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**UNIVERSITY OF
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UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
LABORATORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY SERIES
REPORT NUMBER 86

**BOURBON FIELD: PRELIMINARY
INVESTIGATIONS OF A BARRIER
ISLAND PLANTATION SITE,
SAPELO ISLAND, GEORGIA**

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BOURBON FIELD: PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS OF A BARRIER ISLAND
PLANTATION SITE, SAPELO ISLAND, GEORGIA

by

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A thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology
College of Arts and Sciences
The University of West Florida
In partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts

2012

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late grandma, Dorothy Ore, who was supportive and enthusiastic about my decision to pursue a career in archaeology and whose zest for life and positive attitude will always be an inspiration to me.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Over the course of my thesis work, I have been very fortunate in having help through every stage of the project. I could not have completed my thesis without the assistance and support of those individuals who lent a hand along the way and I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude.

First of all, I would like to thank my UWF thesis committee members, Norma Harris, John Worth, and George Ellenberg for their guidance and help during the various phases of my research. Norma Harris deserves a special thank you for helping me to develop my thesis project, accompanying me to Sapelo Island to assist with excavations, helping me acquire financial support for my research, and for her mentorship through all stages of my thesis work.

I am indebted to my fourth committee member, Dave Crass, and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources (DNR) Historic Preservation Division for providing financial support during the excavations on Sapelo. I greatly appreciate the accommodations and transportation provided by island manager, Fred Hay, and the DNR staff on Sapelo over the course of field work in May and August of 2010.

Many thanks are also due to Nick Honerkamp of the University of Tennessee Chattanooga (UTC) for loaning his field school crew during my archaeological field work, for assisting with every phase of archaeological excavation at Bourbon Field, and for sharing data collected by previous UTC field schools at other plantation sites on Sapelo Island. I appreciate the help of the 2010 UTC field school students for their hard work and cooperation during the May excavations at Bourbon Field.

The field and lab work of my thesis project would not have been possible without the assistance of a number of individuals. I wish to specially thank my field crew--Roc Jarvis,

Elizabeth Murphy, Lindsey Cochran, Brett Briggs, Adam Beavers, Brian Miller, Dan Webb, and Colin Bean--for putting up with my many demands and for the amazing job they did despite the heat, the bugs, and the long hours. Thank you to Elizabeth Benchley for providing Archaeology Institute vehicles and other resources for my crew and our trips to Sapelo, and to Karen Mims for assisting with my preparations for field work. I am indebted to Norine Carroll for her help obtaining field equipment, providing work space and resources for my lab work, and her moral support and general assistance throughout the course of my thesis work. I could not have completed the lab work without the assistance of Jan Lloyd and the many hours of often tedious work put in by Patty McMahon and Elizabeth Murphy. Many thanks also to Roc Jarvis for his assistance with my GIS maps and Morgan Wampler for her help with artifact photos.

I greatly appreciate the financial assistance provided by the Pat and Hal Marcus Fellowship in Historical Archaeology, which facilitated my thesis writing and helped me to make significant strides in the completion of my project. I would also like to thank the Scholarly and Creative Activities Committee (SCAC) for funding my historical research.

Special thanks to Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. for his assistance with my archival research. His input was invaluable during the analysis of my historical data and the additional resources he provided were crucial to the completion of my history chapter.

I am extremely grateful for the support of my family and friends through all the ups and downs of my thesis work. Thank you to Mom, Dad, Caroline, Nick, and Grandmother for all the encouragement and for the enduring interest and enthusiasm in my project. I am particularly indebted to my husband, Wes Perrine, for the love, support, patience, and help in every stage of my thesis work. The stress of undertaking this project would have been so much greater without his moral support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
ABSTRACT	xv
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II. BOURBON FIELD: SITE DESCRIPTION AND PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS	9
A. Environmental and Geological Setting	9
B. Site Description	11
C. Previous Archaeological Research.....	16
D. Research Parameters	22
CHAPTER III. PREHISTORIC AND EARLY HISTORIC OCCUPATIONS OF BOURBON FIELD (1000 B.C.-A.D. 1800)	25
A. Historical Research Methods	25
B. Prehistoric Occupations.....	27
C. The Spanish Mission Period.....	28
D. The British Colonial Period (1733-1776)	29
E. The Revolutionary War and Early American Independence (1776-1789).....	34
F. The French Sapelo Company (1789-1800).....	35
CHAPTER IV. THE ANTEBELLUM ERA AND BEYOND: OCCUPATIONS OF BOURBON FIELD THROUGH THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES	51
A. Turn of the Century and the Early Antebellum Period (1800-1820s)	51
B. The Late Antebellum Period (1827-1860)	63
C. The Civil War (1861-1865)	75
D. Reconstruction, the Postbellum Era, and Beyond (1865-1960s)	77
CHAPTER V. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH METHODS	83
A. Field Work	83
B. Lab Work	99
CHAPTER VI. SHOVEL TEST EXCAVATIONS: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS..	102
A. Establishing Boundaries for Bourbon Field’s Historic Components.....	102
B. Stratigraphy	106

C. Native American Artifact Assemblage	109
D. Historic Artifact Assemblage and South’s Artifact Groups.....	111
E. Historic Ceramics.....	117
F. High v. Low Status Artifacts	130
G. Architectural Artifacts and Historic Structures.....	140
H. Historic Middens.....	155
I. Summary and Discussion of Shovel Test Data.....	160
CHAPTER VII. TRENCH 10 EXCAVATIONS: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS	173
A. The Tabby Remains	173
B. Stratigraphy.....	177
C. Historic Artifact Assemblage and South’s Artifact Groups	179
D. Historic Ceramics.....	189
E. High v. Low Status Artifacts	195
F. Artifact Distributions	197
G. Summary and Discussion of Trench 10 Data	215
CHAPTER VIII. SAPELO ISLAND’S PLANTATION LANDSCAPE: A COMPARISON BETWEEN BOURBON FIELD AND THREE NEIGHBORING PLANTATIONS	225
A. The Spalding Plantation	225
B. Chocolate Plantation	235
C. High Point	242
D. Bourbon Field and Sapelo Island’s Plantation Landscape.....	251
CHAPTER IX. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	265
REFERENCES	277
APPENDIXES	292
A. Copyright Permission Letter	293

