyard, thrown into a crossroads, have a hole punched into the cap before being made to sink in water, or kept on an altar, depending on what your intention was” (Samford 1996:107-109; Wilkie 1997:88; Yronwode 2007). The excavations in the North End Quarter yielded several whole bottles, but not appeared to retain any contents.

Buttons are cited as objects sometimes used in conjuring (Wilkie 1997:87). Buttons were very common at the North End Quarter, but none were recovered from an obvious ritual context. More likely they represent sewing-related artifacts, or objects accidentally lost from wearing apparel by the enslaved at the Quarter.

Animal bones are frequently cited as ingredient for conjuring. Raccoon baculum (penis) bones are one of the most commonly cited objects. Baculum were frequently encountered in the North End Quarter midden. The resident population of raccoons on the North End plantation is high at present. Raccoon were consumed as food and the Morels sold the raccoon pelts. Other raccoon bones may have been introduced to the site by raccoons themselves, who may have crawled beneath the flooring and died.

Other animal parts used in ritual included alligator teeth, (black) cat bones; rabbit’s feet or tail, rattlesnake rattles, snake teeth, bird skulls, toad’s feet, and shells. Alligator teeth were regularly used in mojo bags to increase gambling luck. Yronwode notes that the use of alligator parts in African-American conjuring is an American tradition, since she was unable to find precedent with ritual use of crocodiles in Africa. One alligator tooth was

recovered from Tabby 2 in the North End Quarter. This artifact probably represents a talisman that had ritual significance. Rattlesnake rattles and snake teeth were perceived as powerful conjuring items. Rattlesnakes, and other poisonous pit vipers, are common fauna on Ossabaw Island. Bird skulls have been cited as a component in African-American magic and ritual. Archaeologists have reported finding bird skulls possibly used for this purpose on African-American sites. The North End Quarter yielded many examples of complete, or nearly complete skulls. These skulls were found in several different contexts in Loci C and D. Jones identifies toad’s foot as one component of a conjure bag among the Gullah of coastal Georgia. The various species of toads (*Bufo* sp.) possess strong toxins in their skin. These naturally occurring chemicals have neurotoxic effects, leading to thought alteration and sometimes death. Sea shells and snail shells were sometimes used by African-Americans for their magical effects. Sea shells are very common on the beaches on the east side of Ossabaw Island and would have been readily available to the residents of the North End Quarter. A few stray sea shells were noted in the midden in Tabbies 1 and 2, although these were mixed with the oyster shell and not always distinguished by the archaeological team (Brown and Cooper 1990; Wilkie 1997:85, 87, 89, 100; Jones 2000:170; Yronwode 2007).

Human body parts have been cited as conjuring ingredients in African-American religion and magic. Wilkie identified human teeth as having magical effects in African-American religion. Finger/toenail clippings and hair are also cited as conjuring ingredients (Wilkie 1997:87-89). Human teeth are often recovered archaeologically from domestic contexts, regardless of the ethnicity. Hair and nail clippings were not identified at the North End Quarter. Three adult human teeth were recovered from archaeological excavations in the North End Quarter.

Brier roots are cited as important conjuring ingredients in 19<sup>th</sup> century and 20<sup>th</sup> century African-American practices (Jones 2000:170; Yronwode 2007). One very important root was the High John the Conqueror, which included several species of morning glory and other root herbs (*Ipomoea jalapa*, *Ipomoea pandurata*, *Ipomoea purga*, *Convolvulus jalapa*, *Convolvulus panduratus*) that is not native to Georgia. High John the Conqueror roots contained hallucinogenic substances, although the roots were not usually ingested but were carried by men as talismans. Yronwode noted the resemblance of the High John the Conqueror root to an African-American’s scrotum. These roots, which were not available locally on Ossabaw Island, were sought out for their sexual powers (Yronwode 2002:111-112; 2007). The various plant species that were used for conjuring were not of African origin and Yronwode concludes that the use of this plant in magic has Native American origins. While the concept



of High John the Conqueror is deeply engrained in early 20<sup>th</sup> century blues music and African-American folklore, its period of origin remains vague. Since the primary plant identified as High John the Conqueror (*Ipomoea jalapa*) does not occur on Ossabaw Island, the residents of the North End Quarter in antebellum times were required to obtain it by purchase or barter on the mainland, or to use a substitute native plant, such as *Ipomoea pandurata* (common name Wild Sweet Potato, also known as Man of the Earth), which occurs throughout Georgia (Barnes and Francis 2004; Duncan and Kartesz 1981; USDA, NRCS 2007). This plant is a perennial vine that is propagated by seeds. It grows throughout the year and is commonly found growing in waste places. Despite its common name, the roots of this plant are not considered edible to humans. Unfortunately the roots of these plants do not preserve well in the archaeological soils on Ossabaw Island, although the seeds and phytoliths would possibly be preserved.

Graveyard dirt is often mentioned as a conjuring ingredient (Steiner 1901b; Yronwode 2007). Graveyard dirt was earth taken from a human grave – a tradition that traces back to Africa, especially the Kongo in southwestern central Africa. The dirt was gathered by ritual and the grave was carefully selected in order to obtain dirt from the grave of a person with particular personality traits, such as unusually strong or obedient person, or someone who “died badly”- a premature death (Yronwode 2007). It is virtually impossible to distinguish a small amount of soil, taken from a graveyard, from the other soil in a house midden, unless the soil is found in a special context. One mojo example described a bottle containing the graveyard dirt, along with “9 pins, 9 needles, and 9 nails”, which was, “buried under the enemy’s Door-step or Pathway as the moon was waning in order to hurt them or cause them to pine away” (Yronwode 2007).

Iron nails, particularly rusty nails are frequently cited as conjuring ingredients (Wilkie 1997:88; Jones 2000:170). Nails are ubiquitous on African-American house sites, since many nails were lost, discarded, or otherwise accumulated in the midden over a period of household occupation. Distinguishing a “conjuring nail” from a household variety nail presents a major challenge for archaeologists and one that was not attempted at the North End Quarter where many thousands of nails were recovered.

Needles and pins are cited as conjuring items. These were often included with other ingredients in conjuring bags or bottles (Wilkie 1997:88; Yronwode 2007). Needles and pins are also easily lost sewing items and many straight pins were found scattered throughout the North End Quarter. Straight pins were frequently used by

seamstresses, so their presence in the North End Quarter does not necessarily indicate their use in conjuring.

Cast iron kettle fragments are cited as conjuring items. Other researchers have examined examples from an feature in a conjurer’s dwelling and interpreted them as having magical or religious significance (Brown and Cooper 1990; Wilkie 1997:85). Cast iron cookware was very common on Georgia plantations and these pieces were often broken. Once broken, the small fragments of cast iron had little utilitarian value, since it was not well suited for recycling by blacksmiths. Consequently, many of the cast iron fragments on archaeological sites likely represent discarded debris and not ritual items. Nevertheless, the distribution of the cast iron artifacts at the North End Quarter was explored for any meaningful patterning.

Pierced coins, particularly silver dimes but also copper cents had magical powers in hoodoo, which may have ancient origins, although not necessarily African (Wilkie 1997:89). Coins, both whole and pierced, were recovered from the North End Quarter. Since coins are uncommon artifacts on early historic sites in Georgia, their distribution and context at the Quarter was closely examined. None of the coins from the excavations were recovered from feature contexts and none appeared to be intentionally placed.

Doll parts are frequently cited as conjuring items (Brown and Cooper 1990; Wilkie 1997:85, 102). Bisque and porcelain dolls were relatively common toys in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> among the middle and upper classes. The presence of a few doll parts at the North End Quarter is enigmatic. These may represent innocent playthings that were used by the slave children, or perhaps used by the master’s (or overseer’s) children who were watched, or who played there, in the Quarter. The doll fragments recovered from the North End Quarter were expensive, imported European dolls. They included small dolls, made from porcelain, and larger dolls, made from bisque. Perhaps they were given to the enslaved children by the white children, after they had broken.

Another ritual item is red flannel and red cloth. This was often made into bags that have been cited as conjuring items among African-Americans by several researchers (Wilkie 1997:89; Jones 2000:170; Yronwode 2007). Red flannel was applied to the neck as a cure for sore throats in medieval Europe and it apparently has been shown to have curative value for some medical conditions, including smallpox (Garrison 1914:29; Maple 1968:15). Red cloth was also an important component in Sioux medicine bags in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Apparently the common thread in these beliefs is that it is the color red and not the cloth that is the active component. The color red serves

to draw out the evil. Cloth is not a durable artifact type in coastal Georgia, so the absence of red cloth at the Quarter is not unexpected.

Gambling and conjuring were closely linked in African-American beliefs, and also by other ethnic groups. Craps was the most popular game in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries that required dice, although dice were also used for other social games that did not involve gambling. The game of craps evolved from the English game of Hazard. The name “Craps” was originally “Crabs” and its early origins have been traced to New Orleans. Yronwode noted that miniature dice were also components in African-American magic (Yronwode 2007; Dice-Play 2007a). One miniature “crooked” die, from a pair of dice was unearthed in Tabby 1, Locus A (Appendix 3, LN 878). This particular specimen had two number “2”s on different faces. Another normal die was recovered from the same locus. The term “crooked dice” usually indicates dice that were weighted so as to influence their roll. Archaeologically excavated examples of this type of dice are reported from medieval contexts in England (Bamburgh Research Project 2004). The same effect also may be achieved by shaving off one surface of the die, which renders it imbalanced and more likely to land on the desired number. Another method is to make dice with the improper numbers on the face, which alters the expected probability. Many other methods have been used by unscrupulous gamblers to increase their odds.

The clever use of duplicate numerals, as indicated by the North End Quarter example, is one variation, that would give an unfair advantage to its user, if he/she were aware of the increased probabilities of rolling a “2”. The technical term for a die with two “2” markings is “double deuces”. The advantages of having this type of crooked dice are described by modern-day gamblers, “Double number dice have two sides of the same number, double deuces will have two 2 spots and no 5. A pair of dice with duplicate sides of 1, 5, 6 and 3, 4, 5 will never produce a total of 2, 3, 7 or 12, the only numbers that can lose in Craps. High-low splitters are marked twice with 1, 2, 3 on one die and 4, 5, 6 on the other. These produce a lot of 7’s and a crooked house would switch them in when some one has made a heavy bet on the field in a Craps game” (Dice-Play 2007b). Seven was a winning combination in craps and the expression, “Lucky-7” was probably spoken in Tabby 1 by one such crooked gambler. In this instance, one gambler was actively involved in altering, to their advantage, his/her “gambler’s luck”.

Cologne bottles, such as Florida Water cologne and Hoyt’s Cologne were frequently used by African-Americans in Hoodoo magic (Yronwode 2007; Fike 1987). Hoyt’s Cologne, sold as F. Hoyt’s Genuine Cologne, Hoyt’s German Cologne, and Hoyt’s Nickel Cologne, was a

common cosmetic product in the southeast in the early- to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and it is still available in some markets. It was a popular and affordable, albeit pungent, aromatic used by southerners of various ethnic backgrounds in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Rocks and minerals are also components of African-American conjuring. Natural rock crystals are cited as important ritual items. Lodestones (naturally magnetic rocks) or magnets are cited as conjuring ingredients. Several large fragments of an orthoclase feldspar crystal were excavated in Locus D. Smooth stones are cited as another item used by enslaved African-Americans for magic or ritual purposes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century on southeastern plantations. Salt, sulfur and chalk were also used in magic and ritual. A small lump of sulphur was recovered from Locus D, Level 3 (LN 530). Native American projectile points have been cited for their ritual use by African Americans in conjuring (Brown and Cooper 1990; Wilkie 1997:85, 100, 102; Yronwode 2002, 2007).

## REVOLUTIONARY WAR IMPACTS TO PLANTATION OPERATIONS

John Morel, Sr. and John Morel, Jr. were both staunch patriots in the American cause in the mid 1770s. The elder Morel had served as Captain of the 8<sup>th</sup> Company of Colonel Noble Jones’ Regiment in 1760 and 1762. John, Sr. was elected to the House of Representatives for Christ Church Parish (Vernonburgh) from October 30, 1769 to April 21, 1772. John Morel served on the Council of Safety in June 22, 1775. He also was elected to the Provincial Congress representing St. Matthew’s Parish and the Sea Islands in July 12, 1775 (Davis 1926; Gallay 1989:122). Hostilities erupted in Georgia prior to the death of John Morel in January 1776. His untimely death left his plantation and his family vulnerable to British retribution, but the interests of his estate were cared for by his two eldest sons. His widow, Mary Bryan Morel, apparently had little to do with the operation of Morel’s business affairs. By September 6, 1781, she was living at Mr. Douglass’ plantation on the Savannah River, according to a runaway slave advertisement placed in the Savannah newspaper by her son John (*Georgia Gazette* 1781; Kilbourne 1999b:243).

Barely two months after his father’s death, the younger John Morel, aged 17, demonstrated his allegiance to the patriot cause when he was served as a participant in the first act of aggression against the British in the Savannah vicinity. The Battle of the Rice Boats, or, the Battle of Yamacraw Bluff, was led by Captain Bowen, Lieutenant James Jackson (later to be Georgia Governor Jackson), and John Morel. On March 2, 1776, this trio of Patriots traveled up the Savannah River and set fire to the heavily

laden rice barge, *Inverness*, and set her adrift to serve as a fire ship against other British vessels that were moored downstream. Eleven British ships were involved in this firestorm and five were completely destroyed (Wilson and Weymouth 1889:49).

In later British aggressions, the British row galley *Arbuthnot* raided the Morel plantation on Ossabaw Island on October 18, 1782. Details of the raid are quite limited and the only documentation located thus far are two letters of complaint from Georgia Governor John Martin to East Florida Governor Peter Tonnyn, which were written soon after the raid (Martin 1917:334). Governor Martin wrote that 30 enslaved persons were taken from the Morel plantation, as well as a large quantity of indigo. A vessel that was apparently under construction was burned. The Morels were not the only victims of this raid. Damage and plunder at the Netherclift plantation was also reported by Governor Martin.

The taking of 30 slaves from the Morels represents a significant drain on their enslaved population in 1782. At that time, the Morels owned Ossabaw Island and Beaulieu plantation, and other property well beyond Ossabaw Sound. Some of the actions described by Governor Martin may have taken place at Beaulieu, rather than Ossabaw Island. The Morels had established their primary residence at Beaulieu after moving from Ossabaw Island by that date, although they probably maintained a residence at Ossabaw Island.

What then is the archaeological evidence for this raid, if any, at the North End plantation on Ossabaw Island? Archaeologists quickly developed several working hypotheses relating to the Arbuthnot raid and its archaeological correlates. If 30 enslaved people were forcibly taken from the island on October 18, 1782, and these people were not returned, then their archaeological deposits may exhibit cultural differences from the subsequent enslaved population.

If the North End plantation was raided, then destruction other than that mentioned in Governor Martin's letters likely occurred. That additional destruction may have included the burning of dwellings, farm buildings and plantation stores. It also may have included the destruction of the Morel house, or any overseer's or manager's dwellings. The destruction, if by fire, should be definable archaeologically.

Early in the archaeological investigation, archaeologists made preliminary observations about a gray soil that was encountered at several areas of the plantation. They tentatively suggested that this gray soil possibly represented a catastrophic fire episode. The stratigraphic evidence tended to support that this soil layer was

situated at the end of the Colonial era artifact deposits and beneath the Early Federal era artifact zone. These soils were examined by geomorphologist Donald Thieme, who conducted particle size analysis of several samples from the North End Quarter, including the "curious" gray soil. Thieme's analysis did not result in conclusive proof that these soils were a consequence of fire, although he was able to document a drastic alteration of the normal soil development. This truncation of the soils may be the result of the removal of the upper soil zone during periods of house construction in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The 1782 *Arbuthnot* raid may have substantially affected the built environment at the North End Quarter. In its aftermath, many buildings were likely destroyed. Upon returning to the plantation replacement buildings were rebuilt. What is not known, however, is to what extent the design and layout of the plantation was altered as a result. The present archaeological data allows for only a glimpse of this colonial era plantation and most of its components remain poorly defined. The degree of continuity in the plantation plan between the two periods (colonial and post-colonial) is presently undetermined.

An 18<sup>th</sup> century occupation dating prior to October 18, 1782 is present at several site loci, including the vicinity of the Clubhouse, the three standing tabbies (Tabbies 1, 2, and 3), and in other areas of the North End Quarter. This early occupation was most extensively explored in the Locus D excavations. While the archaeological deposits in this area are buried, there is mixing of the Colonial era and later components. The artifact assemblage was carefully studied for any dateable clues.

Within Locus D of Tabby 2, the colonial occupation is more pronounced on the south side of the excavation, or south of gridline 1006 North. The Mean Ceramic Dates (MCDs) for the test units in Locus D (which were located south of 1006N) were compared with those to the north with interesting results. The southern area yielded a MCD of 1775, whereas the northern area gave a MCD of 1784, or a difference of almost nine years (n=147 and n=174, respectively). These data indicate that a colonial era dwelling was located in the southwestern quadrant of Tabby 2 and it probably extends south and west of Tabby 2 into areas that have not been explored archaeologically.

## EFFECTS OF THE WAR OF 1812

What happened at the North End plantation during the War of 1812? The short answer to this question is that virtually nothing is known on the subject. The U.S. Congress allocated funds for the construction of fortifications at Savannah and St. Mary's during this period. Georgia was spared from most of the hostilities of

this war, although an attack by British troops commanded by Admiral Cockburn, which took place days after peace had been declared in Belgium, devastated some areas of coastal Georgia, south of Ossabaw Island. Several plantations on the southern coast of Georgia were raided and many slaves were taken away. One such documented example includes plantations on Jekyll and St. Simons Islands. Georgia's coast was quite vulnerable to raids by the British but none are documented as far north as Ossabaw Island.

## IMPACT OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

While Ossabaw Island may have escaped the brunt of the War of 1812, the Civil War impacted the island to a greater degree. In the first months of the American Civil War the Savannah area was bustling with Confederate military activity as the army prepared for an invasion by U.S. forces. The Confederates sparked the war by laying siege to and capturing Fort Sumter near Charleston, South Carolina. The Confederates in Georgia followed this action by capturing Fort Pulaski on Cockspar Island, Chatham County, although this "engagement" was bloodless as the fort was only lightly defended by a skeleton of a garrison who wisely surrendered to the more massive Confederate force. A series of coastal defenses were quickly erected by the Confederates on all of the approaches to the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers. Forts or batteries were built on several coastal islands, including Burnside (near Beaulieu), Green, Rose Dhu, Skidaway, Tybee, and Wilmington islands. The Confederates did not construct any forts or artillery batteries on Ossabaw Island, because of its more isolated position with respect to the mainland. Other batteries and forts were established by the Confederates on the mainland waterway approaches to Savannah at Causton's Bluff, Genesis Point (Fort McAllister), Thunderbolt, Turner's Rocks, and Vernonburg. Thousands of recruits and experienced military men were camped and garrisoned in and about Savannah in 1861 and 1862.

The U.S. command launched a campaign to re-establish control of the southeastern coast in late 1861. This campaign was led by Major General Thomas W. Sherman [not to be confused with Major General William T. Sherman]. The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry was one of 14 regiments that participated in Sherman's 1861 joint expedition of the Army and Navy to the Southern coast. The entire expeditionary Corps was comprised of three brigades, division staff and other troops not brigaded. The entire Corps totaled 12,653 officers and men. This Corps was transported to the south on a fleet of steamers that were quickly outfitted for that

purpose. The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment embarked from Annapolis, Maryland aboard the U.S. steamer *Roanoke*. The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment formed part of the First Brigade, which was commanded by Brigadier General Egbert L. Viele. The First Brigade was comprised of 192 officers and 3,796 enlisted men. Viele's brigade was selected to serve as a reserve force in the military operation. The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment was transported to Hilton Head, South Carolina, where, on November 17, 1861, they embarked for a more southern destination aboard the U.S. steamer *Star of the South*. The troops were ferried from the steamer to their new post on the northeastern tip of Ossabaw Island by surf boats. The surf boats varied in size and the larger ones were capable of carrying more than 100 men (OR XV:171, 179, 182, 189-190).

The Expeditionary Corps attacked the Confederates at Tybee Island on November 24, 1861. Tybee was lightly defended by the Confederates. Most of the soldiers had vacated the fort. The Union naval artillery trained its guns on the Tybee fort, the Martello Tower, and the Tybee Lighthouse and a bombardment lasted about five hours before the ground troops were sent ashore (Elliott 2004:14). Once they had captured Tybee Island, the Expeditionary Corps established it as their headquarters and primary camp. From this point, troops were assigned to build a series of batteries that would be used in an attack on Confederate-held Fort Pulaski. This effort took the U.S. engineers and troops several months to complete, but once the heavy guns were in position on April 10, 1862, the massive brick wall of Fort Pulaski was breached within 30 hours and the Union regained Fort Pulaski (Anderson 1995).

C. P. R. Rodgers, Commander of the U.S. Flagship *Wabash*, filed report of his expedition to Ossabaw, Georgia on December 12, 1861. He described the formidable Confederate fortifications on Green Island, which he gave a wide berth. Commander Rodgers had this to say of Ossabaw Island, "Passing again in to Ossabaw Sound, we entered the Great Ogeechee, and steamed up it for about four miles to Morrell's plantation and Ossabaw Island, where I landed, but found it abandoned. There are no batteries on Ossabaw Island for the defence of the Sound." (Rodgers 1861, in Joint Select Committee, U.S. Congress 1872: 463).

An unidentified writer who was aboard the U.S. Gunboat *Ottawa* reported on December 11, 1861, a close encounter with the Confederate defenses at Green Island. He provided this vivid description of Bryan Morrell's abandoned North End plantation, "After we reached the confluence of Vernon and Ogeechee rivers, we re[missing text] latter to a point abreast of Racoon Key [missing] site Bryan Morell's plantation, where b[missing] sent ashore from the gunboats after [missing] come to anchor. The

boats penetrate [missing] and through a creak, and landed at [missing] plantation. They found it perfectly deserted not a living animal, man or beast, upon the plantation. All the negro cabins were vacant and empty. On their flight they had removed household furniture, poultry, and pigs, and every thing movable. It was desolation itself. The party soon returned..." (Anonymous 1861 in U.S. Congress, Joint Select Committee 1872:464-465).

Although the Union now possessed Fort Pulaski, their control of the Georgia coast was by no means secured. Savannah and its southeastern perimeter were heavily defined by a series of forts and artillery batteries. The Confederate command realized that a defense of the Georgia coastline was untenable. The Confederates pulled back their troops from many of the garrisons on coastal Georgia and repositioned them in a series of batteries, camps, and forts Bartow, Boggs, Brown, Jackson, Lee, and Wayne (Savannah). These were all closer to Savannah. In March 1862 the troops and artillery pieces at Fort Screven on Green Island were withdrawn to Beaulieu at that time (Boggs 2003; Babits and Barnes 1987; Brown 2006; Groves 2006).

By 1863, the South Atlantic Brigade Squadron, commanded by Rear-Admirals S.F. Dupont and J.A. Dahlgren, U.S. Navy, established an extensive coastal blockade against Confederate and privately-owned ships entering or leaving Georgia's ports. Among the steam-powered warships effecting the blockade were the U.S.S. *Dai Ching*, *Dawn*, *Huron*, *Keystone State*, *Lodona*, *Madgie*, *Mahaska*, *Marblehead*, *Montauk*, *Nahant*, *Passaic*, *Patapsco*, *Paul Jones*, *Seneca*, *Sebago*, *South Carolina*, *Unadilla*, *Wabash*, *Ward*, *Water Witch*, *Winona*, *Wissahickon*, and others. These naval vessels dogged the Confederate's defenses at Genesis Point (Fort McAllister), Beaulieu, Green Island (Fort Screven), and elsewhere between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers. A report, dated March 1, 1863, to the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, from Rear Admiral Du Pont described the positions of the vessels that composed the blockade. The 11 ships in Ossabaw Sound were the U.S. steamers *Passaic*, *Montauk*, *Patapsco*, *Nahant*, *Sebago*, *Seneca*, *Wissahickon*, *Dawn*, and mortar schooners *Para*, *C.P. Williams*, and *Norfolk Packet*. The *Montauk*, *Nahant*, *Passaic*, and *Patapsco* were ironclad vessels---the latest innovation in military warships (OR 1901:709; Christman 1996:14, 43-44).

The 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry established Fort Seymour on Bradley Point of Ossabaw Island. The regiment was commanded by Major David A. Allen. A return of the 10<sup>th</sup> Army Corps, U.S. Army, dated June 30, 1863, listed 17 officers and 360 men on Ossabaw Island. A detachment of the 1<sup>st</sup> New York Engineers also was posted with the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment on Ossabaw Island.

The June 1863 troop return listed no artillery present at Ossabaw Island (Brown 2005; Ehistory.com 2007).

Reverend Joshua Butts, Chaplain of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry wrote from the U.S. fort [Fort Seymour] on Ossabaw Island on June 1, 1863, informing the *Vermont Historical Magazine* of his situation. Butts described his regiment's journey since leaving New York on September 16, 1861, "On the 1<sup>st</sup> of July [1862] we returned to Hilton Head, or Port Royal, remained there until the 17<sup>th</sup> of Feb., when we embarked for this Island at the mouth of the Ogeechee River, Ga., 20 miles from Savannah River, 8 miles from Fort McAllister. Our Reg. Has built a fort here and is now manning it. It is a barren sandbank, the very perfection of desolation". The environment of Ossabaw Island took its toll on Reverend Butts' health as he noted, "on the 19<sup>th</sup> [May 1863]...I was then prostrate with disease incident to this climate, am now better but far from well, and fear I may soon be obliged to go north on the sick list" (Butts 1863 [in Stowe]:721).

Once the Union Navy had established a presence in coastal Georgia, many former slaves on the Sea Islands sought protection from the Confederacy. Mohr noted that an estimated 940 blacks reached the Union side in coastal Georgia from 1861 to 1864, while about 561 were captured by the Confederates in their attempt to escape. Many of the successful refugees were resettled by the Union in a camp on St. Simons Island (Mohr 1986:70-73, Table 1). Specific statistics for the frequency of runaway blacks from Ossabaw Island during the war were not identified.

One man who had succeeded in slipping through the U.S. Navy blockade of Ossabaw Sound described his experience on Ossabaw Island on January 19, 1863:

The yawl was lowered in haste, while the vessel merely slowed its speed. We shook hands---four of us there were---with all our kind friends, and the jolly tars propelled us rapidly towards the lone star, keeping time to a sort of Runic rhyme chanted by the steersman.

Of course the commander of the vessel we had just left knew that we were contraband, although no open word had been spoken to indicate it through all the voyage, and we felt much relieved when we perceived them speeding on their journey, safe from the utmost efforts of the cruiser.

The day was beginning to break on the morning of January 19, 1863, as we landed on a rotten and apparently disused wharf, in an inlet of Ossabaw Sound, and were warmly received by a Confederate lieutenant, who was stationed at this exposed position in the capacity of a signal officer.

The yawl was secreted for safety, and the crew furnished with transportation and rations, started away to work themselves through the lines as best they could and rejoin their ship.

Worn and weary with the excitement of a sleepless night and a long fast, as I was, before turning out to hunt a breakfast, the lieutenant's larder being too limited, I ascended the signal tree, with some difficulty, from the summit of which I could perceive no signs of our Federal pursuer, but caught a last glimpse of the little black cloud which stretched out behind the *Stormy Petrel* as she plowed her way in the direction of the polar star (Bevier 1879:391).

On July 3, 1863, an expedition to Ossabaw Island took place. A Confederate scouting party, commanded by Major Edward C. Anderson, Jr., 24<sup>th</sup> Georgia Battalion attempted to reach the Union battery, Fort Seymour, at the north end of the island. Anderson's party was thwarted from this mission by the sudden violent illness of one of the Confederate captains, so they turned back after traveling a short distance north of Alexander McDonald's Middle Place plantation (Jones 1999:123; Ehistory.com 2007; OR, Series 1, Volume 28(1):193-194; Barrickman et al. 2004:9). Shortly after the Confederate's expedition, on July 11, 1863, the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment, New York Volunteers were ordered to leave Ossabaw and proceed to James Island, South Carolina (Ehistory.com 2007).

One of the last notable military engagements near Ossabaw Island was the capture of the U.S. steamer *Water Witch* by a Confederate raiding party on June 3, 1864 (Department of the Navy, Naval Historical Center 2007). The *Water Witch* was but one of the steam-powered vessels that formed the formidable naval blockade along the Georgia coast. Although this event did not take place immediately at Ossabaw Island, the island was involved in its aftermath. The body of one of its crewmen was recovered from the waters near Raccoon Key. Another person that had been on board, a contraband named Peter McIntosh, saved himself by diving overboard and

swimming away. He reached Ossabaw Island, where he went to its southeastern point and signaled the U.S. Bark *Fernandina*, a sailing ship, which rescued the man. The loss of the *Water Witch* was a blow to the U.S. Navy's pride and its daring capture was a boost to Confederate morale, which was at a low ebb in June 1864. The capture of the *Water Witch* and its crew resulted in extensive investigations by the U.S. military, which continued well after the Civil War had ended (Kenniston 1864:338-339; West 1864:341-342).

Tunis G. Campbell, an African Methodist Episcopal minister from New Jersey, came to Georgia in late 1864. Campbell was placed in charged of the freedmen who where settling the Sea Islands, as authorized by Major General William T. Sherman's Field Order 15. Campbell established his residence and headquarters at the former Button Gwinnett plantation home on St. Catherines Island. From there Campbell oversaw the freedmen settlements on Burnside, Ossabaw, Sapelo, St. Catherines and other islands. Campbell helped to establish a freedmen's school on Ossabaw Island, although the major thrust of his efforts focused on the freedmen settlers of St. Catherines Island. Field Order 15 was soon rescinded by U.S. President Andrew Johnson and the freedmen's claims to the Sea Islands were quickly eroded. President Johnson appointed a new administrator, who was less than sympathetic with Campbell's cause, and agricultural lands on the Sea Islands began to be restored to non-African American interests. Reverend Campbell later resettled, along with many of his followers, on the Belleville Plantation in McIntosh County, Georgia. In an investigation on the "condition of affairs in the southern states", Campbell was interviewed in Atlanta, Georgia on October 31, 1871, where he stated, "When I came down [to Georgia] as governor of the Islands of St. Catherine, Sapelo, Ossabaw, and other islands, my jurisdiction to extend upon the shore of the main-land as far as I could reach anywhere within thirty miles." Campbell arrived on the Sea Islands prior to the end of the Civil War where he lived until 1867, when he moved to the mainland (Poland and Scott 1872:846; Duncan 1986).

## SUMMARY

The North End plantation experienced many changes throughout its period of operation. Timber and livestock were probably important commodities of the plantation throughout its history. The crops and products of the plantation shifted from indigo to cotton. The enslaved community in the North End Quarter performed most of the work on the plantation. Plantation records for the South End plantation from the 19<sup>th</sup> century provide some insight into what that work consisted of. The enslaved were probably allowed some autonomy in providing

food for their own households, which supplemented the stores provided by the Morels. Other aspects of African-American culture, such as religion and magic, were practiced by the slaves. The extent to which these activities were sanctioned by the Morels is not known. Two major wars had a significant effect on the North End plantation. A major raid in the American Revolution had a drastic impact on the North End plantation, yet it rebounded and continued to thrive in the early and middle 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Civil War also impacted the plantation. The ending of slavery sealed the fate of the plantation as an economic enterprise. Without the captive workforce the developed agricultural fields on Ossabaw Island reverted to forest. Many of the abandoned settlements were never reoccupied and they entered the realm of the archaeological record.

## Chapter VI. Archaeology at the North End Plantation

The North End plantation archaeological site (9Ch1062) covers an extensive area of the northern end of Ossabaw Island. The primary plantation complex, which excludes the agricultural fields and woodlands, covers an area of approximately 10 acres. Archaeologists concentrated their mapping on the main complex, although some reconnaissance of the other areas was accomplished. The archaeological survey of the North End plantation provides a preliminary understanding of the horizontal limits of the primary plantation complex, as well as some understanding of the age, function, and research potential of selected areas within this complex.

For purposes of analytical discussion 20 loci were defined for the North End plantation. Each of these loci was designated by a letter (Loci A through T). Loci A through Q were defined in 2005 and Loci R, S and T were designated in 2006. Locus R consists of the zone between the outer wall of Tabby 2 and 3, which was investigated by Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) Block BH. Locus S consists of the area north of the three tabby dwellings. Locus T is the area of marsh and the relict dune located immediately north of the main landform at the North End

plantation. No artifacts were collected from Locus T. The findings from each locus are presented in the following text. The site loci are identified in Table 3; the test unit locations are listed in Table 4; and site features are summarized in Table 5.

### TABBY 1--LOCUS A

Locus A was defined as the area within the eastern room of Tabby 1. Tabby 1 is located east of Tabbies 2 and 3 and was the last occupied of the three standing tabby dwellings. Tabby 1 was abandoned in the early 1990s and its last resident was Roger Parker. According to Mr. Parker, who had moved into this dwelling several decades prior to 1990, this dwelling had a tongue and groove floor that had been installed around 1922. During his occupancy Mr. Parker replaced that floor (and the floor in Locus B) with a newer floor (Roger Parker personal communication February 1, 2005). Locus A was sampled by metal detector. Nine metal detector signals were investigated and collected. The metal artifacts from Locus A include an assortment of kitchen, clothing,

<b>Loci Description</b>	<b>Test Units</b>
A Tabby 1, East Room	250 to 257
B Tabby 1, West Room	258 to 260
C Tabby 2, East Room	205 to 208; 210; 211; 218; 219; 221
D Tabby 2, West Room	223; 226 to 249
E Tabby 3, East Room	
F Tabby 3, West Room	
G Quarters West of Tabby 3	203
H Area South of Tabbies 1, 2, and 3	201; 209; 212; 214
I Quarters East of Tabby 1	
J Pasture Southeast of Tabby 1	
K Low Area, Possible Canal	
L Pasture, Southwest of Clubhouse, West of Alley	
M Clubhouse/Main Morel House and Kitchens	204
N Smokehouse	
O Boarding House	
P Barn	
Q Extreme West End of Site	
R Area Between Tabbies 2 and 3	
S Area North of Tabbies 1, 2, and 3	202; 224; 225
T Relict Dune, North of Main Landform	

**Table 3. Site Loci, 9Ch1062.**



Unit	Area			Unit	Area		
	Northing	Easting	m <sup>2</sup>		Northing	Easting	m <sup>2</sup>
250	1006.00	980.35	1	237	1006.87	950.39	1
251	1007.00	980.35	1	238	1006.87	951.39	0.33
252	1007.00	979.35	1	239	1006.87	952.39	0.33
253	1007.00	978.20	1	240	1007.87	949.52	0.87
254	1008.00	978.85	1	241	1007.87	950.39	1
255	1006.00	978.85	1	242	1007.87	951.39	0.66
256	1006.00	978.20	0.5	243	1007.87	952.39	0.66
257	1008.00	978.20	0.5	245	1008.87	949.52	0.783
<b>Locus A</b>			<b>7</b>	246	1008.87	950.39	0.9
				247	1008.87	951.39	0.9
258	1006.00	977.00	1	248	1008.87	952.39	0.9
259	1007.00	977.00	1	249	1008.87	953.39	0.9
260	1008.00	977.00	1	<b>Locus D</b>			<b>11.5</b>
<b>Locus B</b>			<b>3</b>				
				203	1007.17	878.55	2
205	1007.09	955.51	1	<b>Locus G</b>			<b>2</b>
206	1007.09	956.52	1				
207	1009.09	957.51	1	201	N/A	N/A	1
208	1008.09	957.51	1	209	994.76	958.37	2
210	1006.09	957.51	1	212	994.76	960.38	2
211	1005.09	957.51	1	214	992.28	924.93	2
218	1005.09	956.23	1	220	1003.00	952.00	1
219	1008.85	956.23	1	<b>Locus H</b>			<b>8</b>
221	1007.85	956.23	1				
<b>Locus C</b>			<b>9</b>	213	1023.51	1137.53	2
				217	1021.00	1138.00	1
215	1007.27	952.70	1	<b>Locus N</b>			<b>3</b>
216	1007.27	951.70	1				
223	1004.99	953.39	1	204	1012.12	1172.00	2
226	1004.99	949.52	0.77	<b>Locus M</b>			<b>2</b>
227	1004.99	950.39	0.88				
228	1004.99	951.39	0.88	202	N/A	N/A	
229	1004.99	952.39	0.88	222	1011.00	950.00	1
230	1005.87	949.52	0.87	224	1010.23	951.97	1
231	1005.87	950.39	1	225	1011.26	951.98	1
232	1005.87	951.39	1	<b>Locus S</b>			<b>3</b>
233	1005.87	952.39	1				
234	1005.87	953.39	0.35				
236	1006.87	949.52	0.87				
<b>Locus D</b>							

**Table 4. Excavation Unit Locations, North End Plantation.**

FeatureDescription	Loci	TPQ	FeatureDescription	Loci	TPQ
1	DNR defined		46	Post	S 1774
2	DNR defined		47	Post	D
3	Pit	M 1804	48	Post	D
4	Post	M	49	Post	S
5	Post	M	50	Pit	D 1670
6	Natural disturbance	M	51	Post	D
7	Natural disturbance	M	52	Trench	D
8	Post	C 1762	53	Post	D 1867
9	Trench	C 1867	54	Pit	D 1740
10	Tabby wall	G 1790	55	Post	D
11	Post	H	56	Post	D
12	Trench	C 1850	57	Pit	D
13	Post	C	58	Post	D
14	Post	C	59	Post	D
15	Post	H	60	Post	D
16	Modern trench	H	61	Post	D
17	Post	C 1670	62	Post	D
18	Post	C 1720	63	Post	D
19	Pit	N 1865	64	Post	D
20	Post	G	65	Post	D
21	Post	G	66	Post	D
22	Undetermined	H	67	Post	D 1790
23	Post	D 1790	68	Pit	D 1670
24	Post	M 1762	69	Trench	D 1720
25	Post	M	70	Post	D
26	Brickwork	O	71	Natural disturbance	D
27	Post	I 1774	72	Natural disturbance	D
28	Trench	E	73	Post	C 1762
29	Post	G 1795	74	Natural disturbance	C
30	Post	L	75	Natural disturbance	C
31	Cellar	L 1865	76	Pit	C
32	Cellar	M 1813	77	Pit	C 1800
33	Post	G	78	Trench	H 1850
34	Pit	S 1858	79	Post	A 1780
35	Post	D 1762	80	Post	A
36	Plank	D 1762	81	Unknown	A
37	Plank	D	82	Chimney	A & B 1830
38	Trench	D 1800	83	Post	B
39	Midden	D 1865	84	Post	B
40	Post	D 1866	85	Post	B
41	Post	D	86	Post	B
42	Trench	S 1858	87	Trench	B
43	Post	S 1774			
45	Post	S 1865			
46	Post	S 1774			

**Table 5. Feature Summary, North End Plantation.**

and activities-related artifacts. They included: a serving spoon handle, two lead fishing weights, one brass button (South Type 27), one 4-hole lead or pewter button, brass jewelry, one brass thimble, one umbrella part, and lead scrap. A bone 5-hole button also was recovered from near the surface.

A 4 m by 4 m area of the interior of Tabby 1 in Locus A was surveyed by GPR Block AF. The data from this GPR Block was not included in the 2005 report, because of data processing problems that have since been resolved. That data is incorporated into this report. Although this GPR block is quite small, it exhibited several potentially significant subsurface anomalies. A plan view of GPR Block AF, showing the GPR data from 12-19 nanoseconds (ns), which corresponds to approximately 70 to 90 cm below ground, is shown in Figure 6.

Test Units 250 through 257 were excavated in Locus A. Figure 7 shows the plan of these test units, as well as the units in adjacent Locus B. These tests were concentrated around the chimney foundation, since one of the primary reasons for conducting these excavations was to determine the age of the dwelling and the chimney. A total of 1,599 artifacts were recovered from these excavations in Locus A.

Four features were explored in Locus A. All were architecturally related. These were Features 79 through 82, which are described below.

Feature 79 was a rectangular post identified in Level 5 of Test Unit 250 in Locus A. This post probably originated at an elevation higher than Level 5 but it was not distinguished because the feature fill was similar to the surrounding matrix. The post measured 25 cm by 25 cm and was 23 cm deep. The soil consisted of dark gray (10YR4/1) sandy loam with thin irregular lenses of brown (10YR5/3) fine sand. The post appears to have rotted in place. The feature contained one unidentified nail, one creamware sherd, one spattered ware sherd, oyster shell, bits of wood charcoal and animal bone. The feature dates after 1780, based on the Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) for spatterware ceramics.

Feature 80 was an oval postmold that was located in Level 5 of Test Unit 250 in Locus A. It measured 23 cm east-west by 20 cm north-south and was 16 cm deep. It was V-shaped in profile and it appears to have rotted in place. The soils consisted of very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy loam with charcoal flecks. The feature contained handmade brick, oyster shell, shell mortar, bits of wood

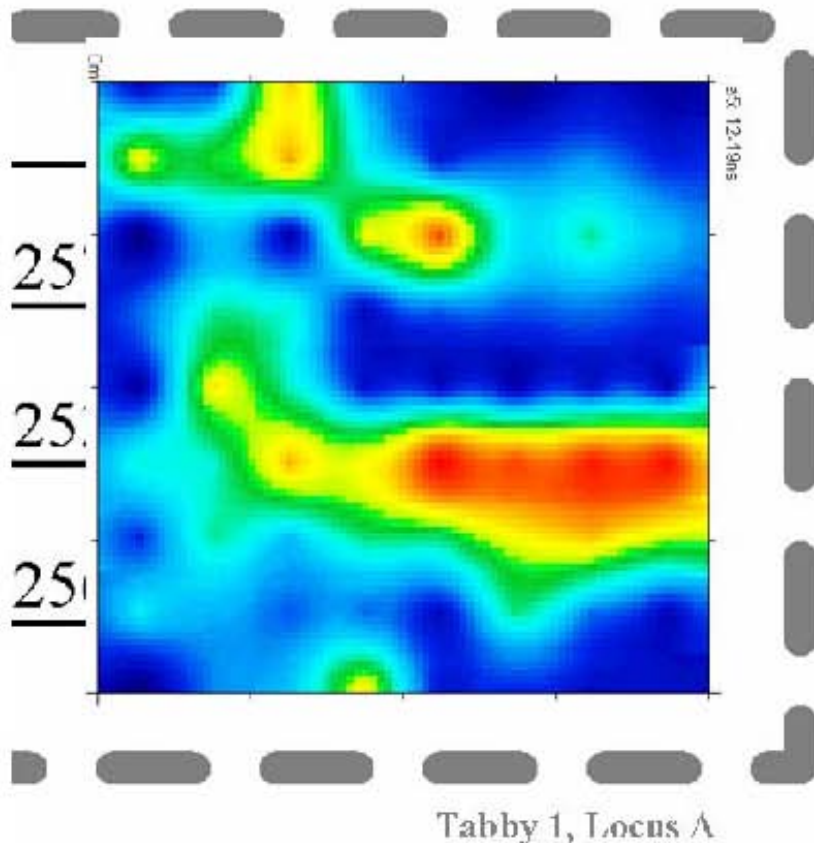


Figure 6. GPR Block AF at about 12-19 ns Depth, Locus A, 9Ch1062.

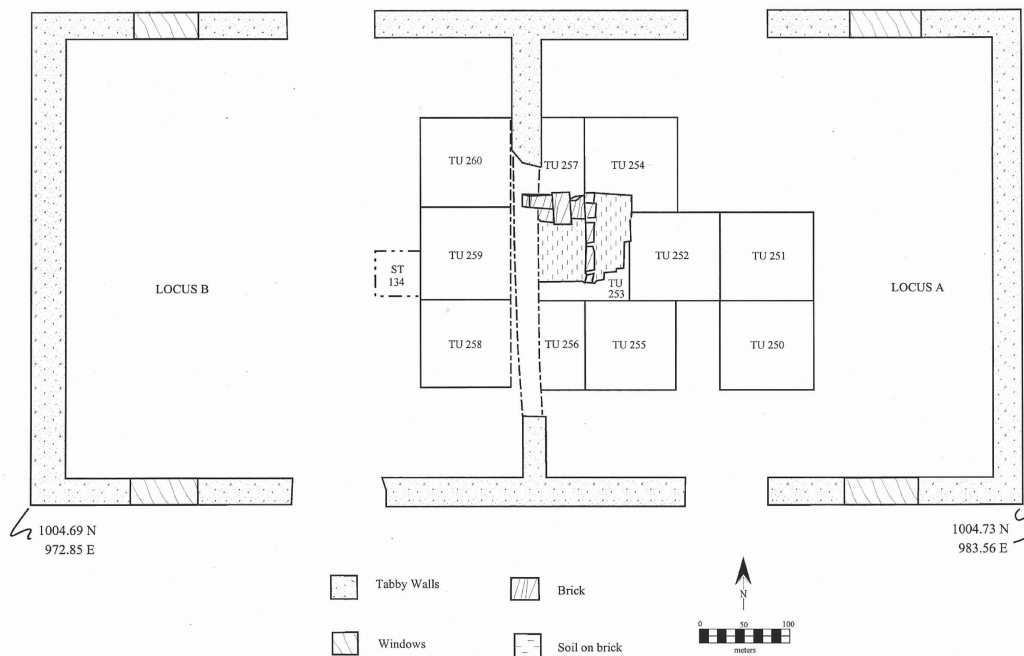


Figure 7. Excavation Plan, Loci A and B.

charcoal, and animal bone. The age of this feature could not be determined.

Feature 81 was a round basin located at the base of Level 6, Test Unit 250, in Locus A. It measured 42 cm by 39 cm and was 20 cm deep. It contained no artifacts and its age and function was not determined.

Feature 82 is the remains of the original tabby chimney in Tabby 1. This feature was extensively disturbed by later chimney rebuilding episodes. Feature 82 was located at the base of Level 4 in Locus A (Test Units 254, 255, and 256). The feature continued into Locus B. Soils in the feature consisted of dark gray (10YR4/1) sand with tabby brick and oyster shell mortar. The approximate centerpoint of Feature 82 is at 1007.5N, 978.18E. Most of the original tabby brick chimney has been destroyed. The extent of this destruction in Locus A was nearly complete, although scattered tabby bricks (not seen previously in the North End Quarter excavations) and large blocks of poured tabby were identified. Samples of the tabby bricks in Locus A were collected. Locus B remains consisted of the outer edge of the hearth foundation, which was lined with a single row of tabby bricks placed end to end (Figures 8 and 9)

Feature 82 contained 76 artifacts represented by a variety of types. These included wrought, cut and wire nails, one large iron spike, ceramics, bottle glass, buttons, a graphite

pencil, one ceramic marble, tobacco pipe fragments, lead scrap, and iron scrap. The feature also yielded oyster shell, handmade brick, shell mortar, plaster, and animal bone. A sample of 11 ceramic sherds from Feature 82 yielded a MCD of 1803.2 and a TPQ of 1830 (based on the presence of yellowware). This feature was probably created in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, possibly after 1830, based on its artifact content, although the feature was disturbed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced by the modern pencil and wire nails.

## TABBY 1--LOCUS B

Locus B was defined as the area within the western room of Tabby 2. This area was sampled by three 1 m by 1 m excavation units (Test Units 258, 259, and 260), metal detector survey, and one shovel test (Shovel Test 134). The metal detector scan resulted in the recovery of seven metal objects. These included: one brass button (South Type 18), one 4-hole pewter or lead button, one small lead shot, one lead fishing weight, one small hubcab (from a child's large toy vehicle), and scrap brass.

Shovel Test 134 measured 50 by 50 cm and was placed immediately West of the chimney hearth and the test unit 258-260 cluster. It was excavated in three levels. This test yielded 16 artifacts, oyster shell and animal bone. The



**Figure 8. Feature 82, East View.**



**Figure 9. Tabby Bricks, Feature 82.**

artifacts included: ceramics, bottle glass, a tobacco pipe fragment, a brass button, a bone bobbin.

Test Unit 258 was located on the south side of the chimney hearth. Test Unit 259 was located within the chimney hearth. Test Unit 260 was located on the northern side of the chimney hearth. These three test units surrounded the western fireplace of Tabby 1. Most of the soils in these test units were disturbed in conjunction with the alteration and rebuilding of the chimney. Consequently, the stratigraphic information from these three test units was of limited value.

Excavations in Locus B produced 205 artifacts. Artifacts from Locus B yielded a TPQ of 1813, based on the presence of ironstone ceramics. The historic ceramic assemblage from Locus B was insufficient for MCD calculations. A very small sample of 11 historic ceramic sherds from Locus B yielded a MCD of 1806. No Window glass date was returned for Locus B due to the limited number of window glass sherds that were recovered. A very small sample of 13 tobacco pipe stems from Locus B yielded a mean pipe stem date (MPD) of 1798.1, following Omwake's dating method (Omwake 1967).

Five features were investigated in Locus B. All were architecturally related. These were Features 82 through 87, which are described below. Feature 82, which was discussed for Locus A, extended into Locus B. This feature is the central chimney foundation for Tabby 1.

Feature 83 contained two posts that were located in Test Unit 260, Level 1. The feature consisted of two distinct parts, which were designated 83A and 83B. Feature 83A was an intrusive square post into Feature 83B, a round posthole. Feature 83A soils consisted of (10YR4/1) sandy loam. It contained a quartz cobble fragment, oyster shell and animal bone. Feature 83B contained one wrought nail, plaster, daub, and oyster shell. The age of the feature was undetermined, although it may date to the 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of the single wrought nail. Soils in Feature 83B were (10YR5/4) sandy loam. Feature 83 was square in plan and measured 30 cm by 30 cm and was 28 cm deep. Feature 83 (A and B) was positioned northwest of the western hearth in Tabby 1 and may be related to its original construction. It may represent a scaffolding post, which was used on more than one occasion, as evidenced by the intrusive post. Both posts (Feature 83A and 83B) appeared to be from the early site occupation.

Archaeologists also examined Features 84-87 in Locus B. Feature 84 was a wooden post or board that was driven into the ground without an excavated posthole. It was located in Test Unit 260. It measured 8 cm east-west by 4 cm north-south. No artifacts were associated with it. Feature 85 was a wooden post or board that was driven

into the ground without an excavated posthole. It was located in Test Unit 259. It measured 10 cm northeast-southwest by 4 cm northwest-southeast. No artifacts were associated with it. Feature 86 was a post and post hole and a driven wooden board. It was located in Test Unit 258. It measured 20 cm by more than 8 cm. No artifacts were associated with it. Feature 87 was a trench that was located in Test Unit 258. It measured more than 54 cm north-south by 10 cm east-west. No artifacts were associated with it.

## TABBY 2--LOCUS C

Locus C was defined as the area within the eastern room of Tabby 2. This area was the most heavily investigated of the tabby dwellings. It was sampled in 2005 by Test Units 205-208, and 210-211 representing a total of six 1 by 1 m units placed in the eastern room of Tabby 2 (Elliott 2005d). Test Unit 205 abutted the approximate center of the chimney hearth. Test Unit 206 was immediately east of Test Unit 205. Test Unit 207 abutted the northern interior tabby wall of the dwelling. Test Unit 208 was immediately south of Test Unit 207. Test Unit 211 abutted the southern interior tabby wall of the dwelling. Test Unit 210 was immediately north of Test Unit 211. Plans and profile drawings of Test Units 205 through 208 and 210 and 211 are included in Appendix 2. Excavations in 2006 included Test Units 218, 219, and 221, each measuring 1 m by 1 m (Figure 10). A total of 3,531 artifacts was recovered from the excavations in Locus C.

The historic ceramic assemblage from Locus C was used to calculate a MCD of 1785.6 for this area of occupation, based on a sample of 268 dateable sherds. This date estimate is quite consistent with the previous date estimate of 1785.7, which was obtained from the 2005 excavations in this area and based on a sample of 190 sherds. The 2005 and 2006 sherd assemblages were combined for the 1785.6 MCD. These data indicate that the peak of ceramic sherd deposition in this vicinity took place in the period immediately after the American Revolution. The sherd types recovered from Locus C indicate occupation both prior to and following the American Revolution. No varieties of historic ceramics with TPQs dating after 1830 were recovered from Locus C. This may indicate that flooring was established in the tabby dwelling shortly after 1830 and this construction barrier prevented the entry of large sherds in the midden soils in this area. This relationship is consistent with the project construction episode of 1840 for Tabby 2, as suggested by Fore (2004, 2005), although the archaeological data may indicate the construction took place several years earlier, perhaps as early as 1831. The MCDs from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century attest to the presence of an earlier building in the vicinity of Tabby 2.

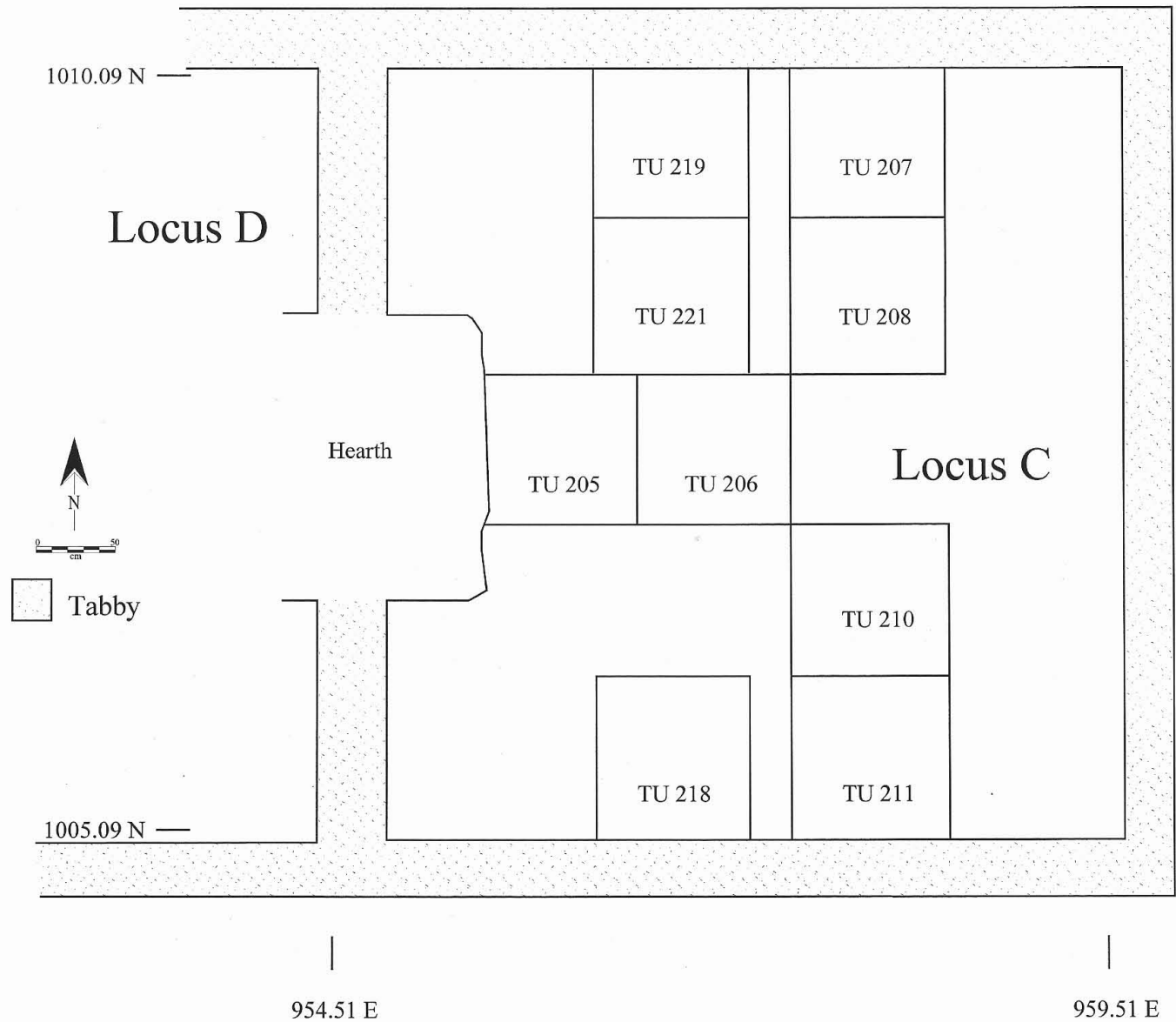


Figure 10. Excavation Plan of Locus C.

A sample of 80 window glass sherds from Locus C yielded a Mean Glass Date (MGD) of 1876.1. A sample of 19 sherds from Level 1 produced a MGD of 1895.8, while a sample of 61 window glass sherds from Levels 2-5 yielded a MGD of 1870. These data suggest that glass windows were installed in the east room of Tabby 2, around 1870. As a result of breakage, additional window glass was installed in this room around 1895 or 1896.

Nineteenth century window glass is a useful artifact type for dating. Window glass produced in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is also helpful for site dating but it is not used as part of the window glass dating formula because of its different manufacturing technique. Nineteenth century window glass becomes progressively thicker during manufacture throughout the century. As glass production techniques improved glass makers were able to manufacture larger and thicker panes of window glass. Roenke (1978) and others have developed dating formulas for window glass. Because the technology for glass manufacture was radically improved from the earlier blown crown glass window panes of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, this dating technique is only applicable to 19<sup>th</sup> century assemblages. Moir's (1987) regression formula for dating window glass is presented below:

$$\text{Glass Manufacture Date} = 84.22 \times (\text{Mean glass thickness in millimeters}) + 1712.7$$

Moir's formula was applied to the window glass sample from the various excavated contexts at 9Ch1062 (Table 6). A very small sample of 10 window glass sherds from Locus A yielded a WGD estimate of 1859.2. Locus B yielded too few window glass sherds to allow an accurate date estimate. A sample of 80 window glass sherds from Locus C yielded a WGD estimate of 1876.1. A sample of 79 window glass sherds from Locus D yielded a WGD estimate of 1909.8. A very small sample of six window glass sherds from Locus E yielded a WGD estimate of 1858.7.

The two site loci with the largest samples of window glass sherds (Loci C and D) both produced WGD estimates dating well after the American Civil War. These data clearly demonstrate that the glass windows were installed in Tabby 2 in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or very early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This dwelling probably lacked any glass windows when it was used as housing for Morel's enslaved. The distribution of window glass in Tabby 2 may be the result of window breakage caused by hurricane winds in the 1890s.

Loci A and E produced WGD estimates from the Antebellum period, however it should be emphasized

<b>Window Glass Dates</b>		
<b>Loci</b>	<b>MGD</b>	<b>n=</b>
<b>A</b>	1863.5	11
<b>C</b>	1876.1	80
<b>D</b>	1909.8	79
<b>G</b>	1878.3	9
<b>H</b>	1886	140
<b>L</b>	1881.1	8
<b>M</b>	1866	123
<b>N</b>	1866.4	32
<b>R</b>	1897	11
<b>S</b>	1897	59
<hr/>		
<b>Site-Wide</b>	1882.8	571
<b>Level 1</b>	1896	236
<b>Level 2</b>	1873.7	167
<b>Level 3</b>	1870.8	53

**Table 6. Window Glass Dates.**



that both of these samples were extremely small and statistically invalid. Both date estimates, 1859.2 and 1858.7, fall near the end of slavery times, however, and this may indicate that Tabbies 1 and 3 may have received glass windows shortly after the Civil War. The small sample size, however, precludes any definitive statements to this effect. The very low frequency of window glass in Tabby 1 suggests that window glass was used sparingly in that building, or that the windows in Tabby 1 avoided breakage over the decades. The low frequency of window glass in Locus E (Tabby 3) is probably a result of low sample size, rather than an indicator of few glazed windows.

Feature 8 was located in Test Units 205 and 206 of Locus C. It was a rectangular post hole and postmold, which extended north of these two test units. This feature was oriented diagonally to the orientation of Tabby 2, which may indicate that it predates this building and is not associated with it. The post mold within the posthole may represent more than one period of use. It measured at least 80 cm northwest-southeast by 55 cm northeast-southwest and was 25 cm in depth. The feature contained ceramics, bottle glass, metal, and animal bone. The faunal assemblage from Feature 8 included: diamondback terrapin (probable), longnose gar (probable), and unidentified mammals. Soils in the Feature 8 posthole were brown (7.5YR4/4) sandy loam, and the postmolds consisted of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) fine sandy loam mottled with pinkish gray (7.5YR6/2) sand. The artifacts from Feature 8, which included yellow slip decorated redware, creamware and olive green bottle glass, indicate a 1762 or later time period. This post is possibly associated with an earlier dwelling that was located in the same general vicinity as Tabby 2.

Feature 9 was the bottom of a builder's trench along the north wall of Tabby 2, located in Test Unit 219 (2.00 m top elevation). The feature measured 42 cm north-south by 27 cm east-west and was 22 cm deep. The feature soils were dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) fine sandy loam. The trench terminated at the doorway opening. This feature intruded on the northern edge of Feature 77, which indicates that Feature 9 is the more recent of the two. It yielded two wire nails and a small quantity of animal bone (6.9 g), which included shortnose sturgeon, probable pond slider turtle, mullet, raccoon, and other unidentified birds, fish and mammals (Appendix 5). This feature dates after 1865, based on the wire nail evidence.

Feature 12 was the southern interior builder's trench for Tabby 2, which was originally located in the 2005 excavation season in Test Unit 211, Locus C (Elliott 2005d). Additional portions of Feature 12 were excavated in 2006 in Test Unit 218, Level 4. Feature 12 yielded 71 artifacts. Feature 12 was a linear trench that measured

more than 1 meter east-west by more than 49 cm north-south. The feature fill was dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) and very dark gray (2.5Y3/1) fine sand and oyster shell. The feature fill included three safety pins and Portland cement. The formula for Portland cement was patented in England in 1824 and was produced in the United States from the 1870s to the present. Metal safety pins were not mass produced until after 1849, when inventor Walter Hunt filed his patent (United States Patent and Trademark Office 2005). The presence of the safety pins were cited as important clues to the age of the construction of Tabby 2 (Elliott 2005d:65-66). In light of more recent examination of the builder's trenches associated with Tabby 2, however, it is apparent that these later artifacts may have been deposited in the builder's trench during subsequent building stabilization efforts. This stabilization, which included the poured cement collars around the tabby buildings, took place in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, the builder's trenches of Tabby 2 were unreliable indicators of the building's age.

Feature 13 was an oval post hole located in Test Unit 210 of Locus C. The feature contained eight artifacts, including stoneware ceramics, olive green bottle glass, square nails, oyster shell, shell mortar and unidentified mammal bones. The soil in Feature 13 consisted of gray (7.5YR5/1) fine sandy loam. The artifacts from Feature 13 suggest a pre-1865 context. This post may be associated with a post-in-ground dwelling that dates prior to Tabby 2. Post-in-ground dwellings were made by various ethnic groups in Georgia in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Some of these may represent African-style buildings, but they were also made by Huguenots, Salzburger and other early colonists and Native Americans. More excavation is needed before the building styles of these suspected post-in-ground buildings can be fully described and attributed (Davin 2007; Steen et al. 1996).

Feature 14 was an oval post hole (with a possible rodent burrow disturbance extending from it) located in Test Unit 211 in Locus C. The feature contained a wrought iron nail, olive green bottle glass and a small quantity of animal bone. The faunal collection from Feature 14 included: drum fish, hardhead catfish, pond or marsh turtle, raccoon, white-tailed deer and unidentified mammals. The limited sample of artifacts from Feature 14 tentatively indicates that it dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This post is probably associated with a post-in-ground building that predates Tabby 2.

Feature 73 was a square post hole and oval postmold that was excavated in Test Units 218 and 219, Level 4 (2.02 top elevation), although it probably originated higher up in Level 3 (2.1 m top elevation). The post hole measured 29 cm east-west by 25 cm north-south and the postmold was an 18 cm square. Soils consisted of

dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silty sand with scattered oyster shell bits. One large oyster shell and one large bone were located at the top of the feature, possibly placed there intentionally to help stabilize the post. The feature contained seven artifacts, including wrought and unidentified square nails, colonoware, creamware, bottle glass, and a tobacco pipe bowl. It also yielded handmade brick, oyster shell, shell mortar, animal bone, and small bits of wood charcoal. The faunal remains included cow, pig, raccoon, mullet and other unidentified amphibian, bird, mammal, and turtle bones (Appendix 5). The small artifact assemblage suggests that the feature dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, sometime after 1762 based on the presence of creamware.

Feature 74 was a rodent disturbance in Test Unit 218, Locus C, Level 4 (2.02 m top elevation). It measured more than 30 cm north-south by more than 10 cm east-west and was 2 cm thick. The soils were dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silty sand with small oyster shell bits. The feature contained three artifacts, which were an unidentified white-bodied ceramic sherd and two pieces of bottle glass. It also contained a corncob, shell mortar and animal bone. The animal bones included unidentified bird and mammal (Appendix 5).

Feature 75 was a rodent burrow disturbance on the east side of Test Unit 218, Locus C, Level 4 (2.02 top elevation). It was 4 cm thick and measured 13 cm north-south by more

than 9 cm east-west, continuing beyond the east wall of Locus D excavations. Soils were very dark gray brown (10YR3/2) silty sand. The feature contained shell mortar, a oyster shell, and animal bone.

Feature 76 was a grayish, irregular pit that was recognized in Test Unit 219, Level 3 (2.10 m top elevation). It measured 40 cm north-south by 32 cm east-west and was 7 cm deep. It was a trapezoid in plan and was a shallow basin in profile. Soils consisted of gray (7.5YR5/1) silty sand mottled with dark gray (10YR4/1) silty sand. The feature contained one wrought nail, one tobacco pipe bowl, handmade brick, oyster shell, shell mortar, animal bone, walnut (*Juglans nigra*) shells, and small bits of wood charcoal. This feature tentatively dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, based on the few artifacts that were recovered. Its function was not determined, although it appeared to be of cultural origin.

Feature 77 was the most substantial pit feature in the North End Quarter. It was a root cellar, converted to a refuse pit, and a post hole in it. Feature 77 was located in Test Units 219 and 221 in Locus C, Level 4 (2.02 m top elevation). The feature measured 1.16 m north-south by at least 72 cm east-west and was 41 cm deep. The center of this feature was located at 1009.20N 956.85E. The feature had a flat bottom and was irregular to trapezoidal in plan. This feature was intruded by Feature 9, the builder's trench for Tabby 2, which indicates that Feature



Figure 11. Feature 77, East View Prior to Excavation.

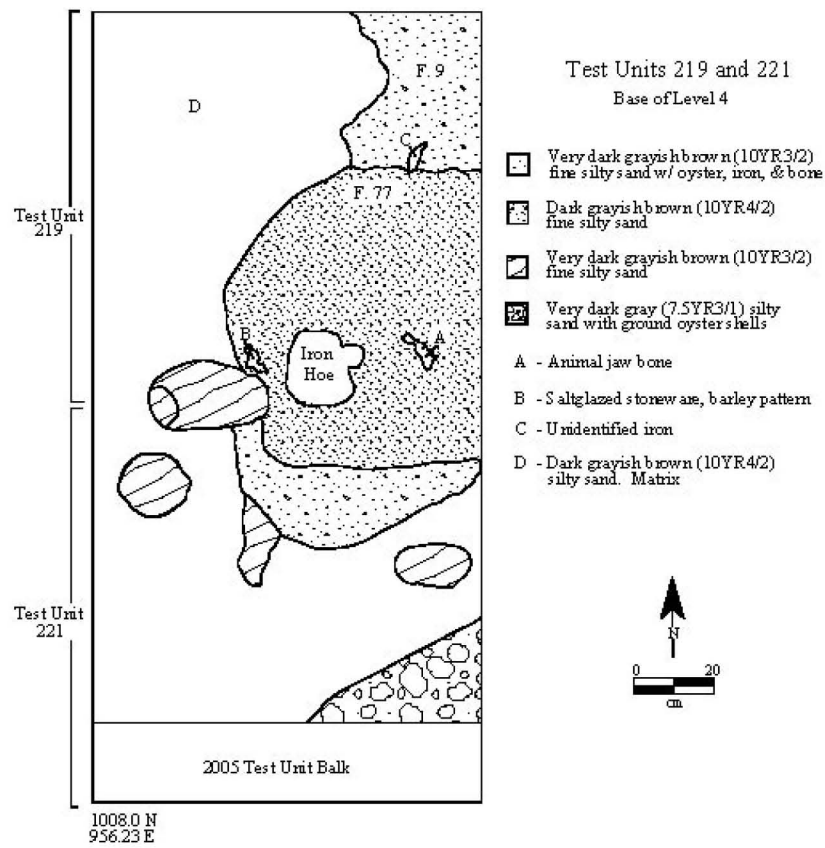


Figure 12. Test Unit 219 and 221, Feature 77, Plan.



Figure 13. Feature 77, South View.

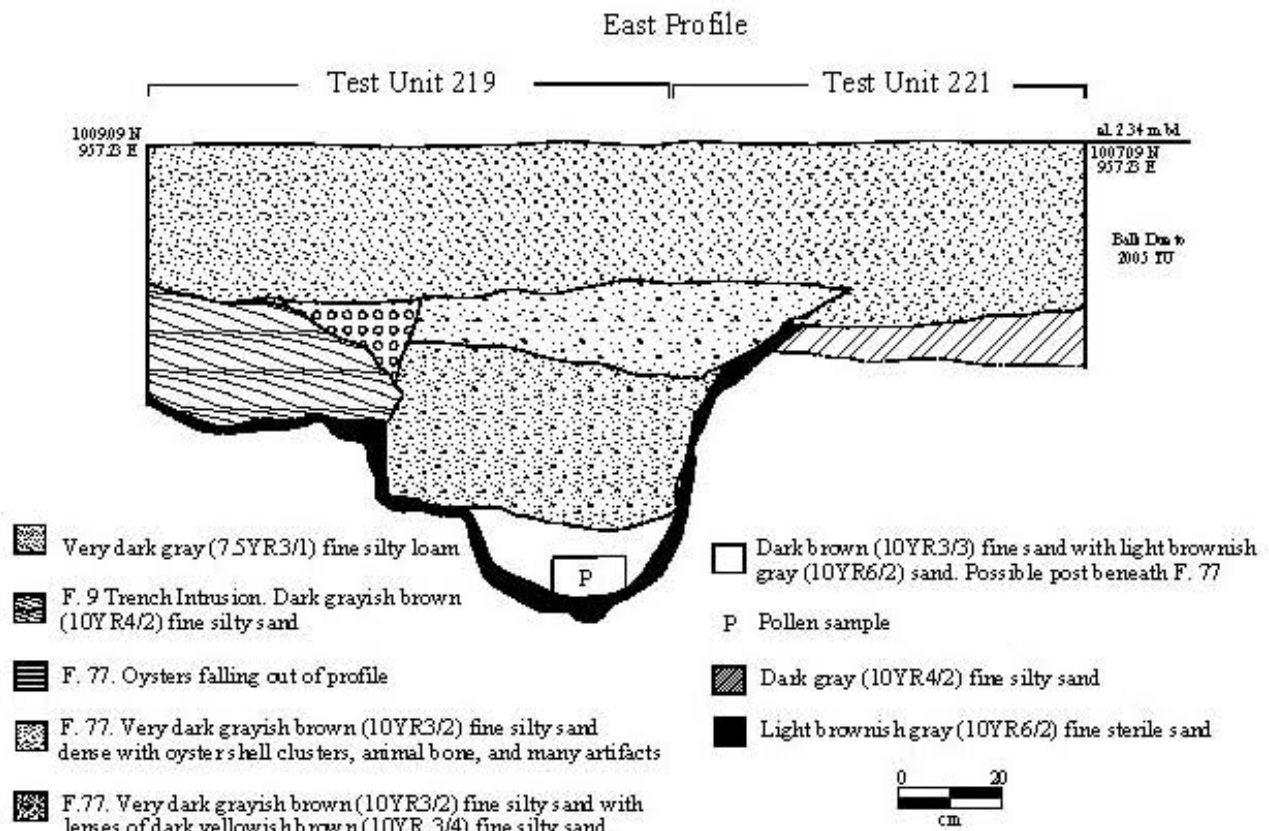


Figure 14. Test Unit 219 and 221, Feature 77, East Profile.

77 is older than the Tabby dwelling. Several views of this feature, as well as plan and profile drawings, are shown in Figures 11 through 14.

Feature 77 was partially stratified. Soils consisted of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silty sand with clusters of oyster shells, animal bones and historic artifacts. The refuse debris was more concentrated at the top of the feature. The lower zones consisted of fewer artifacts in thin bands of very dark gray brown (10YR3/2) and dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) fine sand. The eastern portion of the feature was left unexcavated and the other portion excavated was carefully backfilled. Feature 9, the northern builder's trench for Tabby 2 was positioned just north of Feature 77 and did not impact the earlier feature.

Feature 77 contained 77 artifacts, including wrought and cut nails, a variety of 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century ceramics, buttons, bottle glass, one lead ball, one English spall-type gunflint, four tobacco pipe fragments, and other items. The feature also yielded handmade brick, oyster shell (6 kg), shell tabby mortar (100 g), bits of wood charcoal, and animal bone.

The faunal remains from Feature 77 included crab, box or pond turtle, chicken, cow, a probable pond slider turtle, hardhead catfish, pig, long nosed gar (probable), raccoon, sea bass, sunfish, mullet, deer, and other unidentified fish, bird, and mammal bones (Appendix 5). This faunal assemblage, which consisted of 310 vertebrate remains, represents a varied diet of domestic and wild animal species.

Feature 77 contained large iron hoes at the top and bottom of the feature. Both hoes were in poor condition and were probably unfit for field use. Hoes were a common tool at the North End plantation and the enslaved community would have had access to many of them. Hoes were used for agricultural work on the plantation, as well as in small garden spaces near the cabins. One suggestion is that these hoes were used to cook "hoe cakes" in the fireplace, which is a tempting interpretation for their presence at this location. Hoe cakes were the favorite breakfast food of President George Washington in 1790, although his were prepared on a griddle. The food was popularized in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in Stephen Foster's song, "Uncle Ned" (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association 2007; ref). The celebrated war woman Nancy Hart allegedly served a meal demanded by six Loyalist soldiers that included

hoecakes just before she single-handedly captured them (*Milledgeville Southern Recorder* 1825). In their simplest form hoe-cakes consisted of cornmeal (or other grain), water and lard made into a thick batter and cooked on the hoe blade over an open fire. In situations where the cook possessed more formal cookware, this was likely used instead of a hoe. The earliest published recipe for Johnny Cake, or Hoe Cake, was in 1796 in Simmons' *American Cookery*, which stated,

Scald 1 pint of milk and put to 3 pints of indian meal, and half pint of flower--bake before the fire. Or scald with milk two thirds of the indian meal, or wet two thirds with boiling water, add salt, molasses and shortening, work up with cold water pretty stiff, and bake as above.

Hoe-cakes were a relatively easy way to prepare a quick meal. No doubt, the residents of North End Quarter had their own variations of this recipe.

Another interpretation of Feature 77 is that it served as a hiding hole within Tabby 2. Brian Thomas presented a strong case that enslaved people at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage plantation, near Nashville, Tennessee, maintained secret spaces beneath the floors of their houses (Russell 1997:63-80). These secret storage pits would have been used to keep items that the families did not wish their masters or overseers to discover. Owing to the soils at the North End Quarter, it would have been fairly simple to conceal a storage pit of this type within a building. The loose, sandy topsoil and midden could have been brushed across the pit's covered surface rendering it nearly imperceptible. The hoe may have been placed at the top of the feature in order for its users to easily locate it when necessary.

A third interpretation of Feature 77 is that it represents a refuse pit that was in the yard of the North End Quarter and which predates the construction of Tabby 2. The base of Feature 77 contains a post hole shaft, which may indicate the original purpose for the pit's excavation. The upper layers of Feature 77 clearly represent a series of trash filling episodes, so that aspect of the feature's function is clearly established. Thus, the feature had two functions during its use - as a post support and subsequent refuse pit. The inclusion of the two hoes may have been incidental.

Feature 77 probably dates to the very early 19<sup>th</sup> century. A very small sample of 17 ceramics from the feature yielded a MCD of 1787.7. One brass button from the feature (South

Type 18) probably dates after 1800, which is the TPQ for the feature. The period when this feature was used can be tentatively bracketed between 1800 to 1810. That date span precedes the estimated construction date of Tabby 2 by several decades. If the feature is older than the tabby dwelling, then it is obviously not associated with activity within it. This is the preferred interpretation of Feature 77. This interpretation does not negate the interpreted use of the hoes as improvised cooking implements but, if so, they were used in a different fireplace from the one in Tabby 2. This outdoor refuse pit interpretation for Feature 77 presents strong evidence for an earlier series of dwellings for the enslaved at the North End Quarter. The other artifact and feature evidence from Loci C and D further support the interpretation of earlier dwellings at this location. The orientation and configuration of this earlier slave settlement remains to be fully defined.

## TABBY 2--LOCUS D

Locus D was defined as the area within the western room of Tabby 2. In 2005 it was investigated by Test Units 215-216, which were two contiguous 1 x 1 m units. Nine metal detector signals in this room were investigated and collected. Test Unit 215 was placed immediately adjacent to the hearth and the long axis of this excavation was oriented East-West. Test Unit 216 was located immediately west of Test Unit 16. Feature 23, which is shown in this plan, was a posthole that was located at the junction of Test Units 15 and 16. It was a rounded-bottom post. It contained a machine cut nail, a pearlware sherd, one bottle glass sherd, animal bone and oyster shell. This post is probably associated with a building dating prior to the construction of Tabby 2. Plan and profile drawings of Test Units 215 and 216 are included in Appendix 2.

The 2006 excavations in Locus D were extensive and nearly complete. Only a narrow margin of soil was left along selected areas of the wall and hearth to protect the architectural stability of the tabby building. The building's interior was sampled with 22 test units, each measuring 1 m by 1 m. These units were designated (from Northwest to Southeast and from North to South) Units 245-249, 240-243, 236-239, 230-233, and 226-229 and 230. The block excavation, composed of these 22 test units, was excavated in a series of levels, each measuring 10 cm in vertical thickness. At the base of Level 3, the Level 4 Locus D excavation was stepped down to a 9 m by 9 m block, which was centered in the interior of the room. This was done to protect the architectural stability of the tabby building. A total of 4,227 artifacts was recovered from Locus D.

Architectural evidence within Locus D consisted of posts, brick pier supports, wooden planks, and

architecture-related artifacts. Evidence for a wood floor was immediately recognized in the excavation of Level 1. This wooden floor dates well after 1923, based on brick evidence discussed below. This most recent floor was probably a tongue in groove construction, which accounts for the low frequency of artifacts in the underlying midden that date after 1923. An alignment of 40 bricks was cleaned off and mapped during the excavation of Level 1 in Locus D. Each brick was carefully mapped, most were measured, and relevant attributes were recorded. These bricks represent a subfloor support for a wooden floor that had been removed prior to the archaeological investigation of Tabby 2. The spatial pattern of these bricks and other traces of wood evidence is shown in Figures 15 and 16. The bricks were organized in a general grid pattern that consisted of eight rows north-south by six rows east-west. A key to this map, which contains the details recorded for each numbered brick, is presented in Table 7. The bricks fall into six general categories: handmade bricks, extruded bricks, extruded bricks with holes, Savannah Gray bricks, Plainville Brick Co. bricks, and unidentified bricks.

The handmade bricks, which may represent the oldest bricks on the site cannot be conclusively dated. They almost certainly date prior to 1875. Twenty-one handmade bricks were used in the Locus D floor. The Savannah Gray bricks are well renowned and are associated with many of the fine early 19<sup>th</sup> century brick homes in Savannah. These bricks were first produced in quantity at Hermitage plantation by Henry McAlphin about 1810. A thriving brick industry developed in Savannah on that plantation and on areas to the south of Hermitage. More than 50 million bricks were manufactured at Hermitage plantation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Matthews 1915; Granger 1947; Henry Ford Museum 2003). While Savannah Gray bricks are certainly historical, and some of them may have been used in the original construction of Tabby 2, they may not be the oldest clay bricks at the North End plantation. Three Savannah Gray bricks were used in Locus D as floor supports.

The extruded bricks probably date after 1875, which was a watershed year in brick technology in Georgia. Improvements in brick manufacturing technology allowed these bricks to be made more consistently and evenly, and with more crisp surfaces and angles, than the earlier handmade varieties. They were a superior product compared to the handmade bricks. Six unmarked extruded bricks were used as floor supports in Locus D. The most recent of the Tabby 2 bricks are those marked "Plainville Brick Co." Eight examples of the Plainville bricks were found. These bricks were produced by the Plainville Brick Company in Plainville, Gordon County, Georgia. That firm began operation in 1923 and continues to produce bricks today. Therefore, the bricks that served

as floor supports in Locus D were placed there sometime after 1923. Some of the Plainville bricks in Locus D contained mortar on some of the edges, which indicates that these bricks were recycled from a previous use. This may mean that this floor in Locus D was placed there several years after 1923, possibly in the 1930s or 1940s (Vanishing Georgia 2007).

The flooring evidence that was documented in Level 1 of Locus D helps to determine the age of the underlying archaeological deposits. Artifacts from Level 2 and below nearly all date prior to the age of this latest flooring of the building. Traces of an earlier wood floor were suggested by Features 36 and 37, which were rotted wooden planks. If this was a solid floor, most evidence for this has been destroyed by later activity.