LIST OF TABLES

1. Stratigraphy Typical of Shovel Tests in Northwest Bourbon Field.....107

2. Shovel Test Artifacts, by Group112

3. Architecture Group Artifacts from Shovel Tests112

4. Kitchen Group Artifacts from Shovel Tests113

5. Unmodified Bone from Shovel Tests114

6. Shell from Shovel Tests114

7. Arms Group Artifacts from Shovel Tests115

8. Activities Group Artifacts from Shovel Tests115

9. Tobacco Group Artifacts from Shovel Tests115

10. Clothing Group Artifacts from Shovel Tests115

11. Personal Group Artifacts from Shovel Tests116

12. Furniture Group Artifacts from Shovel Tests116

13. Historic Ceramic Assemblage from Shovel Tests117

14. Ceramics Recovered in Shovel Tests, by Level.....122

15. Mean Ceramic Dates for the Shovel Test Ceramic Assemblage124

16. Mean Ceramic Dates and Ceramic TPQ's for Shovel Tests, by Area128

17. 1814 CC Index Values for Shovel Test Ceramics139

18. Architectural Artifacts Associated with Four Possible Structures in Northwest Bourbon Field145

19. Mean Ceramic Dates and Ceramic TPQ's for Three Possible Structures in Northwest Bourbon Field155

20. Ceramic Assemblages in Possible Midden Shovel Tests158

21. Ceramic Assemblages in Midden Shovel Tests.....159

22.	Trench 10 Artifacts, by Group.....	180
23.	Architecture Group Artifacts from Trench 10	181
24.	Kitchen Group Artifacts from Trench 10	181
25.	Unmodified Bone from Trench 10.....	182
26.	Shell from Trench 10	183
27.	Furniture Group Artifacts from Trench 10	183
28.	Activities Group Artifacts from Trench 10.....	183
29.	Tobacco Group Artifacts from Trench 10	184
30.	Personal Group Artifacts from Trench 10	184
31.	Clothing Group Artifacts from Trench 10	184
32.	Arms Group Artifacts from Trench 10	184
33.	Trench 10 Historic Ceramic Assemblage	191
34.	Trench 10's Mean Ceramic Dates and Ceramic TPQ.....	195
35.	1814 CC Index Values for Trench 10 and Shovel Test Ceramics.....	196
36.	Artifacts Recovered in Trench 10's Upper, Middle, and Lower Levels, by Group	199
37.	Relative Composition of the Assemblages Recovered in the Upper, Middle, and Lower Levels of Trench 10, by Percentage of Weight	201
38.	Mean Ceramic Dates for the Upper, Middle, and Lower Levels in Trench 10	202
39.	Mean Ceramic Dates for Alternate Upper and Lower Level Groupings in Trench 10	202
40.	Unit 10 Artifact Assemblage, by Group	208
41.	Artifact Assemblages Recovered in the Northern, Central (Unit 10), and Southern Units of Trench 10, by Group.....	210
42.	Comparison of the Assemblages Recovered in the Northern, Central (Unit 10), and Southern Units of Trench 10, by Percentage of Weight	211

43.	Kitchen Group Artifacts Recovered in the Northern, Central (Unit 10), and Southern Units of Trench 10.....	211
44.	Architecture Group Artifacts Recovered in the Northern, Central (Unit 10), and Southern, Units of Trench 10.....	212
45.	Distribution of Tabby in Trench 10.....	214
46.	Kitchen Group Artifacts from Survey Units at Bourbon Field, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and Spalding's South End Slave Site.....	253
47.	Ceramic Assemblages from Bourbon Field, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and the Spalding Plantation Slave Sites, by Sherd Count and Sherd Count Percentage.....	255
48.	Mean Ceramic Dates Associated with Sapelo Plantation Sites.....	257
49.	Clothing and Personal Group Artifacts from Survey Units at Bourbon Field, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and Spalding's South End Slave Site.....	258
50.	Architecture Group Artifacts from Survey Units at Bourbon Field, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and Spalding's South End Slave Site.....	262

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Aerial image of Sapelo Island with the location of Bourbon Field circled in red	2
2.	Aerial image of Bourbon Field with important features labeled	12
3.	Bourbon Field’s moss-covered, above-ground tabby remains photographed during the 2007 UWF field school.....	14
4.	Aerial view of the project area, northwest Bourbon Field.....	23
5.	Aerial image of Sapelo Island with major historic sites indicated	32
6.	Chocolate Plantation section of the 1859 <i>United States Coast Survey Chart of Sapelo Sound</i> with historic structures indicated	70
7.	Bourbon Field section of the 1859 <i>United States Coast Survey Chart of Sapelo Sound</i>	71
8.	Map of the 2007, 2008, and 2010 UWF shovel test excavations in northwest Bourbon Field with important features indicated	84
9.	Map of Bourbon Field showing the 2007/2008 UWF survey grid and excavations (in blue) and the University of West Georgia’s 1974, 1977, and 1980 excavations (in red).....	87
10.	Layout of Trench 10 through Bourbon Field’s above-ground tabby remains prior to excavations.....	89
11.	Map of Bourbon Field’s above-ground tabby remains made during the 2007 UWF field school.....	91
12.	Map of the Trench 10 unit excavations through the center of the rectangular tabby remains.....	92
13.	Excavations in the southern portion (<i>foreground</i>) and northern portion (<i>background</i>) of Trench 10	94
14.	Slot trench inside of Unit 6, Trench 10.....	98
15.	Trench 10 excavations and the tabby remains	100
16.	GIS map of the 2007, 2008, and 2010 shovel tests excavated in northwest Bourbon Field	104
17.	Typical four strata shovel test profile in northwest Bourbon Field	108

18.	Map of northwest Bourbon Field with the location of Feature 1002 indicated.....	110
19.	Altamaha Complicated-Stamped sherds from Feature 1002	110
20.	Iron knife blade fragments recovered in a shovel test	113
21.	(A) Brass clothing eye and (B) brass furniture tacks recovered in shovel tests.....	116
22.	(A) Annular pearlware cup sherd and (B) transfer-printed pearlware rim sherd recovered in shovel tests.....	118
23.	Graph showing the frequencies of the primary historic ceramic types recovered in shovel tests	119
24.	Graph showing the distribution of the most numerous historic ceramic types recovered in shovel tests, by excavation level.....	121
25.	GIS map showing the distribution of historic ceramics in northwest Bourbon Field.....	123
26.	GIS map showing the distribution of creamware in northwest Bourbon Field	125
27.	GIS map showing the distribution of pearlware in northwest Bourbon Field	126
28.	GIS map showing the distribution of whiteware in northwest Bourbon Field	127
29.	GIS map showing the distribution of historic ceramics in northwest Bourbon Field, divided into segments	129
30.	GIS map showing the distribution of transfer-printed ceramics in northwest Bourbon Field	131
31.	GIS map showing the distribution of annular ceramics in northwest Bourbon Field	133
32.	Graph depicting the frequencies of the ceramic vessel forms found in shovel tests	134
33.	GIS map showing the distribution of plate sherds in northwest Bourbon Field.....	136
34.	GIS map showing the distribution of bowl sherds in northwest Bourbon Field.....	137
35.	GIS map showing the distribution of cup sherds in northwest Bourbon Field.....	138
36.	GIS map showing the distribution of (non-ceramic) high-status artifacts in northwest Bourbon Field	141

37. GIS map showing the distribution of tabby mortar and plaster in northwest Bourbon Field with Structures 1, 2, 3, and 4 outlined in white	143
38. Tabby brick fragments recovered in shovel test 1420N780E.....	145
39. (A) Tabby with lathing marks and (B) whitewashed tabby recovered in shovel tests	146
40. GIS map showing the distribution of modified tabby mortar and plaster in northwest Bourbon Field with Structures 1, 2, and 4 outlined in white	147
41. GIS map showing the distribution of brick in northwest Bourbon Field.....	149
42. GIS map showing the distribution of nails and nail fragments in northwest Bourbon Field	151
43. GIS map showing the distribution of cut nails in northwest Bourbon Field	153
44. GIS map showing the distribution of wrought nails in northwest Bourbon Field.....	154
45. GIS map showing the distribution of historic middens and possible historic middens in northwest Bourbon Field	157
46. Bourbon Field’s above-ground tabby remains before Trench 10 excavation, facing north.....	174
47. South outside wall of the rectangular tabby form exposed in Unit 6, Trench 10	176
48. North outside wall of the rectangular tabby form exposed in Unit 4, Trench 10 with the extent of the deteriorated wall outlined in black.....	176
49. Trench 10, Unit 4 east wall profile with the burned layer indicated	178
50. Charred seeds from the burned layer in the northern units of Trench 10	178
51. Iron cooking pot fragment recovered in Trench 10	182
52. (A) Bone button and (B) porcelain button recovered in Trench 10	185
53. Gun barrel fragment, post-conservation, recovered in Unit 4, Trench 10	187
54. X-ray of gun barrel fragment showing solid iron at the breech end of the barrel	187
55. Iron stove part with the maker’s mark inscription of “B.R. Hawley,” post-conservation, found in Unit 10, Trench 10.....	188

56.	Brass buttons recovered in Trench 10: (A) a flat copper alloy disc button and (B) a hollow two-piece brass button with a stamped decoration	190
57.	A sample of the numerous gray salt-glazed stoneware sherds recovered in Trench 10 that most likely came from the same large vessel	192
58.	Graph showing the frequencies of the primary historic ceramic types recovered in Trench 10	192
59.	Brown salt-glazed stoneware sherd with a large maker's mark recovered in Unit 8, Trench 10	194
60.	North wall of the slot trench excavated in Unit 6 of Trench 10, which shows the dense tabby rubble concentrations existing below the bottom of the rectangular tabby form	198
61.	The west wall of Unit 4, which represents a typical post-excavation profile in the northern portion of Trench 10	204
62.	Southern portion of Trench 10 with the dense tabby rubble and architectural debris exposed	206
63.	South wall profile of Unit 10 showing the dense architectural rubble and possible evidence of a modern filling episode	209
64.	Pie chart depicting the northern, southern, and central units' contributions to the total amount of tabby recovered in Trench 10	214
65.	Drawing of Spalding's tabby mansion circa 1844.....	227
66.	Main house ruins at Chocolate Plantation (Honerkamp et al. 2007:9).....	237
67.	Slave cabin ruins at Chocolate Plantation.....	237
68.	Possible cotton barn ruins at Chocolate Plantation (Honerkamp et al. 2007:9)	238
69.	Tabby block foundations of the plantation house at High Point.....	244
70.	Tabby corner post identified during the 2007 UTC survey excavations at High Point (Honerkamp 2008:25).....	249

ABSTRACT

BOURBON FIELD: PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS OF A BARRIER ISLAND PLANTATION SITE, SAPELO ISLAND, GEORGIA

Rachel Laura DeVan Perrine

Most of the previous archaeological research at Bourbon Field has focused on its extensive prehistoric and protohistoric components, although significant historic components were recorded at the site as early as the 1970s. This study serves as a preliminary investigation of the historic components of Bourbon Field (circa 1733-1964), using historical and archaeological data to identify the spatial and temporal parameters of the historical occupations of the site and to examine the site's significance within Sapelo Island's plantation-oriented economy and culture during the late 18th and 19th centuries. The archaeological investigations included survey and trench excavations in northwest Bourbon Field, where the most extensive historic components and the site's only above-ground architectural remains exist. The data from those excavations and the historical research made it possible to compare Bourbon Field to more prominent Sapelo plantations and provided evidence of shared trends in material culture across the island, despite dramatic differences in plantation size and level of success. The examination of Bourbon Field within the broader historical, archaeological, and cultural context of Sapelo revealed that the site held an important and unique dual-identity as both an independent small-scale tract and a satellite tract contributing to large-scale plantation activities on the island.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Located on the northeastern edge of Sapelo Island, Georgia, the Bourbon Field site (9MC71 and 9MC91) is rich in archaeological resources that represent prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic period settlements (Figure 1). Occupations of Sapelo have spanned from the Archaic period in prehistory to the 20th century, and Bourbon Field's multi-component archaeological record can be associated with most of the occupation periods in the island's lengthy chronology (Larson 1977; Crook 1984; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). Approximately 14 hectares in area, Bourbon Field consists primarily of a cleared field with limited wooded areas surrounding the field on all sides (Crook 1984:247). The site is bounded to the north and east by marshy shoreline, allowing easy access to marine and estuarine resources for its prehistoric and historic occupants. Unlike other parts of Sapelo, Bourbon Field has not been occupied since the early 20th century and the protection of state ownership combined with a relatively remote location on the island has largely prevented modern developments from disturbing the site (Crook et al. 2003:39). Bourbon Field's diverse archaeological components and protected location make it an especially valuable resource for examining Sapelo's past cultures.

Bourbon Field is particularly rich in prehistoric and protohistoric archaeological resources, including two Mississippian period mounds and 119 discrete shell middens (Moore 1897:64; Crook 1984:248). Significant historic components exist at the site as well, although they are certainly less prominent on the site's modern landscape. Bourbon Field is one of several sites on Sapelo Island containing significant archaeological components dating to the colonial, early American, antebellum, Civil War, and postbellum eras. Previous archaeological investigations and historical research have indicated that Sapelo's 18th- and 19th

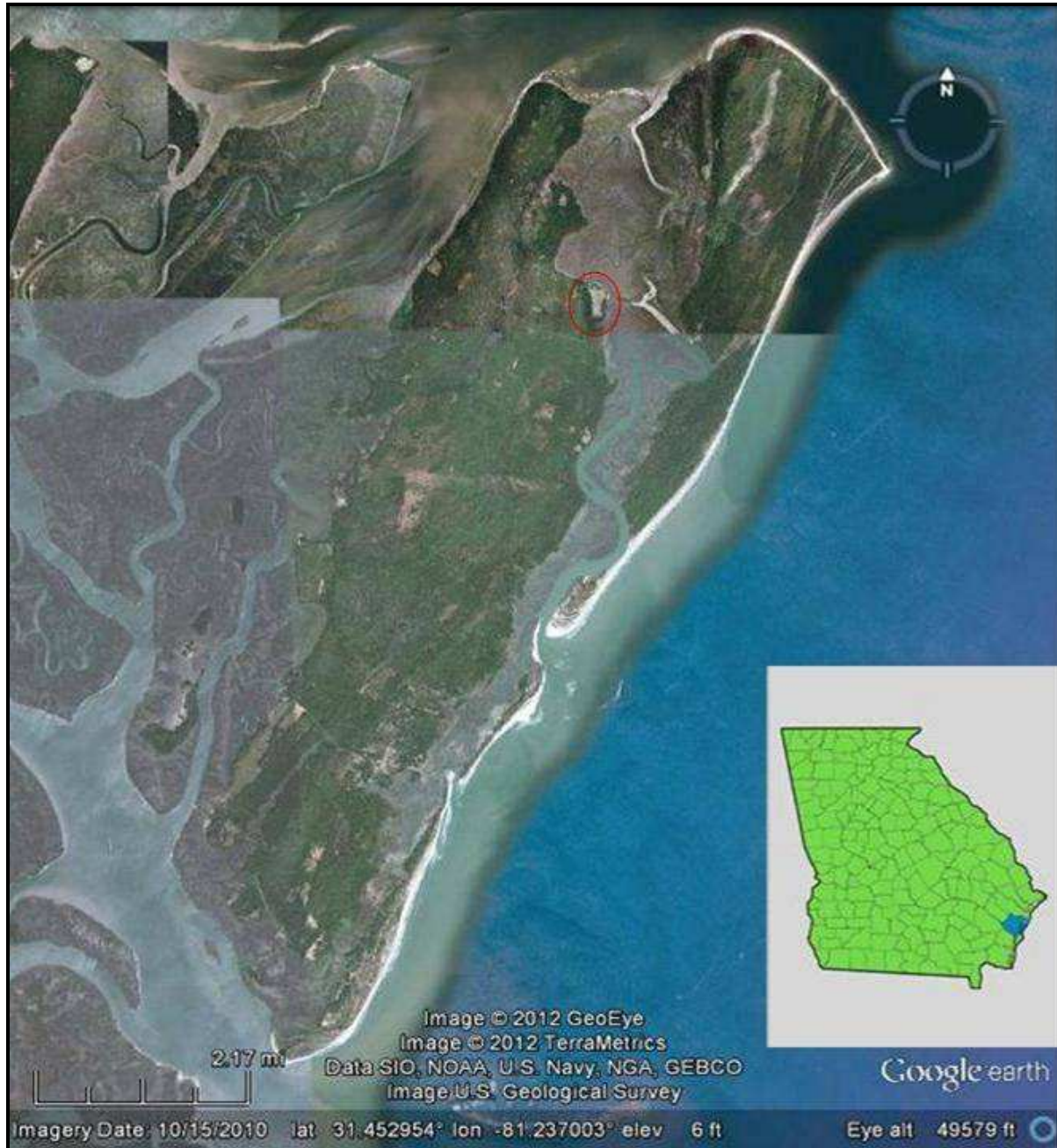


FIGURE 1. Aerial image of Sapelo Island with the location of Bourbon Field circled in red. The insert indicates the location of Sapelo Island and the rest of McIntosh County in Georgia (Honerkamp et al. 2007:2).