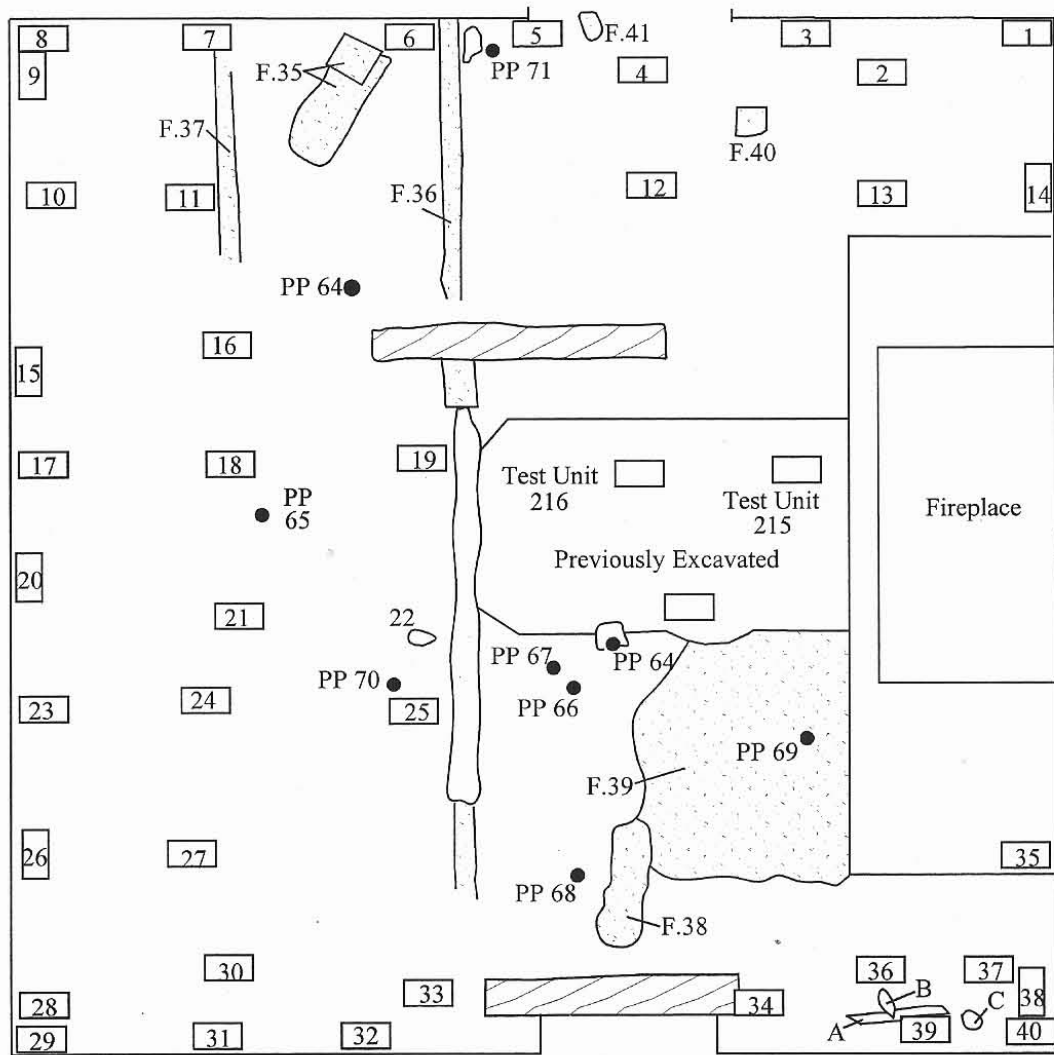
Evidence for an earlier building, which predates Tabby 2 by many decades, was seen in Locus D. This evidence consisted of 18<sup>th</sup> century architectural artifacts (wrought nails and spikes) and early post features. Levels 1 and 2 of Locus D contained a mix of artifacts from various time periods. This mixed context is illustrated by the location of an 1851 large cent and a 1930s toy spoon at the same elevation and in close proximity (Figures 17 and 18).

A series of historic features were evident at the base of Level 3 in Block D. These are shown in plan view in Figure 19. Detailed views of individual features and profiles are contained in Appendix 2. They are discussed below.




Feature 35 was a square post in an oval posthole that was identified in Test Unit 246, Level 2 (2.15 m top elevation). The post was 6 cm in thickness. The long axis of the feature was oriented northeast-southwest and the post within the posthole shared this same orientation. The postmold fill was dark reddish gray (2.5YR3/1) sandy loam and the post hole fill was dark reddish gray (2.5YR4/1) silt loam with crumbled bits of tabby. The west profile of Feature 35 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained 12 artifacts, including unidentified square nails, creamware, blue hand painted porcelain, olive green bottle glass, leaded bottle glass, and a tobacco pipe bowl fragments. The feature also contained oyster shell, animal bone (107 g), shell mortar and one unmodified rock. The faunal remains from Feature 35 included blue crab, a possible pond slider turtle, bullfrog, cow, raccoon, sea catfish, mullet, deer, and other unidentified fish and mammals (Appendix 5). The artifacts indicate that this feature dates after 1762 but prior to 1820, based on the presence of creamware and the absence of any artifacts with TPQs after 1820.

Feature 36 was a rectangular plank or beam fragment that was lying horizontally (north-south) in Test Unit 247.

Tabby 2 Locus D  
Plan at Base of Level 1



+ 1004.70 N  
949.26 E

-  Beam
-  Feature
-  # Brick. Number keyed to description

- A - Board on Edge
- B - Inverted animal skull
- C - Wooden post
- Piece plot (PP)

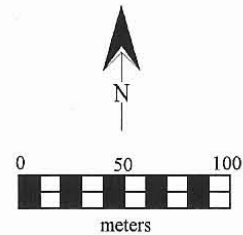


Figure 15. Plan at Base of Level 1, Locus D.

**Map**

<b>Key</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Length</b>	<b>Width</b>	<b>Thickness</b>	<b>Estimated Age</b>
1	Plainville Brick Co.	21	10	6	After 1923
2	Handmade brick	-	-	-	Before 1875
3	Extruded red brick	19	-	-	After 1875
4	Handmade brick	22	10		Before 1875
5	Plainville Brick Co.	21	10	6	After 1923
6	Plainville Brick Co.	21	10	6	After 1923
7	Plainville Brick Co.	21	10	6	After 1923
8	Plainville Brick Co.	21	10	6	After 1923
9	Handmade brick	22	10	7	Before 1875
10	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
11	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
12	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
13	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
14	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
15	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
16	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
17	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
18	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
19	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
20	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
21	Extruded brick, 2-holes	20	9	6	After 1875
22	Unidentified brick	-	-	-	Unknown
23	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
24	Handmade brick	23	10	7	Before 1875
25	Handmade brick	-	-	-	Before 1875
26	Plainville Brick Co.	21	10	6	After 1923
27	Extruded red brick	21	10	6	After 1875
28	Handmade brick	-	-	-	Before 1875
29	Plainville Brick Co.	21	10	6	After 1923
30	Extruded brick, 3-holes	-	-	-	After 1875
31	Handmade brick	-	-	-	Before 1875
32	Handmade brick	-	-	-	Before 1875
33	Handmade brick	22	11	-	Before 1875
34	Extruded red brick	-	-	-	After 1875
35	Savannah Gray brick	23	10	8	After 1810
36	Unidentified brick	-	-	-	Unknown
37	Savannah Gray brick	23	10	8	After 1810
38	Savannah Gray brick	23	10	8	After 1810
39	Extruded red brick	-	-	-	After 1875
40	Plainville Brick Co.	21	10	6	After 1923

**Table 7. Bricks at Base of Level 1, Locus D.**





Figure 16. North View at Base of Level 1, Locus D.

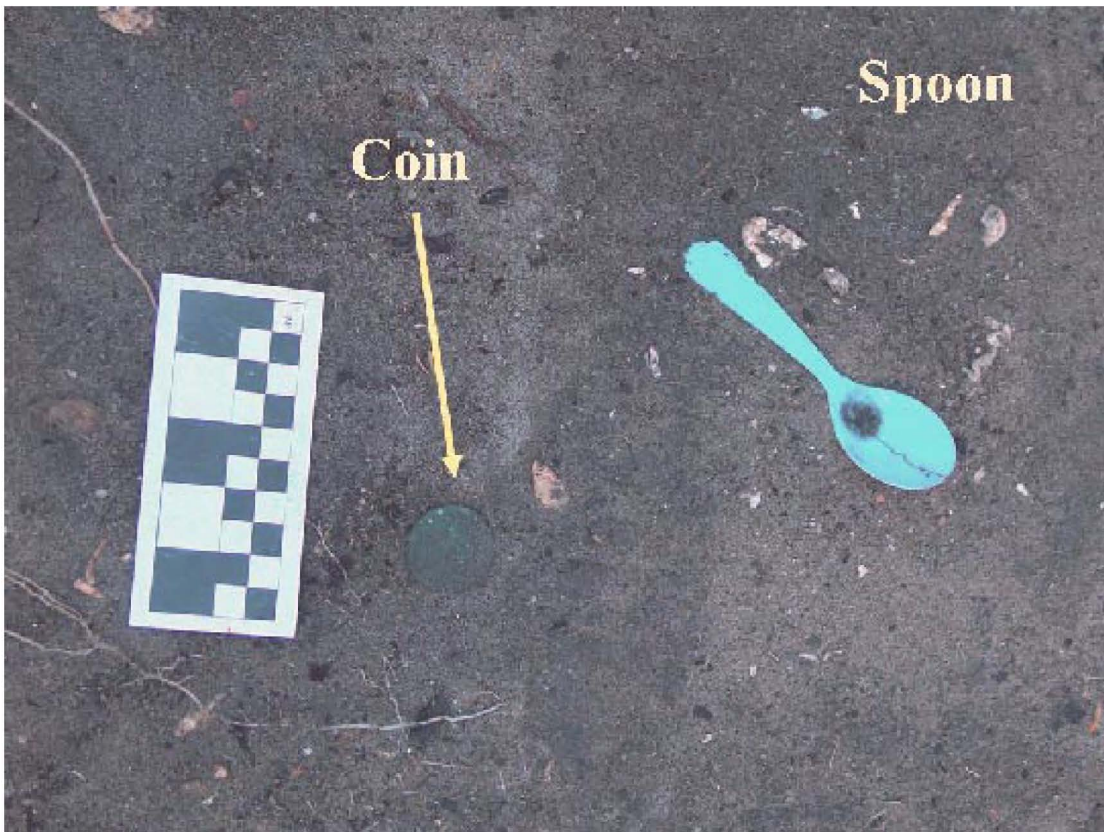


Figure 17. Close-up view of 1851 Coin and Beetleware Spoon, Locus D.



**Figure 18. Large Cent, 1851, Locus D.**

It was only 1 cm thick and consisted of decomposed wood and dark reddish gray (2.5YR4/1) silt loam. The area immediately surrounding this plank contained five artifacts, including a wrought nail, a cut nail, other unidentified square nails, and creamware. It also contained oyster shell, animal bone (15.9 g), shell mortar, and handmade brick. The artifacts indicate that this feature dates after 1762 but prior to 1820, based on the presence of creamware and the absence of any artifacts with TPQs after 1820. This plank represents a vestige of the earliest flooring system for Tabby 2.

Feature 37 was a rectangular rotted wood plank stain, measuring 1 meter by 30 cm but only 3 cm in thickness. It was located in Test Unit 246, Level 2 (2.15 m top elevation). It contained two pieces of olive green bottle glass and 10 wood fragments. It also contained oyster shell (1.5 kg), an alligator tooth and other animal bone (18.5 g), and shell mortar (100 g). The age of this feature was not determined. The alligator tooth has been modified for human use, having been hollowed out at its base. It is shown in Figure 20. The hollowed out cavity would hold approximately one-half teaspoon of powder. In spite of its shallow depth, Feature 37 contained an interesting variety of domestic and wild animal foods including blue crab, chicken, duck, hardhead catfish, marsh rice rat, raccoon, striped mullet, and unidentified bird, fishes, and mammals (Appendix 5).

Feature 38 was a shallow trench in Test Unit 223, just inside the southern doorway of Locus D. It measured 1 m by 72 cm and was 10 cm thick (2.25 m top elevation). It contained one yellow slipware sherd, one brass button (South Type 18), and one unidentified square nail. It also yielded oyster shell (1 kg), animal bone (6 g), brick and mortar rubble (50 g), and a small amount of wood charcoal. The tabby and oyster shell in this feature appeared to be intentionally pulverized. The faunal remains in Feature 38 included blue crab, hardhead catfish, mullet, rat, and other unidentified amphibian or reptile, bird and mammal bones (Appendix 5). This feature likely dates after 1800, based on the TPQ for the brass button.

Feature 39 was an irregular-shaped lens of compact midden deposit that was located in Test Unit 233, 234, and 239 at the base of Level 1 (2.32 m top elevation) and southwest of the chimney hearth in Locus D. The lens measured more than 1 m east-west by 1 m north-south and it was 16 cm thick. The soil consisted of brown (7.5YR5/3) silty sandy loam mottled with dark reddish gray (2.5YR4/1) fine silt, oyster shells, and some brick rubble. It contained 82 artifacts, including wrought and cut nails, unidentified square nails, one wire nail, window glass, a variety of early ceramics, bottle glass, a tablespoon, tobacco pipes, glass beads, buttons, a brass clothing stud, a watch part, a lead ball, a chain link, a large brass finial, and other items. The feature also contained oyster shell





**Figure 20. Modified Alligator Tooth, Locus D.**

(2 kg), animal bone (147 g), shell mortar (750 g), and one unmodified stone. Several soil samples were collected from this feature. The bulk of artifacts from this feature date to the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The single wire nail may indicate the final filling of the feature after about 1865, although this artifact was possibly intrusive into the soft sandy feature fill. Window glass from this feature also suggests a later intrusion, since window glass is mostly a post-bellum artifact at this site. The presence of pearlware suggests that the feature was filled after 1774 and predates the construction of Tabby 2. The faunal remains in Feature 39 included a variety of domestic and wild animals. Excavation uncovered blue crab, bullfrog, chicken, (probable) coot, duck, hardhead catfish, marsh rabbit, marsh rice rat, pig, raccoon, sea catfish, mullet, sturgeon, and deer, and other bones included unidentified fish, birds, turtles, and mammals (Appendix 5).

Features 40 and 56 consisted of a rectangular post and round postmold located in the northern edge of Test Unit 248, Level 1, just inside the northern doorway of Locus D. Only the southern one-half of the feature was excavated. The postmold measured 19 cm in diameter and was 10 cm deep. The west profile of Feature 56 is shown in Appendix 2. The post remnants were nearly decomposed. The soil consisted of dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/1) and very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) sandy loam and rotten wood. It contained four artifacts, including window glass, bottle glass, unidentified nails, and a tobacco pipe stem. It also

yielded oyster shell, animal bone (5.6 g), shell mortar and wood fragments. The feature was lacking in temporally diagnostic artifacts so its age remains undetermined. It probably dates to the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century, based on the meager artifact assemblage.

Feature 41 was a rotted wooden post in a posthole that was located in Test Unit 247, Level 2 (2.15 m top elevation), directly inside the northern doorway of Locus D. The wood remains were merely a trace, less than 1 cm thick. No artifacts were associated with this feature.

Feature 47 was a rectangular wooden post and postmold. It was located in the floor of Level 2, Test Units 226 and 245 (2.15 m elevation). No artifacts were associated with this post and the age of this post was not determined.

Feature 48 was a partially decomposed wooden post in a post hole, which was located on the western edge of Test Unit 240 (centerpoint of feature, 1008.08N 949.62E). The post measured 6.4 cm (2.5 in) by 3.8 cm (1.5 in) and was at least 51 cm (20 in) in length. The post hole fill consisted of very dark gray (10YR3/2) fine silty sand. The west profile of Feature 48 is shown in Figure 21 and in Appendix 2. The feature contained shell mortar, a small piece of tabby, and wood fragments but no other artifacts. The age of this feature was not determined. This post was probably associated with the original construction of Tabby 2. It may have secured the wooden frame, into



**Figure 21. Feature 48, West View.**

which the liquid tabby was poured. The horizontal plank was either removed or has completely decomposed, but an anchor post (Feature 48) was left in place. Feature 48 was clearly intrusive into Feature 57, which indicates that Tabby 2 is more recent than Feature 57. The presence of a small trace of tabby in Feature 48 may indicate that a building with some tabby used in its construction was present in this general vicinity, prior to the construction of Tabby 2. Feature 48, while a seemingly simple post feature, actually provided some very important clues for interpreting the construction sequence at the North End Quarter.

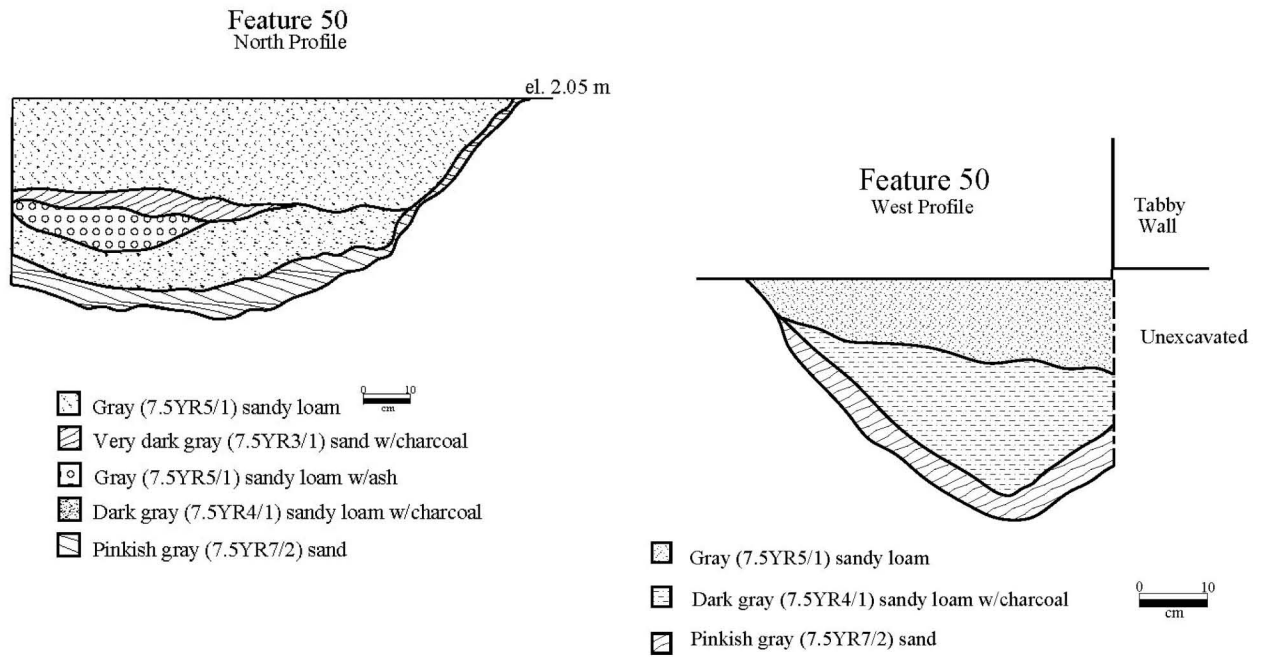
Feature 50 was a large pit located in the northwest corner of Tabby 2 in Test Units 245 and 246. The feature

continued to the north and west but its known dimensions are at least 1.3 m east-west by 90 cm north-south. The soil consisted of very dark gray (10YR3/1) fine silty sand with charcoal flecks, oyster shell, and historic artifacts. The north and west profiles of Feature 50 are shown in Figures 22 and 23. It appears to be circular or oval in plan and it probably predates the construction of Tabby 2. The feature contained 20 artifacts, including wrought and unidentified square nails, delFTWARE, yellow slipware, lead glazed coarse earthenware, bottle glass, tobacco pipe fragments, and lead and brass scrap. It also contained handmade brick, oyster shells, shell mortar, animal bone (176.4 g), and unmodified stones. The food remains from Feature 50 were comprised of a variety of domestic and wild animals, including: Canadian goose (probable), cow, duck, hardhead catfish, longnose gar (probable), pig, pond slider turtle (probable), raccoon, rat, deer, and other unidentified birds and mammals (Appendix 5). The early ceramics and wrought nail suggest that this feature

dates to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.

Feature 51 was possibly a small post in an irregular-shaped shallow stain in Test Unit 247. It measured 29 cm northwest-southeast by 22 cm northeast-southwest. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) fine silty sand with bits of charcoal and oyster shell. The north profile of Feature 51 is shown in Appendix 2. Feature 51 contained oyster shell, shell mortar, animal bone (0.1 g), and wood charcoal. No temporally diagnostics were recovered, so the age of this feature is undetermined.

Feature 52 was a possible builder's trench that was located in Test Units 247 and 248. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) sand with bits of charcoal and oyster shell. The north profile of Feature 52 is shown in Appendix 2. The feature plan outline was irregular and was situated



**Figure 22. Feature 50, North and West Profiles.**



**Figure 23. Feature 50, North View Prior to Excavation.**

at the northern edge of the Locus D excavation, which hampered its full investigation. It contained nine artifacts, including unidentified square nails, residual ceramic sherd, bottle glass, and unidentified iron scrap. It also yielded oyster shells, handmade brick, shell mortar, animal bone (5.5 g), and bits of wood charcoal. The faunal remains from Feature 52 included blue crab, hardhead catfish, mullet, pig, and other unidentified mammals (Appendix 5). This feature probably dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century but it did not contain any temporally sensitive artifacts.

Feature 53 was a square post in a rectangular posthole in Test Units 248 and 249. It measured 39 cm east-west by 29 cm north-south. The soil consisted of dark brown (7.5YR3/2) silty sand with oyster shell and bone fragments. The north profile of Feature 53 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained six artifacts, including wrought and cut nails, window glass, bottle glass, and scrap iron. It also contained oyster shell, handmade brick, shell mortar, unmodified stones, and animal bone (6.5 g). The faunal remains from Feature 53 included marsh rabbit, mullet, and other unidentified bird and mammals (Appendix 5). This feature was filled after 1790, owing to the presence of machine cut nails. The presence of window glass, which was not common in antebellum contexts at this site, suggests the feature was finally filled after the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The post hole portion of Feature 53 continues north of the Locus D excavation and may continue beneath the tabby wall of Tabby 2, although this was not absolutely determined by its excavation.

Feature 54 was a possible construction pit for the central chimney in Tabby 2, which was explored in Test Units 243 and 249. The feature was first recognized in Test Unit 243, Level 4 (1.95 m top elevation). The soil consisted of dark brown (7.5YR3/2) fine silty sand with oyster shell and charcoal throughout. The south profile of Feature 54 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained nine artifacts, including wrought and cut nails, Whieldon ware, and bottle glass. It also yielded handmade brick, oyster shell, shell mortar, and animal bone (53.4 g). The food remains from Feature 54 included a variety of wild animals but no domestic species. Those identified included: bullfrog, (probable) chicken, cow, mussels, marsh rabbit, marsh rice rat, mullet, raccoon, and other unidentified bird and fishes (Appendix 5). This feature was filled after 1790, owing to the presence of machine cut nails. This feature evidence suggests that the construction of the central chimney in Tabby 2 occurred sometime after 1790.

Feature 55 was an oval post that was located in Test Units 245 and 246. It measured 43 cm east-west by 28 cm north-south. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) fine silty sand with bits of charcoal and oyster shell. The west profile of Feature 55 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained three artifacts-- one unidentified square nail

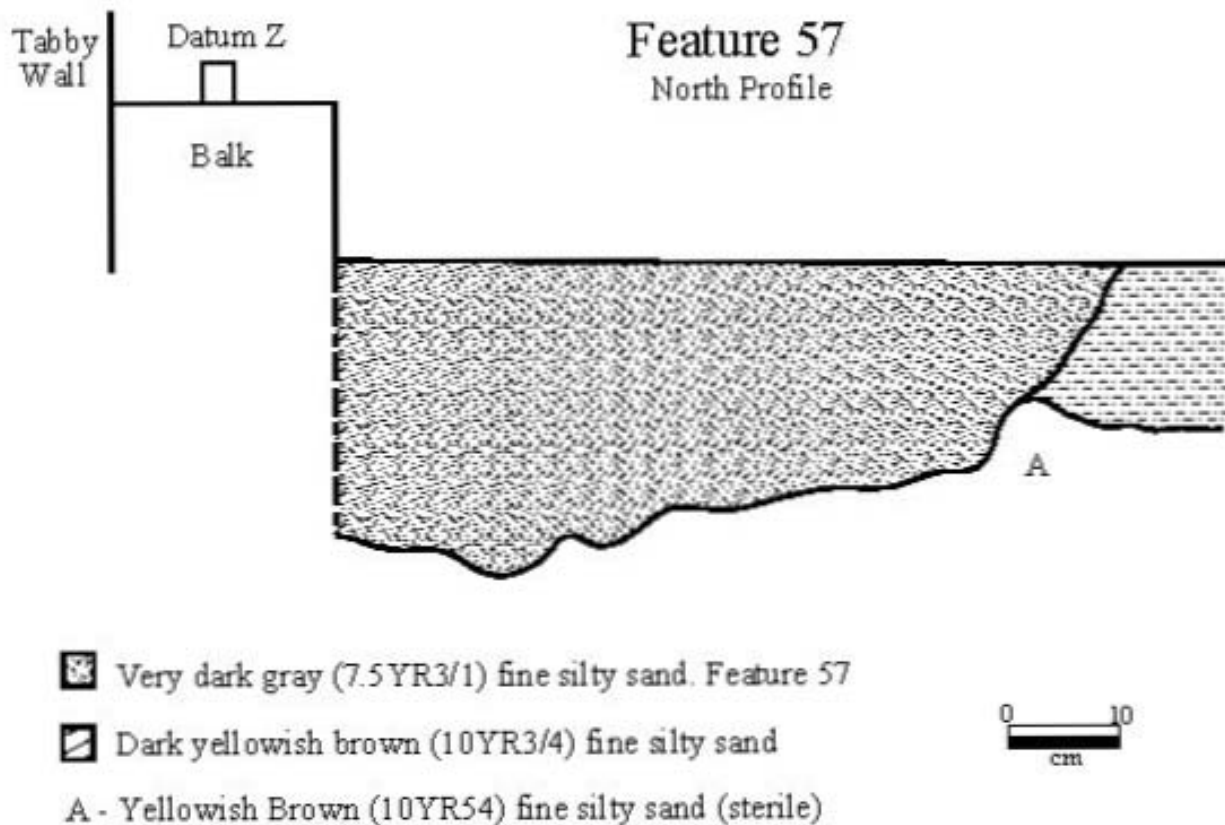
and one unidentified nail, and one colonoware sherd. It also yielded oyster shell, shell mortar, and animal bone (18.2 g). The food remains from Feature 55 included cow, raccoon and other unidentified mammal (Appendix 5). The age of this feature was not determined, although it likely dates to antebellum times, based on the presence of colonoware pottery.

Feature 57 was a large refuse pit feature located in Test Units 236 and 240. The feature continued west of Locus D, beneath the west wall of Tabby 2. The feature measured 78 cm east-west by 68 cm north-south and was 27 cm deep. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) silty sand that contained infrequent charcoal flecks. The feature was a flat-bottomed basin. The north profile of Feature 57 is shown in Figure 24. It was irregular to circular in plan. It yielded one colonoware pottery sherd, oyster shell, shell mortar, handmade brick, and animal bone (28.4 g). The food remains included blue crab (probable), mullet, pond slider turtle, raccoon, deer, and other unidentified bird and mammal bone (Appendix 5). The age of the feature was not determined, although it was intruded by Feature 48, which was a post and posthole associated with the original construction of Tabby 2. Feature 57 definitely predates the construction of Tabby 2. Although this feature contained relatively few historic artifacts, it attests to a definite occupation of this vicinity prior to the construction of Tabby 2.

Feature 58 was a postmold and a posthole located in Test Unit 241, Level 4 (2.05 m top elevation). The posthole was oval in plan and measured 20 cm northwest-southeast by 19 cm northeast-southwest. It was basin shaped and 7 cm in depth. Feature 59, another possible post, was also located within this feature. Feature 58 contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts. It yielded oyster shell and unidentified mammal bone (0.2 g). The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) silty sand with charcoal flecks, small tabby fragments, and oyster shell. The age of the feature was not determined.

Feature 59 was a small oval postmold located within Feature 58 in Test Unit 241, Level 4 (2.05 m top elevation). Feature 59 measured 22 cm north-south by 20 cm northwest and it was 6 cm deep. It contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts, only animal bone (2.5 g). The faunal remains in Feature 59 included mullet and deer (Appendix 5). The soil of Feature 59 consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) silty sand with scattered charcoal bits. The age of the feature could not be determined. The north-northwest profile of Features 58 and 59 is shown in Appendix 2.

Feature 60 was a posthole located at the intersection of Test Units 236, 237, 240, and 241, Level 4 (2.05 m top elevation). It was a shallow basin, 6 cm deep, and



**Figure 24. Feature 57, North Profile.**

it measured 22 cm north-south by 18 cm east-west. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) silty sand. The west profile of Feature 60 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts, only a small quantity of animal bone and oyster shell. The faunal remains in Feature 60 included mullet and unidentified mammal bone (Appendix 5). The age of the feature was undetermined.

Feature 61 was a postmold that was oval in plan and located in Test Unit 236 (2.05 m top elevation). It measured 32 cm north-south by more than 12 cm east-west. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) silty sand with charcoal bits and a small pocket of dark brown (7.5YR3/4) silty sand. The west profile of Feature 61 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts. It yielded one piece of iron, oyster shell, shell mortar, and animal bone (2.8 g). The faunal remains in Feature 61 included marsh rice rat and other unidentified bird and mammal bone (Appendix 5). The age of the feature was not fully determined, although Feature 61 extended beneath the western tabby wall of Tabby 2 and probably predates this building.

Feature 62 was a postmold in Test Unit 236 (2.05 m top elevation). The feature was an irregular oval in plan and it measured 22 cm northeast-southwest by 14 cm northwest-southeast. The soil consisted of dark gray (7.5YR3/1)

silty sand with small fragments of oyster shell. The north profile of Feature 62 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts, only shell mortar and animal bone (less than 1 g). The age of the feature was not determined.

Feature 63 was an oval postmold in Test Unit 236 (2.05 m top elevation). It measured 18 cm northeast-southwest by 16 cm northwest-southeast. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) silty sand. The north profile of Feature 63 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts, only unidentified mammal bone (0.2 g). The age of the feature was not determined.

Feature 64 was a sub-rectangular postmold in Test Unit 230 (2.05 m top elevation). It measured 32 cm north-south by minimally 14 cm east-west. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) silty sand with scattered charcoal bits. The west profile of Feature 64 is shown in Appendix 2. The feature contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts, only animal bone (1.9 g). The age of the feature was not determined, although the feature extends beneath the west wall of Tabby 2 and probably predates that building.

Feature 65 was an oval postmold that was identified in Test Unit 226, Level 3 (2.15 m top elevation). It measured 30 cm north-south by 17 cm east-west. The soil consisted



of black (7.5YR2.5/1) silty sand. The west profile of Feature 65 is shown in Appendix 2. The feature contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts, only shell mortar, coral, wood charcoal, and animal bone (2.4 g). The faunal remains from Feature 65 contained a small sample of wild animal species, which included bullfrog, raccoon, and other unidentified fish, mammals and turtle bones. One burned corncob was identified in Feature 65 (Appendix 5). The age of the feature was not determined.

Feature 66 was an oval postmold located in Test Unit 226, Level 3 (2.05 m top elevation). It measured 34 cm east-west by 27 cm north-south and was 41 cm deep. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) fine silty sand with small particles of bone, shell, and charcoal throughout, and a semi-circular patch of dark brown (7.5YR3/4) loamy sand. The south profile of Feature 66 is shown in Appendix 2. Feature 66 contained three artifacts, which were two tobacco pipe sherds and one bottle glass sherd. It also yielded oyster shell, shell mortar and animal bone (12.7 g). The faunal remains from Feature 66 included: blue crab, bullfrog, mullet, raccoon, rat, turkey, deer, and other unidentified birds and mammals (Appendix 5). This feature probably dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century, based on the estimated antiquity of the tobacco pipes. A

modern (early mid- 20<sup>th</sup> century) brick rested on top of the feature.

Feature 67 was a rectangular post in Test Unit 228 (2.05 m top elevation, although it may have originated as high as 2.27 m based on subsequent profile observations). It measured 30 cm east-west by more than 26 cm north-south and was 13 cm deep. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) fine silty sand with many small flecks of pulverized oyster shell and small tabby fragments. The south profile of Feature 67 is shown in Appendix 2. Feature 67 contained one machine cut nail, handmade brick, shell mortar and animal bone (0.1 g). This feature dates after 1790, based on the cut nail, but it could not be dated more tightly. This feature continues beneath the poured tabby wall of Tabby 2, which indicates that Feature 67 is older than Tabby 2.

Feature 68 was a stratified refuse pit that was located beneath the tabby wall, just east of the entrance to the west room of Tabby 2. It measured 75 cm east-west by at least 45 cm north south and it was 18 cm deep (2.07 m top elevation). The feature was contained in Test Units 229 and 223, and it continued to the south beneath the southern tabby wall of Tabby 2). The feature profile was



Figure 25. Feature 68, South View.

Feature 68  
South Profile

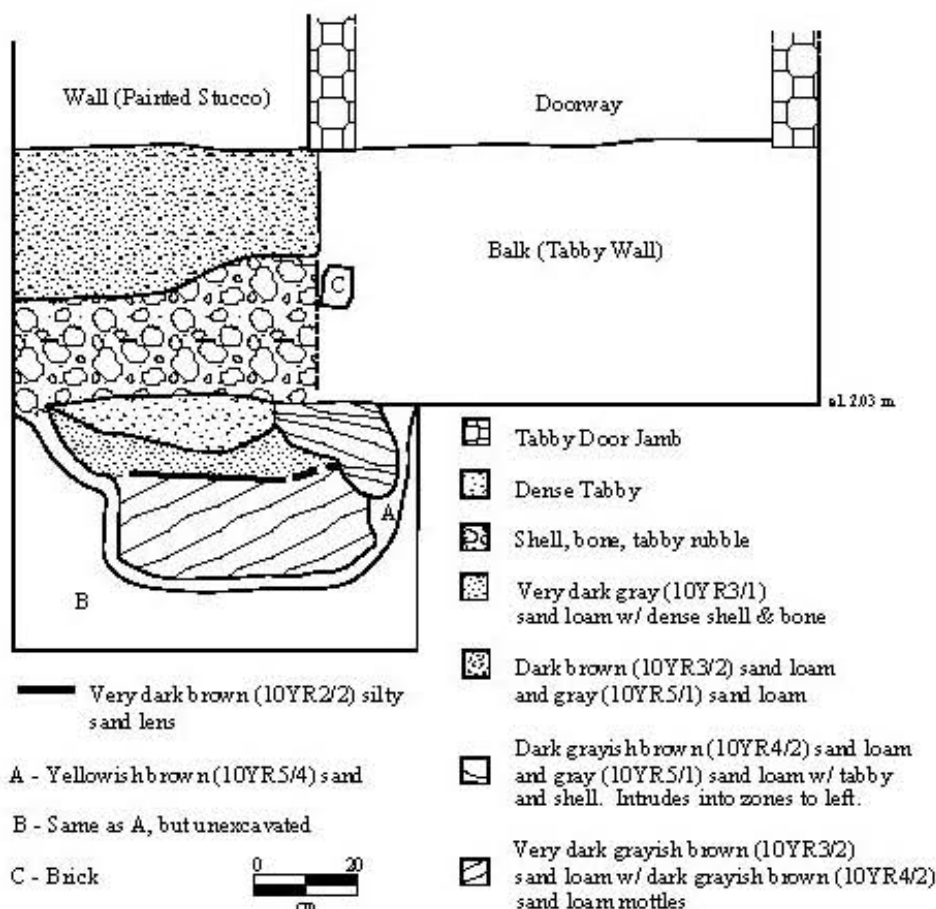


Figure 26. Feature 68, South Profile.

a flat basin and it measured 50 cm by 50 cm in plan at the bottom. Feature 68 is shown in Figures 25 and 26.

Four strata were identified in Feature 68 and these were designated Zones A-D. Soils in the uppermost zone, Zone A, consisted of very dark gray (10YR3/1) silty sand with consolidated oyster shell, animal bone and charcoal chunks. Soils in Zone B consisted of very dark gray (10YR3/1) silty sand mottled with gray (10YR5/1) sand. Soils in Zone C were more homogenous very dark gray (10YR3/1) with mottles of (10YR5/1) and dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) silty sand. Zone C may represent a rodent disturbance. The bottom of the feature, Zone D, was mottled very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) and dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) silty sand. Feature 68 contained 41 artifacts, as well as handmade brick, oyster shell, other shells, shell mortar, and animal bone (481 g). The faunal remains from Feature 68 included a variety of domestic and wild animals, which were: blue crab, chicken, cow, deer, freshwater channel catfish (possible), hardhead catfish, jack (probable), mullet, pond slider

turtle (probable), raccoon, turkey (probable), and other unidentified birds, fishes, mammals, and turtle bone (Appendix 5).

Feature 68 was stratified and it was excavated in four zones (Zones A-D). Artifacts from Zone A (the uppermost zone) included wrought and other unidentified square nails, yellow slipware, bottle glass, an iron clothing buckle, tobacco pipes and slag or cinders. Zone B contained a wrought nail, bottle glass, and a tobacco pipe stem. Zones C and D contained bottle glass, oyster shell, shell mortar and animal bone. Dotted and combed yellow slipware (n=4) was the only diagnostic ware recovered from the pit. This ware was used in the American colonies as early as 1670 but was waning in popularity by the 1770s. No cut nails were observed, which suggests that the pit was filled prior to 1800.

This feature dates to the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> century and is likely one of the oldest historic period features discovered thus far at the North End Quarter. This feature is particularly important for site interpretation because of its location and architectural context. This stratified refuse pit is located direct beneath the tabby wall of Tabby 2. The tabby dwelling post-dates the last filling episode of this trash pit, so the pit was used and abandoned before Tabby 2 was constructed. No 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts were identified in the pit fill. The antiquity of this refuse pit can only be estimated but it may represent activity from the initial settlement of the Morel plantation from the 1760s. Another possibility is that this feature predates the Morel plantation era and represents occupation from an earlier, currently unknown occupant.

Feature 69 was a trench located in Test Units 223 and 234 (2.05 m top elevation). It measured more than 1 m in diameter. It was U-shaped in plan and it represents the builder's trench for the tabby wall and central chimney of Tabby 2 within Locus D. The soils consisted of dark

brown (7.5YR3/2) silty sand with some scattered oyster shell and charcoal bits. It contained 11 artifacts, which included unidentified square nails, refined white salt glazed stoneware, bottle glass, tobacco pipe fragments, a straight pin, and iron scrap. It also yielded handmade brick, oyster shell, shell mortar, and animal bone (121 g). The food remains included a variety of domestic and wild animals, including: blue crab, common moorhen, cow, hardhead catfish, probable deer, mullet, raccoon, rice rat (probable), and other unidentified amphibian, bird, fish, and mammal bone (Appendix 5). This feature probably dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. White salt glazed stoneware is uncommon in Georgia after the American Revolution.

Feature 70 was a square post in a round posthole located in Test Unit 232 and 238, Level 4 (2.15 m top elevation). It measured 14 cm in diameter and was 7 cm deep. The soil consisted of black (10YR2/1) fine silty loamy sand (dry and powdery) mixed with some mortar bits. The south profile of Feature 70 is shown in Appendix 2. It yielded no temporally diagnostic artifacts. It contained one oyster shell, shell mortar, animal bone, and small bits of wood charcoal. The faunal remains included mullet and an unidentified mammal bone (Appendix 5). The age of this feature was not determined.

Feature 71 was a rodent disturbance in Test Unit 232 (1.92 m top elevation). It measured 28 cm east-west by 17 cm north-south and was 5 cm thick; it was oval in plan and basin shaped and the feature soils were gray (10YR4/1 and 10YR4/2) silty sand. It contained no artifacts.

Feature 72 was a rodent burrow disturbance in Test Units 232, 233, 238, and 239, Level 4 (1.95 m top elevation). It measured 50 cm by 50 cm. Soils were gray (10YR4/1) silty sand with bits of oyster shell. The west profile of Feature 72 is shown in Appendix 2. It contained two unidentified square nails, shell mortar, oyster shell, and animal bone. The food remains from Feature 72 included deer, mullet, and other unidentified fish and mammal bone (Appendix 5).

Ceramics were widely scattered over the North End plantation. These artifacts provide important clues about life on the plantation. Ceramics provide information about the chronology of site occupation, consumer choice (or lack of choice), status of the site occupants, and site function. Probably the most useful aspect of ceramics is their utility in dating archaeological assemblages. Many ceramics were manufactured for only a brief period and archaeologists have developed tools to extract maximum dating information from ceramic collections.

The historic ceramic assemblage from Locus D was used to calculate a MCD for this area of occupation. A sample of 339 sherds from Locus D yielded a MCD of 1778.7.

These data indicate that most of the sherds deposited in this vicinity were used prior to the American Revolution. Very few artifacts that were produced after 1840 were recovered from the midden in Locus D. This suggests that the wooden flooring prevented the accumulation of artifacts in the soils beneath the floor.

A sample of 115 ceramic sherds from Level 1 of Locus D yielded a MCD of 1781.3. A sample of 133 sherds from Level 2 produced a MCD of 1775. A sample of 56 sherds from Level 3 yielded a MCD of 1783.9. A very small sample of 13 sherds from Level 4 yielded a MCD of 1784.5. A composite MCD calculation for all excavation levels in Locus D (n=339) yielded a date of 1778.7. This suggests that most of the ceramics in Locus D were produced before the American Revolution. This data also serves as a general guide for the age of the overall midden deposit in Locus D. The early MCD is probably several decades older than Tabby 2.