century occupations were part of the larger plantation-oriented economy and culture that pervaded the South (Sullivan 1990; Honerkamp et al. 2007; DeVan and Honerkamp 2009). Like its Georgia and South Carolina Sea Island counterparts, economic activities on Sapelo revolved around the production of cash crops, especially long-staple cotton and rice, and relied upon slave labor (Phillips 1959; Stewart 1996). Sapelo's coastal environment made the production of cash crops like rice and Sea Island cotton viable and, beginning in the mid-18th century, plantations began to develop in various locations on the island (Sullivan 1990; Honerkamp 2008). Bourbon Field was one such location.

While some of the pre-Civil War plantations on Sapelo attained a level of success and economic prominence that fits the grandeur stereotypically associated with plantations of the Old South, Bourbon Field differed significantly from the popular idea of a southern plantation. The site's 18th- and 19th-century history lacks independent, long-term, wealth-producing plantation operations, and Bourbon Field often served as a satellite tract for large-scale plantation activities that centered around other locations on the island (Sullivan 1990; Crook et al. 2003:16). Affluent planters on the Georgia coast used satellite agricultural tracts that made it possible to diversify and produce cash crops on the largest scale possible (Bell 1987:106-107; Stewart 1996:97-98).

When it was not being used as a satellite tract for larger planters, Bourbon Field served as a small plantation site (Spalding 1914; Sullivan 1990:84,765; Humphries 1991:85). Small-scale plantations, sometimes called working plantations, were also an important part of the South's economic landscape during the 18th and 19th centuries. In fact, far more working plantations existed in the south during the 18th and 19th centuries than large-scale plantations (Vlach 1993:7). Melanie A. Cabak and Mark D. Groover (2006:51) emphasize this point in their investigations of a working plantation near Aiken, South Carolina, noting that, "In contrast to the

prevalent perception of rural affluence and excess among slaveholders, on the eve of the Civil War in the 1850s, the majority of slaveholders in the South owned 18% of rural landholdings, held 20 or fewer slaves, and practiced a standard of living comparable to many farming households.” Although it played a less conspicuous role in Sapelo’s history than some of the other more prominent plantation sites located there, as a small-scale working plantation, Bourbon Field actually belonged to the majority, and the material left by its former occupants may be more representative of mainstream Georgia plantation culture. The fact that Bourbon Field played the role of a working plantation and also contributed to large-scale plantation activities as a satellite tract, makes the site particularly useful in investigations concerning the economic landscape of historic Sapelo Island.

Perhaps as a result of the site’s comparatively low profile on Sapelo’s plantation landscape, until recent years, no archaeological investigations specifically involving Bourbon Field’s post-Spanish mission period historic components were undertaken, and the details of the site’s 18th- and 19th-century occupations were left largely to speculation. In order to address and alleviate the numerous ambiguities associated with Bourbon Field’s 18th- and 19th-century past, the focus of the present investigation has been to develop preliminary historical and archaeological interpretations of the site. The research goals of this archaeological and historical research were three-fold: 1) to define the spatial boundaries of Bourbon Field’s 18th- and 19th-century components, 2) to identify the temporal parameters of the occupations associated with those components, and 3) to analyze the site’s significance within Sapelo’s plantation-oriented economy and culture during the colonial, early American, antebellum, and postbellum periods. These research objectives were designed to be complementary, with the intention of laying the groundwork for further historical archaeological investigations at Bourbon Field by providing

both site-specific data and more general information derived from comparisons with other Sapelo plantation sites.

The methods used to examine Bourbon Field's 18th- and 19th-century occupations included shovel test survey excavations, trench excavations, and archival research. Data from survey excavations conducted by University of West Florida (UWF) field school in 2007 and 2008 served as the starting point for the 2010 excavations associated with the present investigation. The results of the 2007 and 2008 excavations indicated a concentration of historic artifacts in the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field between the northern edge of the field and the shoreline. In 2007 UWF also relocated and mapped the previously documented rectangular-shaped tabby remains (9MC91), located in the same northwestern part of the site as the historic artifact concentration (Norma Harris 2010, pers. comm.). The results of the 2007 and 2008 field work thus delineated an ideal project area for an examination of Bourbon Field's historic components that was not only productive, but contextually sound as it was outside of the main agricultural field and less disturbed by plowing. The 2010 survey excavations focused on the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field and the trench excavations centered on the above-ground rectangular tabby remains. Both types of excavations served to fill in any gaps left by the 2007 and 2008 UWF surveys due to time constraints and other research concerns (Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). The combined dataset from the 2007, 2008, and 2010 excavations in the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field was substantial, despite the relatively small project area, and the data not only defined an important historic occupation area, but also revealed many significant details about the site's 18th- and 19th-century occupants.

In contrast to the archaeological investigations, little historical information was available on Bourbon Field prior to the archival research. There was some generally known information

and un-researched folklore and theories about the historic occupations of the site, but Bourbon Field had never been the subject of any independent detailed historical investigation. In order to uncover more information and determine the truth behind the numerous stories involving Bourbon Field, archival research was conducted at the Georgia State Archives and National Archives in Atlanta and the Georgia Historical Society archives in Savannah. The research in these archives filled in some important gaps in the traditional history of Bourbon Field, disproved some of the popular theories about historic occupations at the site, and solved some, but not all, of the mysteries surrounding Bourbon Field's past.

Even after months of historical research and analysis, there are still numerous questions that cannot be answered, including some new leads resulting from the archival research itself. The Bourbon Field site proved to be a particularly difficult site to investigate in the historical record for multiple reasons. There is a general dearth of pre-Civil War county level documents, such as deeds and court records, for the entire county to which Sapelo Island belongs, McIntosh County, because the courthouse was burned by Union troops in 1863 and suffered from another fire in 1873 (Sullivan 1990:300,351). Both incidences destroyed the historical documents stored in the courthouse. Bourbon Field's lower profile as a satellite tract and small plantation site also undoubtedly contributed to the lack of historical documents associated with the site. It is important to note, however, that time and financial constraints limited the scope of the archival research and there is almost certainly a great deal of historic information on Bourbon Field waiting to be discovered by future researchers. In any case, the archival work conducted for the present investigation provided enough information to meet the research objectives and brought some clarity to the archaeological findings.

When the archaeological and historical data had been collected and analyzed, the final stage of research involved broad comparisons between Bourbon Field and three other well-known contemporaneous plantation sites on Sapelo: the Spalding Plantation, Chocolate Plantation, and High Point. These plantations may have been occupied at approximately the same time periods and in relatively similar environments, but the intensity of their historic occupations varied and the occupants attained different levels of economic success. Although their historic occupations are better documented, Spalding Plantation, Chocolate Plantation, and High Point do share some of their histories with Bourbon Field, as each of them shared an owner with Bourbon Field at one time or another (Sullivan 1990:88-89; Crook et al. 2003:15-16). Comparisons between Bourbon Field and the other three plantation sites revealed that Bourbon Field's somewhat unique role on Sapelo as both a small-scale plantation site and a satellite tract did not translate into a dramatically different material culture for its occupants. In fact, there were several significant similarities in the archaeological records of Bourbon Field and the other three more prominent plantation sites, suggesting that, despite their lower socioeconomic status, the historic occupants of Bourbon Field were able to participate in the same economic and cultural trends as their neighbors, if to a lesser degree. The results of these comparisons revealed much more about Bourbon Field than could be deduced from its historical and archaeological data alone and illustrated the utility of examining historic sites within their broader cultural and historical contexts.

The archaeological and historical investigations discussed in this thesis not only provide new information on Bourbon Field's 18th- and 19th-century past, but also contribute to a broader understanding of plantation activities on Sapelo Island during the early American, antebellum, postbellum, and, to a lesser extent, colonial periods. The establishment of boundaries and a

general chronology for the site are very basic research objectives, but both were essential to the clarification of the numerous uncertainties surrounding the site's historic occupations. Because of the various historical connections existing between the different plantation sites, the delineation of spatial and temporal parameters ultimately helped to illuminate some of the more nebulous areas of Sapelo's cultural past. In evaluating the differences and similarities between Bourbon Field and some of the larger plantations on Sapelo, this thesis also provides specific examples illustrating how broader economic and cultural trends affected the lives of occupants on both types of plantations. The archaeological and historical data associated with Bourbon Field's 18th- and 19th-century occupations adds valuable information to on-going research focusing on Sapelo's plantation era. Beginning with the 2006 survey at Chocolate Plantation by his University of Tennessee Chattanooga (UTC) field school, Nick Honerkamp, with the assistance of Ray Crook, formerly of the University of West Georgia (UWG), has revived research efforts that began in the 1970s and 1980s directed at uncovering Sapelo's plantation and slave culture (Larson 1977; Crook 2008; DeVan and Honerkamp 2009). The research at Bourbon Field represents a continuance of those efforts and provides a few new pieces of the puzzle in understanding Sapelo's identity and significance within coastal Georgia's past.

CHAPTER II

BOURBON FIELD: SITE DESCRIPTION AND PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

Environmental and Geological Setting

Sapelo Island, the fourth largest of Georgia's barrier islands, is approximately 12 miles long and 2 to 4 miles wide, containing 11,000 acres of uplands and 5 and a half miles of oceanfront beaches (Jefferies and Moore 2009:3). The island is a vestige of the Pleistocene barrier formation that developed on the South Atlantic Coast between 110,000 and 25,000 years ago; however, portions of the eastern margin of Sapelo and the neighboring Blackbeard Island are more recent and formed within the last 5,000 years during the Holocene Epoch (Jefferies and Moore 2009:4). A diverse range of wetland and terrestrial ecosystems are represented on the island, which include interior forests, primarily in the form of maritime live oak forests, as well as beaches, dunes, tidal rivers and creeks, and salt marshes. The climate is generally warm with mild, short winters, long, hot, and humid summers, and a lengthy growing season of up to nine months (Jefferies and Moore 2009:3-4).

The different combinations of elevation, soil, and vegetation found on Sapelo can be divided into four environmental zones, or non-cultural "strata," as described by Alan E McMichael (1980:52-55). The first, "Stratum A," consists of remnant Pleistocene beach ridges along parts of the eastern and western margins of the island, including the northern portion of Bourbon Field. It is comprised of several different types of sandy soils and is covered by maritime live oak forests. "Stratum B" is an interior slough system that parallels the beach ridges of "Stratum A" over the entire length of the island and exists in the western and central areas of Bourbon Field. It has lower elevations than "Stratum A" with poorly drained, sandy soil and is often submerged throughout the year. The third zone, "Stratum C," is located in the interior of

the island and most likely represents a former Pleistocene beach. It makes up the southern portion of Bourbon Field and has relatively high elevations with poorly drained, sandy soils. “Stratum C” formerly had numerous ponds, bays, and swamps due to its poorly drained soil, but man-made landscape alterations have removed many of them and produced pine forests and saw palmetto groves in their place. The final zone, “Stratum D” is not part of the main island and consists of a Holocene beach stand, separated from Sapelo by a salt marsh. It has a range of elevations, and is comprised of beach sand and limited, but fairly diverse vegetation.

The various wetland and terrestrial ecosystems on Sapelo host a wide range of flora and fauna. The beaches, tidal creeks, and salt marshes are home to a variety of marine wildlife, including shrimp, horseshoe crabs, blue crabs, oysters, clams, many different fish species, dolphins, sea otters, and birds. Smooth cordgrass is the predominate form of vegetation throughout most of the marshlands, but there are also “hammocks,” or relic Pleistocene ridges, with high enough elevations to remain above sea level and support more substantial types of vegetation like red cedar, wax myrtle, and yaupon holly (Jefferies and Moore 2009:6-8). The island itself includes both upland and lowland maritime forests, which, prior to human development, took up a majority of the landscape. These forests are made up of canopies of live oak, hickory oak, water oak, laurel oak, red maple, southern magnolia, black gum, sweet gum, sweet bay, slash pine, and loblolly pine with understories of wax myrtle, saw palmetto, cabbage palm, red bay, yaupon holly, broom sedge, blackberry, and muscadine grapevines. The upland and lowland maritime forests are home to many types of mammals, reptiles, and birds, including deer, squirrels, rabbits, raccoons, armadillos, diamondback rattlesnakes, alligators, wild turkeys, and vultures (Jefferies and Moore 2009:8-9). This significant ecological diversity has provided Sapelo residents with more than sufficient means for survival for thousands of years.

Site Description

Bourbon Field is located in a northeastern corner of Sapelo and includes many different elements of the island's diverse ecological landscape. As it appears today, the Bourbon Field site includes both cleared and wooded areas. A majority of the site exists as an open field, which, according to some historical documents, has been under cultivation for more than 200 years (Crook 1984:247; Keber 2002a:198). Densely wooded areas surround the field to the south, west and northwest, while a thinner tree line follows most of the site's eastern border (Figure 2). Bourbon Field is bounded to the north and east by marshlands with Blackbeard Creek bordering part of the northern shoreline. The maritime live oak forest and numerous palmetto groves in the northern and northwestern areas of the site grow almost to the marshy shoreline of Blackbeard Creek, stopping abruptly when the terrain drops several feet down to the water's edge. Although Bourbon Field's eastern shoreline faces a smaller Holocene formation known as Blackbeard Island, the *Spartina* (cordgrass) marsh lying in between and curving around the northern portion of Bourbon Field contains a system of tidal creeks that connect with the Atlantic Ocean to the south and Sapelo Sound to the north.

Depending on the weather and road conditions, the site can usually be accessed from East Perimeter Road, one of Sapelo's main, unimproved roads. East Perimeter Road begins in the southern half of Sapelo and follows the eastern coastline all the way to the northernmost part of the island, where it curves south and follows the west coastline becoming West Perimeter Road. The road skirts the entire length of Bourbon Field on the west side until curving northwards towards the High Point plantation site on the northern tip of the island "(Figure 2)." Based on the results of survey excavations and historic maps, it is likely that the portion of East Perimeter