The number of Terminus Post Quems (TPQs) for ceramics dating before the American Revolution (n=281) were compared with those dating after the American Revolution (n=53). That statistic may indicate greater use and discard of ceramics before the American Revolution than afterwards. A contrasting statistic, Mean manufacture dates for ceramics produced before the American Revolution (n=117) was compared with those dating after the American Revolution (n=219). This index may suggest more activity at the North End plantation after the American Revolution before.

Tobacco pipes also provide information about the age of an archaeological deposit. Tobacco pipe styles changed over time, but most importantly, the bore diameter of the stems of long stemmed pipes gradually decreased in size from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to the late 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. A sample of 133 tobacco pipe stems from Locus D yielded a MPD of 1804, following Omwake's tobacco pipe stem dating method (Omwake 1967). This artifact date estimate is probably older than Tabby 2, although it is not as old as the MCD date.

Window glass is another sensitive indicator of site age. Eighteenth century window glass is known as crown glass. It was hand blown and stretched, which leaves a distinctive appearance. Glass manufacturing technology changed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and cylindrical glass was the result. This glass is more even and consistent than the earlier crown glass. The thickness of cylindrical glass increases over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. A sample of 79 window glass sherds from Locus D produced a Mean Glass Date (MGD) of 1909.8. The window glass from Level 1 (n=57) yielded a MGD of 1923.8. A sample of 17 window glass sherds from Levels 2 and 3 (combined) gave a MGD of 1864.8. Levels 4 and

5 were devoid of window glass. These data indicate that glass windows were probably a late 19<sup>th</sup> century addition to Tabby 2, West Room and that some of these windows were replaced in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## **OUTSIDE OF TABBY 2, LOCUS H, R AND S**

### **South of the Tabbies--Locus H**

Locus H was defined as the area south of Tabbies 1, 2 and 3. This area was investigated by a series of shovel tests and Test Units 209, 212 and 214 in the 2005 project (Elliott 2005d). Test Units 209 and 212, which formed a 4 m east-west by 1 m north-south block revealed a stratified deposit that is probably associated with a slave dwelling. Unfortunately, a modern electrical utility ditch intruded into this excavation in the vicinity where architectural remains may have formerly existed. Soils in this excavation area were carefully examined by the geomorphologist and were discussed in his report (Thieme 2005, in Elliott 2005d:Appendix 4).

Test Unit 209 contained Feature 15, a circular post feature. This feature was basin shaped. Its soils were dark gray (7.5YR4/1) sand. No features were identified in Test Unit 212. Test Unit 214 was located west of Test Units 209 and 212. Feature 22 was exposed in the eastern end of Test Unit 214. It was an elongated oval feature that continued to the northeast of the test unit. The feature measured at least 1 m northeast-southwest by 50 cm northwest-southeast. No artifacts were recovered from Feature 22 and its age and function was not determined. A sample of 303 ceramic sherds from Test Units 209, 212, and 214 were used to calculate a MCD of 1827.8.

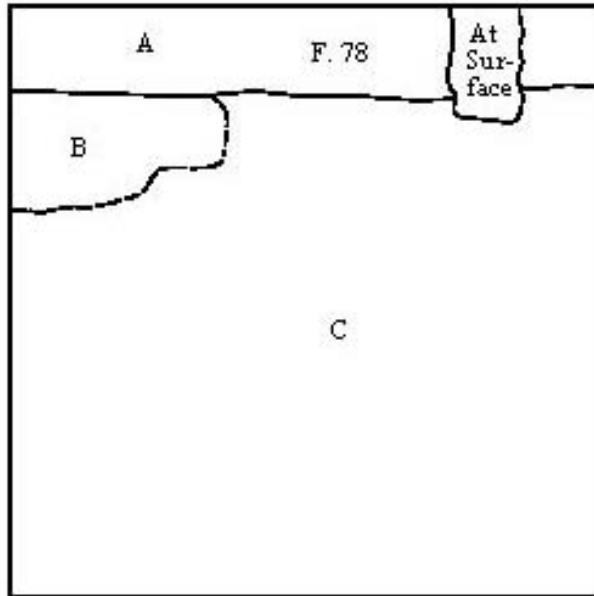
The 2006 excavations included one test in Locus H, which was Test Unit 220. Test Unit 220 was placed 70 cm south of and centered on, the south doorway of the west room of Tabby 2 (Locus D). Test Unit 220 was excavated in five levels to a maximum depth of 50 cm (1.82 m elevation). Decorated and undecorated fiber tempered pottery were unearthed in several levels of Test Unit 220. Level 2 contained an unusual cast brass button with griffin and shield. An identical one was unearthed from Locus C.

Feature 78, the only feature identified in Test Unit 220, was the exterior builder's trench for Tabby 2 (Figures 27 and 28). It was located along the northern edge of Test

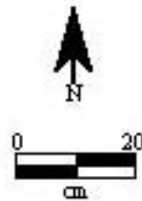


Figure 27. Feature 78, Test Unit 220, North View

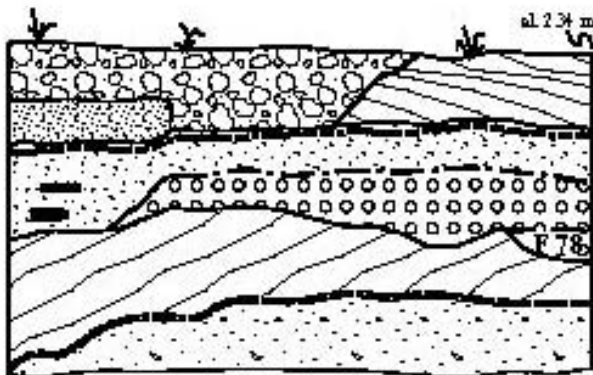
Test Unit 220  
Base of Level 3



- A. Very dark gray (10YR3/1) silty sand w/ common shell fragments
- B. Mottled Very dark gray (10YR3/1) silty sand
- C. Matrix. Evenly mottled dark gray (10YR4/1) and gray (10YR5/1) and rare mottles of very dark gray (10YR3/1) silty sand



Test Unit 220  
West Profile



- Dark gray (7.5YR4/1) and very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) silty sand w/ common shell
- Very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) with rare mottles of brown (10YR5/4) silty sand
- Concrete
- Charcoal-rich lens
- Black (10YR2/1) and very dark gray (10YR3/1) sand loam w/ oyster and small bone fragments
- Ash
- Brown (7.5YR4/3) and (7.5YR5/3) ash lens
- Gray (10YR3/1) ash lens w/ shell fragments
- Mottled dark gray (10YR4/1) and gray (10YR5/1) sand loam
- Black (2.5Y2.5/1) silty sand crusty lens
- Mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/4) and dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sand

Figure 28. Test Unit 220, Feature 78, Plan and West Profile

Unit 220 and was recognized as a distinct feature in Level 3 of the excavation of Test Unit 220 at a depth of 30 cm below ground (2.02 m elevation). The feature measured at least 1 m east-west by more than 14 cm east-west. It continued beyond the excavation unit in three directions. The soils consisted of very dark gray (10YR3/1) silty sand with bits of oyster shell scattered throughout. The feature contained four artifacts which were window glass, a cut nail, an unidentified nail and other metal scrap. It also yielded handmade brick, oyster shell, shell mortar, and cow bone (37.3 g). The presence of the cut nail indicates that the feature dates after 1790.

### Between Tabbies 2 and 3--Locus R

The area between Loci D and E (a grassy patch of yard between the two tabby duplexes) was examined by GPR Block BH in 2005. The radar information generated from this sample was quite tantalizing. An enlarged and annotated view of the GPR map from this vicinity, which shows the radar anomalies at 19.2 to 24.5 ns, is shown in Figure 29. These data suggested the possible presence of a buried building, possibly circular to oval in plan, which was positioned between Tabby 2 and Tabby 3. No

excavation was attempted in this area in 2005, although this vicinity was recommended for additional study.

The present effort included excavation of four shovel tests in the area of GPR Block BH (between Tabbies 2 and 3), which was designated Locus R. The shovel tests were spaced at 5 meter intervals. Archaeologists had two reasons for excavating these shovel tests. First, these data would contribute to the cumulative systematic shovel test grid coverage for the entire North End plantation site. Second, this was an area of interest, based on the GPR survey results.

Shovel Test 82 (1005N, 940E) was excavated to 82 cm below ground and it yielded artifacts to 80 cm depth. Shovel Test 83 (1005N, 945E) was excavated to 85 cm below ground and it yielded artifacts to a depth of 60 cm. Shovel Test 87 (1010N, 945E) was excavated to 85 cm depth and it contained artifacts throughout. Shovel Test 90 (1010N, 940E) was excavated to 90 cm below ground and it yielded artifacts to 85 cm depth. Profile drawings of these four shovel tests are shown in Appendix 2.

These four shovel tests (82, 83, 87 and 90) reveal a dense deposit of historic debris in the area between Tabbies 2

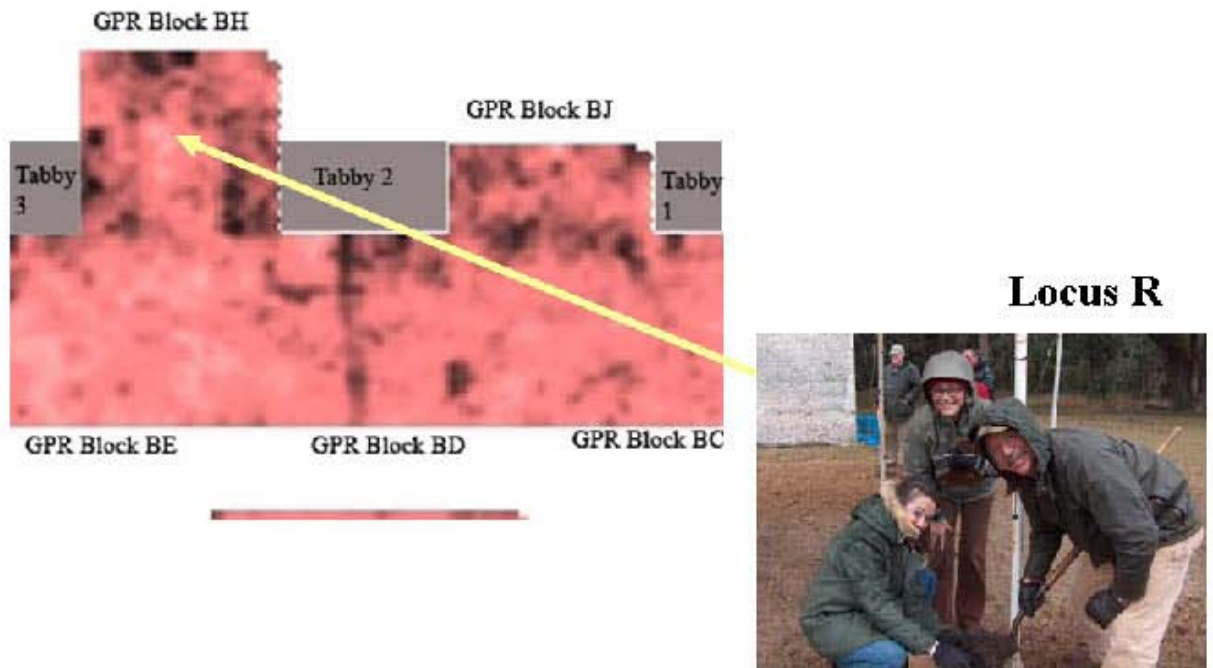


Figure 29. Enlarged GPR Plan at 19.2 to 24.5 ns, Blocks BC, BD, BE, BH, and BJ, 9Ch1062.

and 3. These artifacts span the 18<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Intact shell midden is deeply buried in this area and was clearly expressed in two of these tests. These shovel tests confirm that important archaeological materials are located in this vicinity but more excavation is needed to fully understand this deposit.

### **North of the Tabbies-- Locus S**

The area immediately north of Tabbies 1, 2 and 3 was designated Locus S. This area was investigated by a surface reconnaissance in 2005 and excavation of a 50 cm by 50 cm shovel test. In 2006, three test units were excavated in Locus S, immediately north of Tabby 2, Locus D. These were Test Units 222, 224, and 225. Each measured 1 m by 1 m. Five features were excavated from these three test units in Locus S and these are described below.

Feature 42 was a segment of the builder's trench for Tabby 2, which was located in Test Unit 224, Locus S, near the exit door. It was first identified in the excavation of Test Unit 224 at 2.10 elevation. The feature was rectangular in plan. Feature 42 contained 35 artifacts, including window glass, cut and wire nails, cream colored (C.C.) ware, bottle glass, a button, and an iron hoe. It also contained oyster shell (750 g), handmade brick (500 g), tabby (2 kg), and animal bone (10 g). The faunal remains in Feature 42 included pig, and unidentified bird and mammal bones (Appendix 5). This feature likely was filled after 1865, based on the presence of wire nails that were recovered from the bottom of the feature. A cement collar, which was placed completely around the exterior of Tabby 2 in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was exposed in this feature. While archaeologists often use builder's trenches to estimate the age of a building, as was done for the 2005 report (Elliott 2005d), the evidence from Feature 42 shows this to not be suitable in this instance. The soils in the builder's trench from the original construction were extensively reworked in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when the cement collar was added to the building. Consequently, the builder's trench in Tabby 2 (as well as the other two tabby buildings) should be used with extreme caution when discussing the building's age.

Feature 43 was a square post located in Locus S, in Test Units 224 and 225 at the base of Level 1 (2.10 m elevation). It contained eight artifacts, including unidentified square nails, creamware and pearlware, Chinese export porcelain, bottle glass, and animal bone (2.5 g). It also contained a trace of oyster shell and shell mortar. The faunal remains included unidentified bird and mammal bones. The feature probably dates between 1774 and 1820, based on the ceramics that were present.

Feature 45 was a modern post located in Test Unit 225 in Locus S. The post was identified at the base of Level 2, although it originated at a higher elevation. It measured 15 cm north-south by more than 10 cm east-west. The soil consisted of very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) sand and dense oyster shell fragments. It contained nine artifacts, including wire nails, window glass, ironstone, bottle glass, metal can lids, oyster shell, and aluminum foil. This feature probably dates to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, based on the presence of aluminum foil.

Feature 46 was a square post in an oval posthole, which was sampled in Test Unit 222. It was located in Locus S, outside of Tabby 2. Feature 46 is shown in plan view in Appendix 2. This feature originated in Level 1 of this test unit and it cut through the soil stratum in Level 2 (2.48 m elevation). It measured 28 cm by 23 cm and was 33 cm deep. The soil consisted of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam and oyster shell. The feature contained eight artifacts, including an unidentified nail, creamware, pearlware and colonaware pottery, two lead balls, a tobacco pipe fragment, and animal bone (32.9 g). The food remains in Feature 46 included pig, probable deer and other unidentified bird and mammal bone (Appendix 5). The feature probably dates between 1774 and 1820 based on the ceramics that were present.

Feature 49 was a post in an oval posthole, which was recognized in Test Unit 222, Level 5. The posthole measured 21 cm north-south by 15 cm east-west and 44 cm deep. The soils consisted of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) and dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sands. The feature contained handmade brick, oyster shell and animal bone (6.7 g) but no other artifacts. The food remains in Feature 49 included blue-winged teal (probable), deer, and other unidentified bird and mammal bone (Appendix 5). The age of this feature was not determined.

## **OTHER SITE LOCI NOT EXPLORED IN 2006**

### **Tabby 3--Loci E and F**

Locus E was not the subject of investigation in the 2006 excavation project. A brief summary of the material culture from this part of the North End Quarter is presented now, however, as background information. Locus E was sampled by four small test units, which were designated Shovel Tests 133, 152, 179, and 180. A total of 316 artifacts was recovered from Locus E. A sample of 43 ceramic sherds from Levels 1 and 2 of shovel tests in Locus E yielded a MCD of 1788.9. Sherds from Level 1 yielded a MCD of 1789.6 and sherds from Level 2 gave a MCD of 1787.1 (n=31 and 12, respectively). A TPQ

of 1813 for the ceramic assemblage was based on the presence of ironstone ware. This ceramic assemblage was mostly deposited prior to 1800 and some of it represents a Revolutionary War (or earlier) occupation. A very small sample of six window glass fragments from Locus E yielded a MGD of 1858.7 and a very small sample of four tobacco pipe fragments from Locus E produced a MPD of 1808.5, following Omwake's dating method (Omwake 1967). Both of these artifact samples are statistically invalid, but they provide some insight into the age of the archaeological deposits at Locus E.

Locus F was defined as the west room of Tabby 3. No excavation was conducted in Locus F. This area was investigated by metal detector survey and surface inspection in 2005 and previously unreported findings from that investigation are included in Appendix 2 and 3. Eleven metal objects from Locus F were collected.

### Locus G

Locus G is the area of the North End Quarter located immediately west of Tabby 3. It contains a mix of open and wooded areas. This area was investigated in 2005 and reported (Elliott 2005d:47-51). No additional study

of Locus G was undertaken in 2006. The study of Locus G included Test Unit 203, several shovel tests and some GPR survey. Test Unit 203 contained evidence of an early building (Features 10, 20 and 21), which may represent an 18<sup>th</sup> century slave dwelling and was designated Tabby Number 5 (Figure 30). Shovel Test 100 (1009.9N, 884.19E) encountered a dense historic midden, which was associated with Building 5. Another probable tabby slave dwelling was centered in the vicinity of Shovel Test 178 and was also explored by Shovel Test 143. This area was designated Building 4. GPR Blocks BF, BG, and the western part of Block BE covered portions of Locus G. A total of 479 artifacts was recovered from Locus G. No additional fieldwork was done in Locus G in the 2006 session. A sample of 97 sherds from Locus G yielded a MCD of 1799.2. The artifacts from this area spanned the period from 1760 to 1860. Feature 10 contained ten early artifacts from Building 5, which indicate an 18<sup>th</sup> or very early 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation. The ceramics in Feature 10 include undecorated creamware and pearlware and Astbury redware. The machine cut nail indicates that Building 5 was occupied until at least the 1790s.

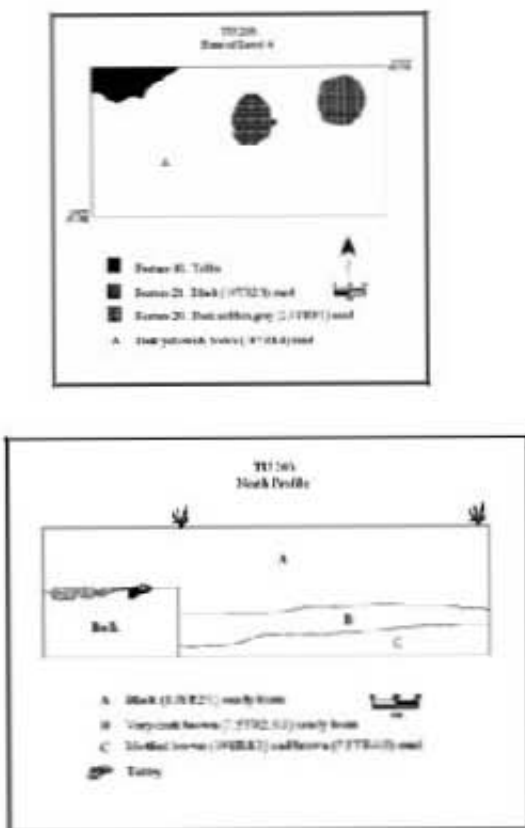


Figure 30. Locus G, Tabby Ruin.



## **Locus I**

Locus I was the area of the North End Quarter situated immediately east of Tabby 1. This area was examined in 2005 by a limited number of shovel tests, metal probing, metal detector survey and GPR survey (Elliott 2005d). Part of this locus was also covered by systematic shovel testing in 2003 and 2004 (Crass and Rogers 2003; Barrickman et al. 2004:27-28). LAMAR Institute investigations in Locus I yielded 149 artifacts. A small sample of ceramics from Locus I yielded a MCD of 1799.6.

## **Locus J**

Locus J is the area immediately southeast of the North End Quarter and west of Locus K. This area is mostly in pasture and only limited study of the area was undertaken in 2005. The investigations included surface reconnaissance, metal detector survey, limited shovel testing, and GPR survey (Elliott 2005d). LAMAR Institute investigations in Locus J yielded 81 artifacts. A small sample of ceramics from Locus J produced an MCD of 1825.3.

## **Locus K**

Locus K is the low-lying area east of Loci J and O and west of Loci L and N. Study of this area in 2005 included detailed topographic mapping, excavation of a limited number of shovel tests, and GPR survey. LAMAR Institute investigations in Locus K yielded 13 artifacts. This area was suspected to represent some type of water access canal or ditch. Researchers presented a preliminary case for interpretation of this as a maritime feature, based on the available clues. Although no additional fieldwork was done in the area in 2006, additional historical research on the maritime activities of the Morel family and Ossabaw Island was assembled and presented earlier in this volume. Locus K remains an area of extreme curiosity, which deserves further scrutiny.

## **Locus L**

Locus L was defined as the pasture southwest of the Clubhouse and east of Locus K. This pasture was explored by shovel tests, metal detector survey, and GPR survey. A total of 58 artifacts was recovered from Locus L. Shovel Tests 130, 131, 155-160, 166-168, and 176 were placed in this area. A total of 14 metal detected items was identified in Locus L. These artifacts were clustered in the area surrounding Shovel Test 166. Shovel Test 166 contained Feature 31, which is tentatively identified as a cellar. This feature was first located by GPR survey, which revealed a large deeply buried anomaly, approximately 4 m in diameter. The shovel test was placed within this anomaly.

This feature contains stratified deposits. Shovel Test 156 contained Feature 30, which was a historic posthole. The post measured 37 cm east-west by 35 cm north-south and it extended from 35-85 cm below ground surface. The feature soils were (7.5YR4/1) sandy loam with scattered oyster shell and handmade brick fragments. This post was oval in plan and had straight sides and a rounded basin. Features 30 and 31 both likely date to the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Both are probably associated with buildings, although judging from the distance between the two features (approximately 16 m), they may represent two distinct buildings.

## **Locus M**

Locus M was the vicinity of the Clubhouse and is suspected to harbor the remains of the Morel's main house and other plantation support buildings. The 2005 study included surface reconnaissance, excavation of one test unit, several shovel tests, metal detecting, metal probing, and GPR survey (Elliott 2005d). This portion of the Morel plantation was only minimally explored and it probably encompasses many important clues about the history of the plantation and its occupants.

Features 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 were located in Test Unit 204 at the base of Level 1. Feature 3 was a refuse pit with a post hole in its base, which was designated Feature 3A (Elliott 2005d:56). Feature 3 measured 1 m north-south by 75 cm east-west. This feature contained a small assemblage of late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts. Feature 4 was a small oval post that measured 30 cm east-west by 28 cm north-south. Feature 5 was a small rectangular post that measured 27 cm north-south by 27 cm east-west. Feature 6 was an irregular basin that measured 50 cm north-south by 25 cm east-west and was interpreted as a natural disturbance not of cultural origin. Feature 7 was a small, shallow stain of natural origin, which measured 20 cm east-west by 17 cm north-south. The vicinity of Test Unit 204 contained architectural evidence, including posts and architecture-related artifacts. It also yielded a variety of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts. The surface surrounding Test Unit 204 contained numerous combed yellow slipware sherds, which attest to a pre-Revolutionary War occupation in this vicinity.

Shovel Test 170, a 50 cm by 50 cm excavation, explored a portion of Feature 32. Feature 32 appears to be a large cellar or other deep, large feature (Elliott 2005d:57). This discovery demonstrated that a building had been present, which may extend beneath the Clubhouse and may continue south of the west end of the Clubhouse. Tabby bricks and early handmade bricks (probably from sources other than Savannah) were contained in Shovel Test 170 and Feature 32. These bricks are likely associated with a

plantation building that dates to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century or earlier.

Another area of Locus M, immediately east of the Clubhouse, likely contains archaeological evidence of another building. This one is almost certainly distinct from the building represented by Feature 32. Shovel Test 127 was placed in the vicinity of this building. This shovel test revealed a dense midden that contained mostly early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts.

The 2005 study recovered 1,067 artifacts from Locus M. A sample of 175 ceramic sherds from Locus M yielded a MCD of 1812.2. MCDs from selected contexts within Locus M ranged from 1808.6 to 1816.8. A sample of 123 window glass sherds from Locus M produced a MGD of 1866.01, following Moir's formula (Elliott 2005d:57-58).

### **Locus N**

The tabby smokehouse vicinity, which was designated Locus N, was explored by Test Units 213 and 217 (Elliott 2005d) (Figure 31). The results from these archaeological tests yielded mostly 20<sup>th</sup> century evidence and no intact evidence of 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century deposits. A total of 541 artifacts was recovered from Locus N. No additional study was conducted in Locus N in 2006.

### **Locus O**

Locus O was the area in the vicinity of the Boarding house, northeast of the tabby dwellings and northwest of the tabby smokehouse. The study of this area in 2005 consisted of a few shovel tests and GPR survey (Elliott 2005d). Forty-three artifacts were collected from Locus O. Renovations of the boarding house began in earnest in late 2005.

### **Locus P**

Locus P was the vicinity of the barn, which was located north-northeast of Tabby 1. This area was examined in 2005 by surface reconnaissance, several shovel tests, metal detector survey and GPR survey (Elliott 2005d). No concentrations of archaeological materials were discovered in this locus. Only three artifacts were recovered from Locus P. In early 2006, the barn collapsed.

### **Locus Q**

Locus Q was located at the extreme western end of the North End plantation. This area was briefly examined in

2005 by surface reconnaissance, metal detector survey and a limited number of shovel tests (Elliott 2005d). Forty-seven artifacts were recovered from Locus Q. No additional work was undertaken there in 2006 and this area remains one of the least understood loci at the North End plantation. The western terminus of the plantation complex remains to be fully delineated.

### **Locus T**

Locus T was defined in this study as the marsh immediately north of the main area of the site and the relict dune that is located north of the main landform of the North End plantation. This low, sandy landform is separated by a short span of marsh. The two elevated landforms are connected by an artificial ditch, or canal. Only cursory study was done on Locus T. This included one shovel test that was excavated to aid the geomorphologist in his study of the site's soil formation processes. That test was located at approximately 1100N 1100E on the site grid. This test, which was located on the crest of the landform, contained no artifacts.

## **MATERIAL CULTURE AT THE NORTH END PLANTATION**

Approximately 17,010 artifacts have been recovered from the North End plantation site in the 2005 and 2006 field seasons. This total does not include many kilograms of building rubble and oyster shell, which were quantified and discarded in the field. The artifacts were classified in to functional categories, following South (1977). A summary of this functional pattern analysis is provided in Table 8.

### **Architecture**

All three of the extant tabby dwellings at the North End plantation are saddlebag type houses. Saddlebag houses consist of two rooms that share a central chimney. The rooms are usually square and the roof gabled. Two variants subtypes of the saddlebag are recognized. One has exterior doors leading to each room and the other has a single central door that leads into a vestibule beside the chimney. The Ossabaw tabbies are examples of the former subtype. Saddlebag houses was popular in the 1830s and 1840s in rural agricultural areas, but surviving examples are rare in Georgia (Cullison 1992a-c; Sullivan 1998; Sickels-Taves and Sheehan 1999; Historic Preservation Division 2007:4; Fore 2004; Barrickman et al. 2004; Brooker 2005a; Miller 2007).

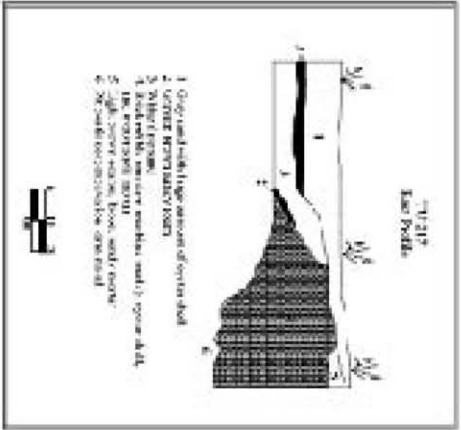
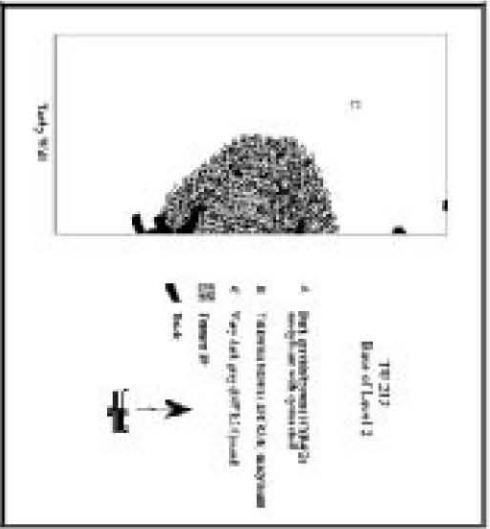


Figure 31. Locus N.

Activities	Architecture		Arms		Clothing		Furniture		Misc.		Personal		Tobacco		TOTAL			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count			
<b>LOCI</b>																		
<b>A</b>	83	5.2	787	49.2	36	98	6.1	5	0.3	470	29.4	48	3.0	15	0.9	57	3.6	<b>1599</b>
<b>B</b>	10	4.9	96	46.8	2	12	5.9	0	0.0	64	31.2	4	2.0	3	1.5	14	6.8	<b>205</b>
<b>C</b>	79	2.2	2073	58.7	48	128	3.6	11	0.3	920	26.1	107	3.0	7	0.2	158	4.5	<b>3531</b>
<b>D</b>	111	2.6	2103	49.8	40	273	6.5	14	0.3	1217	28.8	263	6.2	11	0.3	195	4.6	<b>4227</b>
<b>E</b>	22	7.0	141	44.6	0	27	8.5	3	1.0	105	33.2	10	3.2	1	0.3	7	2.2	<b>316</b>
<b>F</b>	1	9.1	0	0.0	2	6	54.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	18.2	0	0.0	<b>11</b>
<b>G</b>	20	4.2	155	32.4	2	2	0.4	0	0.0	265	55.3	17	3.6	2	0.4	16	3.3	<b>479</b>
<b>H</b>	92	2.7	1376	40.6	14	24	0.7	2	0.1	1817	53.6	51	1.5	2	0.1	12	0.4	<b>3390</b>
<b>I</b>	3	2.0	60	40.3	0	2	1.3	0	0.0	77	51.7	4	2.7	2	1.3	1	0.7	<b>149</b>
<b>J</b>	9	11.1	27	33.3	5	6	7.4	0	0.0	32	39.5	1	1.2	1	1.2	0	0.0	<b>81</b>
<b>K</b>	1	7.7	4	30.8	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	61.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	<b>13</b>
<b>L</b>	13	22.4	22	37.9	1	1	1.7	2	3.4	17	29.3	0	0.0	1	1.7	1	1.7	<b>58</b>
<b>M</b>	32	3.0	445	41.7	18	7	0.7	0	0.0	542	50.8	9	0.8	5	0.5	9	0.8	<b>1067</b>
<b>N</b>	43	7.9	209	38.6	3	1	0.2	0	0.0	272	50.3	11	2.0	0	0.0	2	0.4	<b>541</b>
<b>O</b>	2	4.7	27	62.8	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	25.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.3	<b>43</b>
<b>P</b>	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	<b>3</b>
<b>Q</b>	9	19.1	8	17.0	1	8	17.0	0	0.0	19	40.4	1	2.1	1	2.1	0	0.0	<b>47</b>
<b>R</b>	11	4.9	64	28.6	1	2	0.9	0	0.0	138	61.6	6	2.7	0	0.0	2	0.9	<b>224</b>
<b>S</b>	30	3.0	660	64.9	9	9	0.9	0	0.0	266	26.2	24	2.4	1	0.1	18	1.8	<b>1017</b>
<b>Site</b>	<b>573</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>8258</b>	<b>48.5</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>606</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>6243</b>	<b>36.7</b>	<b>557</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>17010</b>

**Table 8. Artifact Pattern, North End Plantation.**

Cullison noted that Tabby 1 was, “the most changed of the three tabbies here. Four bay façade with two doors in center. Slab porch floor with 4x4 square supports. Old brick in gable, other materials used on the additions at rear and on the south side”. He identified three 20<sup>th</sup> century additions to the building, which were a shed rear addition (ca. 1955), a rear porch (ca. 1965), and a gabled addition to the south side (ca. 1970). He noted that the building had been altered about 1980 with a slab laid for a front porch, and that it had a central, machine-made brick chimney. Cullison described the condition of the house as “Fair”, and he estimated the construction date of this dwelling to be circa 1845 (Cullison 1992a; NAHRGIS 2007:Resource ID 5576).

Cullison estimated the age of Tabby 2 as circa 1845 and he described it as a similar styled saddlebag, although he considered it to be in “Poor” condition with “four bay façade with doors in the two center bays. Flush boards on gables and rear. Cement patches on damaged parts of the tabby. Much of the wood is rotten and the building is deteriorating”. He also noted that it had a central brick chimney and a partial shed verandah on the front of the building, and a shed addition to the rear (circa 1950) (Cullison 1992b; NAHRGIS 2007: Resource ID 5577).

Sickels-Taves and Sheehan (1999) present summary information from their 1994-1995 survey of the tabby architecture of coastal Georgia. In it they present survey information on the tabby slave cabins at the North End Quarter (Sickels-Taves and Sheehan 1999:104, Figure 5.10). They present a simplified floor plan of Tabby 2 and list its exterior dimensions as 35 feet 4 inches by 18 feet (10.76 m by 5.49 m). They also list a measurement from a tabby brick from Ossabaw Island, which measured 4.5 inches by 3.25 inches by 14 inches (11.4 cm by 8.3 cm by 35.6 cm), although the exact provenance of this particular brick is unspecified. They assign an estimated age of 1810 to this brick and considered the tabby architecture on Ossabaw Island to be part of the Spalding period of tabby use (Sickels-Taves and Sheehan 1999:76).

As one prong of the NPS “Save America’s Treasures” research project, historical architect George Fore compiled extensive documentation about the architecture of the three tabby dwellings and the presumed tabby smokehouse on the North End plantation and his efforts need not be repeated here. Fore’s documentation, beginning with a series of plans made in 2004 consists of annotated scaled architectural drawings of the building plans and elevations, photographs of the elevations and

various selected architectural features. His work, which has been updated and improved over the course of the project, included detailed plans for stabilization and restoration of the buildings to their authentic historical condition.

### ***Masonry, Tabby and Brick***

Poured tabby, tabby brick, clay brick, shell mortar, Portland cement, and wood were building materials that were used in Tabbies 1, 2 and 3. The poured tabby is the most obvious building material, as evidenced by the superstructure for all three buildings. Small chunks of poured tabby were encountered in most of the test excavations in this area. These pieces of poured tabby were displaced from their original setting. Two large examples of poured tabby were excavated from Tabby 1. Tabby bricks were excavated from three contexts at 9Ch1062; Locus A, Locus B both in Tabby 1, and in Shovel Test 170, Locus M (the 50 cm by 50 cm test located south of the Clubhouse). Two varieties of tabby brick were represented at 9Ch1062. The examples near the Clubhouse were smaller than those from Tabby 1.

Several types of clay bricks are present at 9Ch1062 and they represented several centuries of brick technology. The earliest examples are handmade bricks. Several bricks from Shovel Test 170, Locus M were recovered from early 19<sup>th</sup> century context in Feature 32. These may date before 1810, which is an important date for brick manufacture in the Savannah region. Savannah Gray Bricks, which were widely used in coastal Georgia and South Carolina, were produced, beginning about 1810, by Henry McAlphin at his Hermitage plantation, upstream from Savannah.

Extruded bricks were produced in Georgia after 1875 and they were a superior building medium that replaced the earlier handmade types. Two types of extruded bricks represented in the excavations have maker's marks molded in them. The most numerous examples, observed in Locus D, were produced by the Plainville Brick Company in Plainville, Gordon County. These bricks, which were marked "Plainville Brick Co." were produced after 1923, which is when the Plainville Brick Company was formed. One brick marked "Macon Cherokee" was unearthed in Level 1, Locus A, Tabby 1. This brick measured 8 inches by 3.6 inches by 2.5 inches (20.3 cm by 9.1 cm by 6.4 cm). This brick was manufactured by the Cherokee Brick and Tile Company, Macon, Georgia, which began operations there about 1875 (NPS 2002). Some extruded bricks have cylindrical holes through their body and examples of these were uncovered at Locus D, Tabby 2. Many other extruded bricks have no identifying marks.

The architecture group was the most common artifact category in the North End plantation assemblage. Approximately 8,258 architecture artifacts were recovered from the excavations. The vast bulk of building rubble that was unearthed by the excavation project was not retained but was carefully weighed and returned to the ground. Weights for these materials are included in the artifact inventory in Appendix 1. The various architecture artifacts are detailed below.

### ***Hardware***

Nails were common at the North End plantation and were represented by 7,179 specimens. Many of the wrought nails and spikes may have been forged at the North End plantation. The machine cut square nails and wire nails were likely produced elsewhere and imported to the site.

Thirty-eight wrought iron spikes were unearthed at the North End plantation. The highest frequency of spikes was observed in Locus C, where 16 examples were unearthed. Locus E had the next highest frequency, represented by six spikes, which is remarkable when one considers the limited amount of excavation that was conducted in Locus E. Loci A and D each yielded five spikes. The remaining six spikes were located at various site contexts. None were recovered from Locus B. Feature 28 in Locus E contained three spikes. Single examples were recovered from Feature 34 in Locus E and Feature 82 in Locus A.

Spikes were not used in the latest construction work at the North End Quarter. They apparently date to the 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Fourteen of the 38 spikes (37%) were recovered from below excavation Level 3, which further attests to their antiquity. Some of the spikes may have been used in ship construction, but most probably represent architectural debris from earlier buildings at the North End Quarter.

The concentration of spikes in Loci C and E may indicate the approximate location of two earlier buildings at the North End Quarter. Two features in Locus E yielded spikes and these features are probably associated with these earlier buildings. The lower frequency of spikes in Loci A and D and their absence from Locus B probably indicates that those areas were peripheral to the main structure ruins of buildings whose construction employed large wrought iron spikes. Spikes probably represent a reliable indicator of earlier architecture at the North End Quarter. A careful examination of their distribution should continue in future studies. These data may eventually result in a reconstructed map of the earlier building plans and plantation layout, from the period prior to the 1830s. The present data provides only a partial glimpse at this earlier plantation plan.

A total of 317 hand wrought nails were identified from the excavations at the North End plantation. Many wrought nails could not be distinguished from machine cut square nails because of their degraded and oxidized condition. Consequently, the frequency of wrought nails is underrepresented in this tally and many wrought nails were classified as “cut or wrought” nails.

Locus A yielded 29 wrought nails. These were distributed throughout excavation Levels 1 through 6 with the greatest concentrations in Levels 2 and 3. Feature 82 contained two wrought nails. Most, if not all, of these wrought nails are likely associated with an earlier building that was once located in this vicinity. Locus B yielded only one wrought nail. This specimen was recovered from Feature 83B.

Locus C contained 46 wrought nails. Wrought nails were recovered from Features 14, 73, 76 and 77. Wrought nails were found in all excavation levels of Locus C, although the greatest frequency was observed in Level 4, followed by Level 3. Most, if not all, of these wrought nails are likely associated with an earlier building that was once located in this vicinity.

Locus D contained 138 wrought nails. Features 36, 50, 53, 54, and 68 all contained wrought nails. Wrought nails were distributed throughout excavation Levels 1 through 4. The greatest concentration was present in Level 2 (n=51), followed by Levels 3 and 1 (n=36 and 34, respectively). Excavation Units 215 and 247 each yielded 11 wrought nail specimens. Wrought nails were distributed across the entire excavation block in Locus D. Most, if not all, of these wrought nails are likely associated with an earlier building that was once located in this vicinity.

Locus E contained 12 wrought nails. These were distributed throughout excavation Levels 1 through 4 with the greatest concentration in Level 2 (n=6), followed by Level 1 (n=4). Feature 34 contained one wrought nail. Most, if not all, of these wrought nails are likely associated with an earlier building that was once located in this vicinity.

Machine cut square nails gradually replaced hand wrought nails following the invention of new nail manufacturing devices in the 1790s. The transition from hand wrought to machine made nails experienced several stages from 1790 to about 1810 (Nelson 1963). The intermediate varieties consisted of machine made bodies and hand-finished heads. The nail assemblage at the 9Ch1062 was not sufficiently preserved to distinguish the fine characteristics of early machine cut nail variations.

A total of 1,786 machine cut square nails was recovered from the North End plantation. This represents the most common nail type at the plantation. Machine cut nails

were introduced to Georgia after 1790. By the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they had almost completely replaced nails wrought by hand.

Tabby 1 yielded relatively few machine cut nails. Locus A yielded 53 machine cut nails. Feature 82 contained three cut nails. Locus B contained only 10 machine cut nails.

Both rooms of Tabby 2 contained greater frequencies of machine cut nails than were observed in Tabby 1. Locus C yielded 330 machine cut nails. Features 12 and 77 both contained cut nails. Level 2 contained the greatest frequency of cut nails (n=107), followed by Level 3 (n=82) and Level 1 (n=65). Level 4 yielded 37 and Level 5 had 27 examples. The abundance of machine cut nails in Locus C probably represents building debris from an earlier structure (built between 1790 and 1830) that occupied this location.