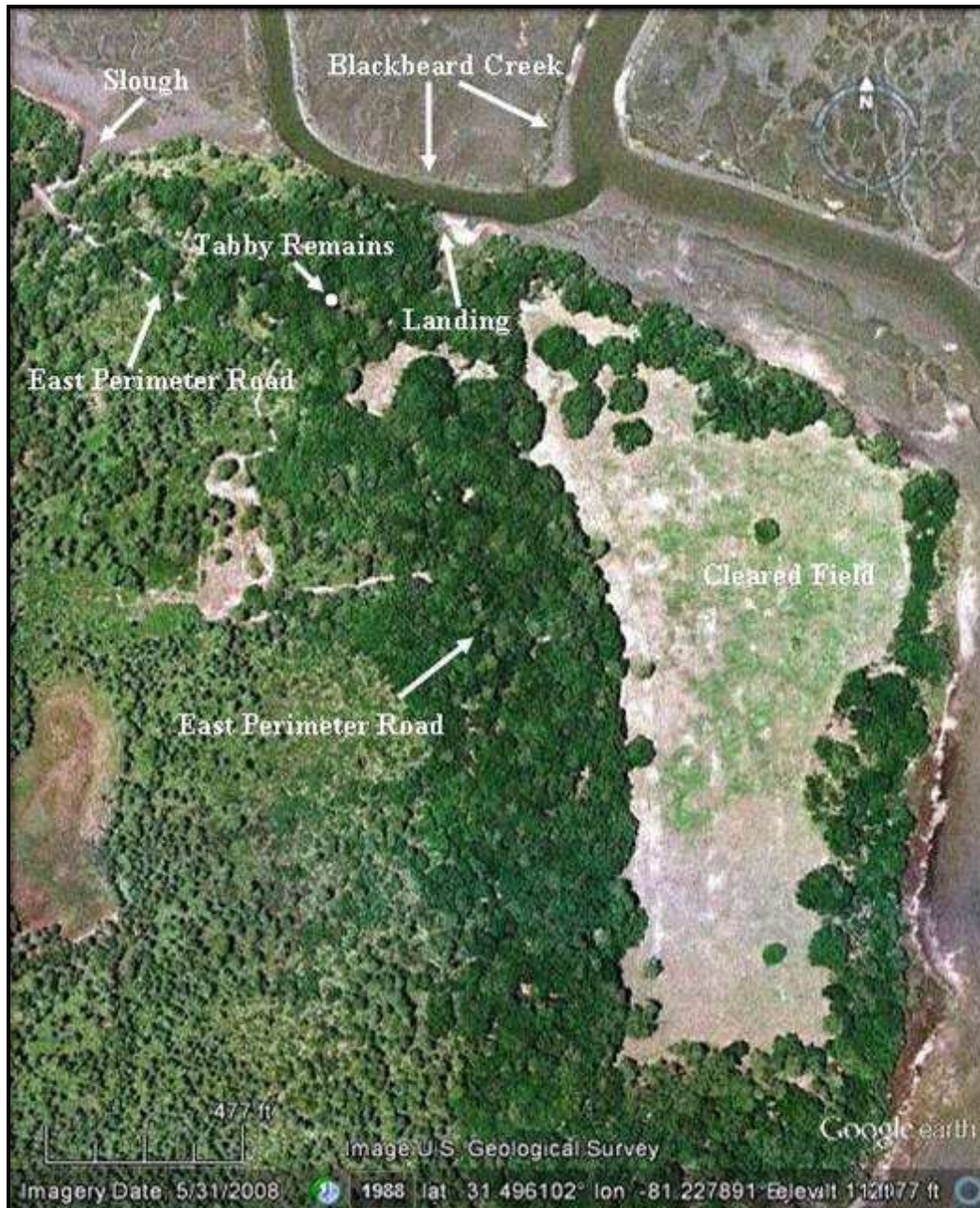


FIGURE 2. Aerial image of Bourbon Field with important features labeled.

Road that parallels Bourbon Field existed in some form during the historic period and connected the site to other plantations on the island.

Bourbon Field's marshy shoreline provided accessibility to both Sapelo Sound and the Atlantic Ocean. A landing located on the site's northern shoreline provides direct access to Blackbeard Creek, unimpeded by marshland "(Figure 2)." South of the Bourbon Field landing, Blackbeard Creek eventually leads to the Atlantic Ocean, making it possible for Sapelo's planters to participate in national and international trade during the historic period. To the north, the creek leads to Sapelo Sound, which may have served as an avenue for travel to and from the Georgia mainland and a connection to local commercial activities for Sapelo planters. Landings suitable for small ships and convenient to commercial maritime traffic are rare along Sapelo's marshy northeastern coast, and Bourbon Field's Blackbeard Creek landing may have added considerable value to the tract during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Although the site had the potential to provide significant advantages to planters on Sapelo Island, the Bourbon Field tract contains little above-ground evidence of historic occupation of the land. Unlike some of Sapelo's other plantation sites, few historic architectural ruins are evident at Bourbon Field. There is only one small area with articulated above-ground architectural remains (9MC91) located in the forested northwestern portion of the site, and those ruins consist of a small, low-to-the-ground tabby rectangle sitting on a slight rise above the surrounding topography "(Figure 2)" (Figure 3). Probing and trench excavations have revealed that this rise is actually a pile of tabby rubble representing at least one collapsed structure. Additionally, during the 2010 survey of the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field, two large tabby mortar fragments were found in different areas on the surface with no other architectural



FIGURE 3. Bourbon Field's moss-covered, above-ground tabby remains photographed during the 2007 UWF field school. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2007.)

remains evident. While these tabby fragments seem to represent former structures, it was unclear if they were *in situ* and articulated or if they had been moved from their original location.

In a clearing south of the tabby remains, there is a probable Geechee house site dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although there are no existing above-ground remains, remote sensing has identified the footprint of the former structure (Harris 2007). It was most likely a frame house, and may have been occupied by African-American Geechee sharecroppers or tenant farmers who lived at Bourbon Field starting in the postbellum period and continuing for several decades into the 20th century (Crook et al. 2003:25-26,81). The probable house site continues to hold cultural significance to current Geechee residents on Sapelo and no excavations have been attempted in that location (Harris 2007; Norma Harris 2011, pers. comm.).

In general, Bourbon Field's landscape reveals more about previous occupation and exploitation of the tract than the site's above-ground remnants of historic architectural remains. The large field that takes up most of the site is obvious evidence of the site's former function as an agricultural tract even to observers with no knowledge of Bourbon Field's history. The small mound along the southeastern edge of the field and the numerous shell middens scattered throughout the field serve as evidence of long-term prehistoric Native American occupations of the site. Outside of the field, in the wooded northwestern region of Bourbon Field, the topography is not homogeneously level, but includes various subtle rises and dips in elevation all the way up to the Blackbeard Creek shoreline. Limited probing and coring along a few of the subtle rises in topography near the creek shoreline southeast of the landing revealed that highly deteriorated and crumbly tabby and oyster shell existed below the ground surface. A short distance north of the 2007 shovel test 1340N920E there is a definite subsurface tabby and oyster

shell concentration that has created a significant rise in the topography and seems to cover a sizable area. The finding of extensive subsurface tabby concentrations indicates that the subtle changes in topography visible today in the wooded areas near the northern shoreline may have cultural rather than natural origins, some of them possibly representing former historic structures and other features; however, dense palmetto and live oak growth in these areas make the detection of meaningful patterns in the topography almost impossible and definitive interpretations for the numerous fluctuations in the terrain require further testing beyond the scope of the present investigation.

Lending plausibility to the hypothesis that the site's current topography may have been shaped by historic activities is the fact that Bourbon Field, and a large portion of the north end of Sapelo Island in general, has remained relatively undisturbed by modern development. The last occupation of the site ended prior to the mid-20th century and, besides regular plowing and mowing of the field until recent years, there have been no modifications to the land since its final Geechee occupation (Crook 1984; Norma Harris 2010, pers. comm.). Thus, compared to the site's ambiguous topographic features and limited architectural ruins, Bourbon Field's subsurface archaeological resources have the potential to provide more reliable information on the former inhabitants of the site and their utilization of the land.

Previous Archaeological Research

Past archaeological investigations have indicated that occupations of the Bourbon Field site span from the Late Archaic period (ca. 4,500-3,000 B.P) to the early 20th century (Moore 1897; Larson 1977, 1980b; Crook 1984; Jefferies and Moore 2009; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). Prior to the 2010 excavations, archaeological research associated with Bourbon Field had

primarily focused on the significant prehistoric and protohistoric components of the site, and the recovery of historic artifacts was often incidental to the research objectives.

Archaeological excavations at Bourbon Field first began in 1897 when Clarence Bloomfield Moore investigated the prehistoric mounds that existed in the large field. On a tour of the South Carolina and Georgia coasts, Moore (1897) and his crew excavated numerous prehistoric mounds on the Sea Islands. A total of three mounds were excavated on Sapelo Island, two of which were located at Bourbon Field. The larger of the two, probably located near the tree line in the southwestern part of the cleared field, was excavated in full and produced many notable prehistoric artifacts and burials (Moore 1897:56-66; Crook 1984:259; Larson 1998:26-27). On the surface of the mound they found a blue glass bead, which they attributed to later protohistoric Native American occupants of the site, as none of the beads recovered inside the mound resembled it in size or shape (Moore 1897:64). It is also possible that the bead had historic origins and even may have belonged to a slave, in view of the symbolic significance of blue beads in slave culture and the frequent recovery of blue beads on plantation sites (Singleton 1991:148-149). Moore and his crew only excavated half of the smaller mound, the remnants of which may still be located on the eastern edge of the southern half of the field, and recovered more prehistoric burials and artifacts, but recorded no protohistoric or historic components (Moore 1897:66-67; Crook 1984:259; Larson 1998:27).

There are no reports of further archaeological investigations at Bourbon Field until the 1970s. In 1973, Charles Pearson, Chester DePratter, and graduate student Emily Pagelson of the University of Georgia (UGA) officially recorded the above-ground tabby remains in the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field while conducting a reconnaissance survey of the site, giving the remains their own site number (9MC91) and taking a small surface collection of

historic artifacts (Chester DePratter 2012, elec. comm.). On the site file form, Pearson, DePratter, and Pagelson ([1973]:3-4) described the tabby remains as a “historic house site” and suggested that the house belonged to “Picot de Boisfeuillet[sic], a French loyalist” from 1793 to 1800, although they do not cite a historic reference for this claim. They did not conduct any excavations during their visit to Bourbon Field.

Between 1974 and 1980, Lewis Larson, the Georgia State Archaeologist at the time and Professor of Anthropology at the University of West Georgia (UWG) directed an extensive archaeological survey project on Sapelo (Larson 1980a:v-vi; Honerkamp et al. 2007). Larson carried out the project through a series of UWG six-week field schools with the primary goals of identifying, recording, and evaluating Sapelo’s major archaeological features in order to assist the Georgia Department of Natural Resources (DNR) in their management of the island’s cultural resources (Larson 1980a:v-vi; Honerkamp et al. 2007:19-20). Bourbon Field was one of the numerous sites investigated by Larson and his field schools during the projects. Ray Crook, also of UWG, made a preliminary map of the site in 1974 as part of the survey, which included 196 shell middens and a small mound, possibly the smaller of the two mounds excavated by Clarence Bloomfield Moore (1897), identified in the cleared portion of Bourbon Field (Crook 1980b:80,82). The excavation of a 2 m x 2 m unit also occurred in 1974, in order to test a large, 45 cm thick shell midden in the cleared area of Bourbon Field. The unit produced a substantial assemblage including variety of ceramics, oyster shell, and additional faunal material from raccoons, white-tailed deer, a turtle, a diamond-back terrapin, blue crabs, and several types of fish (Crook 1980b:82-84).

In 1977 Larson’s UWG crew conducted further excavations at Bourbon Field, consisting of a block of four 2 m x 2 m units in the north-central area of the cleared field (Larson 1977,

1980b:37,42-44). In addition to a significant assemblage of prehistoric and protohistoric pottery and faunal material, the block excavations produced numerous historic artifacts, including tabby, handmade brick, iron objects, a large brass or bronze cannon carriage bolt or rivet, dark olive green glass, case bottle glass, porcelain, redware, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and yellowware (Larson 1977). The units also produced evidence of Spanish activity at Bourbon Field in the form of olive jar and majolica sherds (Larson 1977, 1980b:37).

UWG returned to Bourbon Field in the summers of 1979 and 1980, under the direction of Ray Crook. In 1979 Crook and the UWG field school crew mapped Bourbon Field's numerous prehistoric shell middens and general topography and did limited surface collecting in preparation for excavations occurring the following summer (Crook 1984:247-248). In 1980, the UWG field school conducted survey and unit excavations throughout the site, primarily in the cleared field (Crook 1984, 1985). To supplement previous mapping efforts and aid in the identification and analysis of shell middens, Crook also took black and white aerial photographs and infra-red color photographs of the field from a low altitude (Crook 1984:248). The survey excavations consisted of 55 2 x 2 m test pits randomly placed within a designated 50 m square grid unit. The goal of the survey was to determine and define the various prehistoric and protohistoric Native American occupation zones at Bourbon Field (Crook 1985:95). Following the survey, Crook hoped to determine the type and location of the refuse deposits left by the different Native American occupations of the site with unit excavations. Ten 2 x 2 m units were excavated in randomly selected shell middens throughout the field. Although the historic components of Bourbon Field were not part of Crook's research objectives, and thus were not part of his analysis, he did recover a number of historic artifacts, including tabby, glass, nails, and historic ceramics (Crook 1980a).

From the 1970s through the 1990s, Crook made numerous trips to Sapelo, working on different projects and excavations on a number of the island's archaeological sites (Crook et al. 2003; Crook 2008). During two of these visits, in 1978 and 1992, Crook undertook limited surface collection around the tabby remains in the northwestern part of Bourbon Field (Ray Crook 2011, elec. comm.). He hypothesized that the ruins were associated with a Frenchman who lived on the island in the late 1700s, Charles César Pierre Picot de Boisfeillet, and that they might, in part, represent a tabby chimney fall. The small surface collections included some 19th-century ceramics and metal artifacts.

During the summers of 2007 and 2008, UWF field schools conducted survey and unit and trench excavations at Bourbon Field, under the supervision of Norma Harris and Victor Thompson (Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). The research goals of the 2007 and 2008 excavations were multi-faceted and included an examination of Bourbon Field's Late Archaic shell middens, as well as the site's protohistoric components from the Spanish mission period and the postbellum components associated with former African-American Geechee residents (Harris 2007; Thompson 2007; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). Although the research objectives were focused on specific time periods, the UWF survey excavations at Bourbon Field included such extensive areas of the northern and southern portions of the site, that most, if not all, of the site's various cultural occupations were represented in the 2007 and 2008 artifact assemblages.

In 2007, the UWF crew completed 75 50 x 50 cm square shovel tests at 20 m intervals in the northern and southern areas of site, including cleared and wooded areas, and excavated a 1 x 2 m test unit in the southern portion of the field (Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). They also used remote sensing equipment and created multiple resistivity grids to investigate archaeological features in the northern half of the site, including the probable former Geechee house. The large-

scale survey was specifically intended to sample the numerous prehistoric shell middens that exist throughout the entire site, as well as to determine the spatial limits of the Spanish mission period and postbellum Geechee components, thereby shedding light on the lives and cultures of the historically marginalized groups associated with these periods (Harris 2007; Thompson 2007). While investigating these particular occupation periods, the UWF shovel test survey uncovered evidence of significant occupation and utilization of the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field during the 18th and 19th centuries. The 2007 UWF field crew also relocated and mapped the previously documented tabby remains, which, unsurprisingly, were located in the same part of the site as the historic assemblage recovered in the shovel test survey.