Locus D produced 364 machine cut nails. Features 23, 36, 39, 53, 54, and 67 all contained machine cut nails. Level 1 yielded the greatest frequency of machine cut nails (n=197), followed by Level 2 (n=90), Level 3 (n=46), and Level 4 (n=15). No machine cut nails were found below Level 4 in Locus D. The abundance of machine cut nails in Locus D probably represents building debris from an earlier structure (built between 1790 and 1830) that occupied this location.

Tabby 3, Locus E produced 47 machine cut nails. These were distributed in Levels 1 and 2. Feature 34 contained one cut nail. The relative abundance of machine cut nails in Locus E probably represents building debris from an earlier structure (built between 1790 and 1830) that occupied this location.

The wrought or cut nail category was a general grouping for square nails that could not be further distinguished. A total of 816 nails from the site were placed in this category. The distribution of nails in this category was not pursued.

A total of 1,749 wire nails was unearthed at the North End plantation. Thirty-nine of the wire nails were roofing nails. Seventy-one were finishing nails. The remainder were common wire nails or unidentified wire nail fragments. Wire nails were manufactured after 1865 and by the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had largely replaced square nails. Square nails continued to be used for certain preferred functions, particularly as flooring nails. Square nails also may have continued in use for boat and ship building. Stockpiles of machine cut square nails at the North End plantation probably continued to be used until they were exhausted. For most carpentry activities, however, wire nails were the dominant building material after 1900.

Tabby 1 yielded a fair number of wire nails. Locus A contained 138 wire nails and were the most common nail type in this room. Feature 82 yielded four wire nails. Level 1 contained the highest frequency of wire nails (n=88), followed by Level 2 (n=35). Level 3 contained 14 wire nails, none were found in Level 4 and one was retrieved from Level 5.

Locus B yielded 25 wire nails, 16 in Level 1 and nine in Level 2. These were found in Levels 1 and 2. None were recovered from feature contexts. These wire nails in Loci A and B are likely associated with the existing architectural structure, Tabby 1. The wire nail data may indicate that Tabby 1 underwent extensive repairs in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This deposit of nails probably predates the installation of the wooden floor of Tabby 1 in the early to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Tabby 2 yielded a high frequency of wire nails, particularly in Locus C. Locus C contained 498 wire nails and Level 2 contained the most examples (n=143), followed by Level 3 (n=207), Level 4 (n=101), and Level 1 (n=44). Two specimens were present in Feature 12 and one was found in Feature 9. Interestingly, Level 2 of Locus C had the most cut nails, while Level 3 contained the most wire nails, which is the reverse of what would be expected in a normal stratigraphic sequence. This reversed situation would seem to indicate active churning of the deposits in this room, although the other artifacts recovered from this locus suggested a more normal stratigraphic soil accumulation.

Locus D produced 238 wire nails, which was considerably fewer than were found in the adjacent room (Locus C). Wire nails were also less common in Locus D than machine cut nails, which was opposite from the trend observed in Locus C. Level 1 contained the most examples (n=188), followed by Level 2 (n=40). Level 3 contained only five wire nails and none were recovered from Levels 4 and 5. Features 39 and 45 contained wire nails. These wire nails in Loci C and D are likely associated with the existing architectural structure, Tabby 2. The greater abundance of wire nails in Locus C versus Locus D may indicate that Locus C received more extensive repairs, perhaps as a result of a tropical storm or hurricane in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The abundance of wire nails in Locus D suggests that part of the dwelling experienced less extensive repairs. This deposit of nails in both loci probably predates the installation of the wooden floor of Tabby 2 in the early- to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

Tabby 3, Locus E yielded 52 wire nails, which were slightly more numerous than machine cut nails in this room. All of these were recovered from Level 1. These wire nails in Locus E are likely associated with the existing architectural structure, Tabby 3. Tabby 3 experienced

significant damage and repair in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century, as noted by Fore (2004, 2005), Barrickman and others (Barrickman et al. 2004). This deposit of nails in Locus E probably predates the installation of the wooden floor of Tabby 3 in the early- to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

### ***Other Building Hardware***

A few other pieces of metal building hardware were recovered from the North End plantation excavations. Strap hinges made of wrought iron were the most common hinge type recovered at North End plantation. Locus A in Tabby 1 yielded the highest frequency of hinges (n=5). Examples were also recovered from Loci C and E. Two hinges were unearthed in Test Unit 224 immediately outside of Tabby 2. Most of these strap hinges were in the upper excavation levels (Levels 1 and 2), although one was recovered from Level 4, Locus A and another from Level 5, Locus C. These strap hinges were probably used on earlier doors and windows and/or shutters in these dwellings, although some may be associated with earlier dwellings that are no longer extant. One wrought iron door or window pintle hinge was found in Level 1 of Locus D. One small brass hinge was recovered from the surface, just northeast of Tabby 1. This brass hinge is more likely related to a piece of furniture or trunk than building related.

Eighteen wood screws were contained in the North End plantation collection. These came mostly from Loci C and D in Tabby 2 and none were recovered from Tabby 1. Screws were used to secure hinges but were also used in furniture. Mass produced wood screws generally date after 1846, although handmade examples were in use earlier. The screws were recovered mostly from excavation Levels 1 and 2, although one was found in Level 3 of Locus C. None were recovered from feature contexts.

Hand wrought wood staples were recovered from many areas of the North End plantation (n=35). Wood staples were probably used for a variety of purposes, most notably for stapling fence wire to posts. Within buildings staples may have been used to suspend herbs or other dried plants, meats, or other belongings from the rafters. Locus C yielded the highest frequency of wood staples (n=10). They were recovered from excavation Levels 1 through 4.

### ***Glass Windows***

Crown window glass was not common at the North End plantation, only 18 sherds were recovered. Sixteen of these sherds came from Level 1 of Test Unit 220, just outside

of Tabby 2. Two sherds were recovered from Level 1 in Locus E, Tabby 3. Crown glass was used throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century and in the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Rolled window glass was more common at the North End plantation, represented by 571 sherds. Thin window glass (< 2.4 mm thickness) greatly outnumbered thicker window glass (> 2.4 mm thickness). The former glass panes are more common in antebellum times and the latter are more common after the Civil War. The preponderance of thin versus thick (n=462 and 109 sherds, respectively) may indicate that most of the window glass at the site was produced prior to 1866. Window glass thicknesses were used to calculate Mean Glass Dates (MGD) for various site contexts, following Moir's formula. The overall site yielded a MGD of 1882.8. This indicates that the installation of glass windows at the North End plantation was a post-bellum event. Level 1 of all excavations yielded a MGD of 1896.0, based on a sample of 236 window glass sherds. Level 2 produced a date of 1873.7 and Level 3 dated to 1870.8 (n=167 and n=53, respectively). The sample of window glass below Level 4 was quite small and produced spurious dates. These data suggest that window glass was present on several buildings at the North End plantation by the early 1870s. Window glass dates were calculated for the various site loci. These WGDs for the Site Loci and the overall

stratigraphic summary were presented earlier (see Table 6).

### **Kitchen**

The Kitchen group is represented by 6,243 artifacts in the North End plantation collection, or 36.7 percent of the assemblage. Kitchen-related artifacts were recovered from all site loci except Locus F, where no excavations were conducted. The greatest amount of Kitchen artifacts was seen in Locus H (n=1,817, or 53.6% of that sample). Locus D produced the next highest amount of Kitchen artifacts (n=1,217, or 28.8%).

### *Ceramics*

The historic ceramic assemblage from the North End plantation consists of 2,242 sherds and 2,157 of these sherds were assigned to specific site loci. These sherds were placed into major categories including: Porcelain, Stoneware, Tin Enameled ware, Slipware, Coarse Earthenware, Redware, Refined Earthenware, Ironstone, Colonoware, and Aboriginal ware. Examples of ceramic sherds are shown in Figure 32 and additional examples are illustrated in Appendix 3.



**Figure 32. Ceramics.**



## Porcelain

Porcelain has been shown to be an important status indicator on 18<sup>th</sup> century sites in the Southeast. Porcelain was expensive and difficult to acquire in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Most of it was produced in the Far East and endured grueling shipments aboard merchant ships that covered many thousands of knots. The simplest sea route was not the route that was taken for these wares, since the British mercantile system dictated that the porcelain ceramics be brought to Great Britain and then redistributed to its colonies. Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, centers of porcelain manufacture sprang up in Europe, mimicking the Chinese and Japanese wares. By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century the techniques of copying porcelain manufacture had improved significantly and these wares dropped in price and became more available to consumers in North America.

Zierden and her colleagues have demonstrated the high frequency of porcelain on 18<sup>th</sup> century sites in Charleston, South Carolina, which were associated with wealthy colonists. Several sites that were studied in Charleston contained ceramic assemblages with 14 percent porcelains. Conversely, Elliott and others provide examples of 18<sup>th</sup> century yeoman farmsteads and Salzburger townhouses at New Ebenezer, Georgia, where porcelain was exceedingly rare, and usually comprised less than 1-2 percent of the ceramic assemblage.

Enslaved persons had restricted access to expensive goods, and they rarely could afford them when they did have access to markets. Consequently, we expect that domestic sites associated with the enslaved would exhibit very low frequencies of porcelain. The North End Quarter ceramic assemblage contained approximately three percent porcelain. That frequency is higher than that observed for all of the German settlers in New Ebenezer, and it comes as somewhat of a surprise.

The porcelains from North End plantation (n=71) included 11 polychrome hand painted overglazed enameled ware; 14 blue underglazed blue hand painted ware; 2 modern decal decorated porcelain; 2 unidentified porcelain, and 42 undecorated porcelain sherds. Undecorated porcelains were the least expensive types and the overglazed polychrome wares were the most expensive variety.

The overglazed enameled porcelain ware was evidenced in Tabbies 1, 2, and 3, and in other site areas. The blue underglazed porcelains and undecorated porcelains were observed in Tabbies 1 and 2 and other site areas. Tabby 1, Locus A yielded five porcelain sherds. Tabby 2, Locus C produced 12 porcelain sherds and these were distributed throughout Levels 1 through 5. Locus D yielded 12 porcelain sherds, which were contained in Levels 1, 2

and 3. Locus M yielded 23 porcelain sherds. No porcelain were recovered from Loci B, E, F, G, I, J, K, P, Q, or R. Loci H, L, N, O, and S yielded small amounts of porcelain sherds.

Site-wide, porcelain was most common in excavation Level 1 (n=18), followed next by Level 2 (n=13), and Level 3 (n=11). All three varieties, polychrome hand painted, blue hand painted, and undecorated wares were well distributed throughout these three excavation levels. Three porcelain sherds came from Level 4 and two from Level 5. These data indicate that porcelain was more common in the latter occupation period at the North End Quarter, although many of the sherds in the assemblage represent early types, including several examples that are almost certainly 18<sup>th</sup> century Chinese products. Little can be said about the morphology of these wares, except that they are fragments of handle-less teacups or small bowls almost entirely.

So, what accounts for the relatively higher incidence of imported porcelain in the North End Quarter trash deposits, compared to other sites in Georgia? The Morels were wealthy planters and merchants. One would expect that their table settings included many elaborate and expensive imported porcelain ceramics. Broken dishes were likely discarded immediately, or those that still serviceable may have been offered to the enslaved. This “hand-me-down” behavior may account for the presence of porcelain in the North End Quarter midden.

## Stoneware

The excavations at the North End plantation produced 167 stoneware sherds. This collection included both European and American wares. Stoneware was primarily a utilitarian ware, although some refined stonewares, mostly produced in England, were used in table service.

British brown salt-glazed stoneware was a utilitarian ware produced in Great Britain and Europe. It is a common minority ware on colonial sites in Georgia but is virtually absent from later contexts. This ware was used for a variety of utilitarian purposes, including storage jars, jugs, bottles, and large bowls. British brown stoneware was a minority ware at the North End plantation. Seven stoneware sherds were found in Loci C, H and S. None was observed in Locus D, despite the extensive excavations there. Another 29 sherds from the site were classified as either brown salt-glazed stoneware or gray and brown salt-glazed stoneware and both of these types are likely English wares. These were also utilitarian vessels. These three stoneware groups (British Brown, Brown, and Gray and Brown) were lumped together to examine their spatial distribution.

Rhenish stoneware is a gray salt-glazed stoneware, often decorated with cobalt blue and, less often, manganese purple glaze. True Rhenish stoneware was produced in Germany along the Rhine River. Derivative wares were produced elsewhere in Europe and in the American colonies. Rhenish stoneware is a common minority ware on colonial sites in Georgia but is absent from later contexts. The debased types of this ware persist into the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but this type ware is relatively uncommon in Georgia. The North End plantation excavations produced three Rhenish stoneware sherds. Two of these were in Locus M, Level 1 and a surface find. A third example, which was decorated with purple and blue glaze, was excavated from Locus H, Test Unit 214, Level 2. Gray salt-glazed stoneware was mostly produced in Europe or Great Britain and is uncommon in Georgia after the colonial period. In some cases sherds identified as gray salt-glazed stoneware may be undecorated portions of Rhenish stoneware vessels. Many plain gray stoneware vessels were used in Georgia. Eleven examples of this ware were identified in the North End plantation ceramic assemblage. This ware was widely distributed over the site, being recovered from Loci A, C, D, E, G, L, and M. Nowhere was it deposited in any concentration. It was distributed vertically in excavation Levels 1, 2 and 5.

Molded, refined white salt-glazed stoneware was produced in England from about 1740 until 1765. Because this ware was produced and imported to the American colonies for only a brief period, it serves as a sensitive indicator of colonial period occupation. It is a minority ware on colonial sites in Georgia, and it is often associated with higher status users. A limited variety of plates, platters, cups and mugs were manufactured with distinctive rim border motifs. The “Barley” motif was most common at the North End plantation, represented by nine examples, and the “Dot, Diaper & Basket” motif was identified on one sherd. A molded salt-glazed stoneware mug base, decorated with a beaded motif, was unearthed in Locus C, Level 2. This ware group had a limited spatial distribution at the North End plantation, confined to Loci A, C and D. It was most common in excavation Level 2, and was also located in Levels 3, 4 and 5. Feature 77 contained one example of this ware.

Refined (unmolded) white salt-glazed stoneware were also produced in England from about 1720 to 1805. Twenty-one examples of this ware were identified in the North End plantation ceramic assemblage. Locus D produced 10 examples; Locus C yielded six; Locus S contained three; and Loci M and N each yielded a single example. Two examples were recovered from feature contexts in Features 18 and 69. Most of these wares came from Level 2 (n=9), followed by Level 3 (n=5), and single examples from Levels 1, 4 and 5. Most of these sherds were from

bowls or cups. Three examples are probably from plates or platters.

Black basalt stoneware is a thin, dry-bodied stoneware that was produced in England from about 1750 to 1820. It is present in Georgia on sites dating to the colonial and early federal periods. Two sherds of Black basalt were identified in the North End plantation collection. Both were from Locus M in Shovel Test 170, Feature 32.

North Devon Gravel Tempered ware was represented by two sherds in Tabby 2, one from Locus C, Level 2 and one from Locus D, Level 2. North Devon pottery was utilitarian and it was produced from about 1650. It ceased being imported to America during the Revolution. This ware is very uncommon on historic sites in Georgia.

Twenty stoneware sherds from North End plantation were identified as brown glazed refined wares, which were not fully identified. Many of these resemble Nottingham ware, although they lack the layer of white slip beneath the brown glaze that is characteristic of Nottingham pottery. These are suspected to be imported English stoneware. This ware group was widespread at the North End plantation, identified in Loci A, C, D, E, H, L, R and S. Most of these sherds came from Level 1 (n=10), followed by Level 2 (n=6), and one example from Level 3.

The most common stoneware in the North End plantation ceramic assemblage was unidentified domestic stoneware, which was represented by 35 examples. This category is best represented by Locus C, which yielded 13 specimens. Locus D yielded only six examples, despite the more extensive excavation there.

Alkaline glazed stoneware was produced in the Edgefield District of South Carolina beginning about 1810 and it remained a very popular ware on plantations in Georgia, particularly in the piedmont and mountains, throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Production centers of this ware sprang up in Georgia in the 1820s and 1830s, as the American frontier moved westward (Ferrell and Ferrell 1976; Baldwin 1993; Jordan 1996). Despite its preponderance in central and northern Georgia, only 13 examples of alkaline-glazed stoneware were identified in the North End plantation assemblage. These were distributed in Loci C, D, G, H and I. Level 2 contained the most examples (n=5) and other specimens were unearthed from Levels 1, 3, 5 and 6. None of the specimens were recovered from feature contexts.

Later 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century American stoneware was present in low frequencies at the North End plantation. Two Albany slipped stoneware sherds were identified, one each from Loci C and H. This

ware is generally associated with late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century contexts. Bristol slipped stoneware sherds were represented by eight examples at the North End plantation. Locus H produced the most (n=3), followed by Loci A and M (n=2 and 2, respectively), and a single example from Locus C. This type of stoneware is generally associated with late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century contexts (Greer 1981; Burrison 1995).

#### Tin enameled ware

Delftware, faience and majolica pottery were all tin enameled wares that were identified in the North End plantation ceramic assemblage. English delftware was by far the most common type. One polychrome hand painted and gold gilded faience sherd was excavated from Locus C, Level 4 in Test Unit 221. This unusual sherd presents an enigma. One majolica sherd was identified from Level 1. English delftware was represented by 37 examples at the North End plantation. Five polychrome hand painted delftware sherds were identified from Locus A, Level 3, Locus B, Level 2, and Locus C, Levels 2 and 5. Ten blue hand painted delftware sherds were identified from Locus C, Levels 1 and 4, Locus D, Levels 1, 2, and 4, and from Test Units 213 and 214. One Mimosa pattern blue hand painted delftware sherd came from Locus C, Level 1 in Test Unit 207. Undecorated delftware sherds (n=15) and delftware sherds lacking the tin glaze (n=5) were widely distributed over the site. Undecorated delftware was excavated in Locus A, Levels 1 and 2, Locus C, Levels 3 and 4, and Locus D, Levels 2 and 4 and from Feature 50. Site wide, Level 2 yielded the most delftware examples, followed by Levels 1 and 3 (n=10, 7 and 7, respectively). Level 4 produced four delftware sherds and Level 5 contained two examples.

Tin enameled wares are almost exclusively associated with the colonial era in Georgia. They are most abundant in archaeological sites that were occupied prior to the advent of creamware (ca. 1762), which was a superior ware that rapidly replaced English delftware on British colonial dinner tables. Tin enameled ware was a minority ware at the North End plantation, which is understandable since the plantation was not settled until the early 1760s, after the availability of creamware.

#### Slipware

Yellow slipware sherds were well represented at the North End plantation (n=162). This ware was produced in England and is exceedingly uncommon in Georgia after the American Revolution. This decline in popularity of yellow slipware actually preceded the American Revolution, once more durable refined earthenwares

became more available. Shallow bowls and pipkins, made from yellow slipware, were probably the dominant vessel forms, although the sherds in the North End plantation collection are mostly small and not suited to a detailed study of vessel form. The North End plantation ceramic assemblage included four varieties of decorated yellow slipware: dotted, trailed, dotted and trailed, and combed. Undecorated slipware was the most common sherd type (n=64), followed by combed (n=49), dotted (n=4), trailed (n=8), and trailed and dotted (n=1).

Yellow slipware ceramics were present in Tabby 1 in low frequencies. Locus A produced only six yellow slipware sherds from Levels 1 through 4. None were recovered from Locus B.

Tabby 2 produced the most abundant evidence of yellow slipware ceramics (n=116) at the North End plantation. Locus C yielded 37 slipware sherds. Examples were recovered from every test unit in Locus C. Test Unit 206 contained the most examples (n=10). Level 2 contained the most examples, next in frequency were Levels 4 and 5, followed by Level 3 (n=9, 8, 8, and 7, respectively). Only one example each was recovered from Levels 1 and 6. Yellow slipware sherds were found in Features 9, 12 and 17 within Locus C.

Locus D contained 79 slipware sherds. Test Units 228 and 231 produced the most examples (n=8 and 8). Level 1 yielded the most slipware sherds (n=30), followed closely by Level 2 (n=29). Level 3 produced only 12 slipware sherds and none were found in lower levels. Yellow slipware sherds were recovered from Features 38, 39, 50 and 68 in Locus D. Locus D contained the greatest concentration of yellow slipware observed thus far at the North End plantation.

Four yellow slipware sherds were recovered from Tabby 3, Locus E in Levels 1, 2 and 3. Feature 34 yielded two examples. The frequency of yellow slipware in Tabby 1 and 3 was similar, although the relative frequency in Tabby 3 was far greater, based on the excavation size.

#### Redware and Coarse Earthenware

Low-fired redware and coarse earthenware ceramics were represented by 109 sherds (79 and 30 specimens, respectively) at the North End plantation. The coarse earthenware included lead glazed and unglazed examples. The vessel forms included shallow dishes, hollow ware (bowls or pots), and some large utilitarian storage containers. Coarse earthenware sherds were unearthed in Loci C, D, G, H, M, N, and S. They were located in excavation levels 1, 2, and 3. Two specimens were

recovered from feature contexts in Feature 5 in Locus M, Feature 12 in Locus C, and Feature 50 in Locus D.

The redware assemblage from the North End plantation includes both refined and unrefined vessels. Much of the unrefined redware was likely produced in America (McConnell 1988). Identified types of refined redwares, which were likely produced in England, included Astbury ware, Jackfield ware, and Engine-turned dry bodied red stoneware (Noël Hume 1985; South 1977). Astbury ware was first produced about 1725 to about 1750. Jackfield redware was first produced about 1740 to about 1780. Engine-turned red stoneware was produced from about 1763 to 1775. Each of these wares is a good indicator of colonial period occupation in Georgia. The six Astbury ware sherds were located in Loci A and D, Level 2 and Locus M, Level 3. The two Jackfield redware sherds were unearthed in Loci D and E, Level 1. The engine-turned red stoneware consisted of two sherds, found in Locus Q, Level 1.

The other redwares in the ceramic collection are less sensitive indicators of age. Some of these wares were probably made in England, while others may have been made in America, or in other British colonies. They include an assortment of lead glazed, unglazed, and slipped vessels. Several sherds were recognizable as creamware pans. Locus C yielded the most redware sherds (n=18), followed by Locus D (n=14). Locus S yielded 11 redware sherds. Locus A produced nine redware sherds, while Locus M had six. Loci G and N had 2, and Loci E, H, I, K, and R each contained a single redware sherd. Most unidentified redware was contained in Level 2, followed by Level 3 and Level 4 (n=19, 18, and 18, respectively). Four examples were found in Level 4 and two in Level 5. Feature 34 in Locus S yielded nine redware sherds. Other examples were found in Features 8 and 12 in Locus D.

#### Refined Earthenware

A total of 1,284 sherds from the North End plantation was classified as refined earthenware and these represent the most common ceramic category. This broad category describes a thin, refined white-pasted ware, which was decorated with a wide variety of surface treatments. It was fired at a higher temperature than redware. It includes Whieldon ware, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and cream colored (C.C.) ware. The majority of the refined earthenwares were manufactured in England and imported to Georgia.

Whieldon ware was manufactured in England by Thomas Whieldon from about 1740 to 1770. Consequently, this ware is an excellent indicator of colonial era occupation. It was also manufactured by others and potter John Bartlam

made similar wares at Cainhoy, South Carolina (Noël Hume 1985; South 1993). Whieldon ware is a clouded or tortoise shell glaze, on a cream colored background. The North End Quarter contained seven Whieldon ware sherds. These were recovered from Locus C, Level 3; Locus D, Levels 1, 2 and 4, and Locus G, Level 1. Features 54 in Locus D and 77 in Locus C each yielded single examples of Whieldon ware.

Creamware was produced by Josiah Wedgwood in England beginning about 1762 (Noël Hume 1985; South 1977). It was produced until about 1820, although it had significantly declined in popularity prior to that date. Creamware was also produced in South Carolina by John Bartlam. Creamware was a common ware in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The North End plantation ceramics include 305 creamware sherds. The vast majority of these were undecorated (n=260). Thirty-four creamware sherds had molded designs and seven examples were hand-painted polychrome wares. Examples of annular creamware and mocha creamware were also present. Creamware was most prevalent in excavation Level 2 across the site (n=88), followed by Level 1 and Level 3 (n=71 and 67, respectively).

Tabby 1 yielded 30 creamware sherds. Locus A contained 27 creamware sherds, which represents a frequency of four sherds per m<sup>2</sup>. These were distributed in Levels 1 through 5 and most were contained in Levels 1 and 2 (n=8 and 9, respectively). Locus B yielded only three creamware sherds. Two were from Level 1 and one was from Level 3.

Tabby 2 produced 173 creamware sherds, which was the greatest concentration of this ware at the North End plantation. Locus C contained 89 creamware sherds, which represents a frequency of nearly 13 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>. Level 3 produced 33 creamware sherds. Level 2 yielded 19 sherds. Level 3 contained nine sherds. Level 5 had five sherds, and one was recovered from Level 1. Several creamware sherds were from feature contexts in Locus C, including Features 8, 9, 12, 73 and 77. Locus D yielded 84 creamware sherds, which represents a frequency of 12 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>. Level 2 had the most creamware sherds (n=32), followed by Level 1 (n=26). Level 3 had 19 sherds, and Level 4 yielded four examples. Features 35, 36, and 39 each contained one creamware sherds.

Locus H yielded 25 creamware sherds, which represents a frequency of nearly three sherds per m<sup>2</sup>. These were scattered throughout Levels 1 through 4. Levels 2 and 3 had the most examples (n=7 and n=6, respectively). Locus S produced 21 creamware sherds. Most were from Level 1 (n=7) and only five were recovered from Level

2. Feature 34 yielded six examples. Feature 46 contained two, and Feature 43 had one creamware sherd.

Locus M yielded 22 creamware sherds, which represents a frequency of just over three sherds per m<sup>2</sup>. These were distributed in Levels 1, 2, 3, and 5 with Level 2 containing slight higher amounts (n=5) than the other levels. Feature 32 contained two examples and single examples were found in Features 3 and 24.

The other areas of the site yielded minor amounts of creamware. Three creamware sherds were recovered from Level 2 in Locus E. Locus G produced 17 creamware sherds. These were from Levels 1 and 2, and from Feature 10. Locus I yielded one creamware sherd. Locus N, Level 2 produced one sherd. Locus Q yielded three sherds. Locus R contained seven sherds.

Pearlware was the most common refined earthenware at the North End Quarter, represented by 655 sherds. Pearlware ceramics were widely distributed across the site. Pearlware was produced in England beginning about 1774 and continuing to the 1840s (Noël Hume 1985; South 1977; Seidel 1990:82-95). The earliest decorated pearlware was an underglaze blue hand painted ware, which mimicked Oriental porcelain. Edgeware plates, with blue or green trim were also produced in England in the 1770s. Production of edge ware plates continued into the 1870s, although the latter forms are greatly debased and simplified from the earlier wares.

Tabby 1 contained 57 pearlware sherds. Locus A yielded 51 specimens, which represents a frequency of just over 7. Level 2 contained the most examples (n=21) followed by Level 1 (n=16). Locus B produced six examples.

Tabby 2 contained 224 pearlware sherds. Locus C yielded 101 specimens. Level 2 contained the most, followed by Level 3, Level 1, and Level 4, and Level 5 (n=31, 26, 20, 11, and 7, respectively). Feature 77 yielded five examples and Feature 12 had one.

Locus D produced 123 pearlware sherds. Most of these (n=51) were contained in Level 1, followed by Levels 2 and 3 (n=42 and 19, respectively). Level 4 yielded seven pearlware sherds. Only one pearlware sherd came from Level 5. Features 23 and 39 each produced one example.

Locus G had 47 pearlware sherds. Most of these were from Level 1 (n=22). Level 2 yielded eight examples and one came from Level 3. Feature 10 produced one pearlware sherd. Locus H produced 136 pearlware sherds. Most of these were contained in Level 2 (n=60), followed by Level 1 (n=46), and Levels 3, 4, 6, and 5 (n=16, 4, 2, and 1, respectively). Locus S contained 34 pearlware sherds. Most of these were contained in Level 1. Feature 34 had

seven examples, Feature 43 had two and Feature 46 had one pearlware sherd.

Locus M yielded 96 pearlware sherds. Most of these were from Level 2, followed by Levels 1, 3, 4 and 5 (n=26, 16, 14, 2, and 2, respectively). Feature 32 had four examples and Feature 3 contained two specimens.

Minor amounts of pearlware were recovered from other areas of the site. Locus E had 16 pearlware sherds and these were mostly from Level 1 (n=9); Locus J had 10 examples; Loci K and L each had one specimen; Loci I and R each yielded 11 pearlware sherds; Locus N produced seven pieces of pearlware, which were distributed in Levels 1 through 4; and Locus Q yielded four pearlware sherds.

Whiteware was first produced about 1810 and it soon outpaced creamware and pearlware in popularity (South 1977; Miller 1980). Whiteware is distinguished from creamware and pearlware by its lack of color in the accumulated glaze pooling areas. Ninety-three sherds from the North End Quarter were identified as whiteware.

Eighteen whiteware sherds were found in Tabby 1. Locus A produced 15 decorated whiteware sherds. Locus B had only three whiteware sherds. A total of 24 whiteware sherds were unearthed from Tabby 2. Locus C contained 16 decorated whiteware sherds. Locus D contained only eight whiteware sherds. Locus H yielded 18 whiteware sherds and Locus M contained 11 decorated whiteware sherds. Minor amounts of whiteware were recovered from Loci E, G, I, J, L, N, R, and S.

Some ceramic decorative types, such as annular, mocha, transfer printed, and hand painted wares, were produced on various categories of refined earthenware. These are not always easily distinguished as to the type of body that they were applied onto (creamware, pearlware, or whiteware). Annular, or dipped refined earthenware, was represented by 76 sherds at the North End plantation. Locus H had the highest number of annular ware sherds (n=22), followed closely by Locus D, which yielded 20 examples. Loci A and C each contained eight examples. None was recovered from Locus B. Minor amounts of Annular ware were recovered from Loci E, G, I, J, M, and R. Annular ware was applied to creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and yellowware containers. Mochaware is a distinctive decorative style that has dendritic brown glaze. This brown glaze is often zoned within annular bands. Thus, it represents a variant of annular ware.

Cream-colored ware, or C.C. ware, is a common refined earthenware throughout the middle and late 19<sup>th</sup> and very early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Miller 1980, 1991). In the present ceramic analysis the classification of C.C. ware was

reserved for undecorated cream-colored earthenware ceramics that could not be otherwise identified as creamware, pearlware or whiteware. Seventy-two sherds from the North End plantation were classified as undecorated C.C. ware. Features 28, 42, and 82 each contained one example of plain C.C. ware. Locus H contained the most C.C. ware sherds, followed by Locus M (17 and 15, respectively). It was poorly represented in Locus D by only eight sherds.

### Ironstone

Ironstone ceramics were produced from about 1813 to the present (South 1977). A total of 248 ironstone sherds as unearthened from North End plantation. Ironstone was widely distributed across the site and several concentrations were recognized. Locus H yielded the greatest amount of ironstone (n=161), followed by Locus M (n=39). The excavations within the tabby buildings yielded substantially fewer ironstone sherds. Tabby 1 contained only 12 sherds and Tabby 2 contained only 17 sherds. Although ironstone was available in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, its peak period of use was in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continuing into the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The distribution at the North End plantation suggests that Loci H and M were areas of heavy activity and artifact discard during the post-bellum period. Site wide the greatest abundance of ironstone was located in excavation Level 2 (n=109), followed by Level 1 (n=86). Level 3 contained only 23 ironstone sherds and minor amount were recovered from Levels 4 through 6 (n=3, 1, and 1, respectively).

### Colonoware

Colonoware is a low-fired, unglazed earthenware that was used in the 17<sup>th</sup> through early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries on plantations in the Southeastern Seaboard of North America and the Caribbean. Archaeologists disagree over who made this ware and it has been attributed to Native Americans and African Americans (Noël Hume 1962:2-12; Elliott 1987; Ferguson 1992; Steen 1990; Webb and Gantt 1991; Trinkley and Adams 1995; Steen et al. 1996; Espenshade and Kennedy 2002:209-240; Cooper and Smith 2007). Most colonoware is hand-shaped and not wheel thrown. Some examples of slip-decorated or painted colonoware are known, but these are quite rare.

Colonoware is rare on historic sites in Georgia, although it is slightly less rare on the barrier island plantations. Its limited but widespread representation at North End plantation is noteworthy and it indicates interaction between those living at the North End plantation and possibly markets or plantations in nearby South Carolina. Colonoware is quite common on plantation

sites in Beaufort County, South Carolina, for example, and that region was relatively accessible by watercraft. The colonoware may have been brought to Ossabaw Island as containers filled with some other commodity. This scenario places the presence of the colonoware pot as incidental and secondary to the primary import. If colonoware was produced on Ossabaw Island, it would most likely have been present in higher frequencies.

The excavations at the North End plantation yielded 60 colonoware sherds. The distribution of the colonoware sherds is presented in Table 9. These include six from Locus A, Levels 3-6; one from Locus B, Level 1; 17 from Locus C, Levels 1-4 and Features 12 and 73; 19 from Locus D, Levels 1-3 and Feature 55; 6 from Locus E, Levels 1, 2, 4 and Feature 28; one from Locus G (Shovel Test 142), 2 from Locus H, Levels 1 and 2; one from Locus M, Level 1, one from Locus R (Shovel Test 82); and one from Locus S, Feature 46. Vessel forms represented in the North End plantation assemblage include large bowls and jars. Three burnished examples were identified.

The vertical distribution of colonoware at North End plantation was examined for clues as to the age of this ware. The greatest frequency came from Level 2 (n=20), followed by Level 1 (n=11), Levels 3 and 4 (n=9 and 9, respectively), and 1 sherd each from Levels 5 and 6. The relatively low representation in Levels 3 and 4 versus Levels 1 and 2 may indicate that the colonoware dates to the later plantation era (early to mid 19<sup>th</sup> century) rather than the earlier era.

This distribution shows that colonoware is somewhat more widespread at the North End plantation and most pronounced in the vicinity of Tabby 2. Nowhere was this ware found in any quantity or concentration. The colonoware assemblage was examined for any cross-mends but none were recognized. The sample from the North End plantation was relatively small, which suggests that this ware was not produced on Ossabaw Island but was imported from elsewhere. If these pots were produced on Ossabaw Island, the period of production was extremely limited and probably brief.

A total of 78 aboriginal pottery sherds was included in the North End plantation ceramic assemblage. These sherds span the period from the Terminal Archaic to the Mississippi. Most of these sherds are probably incidental to the historic midden fill, being brought to the site along with oyster shell and other building material. The best case evidence for this was observed in Test Unit 220, just outside of the entrance of Tabby 2, Locus D. There a concentration of Terminal Archaic fiber tempered ware was found in stratigraphic superposition above a 1918 U.S. cent.

Count	Loci	Level	Feature
2	A	3	
2	A	4	
1	A	5	
1	A	6	
<b>6</b>	<i>A Subtotal</i>		
1	B	1	
<b>1</b>	<i>B Subtotal</i>		
1	C	1	
4	C	2	
3	C	3	
6	C	4	
1	C		73
2	C		12
<b>15</b>	<i>C Subtotal</i>		
6	D	1	
8	D	2	
4	D	3	
1	D		55
<b>19</b>	<i>D Subtotal</i>		
2	E	1	
2	E	2	
1	E	4	
1	E		28
<b>6</b>	<i>E Subtotal</i>		
1	G		
<b>1</b>	<i>G Subtotal</i>		
1	H	1	
4	H	2	
<b>5</b>	<i>H Subtotal</i>		
1	L	2	31
<b>1</b>	<i>L Subtotal</i>		
1	M	2	
<b>1</b>	<i>M Subtotal</i>		
2	R		
<b>2</b>	<i>R Subtotal</i>		
1	S		46
<b>1</b>	<i>S Subtotal</i>		
<b>60</b>	<b>SITE TOTAL</b>		

**Table 9. Colonoware, North End Plantation.**

These early pottery sherds are quite rare on Ossabaw Island but one notable source is the shell ring on Cabbage Patch Island (Moore 1997; Sassaman 1993). The fiber tempered sherds in Test Unit 220 were included with numerous large oyster shells, which probably also came from that shell ring. The Terminal Archaic pottery (n=14) included incised, punctate and undecorated sherds. Fiber tempered sherds were located in Loci C, D and H.

The other aboriginal ceramics include several decoration styles, such as simple stamped, check stamped, complicating stamped, cord marked, cord wrapped dowel, and undecorated sherds. Undecorated sherds were the most common type represented (n=44). Cord marked sherds were unearthed in Loci D and E. These sherds were sand tempered and may date to several different time periods of prehistory. Some of them may also be from the historic period, since it is often difficult to distinguish between colonoware and undecorated aboriginal pottery. No distinctive rim forms were noted and the sherds were too small to extract any vessel morphology.

Complicated stamped pottery was the most common decorated ware (n=7) in the assemblage. These sherds may date from the Middle Woodland to historic Indian period. These sherds were located in Tabby 1, Locus A, Levels 3 and 5; and Tabby 2, Locus C, Levels 2 and 4; and Locus D, Levels 1, and 2.

Three cordmarked sherds were identified, two from Locus D, Levels 1 and 2, and one from Locus E, Level 2. Cordmarked pottery was made throughout most of the Woodland and Mississippian periods. A single simple stamped sherd was found in Locus D, Level 2, and a single check stamped sherd was found in Locus A, Level 1. Deptford simple stamped and check stamped wares were made during the Early and Middle Woodland periods.

The presence of aboriginal pottery dating to the Woodland and Mississippian periods may represent redeposition, as was concluded after the 2005 excavation. It also may signal a minor aboriginal component on the site. During the course of the 2006 excavation project a large earthen "Indian Mound" was discovered in a wooded area, south of 9Ch1062. The age and function of this mound is presently unknown, but its discovery does force a rethinking of the aboriginal land use of 9Ch1062. Since the aboriginal component of this portion of Ossabaw Island was not the focus of the present study, these question must wait for future researchers.

#### Kitchen Glass

A total of 3,659 pieces of kitchen-related bottle glass and tableware glass was excavated from the North End

plantation. Many of the broken bottles at the North End plantation formerly contained alcoholic beverages. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century most of these bottles were hand-blown olive green bottles (n=1,647). Most of these were cylindrical bottles. The vertical distribution of olive green bottle glass across the entire site was examined. Level 1 had 449 fragments; Level 2 had 564; Level 3 had 297; and Level 4 had 100 examples. Minor amounts of olive green glass were recovered from Levels 5 through 7.

The greatest concentration of cylindrical, olive green bottle glass was observed in Locus D, which yielded 467 examples. Locus H contained 296 fragments of cylindrical, olive green bottle glass. Locus C had 272 pieces. Locus G contained 77 examples. Locus M contained 96 examples of cylindrical, olive green bottle glass. Rectangular case bottles made from olive green glass were represented by 121 fragments in the assemblage. These bottles were used for gin and other alcoholic products. Locus D produced the most specimens (n=62), where they were distributed in Levels 1-4. Levels 2 and 3 each contained 23 case bottle fragments. Features 39 and 54 each contained single examples.

One small whiskey flask was recovered from Locus A, Level 3. This bottle was not identified with any brand markings. It had a cork stopper top and an Owen's production scar on its base. The mold seam extended approximately 1 inch up from the base on both sides of the flask. The bottle measured 5.5 inches by 2.5 inches by 7.5 inches and it was made from clear glass. This whisky bottle dates after 1903.

The excavations yielded 170 clear, lead glass bottle sherds. These are probably from early, hand-blown bottles or tableware.

Thirty pieces of amethyst-colored (solarized) bottle glass were identified in the collection. Most of these (n=20) came from Locus H. None were recovered from within Tabbies 1, 2 or 3. Locus N yielded six examples. Locus M contained only one specimen. The amethyst color in these otherwise clear glass bottles is an effect created by the addition of manganese in the glass production. This technique began in the late 1860s and was quite popular by the late 1800s but its use was curtailed in the United States during World War I because manganese was needed for the war effort. Thus, bottles made from this type of glass may be bracketed from after 1865 to 1920 and was most commonly produced from 1880-1917 (Fike 1987; Lockhart 2006).

Amber-colored bottle glass (n=131) was widely distributed at the North End plantation. Locus H contained the most specimens (n=66). Locus D yielded only one example.

Amber glass bottles were used for alcoholic beverages, medicines, and snuff.

Seventy light green bottle glass sherds were present in the collection from the North End plantation. The greatest concentration was in Locus H, which yielded 27 examples.

Aqua-colored bottle glass (n=275) was widely distributed at the North End plantation. The greatest amount was found in Locus H, which contained 90 specimens. Locus A yielded 58 examples. Light aqua bottle glass (n=31) was most common in Locus D, which yielded 21 examples. These were distributed in Levels 1, 2 and 3 with no major concentrations. Aqua glass was used for a variety of products, including medicines and mineral water.

### Medicine Bottles

Many fragments of undecorated medicine bottles were present in the North End plantation bottle glass assemblage. These include hand blown bottles, which mostly date prior to 1840, and more recent examples from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

A glass bottle embossed with the words, "Shuptrine Co. /Druggists/Savannah" on side "W & Co. U.S.A." on base, was recovered from Locus A, Test Unit 252, Level 1. This bottle is shown in Figure 33. Drug historian Allen Vegotsky provides this background information on the drug company: "The Shuptrine Company of Savannah, Georgia, manufactured an ointment that they called Tetterine for skin conditions like eczema, but their advertising claims were excessive and they ran into problems with the Federal Government for misbranding in 1915 (Arthur Cramp, Nostrums and Quackery, Vol. II, p. 622, 1921). The company also had a patent on Shuptzine which came in bottles of different sizes (Sellari and Sellari, "The Illustrated Price Guide of Antique Bottles", 1975)" (Allen Vegotsky personal communication October 20, 2006). This bottle was manufactured between 1867 and 1920.

Locus C yielded two identified medicine bottles. Excavations in Locus C, Level 3 uncovered a complete Minard's Linament bottle. Vegotsky noted that Minard's Liniment was an external medicine that is rubbed on the skin to alleviate pain (Elliott 2005d:70-71). Minard's Liniment was produced from at least 1887 to 1929, and possibly longer. A Salter's Eye Lotion bottle, embossed with the words, "Salter's Eye Lotion, Atlanta, GA." Was recovered from Locus C, Test Unit 219, Level 3). It is a complete clear paneled pharmaceutical bottle with chamfered corners, and it measured 4 3/8 inches by 1 1/4 inches by 5/8 inches. This bottle was manufactured





Figure 33. Shuptrine Co. Druggists Bottle, Locus A.

between 1867 and 1920. Several fragments of a bottle marked, “American Drug Co.” was recovered from Locus E, Level 1. One bottle fragment marked, “...ver tonic” and “...cure...” was also recovered from Level 1. This clear glass bottle probably contained a liver tonic. Liver tonics were well-advertised patent medicines in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Locus H yielded a light aqua panel bottle marked, “h. Fletch...”, which probably contained Fletcher’s Castoria. Fletcher’s Castoria was a popular flavored laxative in the late 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Fletcher’s Castoria was patented by Dr. Samuel Pitcher in 1868. Pitcher sold the patent to Charles Henry Fletcher, who began manufacturing the product in 1871. The product remains in production today, owned by the Japanese-owned Rohto Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd. Dr. Pitcher’s original patent formula for this product included: “senna, sodium bicarbonate, essence of wintergreen, taraxicum, sugar and water”. Other flavorings were later added to improve the taste. Contrary to the name of the drug, it does not contain any castor oil. Fletcher’s Castoria was marketed particularly as a child’s medicine (Jump 2007; Centaur.com 2007).

Most of the drug bottle fragments from the North End plantation were unmarked. A few examples were from early hand-blown drug bottles, which probably date prior to 1840. Two examples of early hand-blown medicine

bottle glass were identified from Locus D, Levels 2 and 3. Twenty-seven panel bottles were contained in the collection and most of these probably represent medicine bottles. The greatest concentration of these was in Locus H, which contained 18 examples. Cobalt blue bottle glass was represented by 14 sherds in the North End plantation assemblage. Cobalt blue glass bottles were used for poisons, medicine, cosmetics, soda water, and occasionally for alcoholic beverages. Most were found in Locus H. Only one specimen of cobalt blue glass was recovered from within the tabby buildings.

Modern machine-made bottle glass was represented by 138 sherds in the collection. The greatest concentration of modern bottle glass was observed in Locus H, which yielded 88 examples. Only one specimen was recovered from Locus D in Level 1. Sitewide, most machine-made bottle glass (n=70) was recovered from Level 1.

Tableware glass (n=43) was present in low frequencies at the North End plantation. Drinking goblet fragments were identified at Loci B, C, H, and S. The greatest number of tableware glass sherds was observed in Tabby 2, where Loci C and D each yielded nine specimens. The greatest frequency of tableware glass per m<sup>2</sup> however, was observed in Locus M. Glass tumblers were located in Loci C, D, E, M, and S. Most of these were found in Level 1, except for one specimen from Level 3 in Locus D. One specimen was from Feature 34 in Locus S. Etched glass

was found in Level 3 at Loci C and D. Two fragments of molded glass bowls were found in Locus M, Levels 2 and 3. Many other pieces of clear, curved glass in the collection may represent fragments of tableware glass.

#### Cooking Hardware

Cast iron cookware was unearthed from several locations at the North End plantation. All of the fragments that were found were relatively small and provided only limited information about the size and shape of the original cooking vessel. Cast iron cookware was formed into a variety of baking pans, cauldrons, dutch ovens, kettles, pans, pots and skillets. Pots and cauldrons were probably the most common form on the plantation. These vessels served a variety of uses besides cooking, including heating water for washing clothes, rendering hides or tallow, and for making soap. Small to medium sized pots may have been used indoors, but most use of the large cast iron pots and cauldrons was probably done outdoors.

Thirty-two fragments of cast iron cookware were contained in the artifact assemblage from the North End plantation. Locus D produced the most examples (n=10), followed by Locus H (n=5). Loci A, C, I, and S each yielded three examples, and examples were also

recovered from Loci E, G, L, and Q. Only one specimen was recovered from feature context (Feature 30 in Locus L). Interestingly, none were recovered from Locus M, which is the suspected location of the Morel plantation house.

Knives, forks and spoons were used by the people of the North End Quarter. These utensils were recovered from antebellum and post-bellum contexts. Spoons were the most common serving or eating utensil at the North End Quarter (n=22). Tablespoons and serving spoons were the most common forms, each represented by 10 examples. Teaspoons were the least common, only two examples were found. One of the teaspoons, shown in Figure 34, was made of silver and it bore a hallmark on its reverse. The hallmark was mostly illegible, but it appears to include an "M" or "W". The silversmith who produced this item was not identified. The spoon probably dates to the antebellum era. Silver spoons, particularly a complete specimen, are an unusual find in an slave dwelling. The small length of this spoon may indicate that it was a child's spoon.

Two large iron serving spoon bowls were unearthed in Locus D. They were found nested together and are illustrated in Figure 35. The context of these two spoons



Figure 34. Silver Spoon, Locus C.



**Figure 35. Nested Serving Spoons, Locus D.**

suggests that they were stored in the ground intentionally but were never retrieved.

A blue “Beetleware” spoon was discovered in Locus D at the base of Level 1, Test Unit 232 (See Figure 17 and Appendix 3, LN 493). This was a child’s spoon molded with an image of Humpty Dumpty and those words on the handle, and on the reverse were the numbers, “9576”. Beetleware, which was made from beetle resins, was an early plastic synthesized and marketed in England by the British Cyanides company between 1925 and 1928. The Humpty Dumpty spoons are generally considered to date to the early 1930s. By 1940 other polymers were available on the market and Beetleware declined in popularity. Similar Humpty Dumpty spoons were produced in a variety of colors. Examples were found on the internet and all of these bear the same numerals “9576” on the reverse (Derrick 2006; ABC Antiques 2006). The spoon from Locus D measured 4.75 inches in length. Its bowl is split down the center lengthwise but its an otherwise complete specimen. This child’s spoon, which was deposited beneath the wooden flooring, helps to date the age of this floor to sometime after 1928. It may have been lost by a child prior to, or during the installation of the wooden floor.

Humpty Dumpty is a familiar British nursery rhyme, whose origin can be traced to actual events in British history. Humpty Dumpty is a 15<sup>th</sup> century colloquial term

in England used to describe an obese person. It is also a term for an ale and brandy drink in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. A piece of armament, which as a large cannon dubbed “Humpty Dumpty” was used to defend the St. Mary’s Wall Church during the English Civil War in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The nursery rhyme remained popular with children for centuries following, lasting well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A stylized Humpty Dumpty, an anthropomorphic egg who falls off of a wall and cannot be reconstructed, appears in countless children’s fairy tale books and artwork and he even made a cameo appearance in Lewis Carroll’s sequel to *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There*, which was a wildly popular book for decades after its first publication in 1872. The advent of comic books and various superheroes and American folk heroes, such as Davy Crockett, in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, resulted in a decline in the popularity of this and other European nursery rhymes and children’s stories. By the 1940s and 1950s, these new favorites had largely replaced the older characters on children’s eating utensils and other tableware.

Six table knives were unearthed at the North End Quarter. Five of these came from Locus A, Levels 3 and 4, and the sixth was from Locus C, Level 1. These artifacts probably date to the late 19<sup>th</sup> to mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. One iron knife handle was recovered from Locus D, Level 3. Forks

were the least common eating utensil encountered at the North End plantation, only one fragmented example of a 2-tine iron fork was unearthed. A bone handle, which was recovered nearby, probably represents the lower portion of this artifact but the connecting middle section was not recovered. One other bone utensil handles were recovered, one from Locus B, Level 2. Five other metal utensil handles were unearthed from the North End Quarter. These seven utensil handles could not be further identified.

Metal cans and can lids were found in many contexts at the North End plantation (n=184 and 20, respectively). Many of these may be modern, although the use of metal cans for food storage dates to about 1810. Some of the excavated examples are probably from early cans, or possibly handmade tin ware. Metal cans were common in Loci C and H (n=94 and 37, respectively). Locus A yielded nine metal can fragments. Locus D had eight. Locus G yielded two examples. Loci B and E each had one example. Several threaded screw caps or lids were identified in the collection. One example from Locus L was a pewter lid, possibly to a piece of tableware. A lead threaded lid of unknown function was recovered from Locus J. One metal lid from Locus D, Level 3, resembled that of a snuff can.

Metal crown caps, which were used to seal beer and soft drink bottles after their invention in 1892, were present in low frequencies at the North End plantation (n=8). These were confined to the upper two excavation levels and were represented in Loci A, C, D, H, M and S. Locus A produced the most examples (n=3) and only two specimens were recovered from Tabby 2. Crown caps are extremely common on 20<sup>th</sup> century historic sites and their low representation at the North End plantation is noteworthy.

### Food Remains

A variety of land and sea mammals were available to the inhabitants for exploitation. Some of these animals represent significant meat weight, in terms of human diet, while others would have been minor constituents of the diet, if they were consumed at all. The following land mammal species were known to inhabit Ossabaw Island: *Blarina brevicauda* (short-tailed shrew), *Lasiurus borealis* (red bat), *Lutra canadensis* (river otter), *Lynx rufus* (bobcat), *Mustela vison* (mink), *Peromyscus gossy pinus* (cotton mouse), *Procyon lotor* (raccoon), *Odocoileus virginianus* (white-tailed deer), *Oryzomys palustris* (marsh rice rat), *Rattus norvegicus* (Norway rat [introduced]), *Rattus rattus* (black rat [introduced]), *Scalopus aquaticus* (eastern mole), *Sciurus carolinensis* (gray squirrel), *Sciurus niger* (fox squirrel [introduced]),

*Sigmodon hispidus* (hispid cotton rat), *Sus scrofa* (European wild boar [introduced]), *Sylvilagus palustris* (marsh rabbit) (Neuhauser and Baker 2005).

The following sea mammal species periodically approach the shores of Ossabaw Island: *Globicephala* (pilot whale), *Kogia brevicaps* (pygmy sperm whale), *Kogia simus* (dwarf sperm whale), and *Tursiops truncatus* (Atlantic bottle-nosed dolphin). The manatee (*Trichechus manatus*) has not been documented in the waters of Ossabaw Island but their former presence there would not be unexpected (Neuhauser and Baker 2005).

The following mammalian species are not documented for Ossabaw Island, but their presence in the past would not be unlikely: *Canis lupus* (gray wolf), *Didelphis virginiana* (opossum), *Puma concolor coryi* (panther), *Urocyon cinereogenteus* (gray fox), *Ursus americanus* (black bear), and *Vulpes vulpes* (red fox). Coyote (*Canis latrans*) have recently been identified on Ossabaw Island, as an infrequent resident, and may also have been on the island in the past (Jim Simmons personal communication April 10, 2006).

Farm animals on Ossabaw Island probably included cattle (as early as 1770), horses, mules, oxen, sheep, swine (as early as 1770), and goats. A variety of poultry also existed in the past (as early as 1770) and these included ducks, chickens, and possibly geese. Dogs (*Canis familiaris*) and cats (*Felis domesticus*) were also former inhabitants of Ossabaw Island, as pets and as hunting dogs, although no feral colonies of either species exist on the island today. In the 1970s, a colony of chimpanzees was introduced to Bear Island, a small island off the northwest side of Ossabaw Island, but that colony has since been removed (Richard Bowen personal communication February 1, 2006; Foskey 2001) A small herd of three horses currently reside on the northwestern part of Ossabaw Island but these elderly animals do not constitute a viable breeding group. A small herd of Sicilian donkeys (*Equus asinus*) was introduced to Ossabaw Island in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and are currently distributed in two feral herds—one on the northeastern side and one on the northwestern side of the island (Georgia Department of Natural Resources 2001:32).

More than 220 species of birds are known to frequent Ossabaw Island (Jensen 2005). These include large, medium and small migratory species, and many resident birds. All of these birds, except for those recently introduced, represented a potential food source for the people of the North End Quarter. The majority of the birds are small to medium sized, however, and would not have provided a high frequency of meat weight in the diet. Some of the larger birds may have been considered “game birds” by the owners of the Ossabaw Island plantations

and the enslaved people may have been prohibited from hunting certain species.

Bird populations on Ossabaw Island have changed substantially through the years, as the vegetative cover changed and as artificial freshwater impoundments were created. Large freshwater ponds, such as Rocket Pond on the northeast side of the island, were created in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Ossabaw Island contains no natural freshwater streams and these ponds were fed by water from artesian wells. Ornithologist W.J. Erichsen described the increase in egrets (*Casmerodius egretta*) on Ossabaw Island in 1905 and 1921. In 1905, Erichsen reported visiting Bird Pond on Ossabaw Island for two days in May and he observed “a dozen pairs of Egrets breeding there”. Erichsen revisited this rookery in April, 1921 and observed that it had increased 34 pairs of Egrets and he noted, “These birds, especially the Egrets and Snowy Herons, are rigidly protected by the owners of the island, and unless some unforeseen disaster should overtake them, will continue to increase steadily” (Wilson 1922: 251-252).

Laerm and others (2000:193) reported 70 species of amphibians and reptiles, excluding sea turtles, on Georgia’s barrier islands. These included: 17 anurans (frogs and toads), 8 candelas (salamanders), the alligator, 11 lizards, 23 snakes, and 11 turtles. Sea turtle species that probably frequented the beaches of Ossabaw Island include *Caretta caretta*, *Lepidochelys kempii*, *Dermochelys coriacea*, and *Chelonia mydas* (Laerm et al. 2000:208). Ringler (1977:39) provided specific information on the herpetofauna of Ossabaw Island, which was incorporated into Laerm’s study along with other unpublished survey data. Thirty-nine species of amphibians and reptiles that have been observed on Ossabaw Island, as of 2000, include: *Bufo terrestris*, *Hyla cinerea*, *Hyla gratiosa*, *Hyla squirella*, *Pseudacris ocularis*, *Rana catesbeiana*, *Rana grylio*, *Rana sphenoccephala*, *Gastrophryne carolinensis*, *Scaphiophus holbrooki*, *Eurycea quadridigitata*, *Plethodon grobmani*, *Notophthalmus viridescens*, *Siren lacertina*, *Alligator mississippiensis*, *Ophisaurus ventralis*, *Anolis carolinensis*, *Eumeces fasciatus*, *Eumeces inexpectatus*, *Eumeces laticeps*, *Scincella lateralis*, *Cnemidophorus sexlinea*, *Cemophora coccinea*, *Coluber constrictor*, *Elaphe obsoleta*, *Farancia abacura*, *Lampropeltis getula*, *Nerodia fasciatus*, *Opheodrys aestivus*, *Thamnophis sauritus*, *Thamnophis sirtalis*, *Micrurus fulvius*, *Agkistrodon piscivorus*, *Crotalus adamanteus*, *Chelydra serpentina*, *Deirochelys reticularia*, *Malaclemys terrapin*, *Trachemys scripta*, and *Kinosternon subrubrum* (Laerm et al. 2000:196-206, Table 1). These 39 species include 10 anurans, four salamanders, the alligator, seven lizards, 12 snakes, and five turtles (Laerm et al. 2000:210; Shoop and Ruckdeschel 2003:47).

O’Steen presents an enlightening discussion of the food remains and foodways in the North End Quarter in Appendix 5, with additional supporting documentation in Appendix 6. Her zooarchaeological analysis examined all faunal remains from feature contexts and all midden samples from Levels 2 and below from the 2005 excavations. Excavation Levels 1 and 2 contain a mixed deposit of material from various time periods and, therefore, were not included in her sample. Her sampling of the faunal collection was by no means complete and future research recommendations are included later in this report. O’Steen identified several bones that appear to be other than food remains. One of these was a previously described modified alligator tooth. Several small intentionally perforated bird and mammal bones also were identified in her sample. Excavators observed numerous raccoon baculum in Levels 1 and 2 of the excavations and these may also have had non-food related uses. One example is shown in Figure 36.

## Clothing

The clothing worn by enslaved people in Georgia is an interesting subject but one that has not received much attention. Hunt-Hurst (1999:727-740) used newspaper (advertisements or public notices) for runaway slaves to reconstruct the wearing apparel worn by Georgia’s enslaved. The present research located additional references to clothing worn by Morel’s enslaved. A runaway named York, was described on January 18, 1781, “had on an old blue coat of the Hessian arm”, and his wife Priscilla, “had on a blue bath coating wrapper and petticoat”. Both York and Priscilla were former slaves of Jonathan Bryan and were owned by the Morel family at the time of their escape. Another runaway, Ishmael, a 14 year-old from the Morel plantation on Ossabaw Island in early September, 1785, was described as wearing, “a brown jacket and trousers very much broke” when he was last seen. A later notice for Ishmael, published in 1787, stated that he wore, “a jacket and overalls of white negro cloth”. Clothing descriptions for two runaways from the Morel’s Ossabaw Island plantation in 1786 noted that Hector, wore, “a green jacket and breeches” and Bob wore, “a blue jacket and round hat”. Patty, another runaway from the Morels and a young mother 19 years old, wore, “a green negro cloth wrapper and coat”. John Morel cautioned, “but having others she may change them”. A companion runaway named Daniel, a young lad aged 15 wore, “an old negro cloth jacket and a pair of blue trousers very much worn” (*Royal Georgia Gazette* 1781, *Gazette of the State of Georgia* 1785, 1786, 1787, 1789; Kilbourne 1999b:204, 436-437; Kilbourne 2000:39-40, 87, 208).



**[Figure 36. Raccoon Baculum, Locus A.**

Kollock's records for the South End plantation on Ossabaw Island show that his slaves were supplied with clothing each December. Items supplied to the enslaved included cloth, buttons, thread, needles, shoes, and blankets. In 1858, for example, 43 people were each supplied with a pair of shoes. These shoes cost between \$1.15-\$1.20 per pair. That same year 22 blankets were provided, at a cost of \$1.25 per blanket. While the distribution of clothing was apparently a Christmas event, newborn children were allotted clothing upon their birth at various times of the year. For Christmas 1855, 14 slaves from South End plantation, out of a total enslaved population of about 62, were permitted to go to town [Savannah] for the holidays (Kollock 1837-1861).

These descriptions provide an inkling of how those enslaved at the North End Quarter were dressed. The archaeological record adds greater detail to this reconstruction, particularly in terms of durable clothing artifacts, which were not mentioned in the published notices. The Clothing group is represented by 606 artifacts in the North End plantation collection, or 3.6 percent of the assemblage. Clothing-related artifacts were recovered from most site loci. A few examples from Locus C are shown in Figure 37. The most examples were recovered from Locus D (n=273). Locus E had the highest relative frequency of clothing artifacts (8.5% of that sample), but this may be the result of sampling bias since only a small portion of Locus E was explored. Clothing items

include shoes and buckles, glass beads, buttons, sewing paraphernalia, and hooks and eyes.

### *Shoes and Buckles*

Leather shoe fragments (n=4) were found in Tabby 1, Locus A, Level 2 and Tabby 2, Locus C, Levels 1 and 2. One rubber shoe part was unearthed in Locus A, Level 3. Small brass eyelets (n=19), many of which are from shoe apparel, were found in several areas of the North End plantation. Two examples were unearthed in Tabby 1, Locus A, Level 3. Archaeologists recovered other examples in Tabby 2, Locus C, Levels 3 and 5, and Locus D, Levels 1 and 5. One example was recovered from Tabby 3, Locus E, Level 1. Brass shoe heel plates were excavated in Tabby 1, Locus A, Level 2 and Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 3. A plastic shoe horn was found in Tabby 1, Locus B, Level 2. As noted above, early brass shoe buckles were uncommon. One 19<sup>th</sup> century brass shoe buckle, decorated with a Greek key motif, was recovered from Locus H, Level 2.

Brass clothing buckles (n=11) were unearthed in Tabby 2, Locus C, Levels 1, 4, and Feature 77, and Locus D, Levels 2 and 3, and Features 39 and 68. One 18<sup>th</sup> century brass knee buckle was recovered from Locus C, Level 4. Buckle parts from overalls (or similar work clothes) were found in Tabby 1, Locus A, Level 2, and Tabby 2,



**Figure 37. Clothing Artifacts, Locus C.**

Locus C, Level 2. Most of the buckles represented in this small assemblage date to after the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Eighteenth century shoe buckles, which are common on many colonial sites in Georgia, were not present in the collection. This indicates that the enslaved community in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century did not have shoes with brass or iron buckles.

### ***Glass Beads***

Thirty glass beads were excavated from the North End Quarter. Most of these were recovered from Locus D in Tabby 2 (n=15), followed next in frequency by seven beads from Locus C. Slightly more than one-half of the beads from Locus D came from Level 3 (n=8), and the other specimens were widely distributed in the room and were found in every level, except Level 5. The beads were distributed in every excavation level in Locus C, except Level 5. One faceted and two round beads were excavated from Level 1 of Locus A and one round bead came from Level 1 of Locus B. Two faceted beads were found in Levels 1 and 3 of Locus E. Only one bead was recovered from a feature context (Feature 39 in Locus D).

These glass beads are typical 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century varieties that were manufactured in Italy. Glass beads were popular among African-Americans. The same varieties of beads,

drawn cane, faceted drawn cane, and wire wound, were used in colonial trade throughout the world, including the American Indian trade. At least 13 of the 30 glass beads from the North End Quarter were variations of blue glass. Other colors represented in the glass bead assemblage from the North End Quarter include white, clear, green and black. Several of the beads were heavily patinated to a chalky white and their true colors could not be determined.

Stine and others (1996) stress that certain colors of beads, particularly blue beads, may have held special magical or religious meaning for the enslaved African-Americans. Since access to imported glass beads was regulated by their masters, the choice of bead colors may have not within the power of the enslaved to control. Some latitude may have been allowed to Morel's enslaved in their purchases of glass beads. Glass beads were easy to conceal and could have been readily acquired in Savannah, or possibly nearer markets.

### ***Buttons***

Buttons were the most common clothing artifact represented in the archaeological collection from the North End Quarter. These include a variety of materials, including pewter, brass, iron, shell, bone, glass, and combinations of these. Many of the buttons were small

and likely worn on undergarments. In addition to buttons, brass shirt studs or cufflinks were found in Tabby 2, Locus C, Level 2, and Locus D, Level 3 and Feature 39.

The excavations at the North End plantation yielded a large sample of 463 buttons. These were grouped into several categories by raw material, age, manufacturing type, decorations, size, and other descriptions. The raw material categories included bone, shell, rubber, glass, brass, iron, white metal, plastic, and combinations of these. The metal buttons were further divided into categories, following South and others.

Bone buttons were the most common button type evidenced at the North End Quarter, 150 examples were recovered. Varieties of bone buttons included 1-hole, 2-hole, 4-hole, and 5-hole types. Bone buttons were produced in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and are uncommon after about 1850. Several 18<sup>th</sup> century sites in the Southeastern U.S. have shown evidence for bone button manufacture, but no sign of this was shown at the North End plantation (South 1974:194-195).

South Type 15 buttons (1-hole bone buttons) are almost exclusively 18<sup>th</sup> century buttons and were infrequent at the North End Quarter, represented by 13 specimens. Two examples came from Tabby 1, Locus A, Levels 2 and 3. Tabby 3 yielded seven examples, four from Locus C, Levels 1 through 3 and 5, and three came from Locus D, Levels 2 and 3. Tabby 3, Locus E, Levels 1 and 3 yielded three examples. Feature 39, Locus D and Feature 34, Locus E, each produced one example of this button type. These buttons may have been covered with cloth, leather, or metal foil. The central hole was a byproduct of the manufacturing process.

South Type 19 buttons (5-hole bone buttons), which are known from 18<sup>th</sup> century contexts but are most common in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were fairly common at the North End Quarter, represented by 35 specimens. Tabby 1, Locus A contained three specimens in Levels 2 and 3 and Feature 82. Tabby 2 yielded 32 examples. Locus C contained nine specimens, which were found in Levels 1 through 4 and Level 7. Most of these were from Level 2. Locus D contained 23 specimens, which were distributed in Levels 1 through 3. One example was located in Feature 39.

South Type 20 buttons (4-hole bone buttons), which likely date to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were common at the North End Quarter, evidenced by 80 examples. Tabby 1, Locus A produced 10 examples from Levels 1 through 3 with Level 2 containing the highest frequency.

South Type 22 buttons (5-hole, sunken panel bone button) were found in Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 2. This button type was produced in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century but is more

commonly found in early- to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century contexts (South 1974: 195; Hinks 1995:133-134).

Two-hole bone buttons were unearthened in Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 1 and Tabby 3, Locus E, Level 2. These buttons probably date to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Glass buttons were second in popularity at the North End Quarter, represented by 112 examples. Most of these were lost or discarded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century or very early 20<sup>th</sup> century. They are not common in 18<sup>th</sup> century contexts. Four-holed milk glass buttons (n=84) were the most common glass button type in the assemblage. Tabby 1 yielded nine examples, eight from Locus A, Levels 1 through 3, and one from Locus B, Level 2. Locus C contained 18 examples from Levels 2 through 4 with most found in Level 2. Feature 77 in Locus C contained two examples. Locus D produced 46 specimens and they were found in equal frequencies in Levels 1 and 3. Six examples were found in Locus E, Levels 1 and 2, of Tabby 3.

South Type 13 (n=3) buttons were recovered from Tabby 2, Locus D, Levels 1 and 2. These were faceted black glass buttons with brass eyes. These probably were worn by women.

Porcelain buttons were manufactured between 1850 and 1920. Calico porcelain buttons were made from about 1848 to 1865 (Luscomb 1967). One small calico button, a 2-hole example 1.2 cm in diameter with green decoration, was excavated from Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 1 (Appendix 3, LN 442).

Metal buttons were third in popularity at the North End Quarter with 107 examples identified. A small number of white metal buttons were unearthened from Tabby 2, three from Locus D, Levels 2 and 3 and one from Locus C, Level 2. One 4-hole homemade lead button was recovered from Locus A, Level 1 (Piece Plot 125). Most of the metal buttons from the North End plantation were made of brass. White metal buttons were more common in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and their low frequency occurrence in the North End Quarter suggests limited access by the enslaved during the Colonial era.

A South Type 4 button was located in Locus D, Level 1 of Tabby 2. This button had an embossed brass face, a bone back, and a brass wire eye. This may represent a higher status button than was normally worn by the enslaved population.

South Type 7 buttons (n=16), which are an early 19<sup>th</sup> century type, were unearthened from several contexts at the North End Quarter. Two came from Tabby 1, one from Locus A, Level 2 and one from Locus B, Level 1. Five



were excavated from Tabby 2, three from Loci C, four from D, one from Locus E and one from Locus F in Tabby 3, and one from Locus Q (Piece Plot 148). These brass buttons had a spun back with a foot on eye in boss.

South Type 8 buttons (n=4) were located in Tabby 1, three from Locus A, Level 2 and one from Locus B, Level 2. These buttons were made of brass.

South Type 9 buttons are an early 19<sup>th</sup> century type. Eight of these buttons were located in Tabby 2, four from Locus D, Levels 2 and 3, one from Locus C, Level 2. Two examples were recovered from Locus F in Tabby 3. One example was recovered from Locus S. This brass button was a flat disc with a hand stamped front design.

South Type 12 buttons (n=2) were unearthed in Tabby 2. One was recovered from Locus C, Level 2 and one from Locus D, Level 3. These were one-piece cast steel buttons with a soft metal core.

South Type 18 buttons (n=17), which are an early 19<sup>th</sup> century type, were recovered from several contexts at the North End plantation. Tabby 1 yielded three examples, one from Locus A, Level 1 and two from Locus B, Levels 1 and 3. Tabby 2 produced five specimens, with Locus C and D each containing three examples. Two of these buttons were recovered from feature contexts, one from Feature 38 in Locus D and one from Feature 77 in Locus C. Locus Q produced one example (Piece Plot 149). These brass buttons were stamped with words and designs on the reverse. This button type is not common until after 1800.

A South Type 24 button was located in Locus D, Level 1 of Tabby 2. It was an iron button that formerly had fabric covering its front. This type has a loose eye.

South Type 26 buttons (n=2), which were manufactured after 1820, were recovered from the North End Quarter. One example was unearthed from Locus A, Level 2 in Tabby 1. Another example came from Locus D, Level 2 in Tabby 2. These brass buttons had a machine stamped design on the front and back with a loose eye.

South Type 27 buttons (n=3), which were manufactured in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, were unearthed from Locus A, Level 1 in Tabby 1 and Locus D, Level 2 in Tabby 2. These brass buttons were made domed and machine embossed. They had a loose eye.

A South Type 28 button was located in Locus D, Level 2 in Tabby 2. This specimen was machine stamped brass. It had a concave back and poorly soldered eye.

South Type 32 buttons (n=6) were found in and around Tabby 2. Five examples were unearthed in Locus D, Level 2 and one was found in Test Unit 224, just north of Tabby 2. These brass buttons were stamped with a sunken panel.

Iron, steel or tin buttons (n=14) were recovered from Tabby 1, Locus A, Levels 2 and 4, and Tabby 2, Locus C, Feature 9, and Locus D, Levels 1 through 3. Most of these represent overall buttons, which were attached to denim or other heavy-duty work clothing. This iron overall button type is more common after the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

An assortment of decorated brass buttons from the North End Quarter were identified. A minority of these represent 18<sup>th</sup> century buttons but most date to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, based on their manufacturing attributes. These are described in greater detail below.

Two identical cast brass buttons with a raised motif, consisting of a “rampant lion and shield”, were excavated from the North End Quarter. One came from Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 3 and the other came from Test Unit 220, Level 2, just south of Tabby 2. The backs of both buttons were heavily encrusted, which made further identification impossible. The rampant lion and shield motif was popular in the Victorian era. Three examples of this button motif were recently offered for sale, along with detailed photographs showing the obverse and reverse. The reverse on two of these examples is coated with a black substance, possibly enamel or lacquer “japanning”, which may be the same decomposed substance that appears on the reverse of the two excavated examples from the North End Quarter. Japanning was developed for the button industry in Europe about 1800 (Wright 2007).

Only three military buttons are in the North End plantation artifact collection. One U.S. Artillery button was unearthed from Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 2. Its motif was a eagle above a left facing cannon and stacked cannonballs, above the word, “Corps”. This button type was produced in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The enslaved people at the North End Quarter were not in the U.S. Army, or the Georgia militia during that era, although some may have accompanied the troops as personal servants to officers. This particular button type is often found on early 19<sup>th</sup> century sites along the Georgia coast. Its presence may indicate objects scavenged from discarded uniforms, or it may represent early Army surplus clothing (Albert 1976).

Another military button was discovered during the removal of a large palm tree stump from immediately outside the western wall of Tabby 1. This specimen was a Republican Blues military uniform button that was found by metal detector survey at the extreme western edge of

the site. That particular button, which depicts an eagle and shield and the letters, “RB”, was worn by an elite Early Federal and Confederate unit, which was organized in Savannah in 1808 (Harden 1969; Durham 2000).

Many of the brass buttons from the North End plantation were manufactured in Connecticut. One brass button from Locus D, Level 1 was stamped “C. Frost Waterbury Ct.” on the reverse. The Frost family was one of several families involved in button manufacturing in the Naugatuck River valley, which was centered around Waterbury, Connecticut in the early- to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. This industry began in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century with the manufacture of tin and pewter buttons, primarily for a military market. Brass buttons were produced in this region as early as 1792, although the sheet brass was imported from England. By 1802 Abel Porter & Company in Waterbury was manufacturing brass for this purpose. The Scovill Manufacturing Company, organized in 1850, emerged as one of the main button manufacturers. By 1855, the Naugatuck Valley brass workers produced 2,000 tons of copper, and a large percentage of that was used to manufacture buttons. By 1860 the Scovill Manufacturing Company produced 1,500 gross of buttons per day in their Waterbury factory. The Scoville Manufacturing Company was absorbed by the American Brass Company between 1893 and 1899. One brass button with a bird scene on the front and “Scoville n Co” and other illegible words stamped on the reverse, came from Locus C, Level 3. Another brass button from the surface (Piece Plot 57) had the words, “Scoville” and “Warranted” stamped on the reverse. These two buttons were produced by the Scoville Manufacturing Company, which produced brass buttons as early as 1850. The manufacture date for the Scoville buttons from the North End Quarter may be securely bracketed between 1850 and 1899 (Marburg 1941:1-10; Copper Development Association 1998; Edminster 2007; Lathrop 1926; Bishop 1864:767).

Several buttons had backmarks that provided limited diagnostic information. One cast 4-hole, brass, domed button was stamped on the reverse, “J.W.G. & S. N.Y.” (Piece Plot 5). This button manufacturer was not identified and its specific manufacture date was not determined. One brass button reverse stamped, “Wellington” came from Locus C, Level 3. One domed, brass, gold-gilded brass button with a raised dot in 6-pointed star pattern on the front and “Superfine” stamped on the reverse was unearthed in Locus D, Level 2. One undecorated brass button with the reverse stamped, “Imperial Standard” came from Feature 77 in Locus C, Tabby 2. An undecorated brass button, stamped on the reverse, “Standard” and another illegible word, was Piece Plot 36. An undecorated brass button stamped “Plated” on the reverse were unearthed in Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 2, (Piece Plot 10). One brass button reverse unearthed from Locus C, Level 3 was

marked, “Plate”. One undecorated brass button stamped “Treble Gilt” on the reverse came from Locus B, Level 3 and another example from Feature 38 in Locus D had “Gilt” stamped on the reverse. Generally, buttons marked, “Gilt”, “Plate”, “Plated” and “Standard” were manufactured in England after 1797 or were produced in America by 1810, continuing throughout the early- to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. One brass button with a rose motif on the front and “Best Quality” and “London” on the reverse came from Locus D, Level 3. This button was probably produced in London, England, although it could not be linked to a specific firm and its manufacture date was not determined.

Decorated examples of iron buttons were recovered from Tabby 1. Examples include a Carhartt clothing button, which bore the words, “Carhartt, Organized Labor’s Friend”, which had a heart-shaped motif. The Carhartt Company has manufactured work clothes in the United States since 1889 (Carhartt.com 2007). The Carhartt Company supported the efforts of the United Garment Workers of American, which was founded in 1891 and later associated with the American Federation of Labor. In 1914, a group of garment workers broke away from the United Garment Workers of America to form the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (Georgia State University 2007). The Carhartt buttons from Tabby 1 may date from the 1890s to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. One Carhartt “heart-shaped” button (in poor condition) came from Locus A, Level 1. A better preserved example was recovered from Locus A, Level 4. Another stamped iron button face bore the words “Dollar Mark \$” on its front. This specimen came from Test Unit 204, Level 2. This is probably an early 20<sup>th</sup> century button.

Shell buttons were fourth in popularity at the North End Quarter, with 83 specimens identified. These include 2-hole, 3-hole, and 4-hole varieties. Shell buttons were manufactured in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but they occur infrequently on 18<sup>th</sup> century sites in Georgia (Hinks 1995). Shell buttons become very popular in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Tabby 1 yielded 29 shell buttons, 28 in Locus A, Levels 1 through 4, and one in Locus B, Level 1. Level 1 of Locus A contained the highest frequency (n=11), followed closely by Level 2 (n=10). Tabby 2 yielded 49 shell buttons; 21 in Locus C, Levels 1 through 4, and 28 in Locus D, Levels 1 through 4. Levels 1, 2 and 3 of Locus C each contained six examples and Level 4 yielded three specimens. Most of the shell buttons in Locus D were from Level 1.

Rubber buttons were uncommon at the North End Quarter, represented by five examples. The manufacture of hard rubber buttons began around 1849-1851 (Hinks 1995). Two specimens were unearthed from Level 1 of Locus A in Tabby 1. One example was found in Level 2

<b>Material Type</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5 to 7</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Bone	35	55	37	4	3	<b>134</b>
Metal	46	29	17	5	0	<b>97</b>
Glass	50	42	13	4	0	<b>109</b>
Shell	35	24	17	6	0	<b>82</b>
Rubber	4	2	0	0	0	<b>6</b>
Plastic	5	1	0	0	0	<b>6</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>434</b>

**Table 10. Button Summary.**

of Locus D in Tabby 2. Single examples were found in Level 1 of Test Units 213 and 214. None of the excavated examples bore any backmarks. Hard rubber buttons were only produced for a brief period in the mid- to late-19<sup>th</sup> century. Manufacturers included Goodyear (circa 1849-1851), the Indian Rubber Company (before 1890), and the Novelty Rubber Company (1855-1870). Hard rubber buttons were sometimes used on U.S. and Confederate uniform buttons in the Civil War (Luscomb 1967).

Six plastic buttons were contained in the excavated assemblage from the North End Quarter. Five were found in Level 1 and one was from Level 2. Examples were located in Tabby 1, Locus A and Tabby 2, Loci C and D, and from other contexts near Tabby 2. These buttons date after 1930.

The buttons from excavated contexts at the North End Quarter excavations are summarized by type and level in Table 10. Glass, metal, shell and rubber buttons were most common in Level 1, while bone buttons were most common in Level 2. The bone buttons are more closely associated with the 18<sup>th</sup> and very early 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation, whereas the shell, glass and rubber buttons are almost exclusively associated with the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century occupations. The metal buttons were used in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, but most of the assemblage probably dates to the early to mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. While bone buttons were the most common raw material class, the assemblage was split (n=231 and 197) between early (Bone and Metal categories combined) and later (Shell, Glass and Rubber categories combined). These data indicate that buttons were an important clothing artifact that was used throughout the occupation of the North End Quarter. They were worn by the enslaved, freed blacks and other occupants of the dwellings. Although bone and shell buttons may have been produced on Ossabaw Island, the excavations yielded no evidence of this type of activity. More likely all of the buttons represented in this assemblage were imported to the island and were

manufactured elsewhere. Consequently, they serve as one indicator of the access to consumer goods that was available to the enslaved population and to the later servant and worker population.

In addition to the many buttons that were excavated at the North End Quarter, other objects that would have been part of a sewing kit were unearthed. These include bobbins, thimbles, straight pins, hook and eyes, and scissors. Two bone bobbins were recovered from Tabby 2, one from each loci. Both were found in Level 2. These may have been used in tatting or lace making. Scissor fragments, made of iron or steel, were located in Tabby 1, Locus A, Level 2 and Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 2. One small brass thimble was unearthed from Tabby 1, Locus A, Level 1. Brass straight pins (n=12) were located in Tabby 1, Locus A, Level 1 and Tabby 2, Locus B, Levels 1, 2, and 4. One example was found in Feature 69. Four straight pins found in Locus D had wound heads, which generally dates the pins before 1830. One of these was from Feature 69, three examples were from Level 1, and one example was from Level 2. Five straight pins from Locus D, one from Level 1, three from Level 2 and one from Level 4, had stamped heads, which is a trait of pins manufactured after 1824.

Brass hook and eye parts (n=27) were recovered from several areas of the North End Quarter. Tabby 1, Locus A yielded examples from Levels 2, 3, and Feature 82. Tabby 2, Locus C, contained examples in Levels 1, 2, and 3, and Locus D contained examples in Levels 1 and 2. Tabby 3, Locus E contained one example from Level 1. A few other miscellaneous clothing parts were noted in the North End plantation assemblage. A small section of brass chain, possibly for a watch fob, was found in Tabby 3, Locus E, Level 2.

## Arms

The Arms group is represented by 184 artifacts in the North End plantation collection. This represents 1.1 percent of the assemblage. Arms-related artifacts were recovered from most site loci. The greatest number of Arms artifacts was observed in Locus C, which yielded 48 examples (or 1.4% of that sample). The highest frequency of Arms artifacts per m<sup>2</sup>, however, was seen in Locus J, where they comprised 6.2 percent of the collection. The excavation sample in Locus J was small and this higher frequency is possibly a result of sampling bias.

The arms group includes ammunition, gun hardware, gunflints, and other accoutrements. Guns were used at the North End plantation throughout its period of

occupation. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that the enslaved community had access to firearms and that they used these weapons to obtain wild game. By allowing the enslaved people to possess and use firearms, the Morels and their overseers took a certain amount of risk. The benefits apparently offset the negative aspects, however, as allowing the slaves the autonomy to hunt for wild foods, reduced the planter's costs of feeding them.

Gun hardware pieces were present at the North End Quarter. One gun part was located in Tabby 2, Locus C, Level 3. Two gun hardware pieces were collected from the survey, southeast of Tabby 1, and are presently in the Andy Meadows collection. These specimens were cleaned and stabilized by Danny Brown, who identified them as from a British Brown Bess musket. Brown Bess muskets were used by the British military in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. A brass ramrod guide, from a muzzle loading weapon, was recovered from Locus F. It is shown in Figure 38.

### *Gunflints*

Ten gunflints were included in the artifact assemblage from the North End plantation. All but one of these came

from the enslaved quarters. Two types of gunflints were recognized—French blades and English spalls. English spalls are the most common type observed in colonial Georgia, although they are rare after the American Revolution. The French blade type gunflints were a superior and more reliable product, which was highly desired by the British colonists. Hamilton and Emery demonstrated the effective superiority of the French versus English gunflint styles. The secrets held by the French flintknappers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were finally obtained by the English flintknappers in the American Revolution. Consequently, English-made flints, dating after about 1780, were made in the blade style and that style continued until gunflints were finally replaced by newer percussion cap technology.

French blade type gunflints were highly prized throughout most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They become less common on sites in Georgia after English blade type flints become available. Two French spall type gunflints were excavated from Locus C, Level 2 (Appendix 3, LN 87 and 738). Another example of a French spall flint was excavated in Test Unit 204, Level 3 (Appendix 3, LN 7). French spall type flints are uncommon after about 1750.



Figure 38. Ramrod Guide, Locus F.

English spall type gunflints are the most frequently encountered gunflint type in 18<sup>th</sup> century Georgia. An English spall gunflint from Feature 77 in Locus C was possibly reworked (Appendix 3, LN 785). Two examples of English spall type flints were Locus D, Levels 2 and 3 (Appendix 3, LN 214 and 528, respectively). One burned gunflint, which is probably an English spall type was recovered from Locus D, Level 2 (Appendix 3, LN 214)

Indeterminate type gunflints were also represented in the North End Quarter. Examples were unearthed in Locus C, Level 1 (LN 85) and in Locus D, Level 1 (LN 418) and Level 2 (LN 214).

### ***Ammunition***

Ninety-one lead balls had their caliber measurements taken, which yielded these results: .25 caliber (n=31), .29 caliber (n=1), .32 caliber (n=43), .35 caliber (n=5), .38 caliber (n=6), .57 caliber (n=4), and .68 (n=1). The data indicate that large lead balls were quite uncommon and medium-sized lead shot was the norm. Smaller lead shot would have been more effective in hunting small game, such as raccoons, birds, and possibly even hogs. Access to large balls (0.57 caliber or larger), which would have been useful in killing large boars, deer or other large mammals (including humans), was possibly controlled or otherwise restricted in the North End Quarter. Only five lead balls, or about 5 percent of the assemblage, were large shot. The residents of the North End Quarter had the capability to produce their own lead shot, based on the evidence of sprue and other lead scraps, but no bullet molds were recovered. One long sprue with more than six attachments, where cast items had been clipped away, was unearthed in Tabby 2, Locus D, Level 2. This object may represent debris from making lead balls. The higher incidence of smaller caliber balls may reflect an increased likelihood of loss because of their small size. Other large lead objects were recovered from the North End Quarter midden, however, including several large lead balls that may represent musket balls but were perforated for use as fishing weights. Those fishing-related artifacts are not included in the above count. A few other lead balls were deformed from impact and were not measured. One chewed lead ball came from a wooded area southwest of Tabby 3 (Piece Plot 158). Pigs and people are two possible culprits for this chewing behavior. Overall the lead ball assemblage suggests hunting behavior that emphasized the use of medium sized lead shot to hunt small to medium sized animals. Analysis of a sample of the food remains from the North End Quarter resulted in the identification of one possible impact hole from a small lead pellet. That example was in a pig bone.

### **Personal**

Fifty-four artifacts from the North End plantation were classified in the Personal Group, which represents 0.3 percent of the overall artifact assemblage. These personal objects were items that may have been worn on one's person, or in their pockets or purse. It also includes items that are related to personal hygiene. Beads, which were discussed earlier in the clothing group, can also be considered personal items.

Twenty-nine coins were recovered from the North End plantation. They spanned the period from 1825 to the modern day. These were generally lower denomination coins. Most of the coins date after slavery, which suggests that the enslaved had limited access to money and were careful not to lose what they had. Interestingly, none of the coins were from feature contexts, which suggests that their discard was mostly accidental.

Tabby 1 yielded seven coins. The earliest coin was an 1825 two-cent piece. This coin was located in Level 3 of Test Unit 253 in Locus A. It was found just east of the hearth area. Several 20<sup>th</sup> century U.S. coins were found in Locus A. These included 1921, 1924, and 1926 cents and a 1945 silver dime recovered from Level 1. Two modern Lincoln cents were also recovered. These coins were contained in Levels 1 and 2. No coins were recovered from Locus B.

Tabby 2 yielded 11 U.S. coins. Locus C produced four coins. The earliest was a 1907 cent, which was found in Level 1. Level 1 also contained a 1911 cent. A 1911 nickel and a small cent with an illegible date were unearthed from Level 3. Locus D yielded seven coins. The earliest was an 1851 one cent piece recovered from Locus D, Level 1 (Appendix 3, LN 492). A silver seated Liberty dime was unearthed in Locus D, Level 1 (Appendix 3, LN 418). The date on this coin was illegible but it can be bracketed between 1837 and 1891. An 1871 two-cent piece was located in Level 2. A 1916 nickel was recovered from Level 1 (Appendix 3, LN 410). Three modern cents were located in Level 1.

Two coins were found in Tabby 3. Locus E, Level 1 contained one modern U.S. cent. A U.S. half dime was recovered from Locus F, Level 1 by the aid of a metal detector. The date on this coin was illegible, but this type was minted from 1837 to 1873.

Locus H, Level 2 contained one modern U.S. cent. A modern U.S. cent was recovered from a shovel test in Locus I. An 1886 U.S. cent was recovered with a metal detector from Locus J (Piece Plot 49). One 1900 U.S. cent was found with a metal detector in Locus L. Four U.S. coins were recovered from Locus M. These were

all located with the aid of a metal detector and include a: 1906, 1917, and 1944 pennies and a illegibly dated buffalo nickel (ca. 1913-1938).

A few pieces of jewelry were recovered from the North End Quarter. A thin brass ring, 1 cm in diameter, was unearthed in Locus A, Level 3. A brass earring was recovered from Locus C, Level 2. A small white-metal charm was recovered from the surface of Locus S, in the northern roof dripline of Tabby 1. A brass Catholic medallion was unearthed from Locus D, Level 2. One small metal decorative clothing pin, which was stamped, "Savannah Electric Company" was excavated from Locus A, Level 1.

A small assemblage of other personal items were recovered from the North End plantation. These included: a tinted eyeglass lens part from Locus A, Level 1; and several pencil fragments from Locus A, Levels 1 and 3, Locus H, Level 2, and Locus M, Level 1. Archaeologists recovered an iron skeleton key from Locus D, Level 3 (LN 217). A very large iron door key fragment was located with a metal detector in Locus Q, as was a clasp knife from Locus G. Other personal items include a bone comb from Locus G, bakelite comb fragments from Locus C, Level 1 and Locus D, Level 3, bone handle fragments from a toiletry set from Locus B, Levels 1 and 2, and umbrella hardware fragments that were found in Locus A, Level 1 and Locus F, Level 1.

## Tobacco

The use of tobacco products was prevalent in early Georgia and the archaeological evidence for smoking tobacco is widespread at the North End plantation. Clay tobacco pipes are relatively common throughout the North End plantation. A total of 429 tobacco-related artifacts have been recovered from the North End plantation site to date. This represents 2.9 percent of the overall artifact assemblage. The highest observed frequency of tobacco artifacts was seen in Locus B, where it comprised 6.8 percent of that sample. Loci C and D also yielded significant amounts of tobacco-related artifacts (4.5% and 4.6%, respectively). Surprisingly, Locus H, which yielded so many kitchen-related artifacts, had very few tobacco pipes (n=12, or 0.35% of that sample). The frequency in Locus M was also relatively low (n=9, or 0.84%).

The tobacco pipes were heavily fragmented and few large sections of pipe were recovered. The most common pipe bowl form was undecorated. One hundred examples of these were recovered. These were of limited diagnostic value. Most of the tobacco pipes in the collection were probably manufactured in England.

A variety of decorated examples were represented. One pipe bowl stamped with a "TD" mark was recovered from Locus D in Tabby 2. This pipe type is frequently encountered on 18<sup>th</sup> century sites in North America and is common in colonial contexts in Georgia. Although the original manufacturer of this pipe is thought to be Thomas Dormer, who made tobacco pipes from 1748 to 1770, many counterfeit versions were apparently produced. Another specimen from Locus H, Level 2, was marked "R R" on a spur below the bowl. This tobacco pipe also had molded lines on the bowl and a 5/64 inch diameter stem bore.

Less common at the North End plantation were pipe bowls with molded decorations, represented by 17 examples. Motifs that were represented include ribbed or fluted bowls, and laurel, wheat, vines, and floral vegetation. These type of molded pipes increased in popularity after the American Revolution. They were particularly common in the early Federal era. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century they were supplanted by reeded elbow pipes that were produced in America. Other tobacco pipe attributes are provided in Appendix 1.

One one reed stemmed elbow pipe was unearthed at the North End plantation. This specimen was made of redware recovered from Feature 34 in Locus S. Reed-stemmed pipes were common in Georgia by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. These were likely produced in America. Centers of production of this type of tobacco pipe include North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia.

A total of 301 pipe fragments yielded bore diameter measurements for their stems and these were used to calculate Mean Pipe stem Dates (MPD) using three regression formulae (Binford, Hanson, and Omwake) (Pollock et al. 1997). The results of this exercise is presented in Table 11. The MPD site-wide, using the various formulae were 1758.2 (Binford), 1758.5 (Hanson), and 1807.5 (Omwake). The historically documented occupation date range for the Morel's North End plantation was 1760-1861, or approximately 101 years. The midpoint of this time range is 1810.5, or three years later than the MPD, using Omwake's methods. The other two methods (Binford's and Hanson's) produced dates far earlier than the known historic occupation. Even if one allows for an undocumented plantation at this site, starting in 1733 when the British colony of Georgia was established, Binford and Hanson's methods still yield dates that are much too early. The midpoint of occupation, if the plantation began in 1733, would be 1797, which is more than 38 years after the MPD obtained for 9Ch1062 using these two methods. The MPD for the various site loci, excavation levels, and features were calculated, therefore, using the Omwake method.

$X = [(Bore) (Freq.)] / Freq. = Bore$   
Frequency

Binford:  $Y = 1931.85 - 38.26X =$   
Binford Pipe stem Date

Hanson (1710-1800):  $Y = 2026.12 -$   
 $58.97X =$  Hanson Pipe stem Date

Omwake:  $Y = 1929.189 - 26.818X$   
=Omwake Pipe stem Date (Omwake  
1967; Pollock et al. 1997).

Locus A yielded an overall MPD of 1807.2 using Omwake's formula. When the MPD for the excavation levels in Locus A were calculated, the results were more indicative of reversed stratigraphy than a trend towards greater antiquity with increasing depth. These results were based on very small sample sizes for each excavation level, however, and may reflect that.

Locus B yielded an overall MPD of 1798.1 using Omwake's formula. This was based on a very small sample size (n=9) and should probably be discounted as an unreliable indicator of the age of this deposit. When the MPD for the excavation levels in Locus B were calculated, a trend towards greater antiquity with increasing depth was noted. These results were based on very small sample sizes for each excavation level, however, and may not accurately represent the age of each strata.

Locus C yielded an overall MPD of 1810.9 using Omwake's formula. When the MPD for the excavation levels in Locus C were calculated, the results were erratic. These results were based on small sample sizes for each excavation level, however, and may reflect this.

Locus D yielded an overall MPD of 1804.0 using Omwake's formula. Locus D had the largest sample size of measured pipe stems, n=133. When the MPD

for the excavation levels in Locus D were calculated, the results were erratic. While the number of pipe stems was statistically valid when all levels were combined, the sample sizes were much smaller when divided by their levels of origin. These results based on small sample sizes for each excavation level, therefore may reflect this issue.

Locus E yielded an overall MPD of 1814.8 using Omwake's formula. This was based on a very small sample size (n=9) and should probably be discounted as an unreliable indicator of the age of this deposit. When the MPD for the excavation levels in Locus D were calculated, the results were erratic. These results were based on small sample sizes for each excavation level.

Pipes may not be the only tobacco-related item among the artifacts at North End Quarters. Other artifacts, such as metal cans and amber glass and olive green glass bottles, were probably used to contain tobacco products. Because of the highly fragmented state of tin cans, however, this function was not generally assigned. Likewise, the recycling of bottles to hold items other than their original purpose, is often difficult or impossible to determine from the archaeological record.

## Furniture

The Furniture group is represented by 42 artifacts in the North End plantation collection. This represents 0.2 percent of the assemblage. Furniture hardware from the North End Quarter included mirror glass, brass oil lamp parts, brass hinges, a brass lock escutcheon plate, brass upholstery tacks, and a few other metal items.

Mirror glass (n=16) was recovered from Tabby 1, Locus A, Levels 1 through 3; Tabby 2, Locus C, Level 1 and Feature 9, and Locus D, Levels 1 and 3; and Tabby 3, Locus E, Level 1. These data indicate that mirrors were widely distributed in the North End Quarter, although they were most concentrated in Level 1, which suggests that they date after the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Brass upholstery tacks (n=13) were unearthed in Tabby 1, Locus A, Levels 1 and

Average Bore Diameter	Binford	Hanson	Omwake	Location	Pipe Stems	
4.548	<b>1757.8</b>	<b>1757.9</b>	<b>1807.2</b>	Locus A	42	2; Tabby 2, Locus C,
4.889	<b>1744.8</b>	<b>1737.8</b>	<b>1798.1</b>	Locus B	9	Level 2 and Feature
4.412	<b>1763.0</b>	<b>1765.9</b>	<b>1810.9</b>	Locus C	68	12, and Locus D,
4.669	<b>1753.2</b>	<b>1750.8</b>	<b>1804.0</b>	Locus D	133	Level 1; and Tabby
4.500	<b>1759.7</b>	<b>1760.8</b>	<b>1808.5</b>	Locus E	4	3, Locus E, Level
4.267	<b>1768.6</b>	<b>1774.5</b>	<b>1814.8</b>	Other Site Loci	45	2. Brass tacks were
<b>4.538</b>	<b>1758.2</b>	<b>1758.5</b>	<b>1807.5</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>301</b>	used on chairs, sofas

Table 11. Pipe Stem Dates.

and other seating throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were also commonly used to adorn trunks and

sea chests in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Brass furniture escutcheon plates (n=4) were located in Tabby 2, Locus C, Level 3 and Locus D, Level 1. One specimen was recovered from Test Unit 212, Level 5.

## Activities

The Activities group is represented by 573 artifacts in the North End plantation collection. This represents 3.4 percent of the assemblage. A wide range of activities are indicated by these artifacts.

Indigo cultivation and processing would have required a unique set of tools and equipment. Early woodcuts and engravings provide some clues as to the type of tools and equipment that were used. Most of these were probably made of wood and have not survived the centuries. A series of at least three indigo vats, either above or below ground, were required to steep the indigo plants to release the dye. Whether they were above or below ground, these vats were required to be water-tight and they were probably crafted with precision. The vats may have been wooden, or possibly masonry, or perhaps a combination of the two.

Typical woodworking tools would have been used to build them. Similarly, the tools necessary to plant and harvest the indigo would have likely been the same tools used to cultivate other crops. One 18<sup>th</sup> century account, based on observations of indigo culture in Jamaica referred to a small metal sickle-type blade that was used to harvest the indigo plants. Other tools and equipment associated with indigo processing would have included drying racks, long wooden paddles for stirring the liquid, wooden containers for drying the indigo paste, and wooden barrels for storage and shipment. Special metal knives may have been needed to chop the paste into blocks. In addition, some chemicals or minerals may have been on hand to facilitate the release of the indigo blue dye from the plant stock. From the descriptions of the unpleasant fumes and other negative aspects of indigo processing, we may surmise that the indigo processing area at the North End plantation was somewhat removed from the North End Quarter, the overseer's house, and the Morel manor house. Processed indigo was quite valuable, however, so the storage area for the finished product was probably closer to the main living area. That way, the overseer and the Morels could keep a watchful eye on their valuable produce. No tools or features that were clearly used for indigo manufacture or processing were identified thus far at the North End plantation. A trace of blue pigment was observed on two oyster shells that were excavated in Locus D, Level 1.

Ship or boat construction-related artifacts from the Quarter include brass nails, sheet copper or brass, lead,

and some iron hardware. One brass ship's spike was discovered in Locus J. That example was sand cast and may have been produced on the island. The possible canal features in Locus K may also relate to maritime activities at the North End plantation (Elliott 2005d). The North End plantation artifacts included 15 brass nails. These were recovered from Loci C, D, and H. Six were found in Locus C, five from Locus D, and four from Locus H.

## Toys

Ceramic marbles were manufactured in Europe from the 1600s and in North America as early as 1818 (Baumann 1999:14-21; Block 1999:64-71). Ten specimens of ceramic marbles were unearthed at the North End Quarter. One example was excavated from Feature 82 in Locus A, Tabby 1. Tabby 2 produced eight examples. Locus C contained ceramic marbles in Levels 2 and 3; Locus D had them in Levels 1, 2, and 3. Two examples were found in Tabby 3, Locus E, Levels 1 and 2. One bullseye china marble (Appendix 3, LN 214) was manufactured between 1850 and 1890 and a banded china marble, with a wide band flanked by thin bands (Appendix 3, LN 586), was manufactured between about 1850 and 1860 (Baumann 1999:19-20). Both of these two painted china marbles may have been toys of the enslaved at the North End Quarter, or they may have been curated objects possessed by later occupants of these dwellings or toys of the Morel children when playing with African-American children.

Three glass marbles were recovered from the North End Quarter—two from Locus C, Level 1 and one from Locus S, Level 1. One of the examples from Locus C was an early handmade glass marble. Large scale production of this marble type began in Germany about 1846. Handmade marbles were mostly manufactured in Europe, particularly in Germany, although some were manufactured in America (Baumann 1999:22-23, 74-77). This marble may have been a toy of an enslaved person at the North End Quarter. By 1901 improved glass technology resulted in machine made versions, as represented by the other two examples from the North End Quarter. These machine made glass marbles were toys of the 20<sup>th</sup> century occupants of the North End Quarter.

Four ceramic doll parts were unearthed at the North End Quarter. Tabby 1 contained two porcelain examples, one from Locus A, Level 1 and one from Locus B, Level 3. Tabby 3, Locus E, Level 1 yielded one example. One glass doll part was identified in the collection. One miniature porcelain dish from a doll's tea set was unearthed from level 5 in Locus C, Tabby 2. That dish contained traces of pigment that had been ground into its center. This use of the toy dish may signify that this item was used for some other purpose than child's play or a child mimicking food



processing activities, such as the use of a mortar and pestle.

### ***Entertainment***

Musical instruments were used by the inhabitants of the North End quarter. Many of these instruments may have been made of organic materials that have not survived in the archaeological record. The rich heritage of African musical influences on barrier island residents was captured by several researchers in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. African-American musical culture was documented in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by Lydia Parrish and Alan Lomax, whose photographs and recordings are preserved in federal archives (Allen et al. 1867:19-20; Parrish 1942; Lomax 1935, 1977). Neither of these researchers conducted field studies on Ossabaw Island.

Harmonicas were introduced to America in 1862 and these small musical instruments were an immediate success. Harmonicas were cheap and convenient instruments and they were quickly adopted by Euro-American and African-Americans in Georgia. Civil War soldiers on both sides of the conflict enjoyed harmonicas after hours. The Matthias Hohner Company exported millions of harmonicas to America, beginning in the early 1860s and continuing to the present. Other harmonica companies sprang up in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries but Hohner remains the industry leader. Two brass harmonica reed plates were recovered from the North End Quarter. One was located in Locus E, Level 1 in Tabby 3 and the other was found in Locus J.

### ***Other Activity Artifacts***

Two large padlocks were recovered from the North End Quarter. One came from Locus A, Level 2 in Tabby 1 and one was from Locus D, Level 1 in Tabby 2. Both padlocks were 19<sup>th</sup> century types made of iron. These locks are probably pre-Civil War era (or slightly later), which brings up several questions about their use. Did the slaves or freed blacks have valuables that they needed to lock up? Was the use of padlocks by the enslaved permitted by their masters? What objects were they locking up?

One flatiron, or sad iron, was recovered with the aid of a metal detector from Level 1 in Locus G (1010N 895E). It was made of cast iron and measured 6 inches by 4 inches (Appendix 2, LN 337). Irons were used to press and smooth clothing. They were heated in the fireplace. These tools were imported to Ossabaw Island and not produced locally. A large brass finial or handle was unearthed from Locus D. It may be a handle for a fireplace tool, or it is

possible a finial from a set of fire dogs. This artifact is shown in Figure 39.

Fishing related artifacts from the North End Quarter included two fish hooks and 18 lead fishing weights. The fish hooks were recovered from Locus C, Level 3 and Locus G, Level 1. The lead weights were more widely distributed over the North End Quarter, and were recovered from Loci A, B, C, D, and E. Locus D, Level 1 yielded six examples. Locus A contained examples in Levels 1 and 3. Loci C and M each yielded two lead fishing weights from Level 1. Single examples were found in Loci B, E, J, and K. The lead weights were of a consistent form, spherical with a central hole. These may have been produced from a bullet mold. At least one of the lead weights exhibited tooth marks where it had been chewed by a small rodent.

One large adze was recovered from Locus G on the surface of a dirt road. It was made of wrought iron and measured 10.5 inches by 2.25 inches. Adzes were used in woodworking and were an important part of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century carpenter's tool kit (Sloan 1964; Bealer 1972). Two axe heads were recovered from the North End Quarter. One specimen was found in Locus A, Level 3 in Tabby 1 and the other came from Locus C, Level 4 in Tabby 2. Both were handmade of wrought iron. One hammer head fragment was recovered from Locus B, Level 1 in Tabby 1. This specimen was a small portion of a hammer, which may have broken off during remodeling of the central chimney. Five iron files were recovered from the North End Quarter. Two were unearthed in Locus D, Level 2 in Tabby 2. One file was excavated from Feature 31.

The archaeological finds at the North End plantation provide many avenues for research. The results of the 2006 excavations explored several of these. While the focus was on the archaeological resources within Tabbies 1 and 2, the findings reinforce that these areas of the site cannot be viewed in isolation, but are part of the larger plantation complex.



Figure 39. Brass Fireplace Tool or Finial, Locus D.



## Chapter VII. Interpretations and Recommendations

### ENSLAVEMENT ON GEORGIA'S GOLDEN ISLES

Slavery in Georgia is a topic that has long interested historians and writers (Glenn 1972; Wood 1975; Joyner 1989; Mohr 1986; Young 2002). The earliest documented descriptions of slave life in coastal Georgia are written from a Euro-American perspective. Within this class of documents are found texts whose authors were biased for, against and often ambivalent about the system of slavery that was practiced in early Georgia.

Colonel Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., C.S.A., son of Reverend Charles C. Jones, a prominent minister in Liberty County, Georgia, was fascinated by the African-American culture and, although the Jones were major slave owners, the writings of both C.C. Jones and his son indicate some sympathy with their plight. The elder Jones encouraged religious (Christian) instruction to the enslaved. C.C. Jones, Jr., who was also a slave owner, was one of Georgia's most prolific early historians and antiquarians. C.C. Jones, Jr. expressed an interest later in life in documenting unexplored aspects of African-American culture (Jones 2000).

Like most of their peers, the Morels may have also had ambivalent thoughts on slavery and human rights. They were players in an economic system that was difficult to escape due to the lure of huge financial gain. The historical records indicate that the Morels embraced slavery and was very successful at raising slaves. They were one of the more prominent slaveowner families in coastal Georgia. The runaway advertisements hint that life for the enslaved on the Morel's plantations was bad enough to risk severe punishment to try to escape. The Morels and their overseers may have been harsh masters but on this subject history is mostly mute.

As many as 20 million Africans were uprooted from their homeland and sold into slavery. By the 1760s the practice of slavery was an entrenched and essential part of the plantation system and the economy of the British empire. Both the British and patriots enlisted blacks in their military and both offered rewards of freedom for their service. Nevertheless, slavery continued unabated after the American Revolution. By 1790 the United States contained an estimated 757,000 blacks, or about 19 percent of the population. Of that number, only nine percent of blacks were free. About 29,264 blacks resided in Georgia in 1790. In that year, slaves in Chatham County outnumbered whites and others by nearly a factor of four (8,201 slaves to 2,568 free people). The barrier

island plantations required large numbers of slave laborers in order to operate efficiently (Klein 1999; Becker 2000). The Morels were an integral part of that system.

The importation of slaves to the United States was made illegal in January 1808. Domestic exchange of slaves was encouraged and Savannah had a bustling slave trade. Illegal maritime traffic in African slaves continued for several decades. Between 250,000 and one million slaves were illegally imported to the U.S. from 1808 to 1860. The last documented slave ship to arrive on Georgia's shores was *The Wanderer*, which landed its illicit cargo of approximately 460-490 Africans on Jekyll Island in 1858 (Calonus 2006). Slavery was abolished in the United States in 1865 by the passage of the Emancipation Act.

Captain Basil Hall, of the British Royal Navy, provided descriptions of slave life on Georgia's barrier islands, which were based on his observations in 1827 or 1828 on St. Simons Island:

The young slaves, of course, come in as one-quarter hands, and are gradually raised. Every negro knows his rate, and lawful task, so well, that if he thinks himself imposed upon by the driver, he appeals at once to the master. The tasks formerly described are the highest ever exacted on cotton grounds, and when the land is rough, or the grass and weeds are very numerous and difficult to eradicate, there must be some reduction.

The stated allowance of food to every slave, over fourteen years of age, is nine quarts of Indian corn per week, and for children from five to eight quarts. This is said to be more than they can eat, and the surplus is either sold, or is given to the hogs and poultry which they are allowed to rear on their own account. A quart of salt monthly, is also allowed, and salt fish, as well as salt beef occasionally, but only as a favour, and can never be claimed as a right. A heaped-up bushel of sweet potatoes is considered equal to the above

allowance, and so are two pecks of rough, that is unhusked, rice or paddy. But this is not thought so substantial a food as the Indian corn.

On the plantation to which these details refer, the negroes are allowed three holydays at Christmas, when they have plenty of beef and whisky. At the end of this period they are often, I am told, completely done up with eating, drinking, and dancing. On that plantation, they are allowed to have as much land as they choose to plant, and the master's family is supplied entirely with poultry and eggs from this free work of the slaves, who are regularly paid at the following rates:---Eggs, 12 ½ cents (6d.) a-dozen; chickens, 12 ½ cents (6d.); fowls, 20 to 25 cents, or about a shilling a pair; ducks twice as much. But they are left at liberty to carry their poultry to a better market if they can find one. The proceeds are mostly laid out in dress and trinkets.

The slaves are generally dressed in what is called White Welsh plains, for winter clothing. This costs about 80 cents, or 3s. 6d. a-yard, in Charleston. They prefer white cloth, and afterwards die it of a purple colour to suit their own fancy. Each man gets seven yards of this, and the women six yards,---the children in proportion. Each grown-up negro gets a new blanket every second year, and every two children in like manner one blanket. The men receive also a cap, and the women a handkerchief, together with a pair of strong shoes, every winter. A suit of homespun cotton, of the stuff called Osnaburgs, is allowed to each person for summer dress.

It is very disagreeable to speak of the punishments inflicted on these negroes, but a slave-holder must be more or less of a despot in spite of himself; for the laws neither do, nor can they, effectually interfere in the details of discipline. The master must enforce obedience to his orders, and maintain general subordination, however kind-hearted he may be, by the only means

which the nature of the whole system leaves in his power. The slave has, unfortunately, so few generous motives to stimulate him to work, that fear is necessarily made to enter as the chief ingredient into the discipline. It is a great mistake, however, to suppose, that slaves labour sulkily, and under the perpetual exercise of the lash. On the contrary, from constant habit, they do, in point of fact, go about their work with cheerfulness; and, as their tasks are limited to what can be readily performed, it is in the power of every slave who chooses, to escape punishment for any length of time. But it seems to be indispensable to the working of this strange piece of moral machinery, that every negro should be made fully sensible, that punishment will follow neglect or crime. Neither men nor women, it is most melancholy to know, can every be exempted with safety, upon any occasion, except that of sickness, from the operation of this stern but inevitable rule. When slaves are under the management of injudicious, unmethodical, dissipated, ill-tempered, or naturally cruel masters, of course the evils which ensue are too horrible to think of. But it ought to be recollected, in due fairness to the slave-holders---a class of men who are really entitled to a large share of our indulgence---that many ships of war, many regiments, and, I fear, I am add, many domestic establishments, to say nothing of schools, are often---as I have witnessed in all quarters of the globe---the scenes of as revolting tyranny as any rice or cotton plantation can well be. The scale may be smaller, but the principle is exactly the same. In fairness to the planters, we ought also to recollect, that the slave-holders, or by far the greater number of them, are not possessed of that character by any voluntary act of their own. Most of these gentlemen have succeeded to their property by inheritance, or have been obliged by duty to themselves and their families to engage in that particular profession, if I may so call it. They cannot, therefore, and they ought not, consistently with their duty,

to disentangle themselves from the obligations which have devolved upon them, as the masters of slaves (Hall 1829:218-227).

The plantation records books for George Jones Kollock's South End plantation on Ossabaw Island contain well documented and scheduled activities of the slaves for that plantation. In the absence of any written records of a similar nature for the North End plantation, Kollock's records provide a close substitute. These documents were briefly reviewed for the present study and some extracts and summaries are presented below. Those enslaved on the South End plantation performed a wide range of work tasks. In 1856, for example, all of the following tasks or job assignments were mentioned.

Beating and hoeing rice—Ossabaw Island is a marginal setting for rice production because of the low elevation and ever-present threat of flooding of the fields with sea water. Kollock's records demonstrate that rice was indeed a crop on the South End plantation in the 1850s.

Bird minder—This refers to keeping birds from eating the corn and potatoes, although it may also refer to tending to farm fowl.

Boating—The enslaved people on Ossabaw Island were familiar with watercraft. Four enslaved people were listed in Kollock's plantation books as "gone in boat to town".

Breaking mule—Mules, which are a hybrid of horse and donkey, were important farm animals. Mules are notoriously strong-willed and stubborn. Newborn mules may have ranged freely about Ossabaw Island. Once these animals were old enough for farm work, they were "broken" and trained to answer to voice commands.

Burning stalks—This refers to burning off the stalks of corn, cotton, and other stubble from previous season's crops.

Burning logs—This refers to burning debris (small limbs) from logging. This debris was burned so that the land could be converted to agriculture (slash and burn). It may also refer to burning logs to produce charcoal.

Carpentry—Carpenters were vital to the construction and operation of the North End plantation. Skilled carpenters at the North End plantation constructed various types of watercraft.

Chopping manure—This probably refers to manure used as fertilizer. It may reference manure produced on the island by livestock, or possibly imported guano. By the

early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, guano deposits in South America and elsewhere around the globe were being mined as fertilizer.

Cooking—Both men and women were involved in cooking, although most cooking was performed by women. Food was prepared for the master's family and for the enslaved community.

Cow herder and cow minder—Most cattle probably roamed freely over Ossabaw Island since the threat from natural predators was minimal. Milk cows were probably confined on the farm, whereas the beef cattle probably foraged about the island.

"Flatting" and hauling wood—Timber was clearly a major economic pursuit at South End plantation in the mid-1800s. Flat boats were used for hauling materials, including lumber, along the coast, as Kollock's overseer Geiger mentions "hands" returning Mr. Waldburg's flat to St. Catherines Island.

Gardening—This refers to the enslaved working in their gardens. Products from the garden fed the slaves' families, the master and overseer and probably others.

Ginning (cotton)—This refers to the removal of the cotton seed from the bole. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1790 at Mulberry Grove plantation, upstream from Savannah, greatly improved the speed and efficiency of cotton ginning. These technological advances allowed for the phenomenal growth in cotton agriculture across the South.

Grinding corn—Corn was ground for human consumption. This was accomplished by a grist mill. The source of power for this mill may have included human or animal power, or possibly water power. No mill sites have been identified on Ossabaw Island.

Letting off water (from a pond)—This may refer to the process of draining water from the rice fields. The careful control of freshwater was required at several stages of rice agriculture. The Kollock papers contain other references to rice agriculture on Ossabaw Island.

Nursing—This probably refers to nursing the sickly enslaved people, or it may refer to breastfeeding and tending to young children. Many plantations had hospitals and illness was common on barrier island plantations.

Oystering—gathering oysters may have been done by both enslaved men and women, although by the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was primarily a male task. Oysters were gathered using metal rakes or forks in shallow watercraft and by bank access. Oysters may have been gathered year-round,

although today the activity is mostly confined to the cooler months because of food safety concerns. Oysters sometimes harbor toxic microbes that can sicken or kill humans. While the occupants of the North End plantation had no knowledge of the agency for this illness, they would have certainly been aware of the consequences.

Packing—This may refer to packing cotton, or possibly vegetables for market. This task was probably accomplished near the docks.

Plowing peas land—Plowing was probably done by the male slaves. Peas are legumes that were consumed by humans.

Running out land—This refers to laying out fields and/or assisting surveyors in that task. Some traces of the original field lines at the North End plantation remain on the modern-day landscape.

Washing—This included washing clothes for the master's family as well as washing their own clothing. This work was most likely performed by women and children.

Watchmen—Watchmen were probably assigned to tend the fields and keep wild animals from eating the crops. This task also may refer to keeping watch over the enslaved population to minimize runaways, or to watch for strangers to the island (Kollock 1837-1861).

The South End Plantation received many supplies for its support from outside sources. The steamer *Planter* and the schooner *Emma* were two ocean-going watercraft that brought supplies to Ossabaw Island in 1855. These ships brought a variety of supplies including ploughs, plough points, swingletrees [singletrees], chains, iron, barrells, buckets, a little (cotton) gin, assorted iron, clothing, and salt. Among the goods received from shipments to South End plantation in 1860 were: bacon, bagging, boxed vermifuge, cans of castor oil, fish oil, paint, sperm (whale) oil, and turpentine, carts, cement, cotton osnaburgs, and flax seed, leather, lumber, medicines and pain killer, oil, saddles, salve, shingles, and snake root. Hardware items, including bridles, copper nails, cow bells, hammers, hasps, hatchets, hinges, hoes, hooks, nails, ploughs, staples, tacks, and a tooth drawer (Kollock 1837-1861). While Kollock's plantation imported a large and varied number of items, they also exported enough to be profitable. For example, in addition to 24,321 pounds of cotton, cash crops exported from South End plantation in 1860 included: cordwood, corn, cotton seed, grist (grits), hay, potatoes, pumpkins, and watermelons (Kollock 1837-1861). Such exports not only paid for items that could not be produced on Ossabaw, but resulted in a financial surplus.

Sickness among the enslaved was not a small problem for the overseer at South End Plantation because slaves had monetary value and healthy slaves were more valuable than sick ones. A sick list for 1855 detailed the number of person-days lost to sickness for each month of that year. This list is summarized in Table 12. A total of 626 work days were missed because of sickness on that plantation. July was the peak month for work outages (n=100 lost work days) followed by January (n=83). The fewest sick days were reported in December (n=22) (Kollock 1837-1861).

The enslaved people on Ossabaw Island were sent to the mainland to perform road work at various times in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. John Morel [Sr.] complained about this requirement, since it was a difficult and costly task to transport the slaves to the mainland in order to do the parish's and (later) the county's road work. The same obligation to supply enslaved laborers for public service was resisted by later generations of Morels, probably for the same reason. In 1822, their influence in Georgia politics won them success. An Act of the Georgia Legislature, passed in 1822, provided,

WHEREAS, all male slaves on the Island of Ossabaw are required [Illegible Text] perform road duty on the main:

AND WHEREAS, by such requisition they are not only subjected to much inconvenience, but [Illegible Text] to great hazard:

Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and immediately after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for all owners of male slaves on the Island of Ossabaw, either to perform road duty in conformity to the laws now in force, or to commute for the performance of such duty, by paying for each male slave liable to work on the public roads the sum of three dollars per annum.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the owners or managers of such slaves shall be summoned in the manner pointed out by the law regulating roads in the county of Bryan, and on refusing to

<b>Month</b>	<b>Sickdays</b>
January	83
Feburary	44
March	44
April	41
May	47
June	57
July	100
August	44
September	44
October	44
November	32
December	22
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>602</b>

*Source:*  
*Kollock*  
*1837-1861.*

Table 12. Number of Sick,  
South End Plantation.

deliver to the person summoning a list of such slaves, or neglecting to perform the duty enjoined, or to commute for their labor, shall be subjected to all the pains and penalties which the existing road laws inflict.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all fines which may be incurred under this act, shall be paid into the hands of the commissioners of the road district where the labor of such slaves may be apportioned, to be by them applied to the use of such road district, any law to the contrary notwithstanding (Georgia Legislative Documents 2007 [1822]).

In 1825, however, the 1822 act exempting the Ossabaw Island slaves from roadwork was repealed. This was done because their plantation owners had neglected to fulfill their part of the bargain, which was to pay \$3.00 per year for each slave to commute the obligated road work duties (Georgia Legislative Documents 2007 [1825]).

Accounts of slave life on the barrier islands, as told by those who were enslaved, were collected by oral historians in the 1930s (Rawick et al. 1972; Rawick 1979). These accounts, which included both written and audio recordings. They have inherent flaws and biases on the white interviewer-black interviewee arrangement in the 1930s. Nonetheless, they provide vast insight into many details of slave life not described elsewhere. Many of these early narratives are available via the internet from the Library of Congress (American Memory 2007).

## COMPARATIVE ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeological study of slave life is a relatively recent discipline. Important early studies by Charles H. Fairbanks and his University of Florida anthropology students in the early 1970s established baseline information about the tangible aspects of slavery on the Georgia and Florida coast. Studies at plantations on St. Simons Island by Otto (1984) and others, and on nearby areas on the mainland by Singleton (1980), Adams and Boling (1989) and others, provide baseline information for African-American archaeology on the South Atlantic coast.

Limited excavations at Stafford Plantation on Cumberland Island were conducted in the 1970s (Ehrenhard and Bullard 1981). According to local lore, plantation owner Robert Stafford burned the slave quarter on his Cumberland Island plantation, following President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Tabby was not used in any quantity for building construction at Stafford Plantation, so the quarters would have burned more easily.

Recent archaeological studies at Chocolate plantation on Sapelo Island have yielded important historical and archaeological data that lends itself to comparison with the North End plantation on Ossabaw Island (Simmons 2004; Honerkamp et al. 2007; Elliott in press). Chocolate plantation contains a series of tabby ruins, including a main house, barns, slave housing, and other large farm buildings of undetermined function. The site has been investigated by systematic close-interval shovel tests, remote sensing using several techniques, and a limited number of test units. Honerkamp discussed the early ownership of Sapelo Island by Mary and Thomas Bosomworth, and their business arrangement with Isaac Levy, but Honerkamp noted that the studies at Chocolate Plantation have yielded no artifacts from that period of occupation. Honerkamp did find evidence of later 18<sup>th</sup> century occupation and a strong presence in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As with the Ossabaw's North End plantation, the occupation at Chocolate continued after the Civil War and the plantation complex was modified in the early 20<sup>th</sup>



century when it was owned and used as a private hunting preserve by wealthy industrialists. Both Chocolate and North End plantations were owned by persons of non-English heritage. In the case of North End plantation, the owners for more than 100 years were of Swiss derivation and the owners of Chocolate Plantation, arrived in 1793 as French bourgeoisie exiles. Most of the tabby construction at Chocolate took place during Richard Leake and Edward Swarbreck's period of ownership (1801-1827), based on examples observed by Swarbreck at Thomas Spalding's Sapelo Island plantation around 1815-1819 (Honerkamp et al. 2007:10-11).

## DIET AND SUBSISTENCE

The three most important cash crops produced by the plantation, indigo, cotton, and timber, were not edible and were not a component of the enslaved's nutritional intake. Other crops produced on the plantation, including beans, corn, peas, potatoes, and rice were cash crops that comprised part of the enslaved's diet. Other additional cultigens, which were not enumerated in Bryan Morel's entry, were probably grown and consumed by the enslaved in their individual garden plots. The diet of the enslaved people at the North End Quarter was diverse, therefore, out of necessity foods that were consumed included native plants, cultigens, and a diversity of domesticated, feral, and wild animals (Appendix 5).

Hog killing and rendering were outdoor activities on the North End plantation. Large iron kettles were employed in this process. Slaughter and butchery of other farm animals and wild game also took place outdoors. Wild hogs were pervasive on the island and were a ready source of food for the island's residents.

Cooking food was an indoor and an outdoor activity for the enslaved. Enslaved persons also were involved in food preparation for the plantation overseers and the Morel family. The central fireplace in each tabby dwelling was a primary focal point for cooking. This is particularly true for meals cooked during the colder months, although these fireplaces were probably used year round in some capacity.

O'Steen provides a summary of what animal foods were prepared and consumed at the North End plantation (See Appendices 5 and 6). Readers are directed to that section of the report for details. In summary, the residents of the North End Quarter were eating more wild foods than domestic. Osteen (2007:Appendix 5) noted, "Although apparently provided with some domestic rations of beef, pork, and chicken, they supplemented approximately two thirds to three quarters of their diet with deer, raccoons,

wild birds, fish and crabs, bullfrogs, aquatic turtles, and small mammals".

The wild foods represent a broad range of land and sea animals. Most of the marine life are varieties found near shore on Ossabaw Island, which could have been easily caught or captured with the tools available to the enslaved. O'Steen (2007:Appendix 5) summarized,

Despite the variety of species, especially birds, identified, most species appear to have been targeted as preferred or easier to acquire. In some cases, like the mullet and other schooling fish, crabs, and flocks of ducks and coots, they could be acquired in large groupings as seasonal dietary supplements. In other cases, like the deer, raccoons, and possibly sturgeon, they may have been byproducts of commercial enterprises on the plantation. Many fish, birds, reptiles, wild mammals, and even sea mammals that would have been available on or near Ossabaw are not represented in this collection. The species identified in the collection indicate the selective exploitation of predominantly estuarine, freshwater, and shallow inshore habitats on or near the island.

## BUILDING SUMMARY

The North End plantation contains four extant examples of buildings from the plantation era. These include three tabby domiciles and one tabby smokehouse. The archaeological study has substantially expanded the number of buildings dating to this period and identified their locations. These structures exist as archaeological ruins in various stages of preservation. A total of 23 buildings have been identified on the site thus far. These data are all of a preliminary character, owing to the limited survey and testing excavations conducted thus far. With additional study some of these suspected buildings may turn out to be multiple buildings, or they may increase in size significantly from our current understanding. Each building, or suspected building, has been assigned a number for discussion purposes and these designations are keyed to the site plan in Figure 40.

Building 1 is Tabby 1, which was a duplex dwelling for the enslaved and later paid workers. Archaeological exploration within Tabby 1 was focused on the central

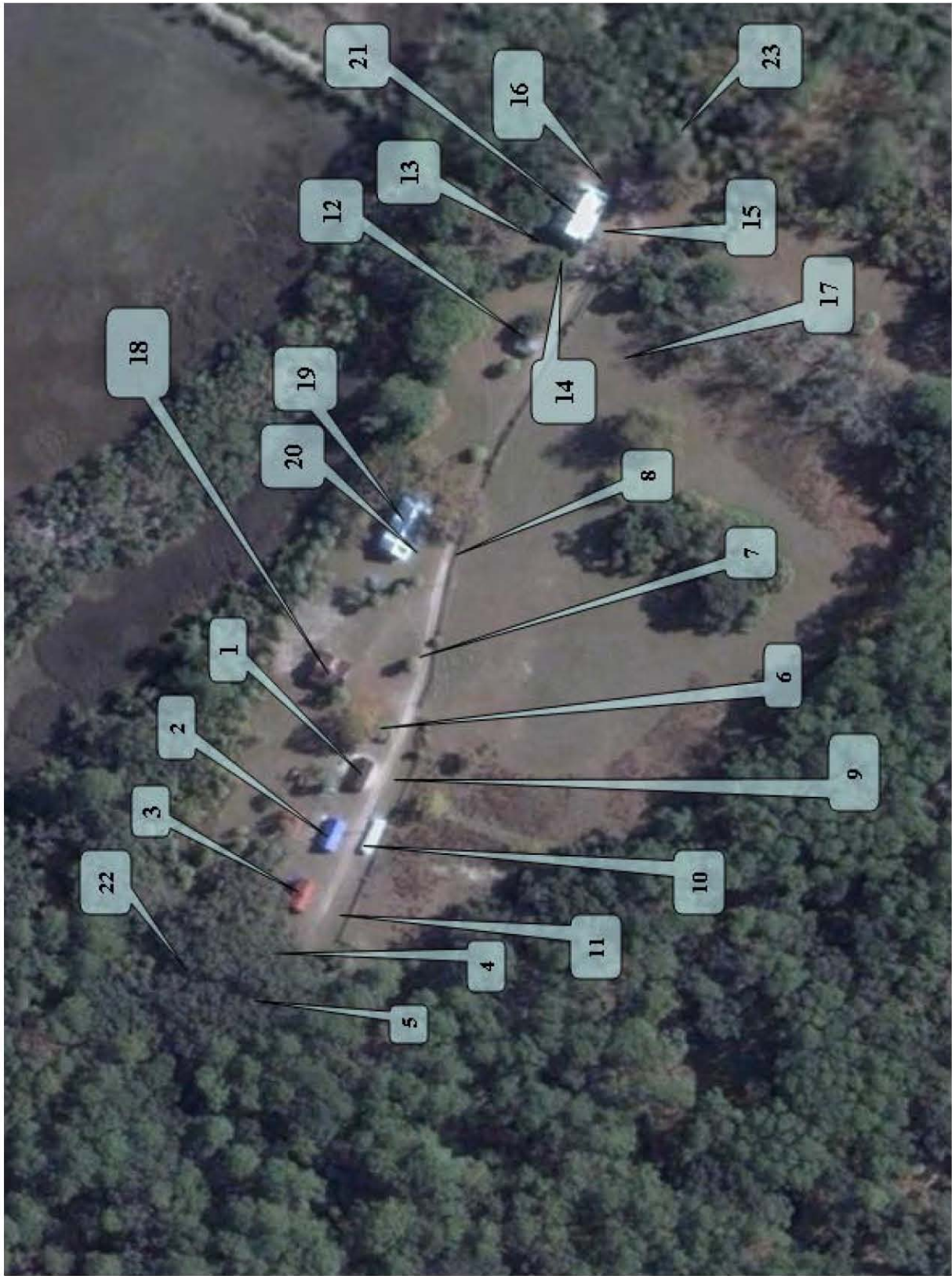


Figure 40. Buildings and Potential Buildings, North End Plantation.

chimney. The eastern room (Locus A) was sampled by test units, GPR survey, and metal detector survey. The western room (Locus B) was sampled by test units, one 50 cm by 50 cm shovel test, and metal detector survey. The excavated sample from Tabby 1 totalled 10.25 m<sup>2</sup>, which represents approximately 20 percent of Tabby 2's interior space.

Building 2 is Tabby 2, which was a duplex dwelling for the enslaved and later paid workers. Tabby 2 is the most archaeologically explored area of the North End plantation. Its eastern room (Locus C) was sampled by test units. Its western room was sampled by test units, large block excavation, and metal detector survey. The excavated sample from Tabby 2 totalled 29.7 m<sup>2</sup>, which represents approximately 62 percent of Tabby 2's interior space. Tabby 2 has evidence of one or more buildings beneath it, but these earlier buildings are not sufficiently defined at present to be assigned a building number.

Building 3 is Tabby 3, which was a duplex dwelling for the enslaved and later paid workers. This building is the least understood archaeologically of the three standing tabby dwellings. Its eastern room (Locus E) was sampled by four 50 cm by 50 cm shovel tests and metal detector survey and the western room (Locus F) is known only by a small number of artifacts found by metal detector survey. Unlike Tabbies 1 and 2, Tabby 3 has a relatively undisturbed area located immediately north of the building, which appears to contain a thick sheet midden zone of mostly 18th and 19th century artifacts. This location was sealed by a tongue-and-groove flooring that was installed in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The excavated sample from Tabby 3 was approximately 1 m<sup>2</sup>.

Building 4 is a demolished, probable slave dwelling that was located west of Tabby 3. This building is poorly understood at present. It is known by surface evidence, one 50 cm by 50 cm shovel test and well-defined GPR survey anomalies. An apparent thick sheet midden zone, similar in content to that observed adjacent to Tabby 3, is located immediately north of Building 4. This building may have been contemporary with Tabbies 1, 2 and 3, although it is poorly delineated at present.

Building 5 is a demolished, probable slave dwelling that was located west of Building 4. This building was sampled by Test Unit 203 and by two shovel tests. Some architectural evidence was located in Test Unit 203 that indicates tabby was used in the construction of this building. The amount of tabby was probably less than that used in the construction of Tabbies 1, 2, and 3, however. This building may represent the construction style of a slightly earlier class of dwelling houses, which were mostly wooden but used some tabby in their foundations.

This building is partially disturbed by road activity, being located at the intersection of Canepatch Road and an unnamed dirt road. Despite the disturbance caused by the road, this area of the dwelling appears to contain important intact deposits. The area west of the dirt road and south of Canepatch Road is largely intact. The dimensions of this building are undetermined at present.

Building 6 is a demolished, probable slave dwelling that was located east of Tabby 1. This building ruin is mostly situated north of Canepatch Road, although some portions on the south side may have been destroyed by the road activity. At present it is poorly understood. It is known by surface evidence and a limited number of shovel tests.

Building 7 is a demolished, probable slave dwelling that was located east of Building 6. This building is located partly north of Canepatch Road and partly within it. A substantial portion of this ruin may have been damaged or destroyed by the road activity. Many of the artifacts that are exposed along Canepatch Road may have originally been associated with this building, or with Building 8. At present it is poorly understood. It is known by surface evidence and a limited number of shovel tests.

Building 8 is a demolished, building, considerably larger than a slave dwelling, of undetermined function, which is located east of Building 7. Building 8 is located on both sides of Canepatch Road and a substantial portion of the building may have been destroyed by the road activity. This building may represent one very large building, or possibly multiple buildings that are closely spaced. At present it is poorly understood. It is known by surface evidence and a limited number of shovel tests.

Building 9 is a demolished, probable slave dwelling that was located south of Tabby 1 and Canepatch Road. It is known only from shovel tests, surface evidence, and GPR survey. A slight topographic rise is located in the area of this suspected building. Metal probing was able to tentatively identify wall areas of the building, which may have been tabby construction.

Building 10 is a demolished, probable slave dwelling that was located south of Tabby 2 and Canepatch Road and west of Building 9. This area was sampled by Test Units 209 and 212. Unfortunately, in the area where the archaeological remains of a tabby wall were expected, this area was disturbed by a modern, deep, electrical utility ditch. The deposits in this vicinity were well stratified. The approximate limits of this building were tentatively established by metal probe.

Building 11 is a demolished, probable slave dwelling that was located south of Tabby 3 and Canepatch Road and west of Building 10. This building was sampled by Test

Unit 214, shovel tests, and GPR survey. The approximate limits of this building were tentatively established by metal probe.

Building 12 is a tabby building, tentatively identified as a smokehouse. Additions were made to this building in the very late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A large refrigeration unit was installed in its interior, which has since been removed in conjunction with the historic preservation project. Archaeological test excavations were placed in the center and immediately north of this building. The results of this testing offered little information about the age or original function of this building. Most of the artifacts recovered from these tests were 20<sup>th</sup> century items. A large 20<sup>th</sup> century trash pit or cellar was identified north of the building.

Building 13 is located on a slight rise in the yard northwest of the Clubhouse (Building 21) and northeast of Building 12. This building includes a cellar, which is surrounded by other building evidence. The full extent of this building was not determined. The building was sampled by shovel tests and by GPR survey. It appears to date to the early- to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Building 14 is located south of Building 13, west of Building 21, and east of Building 12. The dimensions of this building are mostly speculative at present. The area was sampled by shovel tests and GPR survey. Its function is undetermined. This area contains a high frequency of domestic artifacts, and it may represent a kitchen area, possibly associated with the main plantation house. Some of the building evidence may extend beneath the Clubhouse and that area is completely unexplored. It appears to date to the early- to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Building 15 is an early 19<sup>th</sup> century building located immediately south of the Clubhouse (Building 21). This building was discovered while using a metal probe. It was sampled by one shovel test, which located a cellar filled with tabby bricks.

Building 16 is a 19<sup>th</sup> century building located immediately east of the Clubhouse (Building 21) and extending west underneath the Clubhouse. The eastern chimney of the Clubhouse was formerly part of Building 16, as evidenced by an exterior, east-facing hearth that has been bricked up. A well traveled dirt road crosses this building ruin and has disturbed it to a significant degree. Intact areas of the building ruins remain, however, east and west of this road. The artifact evidence from this vicinity, based on surface finds and limited shovel tests, suggest it was constructed in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and was abandoned prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This building was probably already in ruins when the Clubhouse was moved to the site by landowner James Waterbury, after September 9,

1886. Family tradition holds that the Morel home was destroyed by fire in the Civil War (Richard Thornton personal communication May 15, 2005). Building 16 may represent the ruins of this house.

Building 17 is a plantation building of undetermined function, which is situated in a pasture, southwest of the Clubhouse (Building 21) and southeast of the Smokehouse (Building 12). This building includes a cellar, which was apparently filled in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. A debris field surrounds this cellar, as indicated by shovel tests, metal detector survey, and GPR survey. The exact dimensions of this building are not currently known, but it is probably at least four meters in diameter, judging from the GPR data. Another possible building, which has not been given a building designation at the present time, may be located southeast of Building 17. A large construction post was identified in that area, which is about 15 meters from the Building 17 locality.

Building 18 is the barn that was standing at the beginning of the present project but has since collapsed. The debris from this building have been removed. This barn was built in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The area around the barn was explored by shovel tests and GPR survey. This area did not exhibit significant deposits of cultural material or features. The area beneath the footprint of the barn was not explored.

Building 19 is the Boarding House, which is a standing building that is currently undergoing renovation. This building was constructed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The areas surrounding the building were explored by GPR survey. The area beneath Building 19 was not examined by this study.

Building 20 is a probable building that was located in the vicinity of Building 19 but slightly southwest of it. Building 20 is currently known only by the evidence from one 50 cm by 50 cm shovel test, which exposed a brick footing. This footing was oriented off-grid from the other buildings on the plantation. The artifacts from the overlying midden soil suggested that this building dates to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Another possible option is that it represents an addition to Building 19, which has since been removed. The orientation of the brick footing, which is not in alignment with Building 19, however, argues against this interpretation.

Building 21 is the Clubhouse, a wood frame structure built in the Eastlake-style. English architect Charles Eastlake inspired this style. Eastlake's concepts were expressed in furniture and houses of the later Victorian era. The Clubhouse building was originally a demonstration model that was displayed in Philadelphia in 1876 (Barrickman 2004:9; Foskey 2001; Eastlake 1868). This home was

dissassembled and moved onto its present site by James Waterbury sometime after he purchased the property in September, 1886. A southern addition to this building was removed during its renovation in the early 2000s. The area beneath the Clubhouse may contain important archaeological deposits, which have been sealed-off since the building was moved to this location. According to Mrs. West, a large tabby chimney ruin is located beneath the building. This area beneath the Clubhouse was not explored in the present study. Over the period of the approximately 120 years that this building has been in use, it has been serviced by a variety of utilities. Buried utility lines lead to this dwelling house from numerous directions, as indicated by the GPR survey data. The presence of several of these utility lines was further confirmed by shovel testing.

Building 22 is a rectangular cinderblock building located on the west side of the plantation site, northeast of Building 5 and northwest of Building 4. This building has a poured cement floor. It was constructed in the mid- to late-20<sup>th</sup> century. This building does not contribute significantly to the historical interpretation of the North End plantation, except in that it shows one area that has been disturbed by modern activities.

Building 23 is a small wooden shed located southeast of Building 21 (Clubhouse) and east of the main north-south road on Ossabaw Island. This shed probably dates to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is in disrepair. No excavations were conducted in the vicinity of this building.

Ruins of other buildings almost certainly exist at the North End plantation but their discovery must await future field research. Several suspected areas were identified by the 2005 and 2006 studies, based on the presence of post holes or architectural artifact deposits, but their identity is most tenuous and more excavation is necessary to ascertain whether they represent buildings, or some other type of construction, such as fence lines or open sheds. Continued systematic shovel testing of the North End plantation will probably enable the archaeologists to define more buildings.

#### Dating the Deposits

A variety of methods were used in the laboratory analysis to determine the various ages of the deposits. Contextual and stratigraphic relationships and artifact manufacturing dates were the principal tools archaeologists used. Historic ceramics provided a wealth of information about the ages of certain deposits, although the stratigraphic sequence was less than perfect. Table 13 presents the MCDs for the Site Loci by excavation level, in cases where a sufficient sample of historic ceramics was available for date calculations. A large sample of 1,549 sherds from

Loci	Ceramics	Tableware Glass
	Count	Count
A	173	1
B	23	4
C	379	9
D	451	9
E	39	2
F	0	0
G	112	1
H	473	3
I	20	0
J	20	0
K	4	0
L	9	0
M	253	5
N	40	0
O	6	0
P	1	0
Q	12	0
R	35	0
S	107	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2157</b>	<b>39</b>

**Table 13. Mean Ceramic Date Summary.**

all areas of the North End plantation provides a MCD of 1799.7. This assemblage includes a wide variety of European, Asian and American ceramics that span the period from 1760 to 1990.

Table 14 presents the distribution of three of the major table service ceramics: slipware, creamware, and pearlware, that in use during the plantation era at the North End plantation. Sizeable samples of each of these three types were obtained and these allow for some comparisons between the various site loci. These three ware types provide a look at the early, middle and late occupations at the site. Artifact count and frequency per m<sup>2</sup> were tabulated for this comparison. These data provide a quick glimpse at the ceramic discard pattern over time.

Yellow slipware (1670-1795) is most prevalent in the Tabby 2 vicinity (Loci C and D). Excavation within Tabby 2 yielded 116 examples. Locus D provided the most examples (n=79), which represents a frequency of just over 11 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>. Yellow slipware was distributed in most areas of the site, although its distribution is more restricted than that of the later wares. This ware probably can be used as a reliable indicator of the spatial extent

Loci	LEVEL					TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	
	MCD	MCD	MCD	MCD	MCD	MCD
A	1793.9	1800.1	1798.0	-	-	1797.3
B	-	-	-	-	-	1809.3
C	1799.8	1790.9	1788.0	1776.1	1767.3	1785.6
D	1781.3	1775.0	1783.9	1784.5	-	1778.7
E	1789.6	1787.1	-	-	-	
G	1799.1	-	-	-	-	1797.5
H	1824.9	1800.1	1811.6	-	-	1824.9
I	-	-	-	-	-	1799.6
J	-	-	-	-	-	1825.3
M	1808.0	1816.8	1813.2	-	-	1812.1
N	-	-	-	-	-	1804.6
R	-	-	-	-	-	1810.2
S	-	-	-	-	-	1795
<b>SITE TOTAL</b>						<b>1799.7</b>

**Table 14. Comparison of Slipware, Creamware and Pearlware Distributions, North End plantation.**

of the plantation's operation in the early years of its existence.

Tabby 2 also yielded the greatest amount and frequency of creamware (1762-1820). Locus C had 89 examples and Locus D had 84 examples, reflecting a frequency of 12.7 and 12 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>, respectively. Creamware was recovered from most areas of the plantation.

The distribution of pearlware sherds (1774-1840) differed from the patterning exhibited by the other two wares. The greatest amount and highest frequency of pearlware was seen in Locus H (136 sherds, or 19.4 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>). Tabby 2 contained quantities of pearlware as well (224 examples), with Locus D yielding slightly higher frequencies than Locus C (17.6 and 14.4 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>, respectively). Locus M also yielded substantial quantities of this ware (96 sherds, or 13.7 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>). Trailing well behind were Loci A, G, and S, which had frequencies of 7.3, 6.7, and 4.9 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>, respectively.

The increase in the relative frequency of pearlware over the previous wares in Loci H and M indicate that activity increased in those parts of the site after the American Revolution. The deposit in Locus M is thought to be

associated with the Morel family or their managers and overseers. The increased occupation of Locus H may represent an expansion of the slave quarter into that part of the site. Perhaps an additional slave row was added to the North End Quarter, on the south side of Canepatch Road, as the enslaved population grew.

MCDs from Tabby 1 were 1797.3 for Locus A and 1809.3 for Locus B. These data indicate that someone was living in the vicinity of Tabby 1 well before the 1820s, which is about when the construction of Tabby 1 is thought to have occurred. The presence of other early artifacts from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and very early 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as post features that appear to be unrelated to Tabby 1, further suggest that another building occupied this general vicinity prior to Tabby 1. The test excavations in Loci A and B may have sampled the periphery of this earlier dwelling house, however, and much of what was located within the sampled areas that had been associated with this earlier building and its associated artifact deposit has been impacted by the later historic activity.

MCDs for Tabby 2 were 1785.6 for Locus C and 1778.7 for Locus D. Clearly, these excavations sampled occupational debris that predates the building of Tabby

2 by several decades. The ceramic evidence for an 18<sup>th</sup> century occupation in the vicinity of Loci C and D is supported by many other early artifact types, as well as numerous early features. Features 50 and 68, in Locus D, are particularly telling. Both of these features continue underneath the poured tabby wall of Tabby 2 and these features clearly predate the construction of Tabby 2. Horizontal distributions of artifacts within Locus D further indicate that this earlier occupation may not be a single episode but may be the remains of two earlier dwellings. Artifacts in the Locus D midden, which were on the south side of the block excavation, yielded earlier MCDs than excavation units on the north side.

The excavated sample outside of Tabby 2, in Loci H, R, and S, provides some additional evidence for an occupation of this vicinity prior to the construction of Tabby 2. Locus S provided an MCD of 1795. This also predates Tabby 2 by several decades. Loci H and J provided the most recent MCDs (1824.9 and 1825.3, respectively). Even Locus H contains artifacts in the lower strata that are older than Tabbies 1, 2, or 3. The recent MCDs for Locus H may indicate that this area was not occupied as early as the area immediately north of Canepatch Road. Locus G provided a MCD of 1797.5. This attests to the presence of earlier historic dwellings in the area immediately west of Tabbies 1, 2, and 3.

Locus M, the suspected Main house locale, yielded an MCD of 1812.1. Quite a few early ceramics, particularly a scatter of yellow slipware, indicate that this area was occupied well before 1812. This early occupation, however, is masked by the greater preponderance of later ceramics.

Tobacco pipe stems provided other dating clues for the site, although these are apparently less reliable than the ceramic indicators (See Table 11). The problem arises from the relatively small sample size of tobacco pipe fragments, plus the fact that many of the tobacco pipes were used in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, after pipe stem dating methods start to break down. Nevertheless, the TPDs from the North End plantation do provide some useful information about the age of the deposits. In the case of Tabby 2 (Loci C and D), where a total of 201 pipestems were measured, the TPDs are 1810.9 and 1804, respectively. Both of these dates are decades older than the suspected age of Tabby 2.

Nearly all of the TPDs are more recent than the MCDs that were obtained from the same loci. This trend may indicate that the enslaved in the North End Quarter had increasing access to tobacco pipes through time. The earliest enslaved community may not have been able to obtain tobacco pipes, but by the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they became more available and affordable. The

prevalence of later style molded laurel, wheat, vine and floral pattern pipe bowls, which increase in popularity in the decades following the American Revolution, would support this assertion. Early colonial style tobacco pipes, such as the “TD” pipe recovered from Locus D, Level 2, were scarce. Thus, the observed trend for later TPDs may reflect economic and regulatory factors among the enslaved that enabled access to pipes popular at that time, rather than a shortcoming of the analytical technique of pipestem dating.

## **ARTIFACT PATTERN IN REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

Stanley South examined many historic sites in North and South Carolina and one outcome was his Carolina Artifact Pattern. Despite criticisms from his colleagues, South’s Pattern Analysis approach remains useful in historical archaeology, particularly when making gross comparisons between sites or for observing functional artifact differences within a site. The analysis of the North End plantation artifact assemblage was organized to facilitate such a comparison.

The Carolina Pattern, as recognized by South (1977:107), consists of an assemblage dominated by the Kitchen group, followed by the Architecture group, and minority percentages of the other artifact groups. He provides mean percentages and ranges for each group according to his defined pattern. South, as well as other researchers, have expanded on this idea, creating patterns for frontier sites and other distinctive site types. Revisions of the Carolina Pattern also have been laid forth (Garrow et al. 1983:278). The LAMAR Institute research at New Ebenezer, Georgia has followed South’s artifact group artifact analysis structure, and that study has yielded data that deviates from the Carolina Pattern in several aspects. Table 15 shows a comparison of the artifacts from the North End plantation with New Ebenezer and South’s Carolina Pattern, the Revised Carolina Pattern, the Revised Frontier Pattern, and the Carolina Slave Pattern.

The North End plantation artifact assemblage has a higher than normal frequency of architecture artifacts (48.5%) and a lower percentage of kitchen artifacts (36.7%). Both of these percentages fall outside the range for the Carolina and Carolina Slave patterns. The percentage of clothing artifacts at the North End plantation is considerably higher than the mean for the Carolina Slave Pattern, although it is within the range for the Carolina pattern. The arms artifact percentages at North End plantation (1.1%) are well above that observed at most domestic sites and fall above the range for both the Carolina and Carolina Slave patterns, but less than that seen on frontier sites. Tobacco artifacts were found in lower percentages at the North

End plantation than other observed sites, although the percentage (2.9%) falls within the range for the Carolina Pattern and the Carolina Slave Pattern.

Thus we see that the North End plantation has a unique artifact pattern. Part of the reason for the variations in the pattern may reflect the unique environment on a barrier island. For example, the many hurricanes and storms that buffet the barrier islands may have required more frequent building reconstruction or renovation than would be necessary on the mainland. That may account for greater frequencies of nails and window glass. This is but one possible explanation for the observed differences.

## INTRASITE STATUS DIFFERENCES

Archaeologists regularly use certain artifacts or artifact attributes to gauge status differences in a given population. Expensive, and therefore usually higher status objects, are more often associated with wealthy households. Common less expensive, and therefore usually lower status objects, are more often found in poorer households. Ceramics

often hold important clues about status. This is partly because a consumer's choice in ceramics is more varied than for many other artifact types. Nails, for example, are not noticeable distinct status indicators, since most households of all status rank typically had nails in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. A consumer's choice for dishware ranges from simple utilitarian vessels that were cheaply produced and widely available to exotic imported wares from distant lands. Porcelain is an important indicator of status, particularly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when most porcelain was imported from the Orient. The excavations at the North End plantation yielded 72 porcelain sherds. These are summarized by loci in Table 16.

Porcelain comprises 3 percent of all ceramics at the North End plantation. In areas of the North End Quarter that yielded substantial samples of ceramics, that percentage is consistently reflected, including Loci A, C, D, E, and S. Locus H has slightly less porcelain, only two percent. These data suggest that the enslaved and later paid worker community averaged 2-3 percent porcelain in their kitchens. At Locus M, however, the percentage triples to 9 percent. Had a larger sample been excavated in Locus M, the site-wide porcelain frequency would have likely increased. The porcelain frequency of 3 percent may

Loci	Yellow		Pearlware			
	Count	Frequency per m <sup>2</sup>	Count	Frequency per m <sup>2</sup>	Count	Frequency per m <sup>2</sup>
A	6	0.86	28	4.00	51	7.29
B	0	0.00	3	0.43	6	0.86
C	37	5.29	89	12.71	101	14.43
D	79	11.29	84	12.00	123	17.57
E	4	0.57	3	0.43	16	2.29
F	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
G	6	0.86	17	2.43	47	6.71
H	7	1.00	25	3.57	136	19.43
I	0	0.00	2	0.29	11	1.57
J	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	1.43
K	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.14
L	2	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.14
M	7	1.00	22	3.14	96	13.71
N	5	0.71	1	0.14	7	1.00
O	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
P	1	0.14	0	0.00	0	0.00
Q	0	0.00	3	0.43	4	0.57
R	0	0.00	7	1.00	11	1.57
S	8	1.14	21	3.00	34	4.86
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>162</b>		<b>305</b>		<b>655</b>	

Table 15. Intersite Artifact Pattern Comparison.



seem miniscule but when it is compared with other sites in colonial and early federal era Georgia, it increases in its significance. At the German town of New Ebenezer, north of Savannah, for example, porcelain frequencies average 1 percent and rarely attain 3 percent. This suggests that the residents of the North End Quarter had greater access to expensive ceramics than did the European population at Ebenezer.

The greatest amount and frequency of occurrence per m<sup>2</sup> of porcelain was observed in Locus M, which had 23 sherds. This was followed next in the amount of sherds by Loci C and D, which both yielded 12 specimens. The frequency of porcelain in Locus C and D was considerably lower than in Locus M. Porcelain sherds occurred at a rate of 1.33 per m<sup>2</sup> and in Locus D the frequency was only 0.58 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>. This indicates that porcelain is more common in Locus M (the suspected main house area) than in the North End Quarter. These findings correspond to our expectations.

Otto (1975, 1984) examined the relationship of ceramic vessel forms as a status indicator in the plantation era. His basic premise was that plates and platters were more often used in the serving and consuming of expensive meat cuts, whereas hollowware vessels, including pans, bowls and cups were used more in serving and consuming liquid based meals, such as soups, stews, and gruels. The wealthy, antebellum planters had greater access to expensive foods and dinnerware. Their enslaved communities had far less consumer choice and they lacked the finances to buy expensive meats or plates on which to eat them. They would, therefore, have much more hollowware than flatware vessels. Otto's examination of the distribution of flatware versus hollowware ceramics at plantation sites on St. Simons Island, Georgia, proved this hypothesis.

Information on vessel morphology for the North End plantation ceramic assemblage was gathered in the analysis phase. A total of 1,840 sherds was classified as either hollowware or flatware. The site total consisted of 1,194 hollowware sherds, or 65 percent of the sample, and 646 flatware sherds, or 35 percent of the sample. Thus, the prevailing pattern for the North End plantation is a majority of bowls and cups over plates and platters.

We then examined this relationship within each site loci, which produced some intriguing results. These data are presented in Table 17. Several loci of the North End plantation had sizeable ceramic samples for this comparison. Following Otto's concepts, one would expect a lower percentage of hollowwares in the vicinity of the Main House (Locus M), versus the Slave Quarter. However, such was not the case. Locus M had 72 percent hollowware and only 28 percent flatware. The same percentages were seen in Loci D, N, and S. Considerably lower percentages of hollowware were observed in Loci A, C, H, and G, which were all within the Slave Quarter. Locus H displayed only 52 percent hollowware, 13 percentage points below the site average. Site loci, which had low sample sizes, included B, F, I, J, K, L, N, O, P, Q, and R, and the results from these areas are not discussed.

This comparison of hollowware versus flatware in the North End plantation ceramic assemblage combined pottery types from all time periods. In order to ascertain if this pattern held true during slavery times a subset was examined. This subset (n=1,117) contained only those pottery types that had ceased production prior to the Civil War. This sample was divided between 668 hollowware (60%) and 449 flatware (40%). This reflects a reduction by 5 percent in hollowware from the entire sample.

Of the site loci with sufficient sample size, only Loci D and S had hollowware percentages above 65 percent.

LOCI	Arms								Misc.				Tobacco		TOTAL				
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%			
North End Plantation, GA	573	3.4	8258	48.5	184	1.1	606	3.6	42	0.2	6243	36.7	557	3.3	54	0.3	493	2.9	17010
New Ebenezer, GA	1416	3.5	9046	22.1	343	0.8	222	0.5	34	0.1	22962	56.0	4756	11.6	35	0.1	2173	5.3	40987
Carolina Pattern (Mean %)		1.7		25.5		0.5		3		0.2		63.1		N/A		0.2			5.8
Revised Carolina Pattern		1.3		27.6		0.2		3		0.4		59.5		N/A		0.3			7.8
Revised Frontier Pattern		2.4		42.4		5		0.9		0.6		40.7		N/A		0.1			7.9
Carolina Slave Pattern		0.51		17.81		0.17		0.49		0.07		77.39		N/A		0.05			3.53

Source: South 1977; Garrow et al. 1983; Elliott in press

**Table 16. Porcelain Summary, North End Plantation.**

Locus M contained 60 percent hollowware, which was 12 percent less than for the complete sample of that loci. This lowered percentage, or more flatware relative to hollowware compared to the complete sample from Locus M, would be expected if the residents of the Morel household were largely responsible for these broken ceramics. Conversely, Locus H contained only 44 percent hollowwares in the slavery era, which is 6 percent lower than was expressed in that loci in the complete sample. Locus H is in the heart of the slave quarter and one would expect the percentages to be higher in slavery times, rather than lower. Instead, the residents of that area apparently had more plates than hollow containers in slavery times. The several other loci in the North End Quarter also produced unexpected results. Locus A decreased from 56 percent in the total sample to 50 percent in slavery times. Locus C went from 67 percent hollowware in the total sample to 63 percent in slavery times. Locus D went from 72 percent in the total sample to 68 percent in slavery times. These data are somewhat perplexing. They suggest that slaves were consuming more meat cuts served on plates and platters than their post-bellum counterparts.

Expensive tableware glass is another artifact class that expresses status differences. While the sample of tableware glass from the North End plantation was small,

it reflected some spatial patterning. Although the Tabby 2 excavations (Loci C and D) produced the greatest quantity of tableware glass, the highest frequency per m<sup>2</sup> was seen in Locus M. This reaffirms that the occupants of this area had greater access to expensive tablewares

The relative proportion of ceramics to bottle glass may be another indicator of status difference. Artifact assemblages with greater proportions of bottle glass compared to ceramics are often associated with higher status families. The relative frequency of ceramics versus bottle glass was examined for each site loci. A *Ceramics to Kitchen Glass Index* value was created by dividing the number of ceramic sherds by the number of kitchen glass sherds. The site average index value was 0.59, based on 2,157 ceramics and 3,659 glass sherds. Locus H had an index value of 0.37. Locus M had an index value of 0.89. Several areas of the North End Quarter gave fairly consistent readings. Locus A, B, D, and E ranged from 0.61 to 0.69. Locus C was unusual with an index value of 1.0.

The frequency distribution of ceramics and kitchen-related glass artifacts was examined by site loci. The results of this calculation is shown in Table 18. The most number of ceramics was observed in Locus H, which also

Loci	Porcelain Count	Percent of Porcelain	Frequency per m <sup>2</sup>	All Ceramics Count	% Porcelain of All Ceramics
A	5	7	0.71	173	3
B	0	0	0.00	23	0
C	12	17	1.33	379	3
D	12	17	0.58	451	3
E	1	1	1.00	39	3
F	0	0	0.00	0	0
G	0	0	0.00	112	0
H	8	11	1.00	473	2
I	0	0	0.00	20	0
J	0	0	0.00	20	0
K	0	0	0.00	4	0
L	1	1		9	11
M	23	32	11.50	253	9
N	5	7	1.67	40	13
O	2	3		6	33
P	0	0	0.00	1	0
Q	0	0	0.00	12	0
R	0	0	0.00	35	0
S	3	4	1.00	107	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100</b>		<b>2157</b>	<b>3</b>

**Table 17. Comparison of Hollowware and Flatware Containers, North End Plantation.**

yielded the greatest amount of kitchen glass (473 and 1,287 specimens, respectively). Locus H also had the highest frequency of ceramics and kitchen glass per m<sup>2</sup> (67.57 and 183.86 sherds per m<sup>2</sup>, respectively).

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Ossabaw Island's North End plantation is now recognized as a very important archaeological site. This is significant because it acknowledges the research potential of the site to provide important new information about Ossabaw Island life that is unavailable in any other venue or medium. The recognition of the research value of the site should minimize adverse impacts similar to what it has suffered in the past, such as roads running over buildings, foundations, utility trenches through features and the like. Future archaeological research should continue to be guided by holistic, academic research design and plan that considers both the North End site and its broader, island-wide context.

The North End plantation site also represents an ideal outdoor laboratory for learning and public education.

Loci	Hollowware		Flatware		Combined
	Count	%	Count	%	Count
A	83	56	65	44	148
B	9	47	10	53	19
C	234	67	113	33	347
D	298	72	114	28	412
E	29	83	6	17	35
F	0	0	0	0	0
G	63	62	38	38	101
H	192	52	179	48	371
I	12	75	4	25	16
J	7	41	10	59	17
K	3	75	1	25	4
L	7	88	1	13	8
M	139	72	55	28	194
N	26	72	10	28	36
O	4	67	2	33	6
P	1	100	0	0	1
Q	3	38	5	63	8
R	24	71	10	29	34
S	60	72	23	28	83
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1194</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>646</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>1840</b>

**Table 18. Distribution of Ceramics and Kitchen Glass by Loci, North End plantation.**

The Ossabaw Island Foundation has spearhead the development of an Educational Alliance that desires to incorporate the archaeology at the North End plantation into their educational programs. This is a wonderful opportunity to share both the tangible connections to the past along with the more elusive scholarly interpretations about society and culture. The multi-disciplinary nature of archaeological research makes it a natural tool for teaching children the many concepts mandated by the educational standards today. Fortunately, capitalizing on Ossabaw's archaeological resources to educate children and adults alike, does not have to mean adversely impacting the very resources under consideration. Ossabaw Island's environment and infrastructure offers an ideal scenario to share information with the public through children's and teacher's workshops, exhibits, experimental archaeology/replication, curriculum guides, distance learning, and many other exciting avenues.

The 2003 through 2006 archaeological studies at the North End plantation, have established baseline data for long-term stewardship of this important archaeological resource. The archaeological discoveries have vastly expanded the learning potential for this historic site.

It remains, however, baseline data. For this reason we recommend continued archaeological fieldwork at the North End plantation guided by a well developed research plan. Fieldwork should include completion of survey level work. The 5 m grid coverage that was implemented by Georgia Department of Natural Resource archaeologists should be continued to ultimately blanket the entire plantation complex.

Additional test excavations should be conducted at the North End plantation to better understand the various areas of the site. Many areas of the site are suitable targets for additional excavations. A few recommendations of excavation priorities are outlined here. The continued survey investigations at the site will, no doubt, reveal important areas of the site that are not presently known. Therefore, the future research plan should allow some flexibility for these discoveries.

Building 5, which was sampled by Test Unit 203 (Locus G), should be explored further. This is a suitable target for study because it has been adversely impacted by traffic on Canepatch Road and the unnamed dirt road that pass across it. Similarly, Buildings 7 and 8 in Locus I are being adversely impacted by traffic on Canepatch Road and the impacted areas should be explored for any remaining archaeological resources.

The excavation in the vicinity of Buildings 5, 7 and 8 would be salvage excavations of sorts, but the results

could contribute to our understanding of the plantation complex.

The apparent sheet middens north of Building 3 (Tabby 3), Locus S and Building 4 (Locus G) and between Buildings 2 and 3 (Locus R) are important targets for investigation. A study of these areas would be important because they represent artifact discard areas that are poorly understood at present. Was the refuse disposal pattern at the North End Quarter to deposit trash immediately north of the dwelling house, as these data tentatively indicate? The limited study of these areas from shovel testing show that these deposits contain many large ceramic sherds and large bottle fragments, larger than those recovered from within the tabby buildings. The area of Locus R would have an added bonus by providing additional clues about the earlier dwellings that occupied the site. One expected result for a study of these midden areas would be the generation of large quantities of artifacts and ecofacts. The project thus far has generated more than 17,000 artifacts. Zooarchaeological analysis of a sample of the animal bones examined more than 4,500 individual bones and a startling percentage of these were identifiable. Analysis, stabilization and thorough reporting on these finds is an involved and expensive task. A good research design, backed by sound and thorough survey data, would enable archaeologists to narrow their focus to answer specific questions of the site, so that the costs to excavate and analyze, as well as the unnecessary destruction of the non-renewable resources, can be minimized.

The suspected vicinity of the Morel plantation house (Locus M) has actually received very little excavation and this area remains poorly understood. At least four building ruins have been tentatively identified in this area, but the size, age, function, and research potential for these building ruins has not been completely established. The area beneath the Clubhouse (Building 19) should be explored for its archaeological potential. Once this area has been systematically surveyed, selected areas should be targeted for larger excavations. Securing a good research sample from the main house is vital for comparing the lives of the Morel family (and the overseers) with the enslaved community at the North End plantation.

## **SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS**

Future archaeology will provide information about Ossabaw Island beyond the baseline data now collected. These recommendations will maximize the potential of future work:

- Establish and follow a formal archaeological Research Design for the North End site and Ossabaw Island.
- Complete the survey of the North End site at 5 meter intervals.
- Excavate additional areas at the North End site that have only been sampled.
- Excavate portions of newly discovered building areas to understand their function.
- Excavate areas deteriorating from current adverse conditions.
- Preserve sensitive areas when adverse activities can be curtailed or re-routed.
- Develop educational experiences in tandem with archaeologists that will allow public interaction while protecting the archaeological resources.
- Maintain the highest level of professionalism in both scholarly research and public outreach, so that all data is gathered accurately and reliably, and becomes integrated into the existing research database.

The archaeological resources of North End plantation and Ossabaw Island are just one reason, but a very important reason, for the island's significance. Ossabaw's soils hold the secrets to the lives of hundreds of men, women and children over the past 8,000 years. Ossabaw's significance lies not only in these individual stories that can only be told through archaeology, but in its ability to protect these pages of the past from destruction wrought by developmental impacts seen elsewhere. The Ossabaw Island Foundation has the unique opportunity to read and share this exciting story with the public. The LAMAR Institute is pleased to be part of that enriching process.



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