In 2008, UWF returned to Bourbon Field with additional questions about its prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic Geechee occupations (Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). The investigations included shovel tests and trench excavations. A 1 x 12 m trench (Trench 1) was laid out in northern Bourbon Field through a large burned feature identified in a 2007 shovel test that contained an early olive jar fragment. Five 1 x 2 m square units within the trench were excavated and the feature was identified as an Altamaha Period structure (Harris and Jarvis 2009). The crew also continued surveying on the north end of Bourbon Field excavating 86 half meter shovel tests at 20 meter intervals. As in 2007, the 2008 survey also recovered a significant number of plantation era 18th- and 19th-century artifacts. Once again, archaeological evidence seemed to point towards the northwestern part of Bourbon Field as an area of continuous, relatively long-term activity during the 18th and 19th centuries. Although it was not a specific part of the original research objectives, the recovery of a substantial historic assemblage in the 2007 and 2008 UWF excavations posed some intriguing questions that merited further investigation. The considerable historic assemblage served as evidence that Bourbon Field

played a larger role in Sapelo's plantation-oriented cultural and economic landscape than previously thought, despite having few above-ground architectural features and receiving little attention in the historical narratives associated with the island (Lovell 1932; Coulter 1940; Sullivan 1990; Keber 2002a). Furthermore, the 2007 and 2008 findings revealed a likely focal point for Bourbon Field plantation activities since a large portion of the 18th- and 19th-century artifacts had been found in the northwestern part of the site. By pinpointing a manageable and productive area in which to conduct further archaeological research, the historic data produced by the two UWF projects became the foundation and stepping-stone for the 2010 investigations at Bourbon Field.

Research Parameters

The information provided by the 2007 and 2008 UWF shovel tests, combined with the presence of the only above-ground tabby remains in the wooded northwestern portion of Bourbon Field was enough to justify limiting additional excavations to this particularly productive area (Figure 4). Strict time and financial constraints provided further rationale for restricting all 2010 excavations to the northwestern region of the site. Additional excavations within this particular area were directed towards establishing reliable boundaries for the site's primary 18th- and 19th-century occupation zone and examining more closely the historic resources within those defined parameters.

No attempt was made to excavate in the large cleared area that covers most of Bourbon Field, although historic artifacts previously had been recovered in that part of the site during UWG and UWF investigations (Larson 1977; Crook 1984; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). The concentration of ceramics and other artifacts discovered in the cleared field during the 1977



FIGURE 4. Aerial view of the project area, northwest Bourbon Field.

UWG excavations provided evidence that historic activities may have occurred south of the northwestern area, but the UWF 2007 and 2008 survey excavations found that the plow zone in the field extended as deep as 50 cm below the ground surface, making it unlikely that the historic artifacts recovered there were in their original context (Larson 1977; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). The lack of contextual control in the open field made the relatively undisturbed and more substantial historic components in the northwestern area of the site better suited for an investigation of Bourbon Field's 18th- and 19th-century past.

CHAPTER III
PREHISTORIC AND EARLY HISTORIC OCCUPATIONS OF
BOURBON FIELD (1000 B.C.-A.D. 1800)

Historical Research Methods

Bourbon Field's past cultural occupations have been pieced together using data from the State and National Archives in Atlanta, the Georgia Historical Society Archives in Savannah, and the Archives of the Diocese of Savannah, as well as various secondary sources, and personal correspondence with historians and archaeologists who have conducted research associated with Bourbon Field or Sapelo Island in general. Historical investigations of Sapelo sites like Bourbon Field are often complicated by the fact that all county level historical documents for McIntosh County prior to the 1860s were destroyed in the courthouse fires that occurred during and after the Civil War (Sullivan 1990:300). Thus, in the present investigation the first step in the historical research process was to gather information on other types of primary resources associated with Sapelo. Secondary sources on Sapelo and Georgia history served as a useful starting point because they provided important contextual information and their bibliographies helped to identify the specific primary sources that were available and where they could be found. Online catalogs associated with the different Georgia archives supplied additional leads on relevant primary documents.

After gathering information on the available primary resources, a detailed research plan was developed that identified the gaps in Bourbon Field chronology that needed to be filled, the historical figures with possible connections to Bourbon Field, and the specific primary documents that were available and should be examined at each of the archives. Then, with a plan in mind, several days were spent in Atlanta visiting the State and National Archives and in

Savannah visiting the Georgia Historical Society Archives. Despite the lack of McIntosh County documents, a great deal of information was uncovered at the Georgia State Archives using a combination of church records, tax digests, U.S. Census documents, and court and deed documents that involved Sapelo occupants but were associated with neighboring counties instead of McIntosh or were recorded after the final courthouse fire in 1873 (Sullivan 1990:351). Investigations at the National Archives focused on a specific manuscript collection associated with a company of Frenchmen who owned Sapelo in the late 18th century (Thomas 1989a). The collection consists of documents associated with numerous court cases that occurred after the company was terminated and contains a wealth of detailed information on the Frenchmen's occupation and development of Sapelo. At the Georgia Historical Society archives many critical primary sources were discovered including historic newspapers, additional court documents, and various manuscript collections that were associated with individuals and families who occupied or had connections to Sapelo. Finally, although there was not time to visit the Archives of the Diocese of Savannah, mailed copies of their baptism and other church records involving Sapelo occupants revealed a few more historical details.

The valuable information uncovered at the various archives was supplemented by online sources such as Ancestry.com© and Georgia's Virtual Vault©, which contains digitized archival records that are maintained by the Georgia State Archives. Additionally, Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., retired historian for the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, assisted with the historical research on several occasions, helping to track down primary sources, sharing his own research, and providing input during historical data analysis. Even with these numerous productive historical resources, however, several questions about Bourbon Field's past could not be answered. Although a complete and precise narrative of Bourbon Field's past occupations was

unattainable under the constraints of the current research, a combination of the limited historical data available for the site and more general historical information on Sapelo and the Georgia coast provides ample contextual information and adds significant depth to the archaeological data recovered at Bourbon Field.

Prehistoric Occupations

Prior to the historic occupations of the site, multiple prehistoric groups used Bourbon Field as a base for subsistence activities. Excavations conducted by Ray Crook of the University of West Georgia in 1980 revealed that Bourbon Field served as part of the settlement system for semi-sedentary hunting and gathering groups from the Sapelo or St. Simons Period (1000 B.C. to 2500 B.C.) through the Altamaha/San Marcos Period (A.D. 1540 to A.D. 1680) (Crook 1984:259). These groups occupied Bourbon Field seasonally, conducting subsistence activities largely associated with marine resources.

The data from the 1980 excavations indicated that, while the earlier occupations of Bourbon Field during the Sapelo (or St. Simons) and Deptford Periods (500 B.C. to A.D. 700) were generally of short duration and associated with small populations, beginning with the Wilmington Period (A.D. 700 to A.D. 1000) and becoming increasingly noticeable in the Savannah (A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1540) and Altamaha/San Marcos Periods, the complexity of settlements at Bourbon Field increased as the population size grew larger and the duration of occupation became longer. Crook (1984:263) posits that, “This change was probably associated with the gradual addition of agriculture to the coastal subsistence economy.” Although there was an increased usage of maize agriculture among the populations occupying Sapelo and the rest of the Georgia coast during the Savannah and Altamaha/San Marcos Periods, Crook’s findings suggest that, for the groups occupying Bourbon Field, maize was simply an addition to the

traditional subsistence activities. Evidence of hunting and gathering oak forest and estuarine resources continued in contexts associated with the Altamaha/San Marcos Period in spite of the existence of a Spanish mission on Sapelo, leading Crook (1984:263) to hypothesize that the populations represented at Bourbon Field resisted sedentism.

The Spanish Mission Period

The first encounters between the Native Americans of coastal Georgia and Europeans occurred in the early 16th century during Spanish explorations of the Southeast (Larson 1978; Worth 1995; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). Contact with the Spanish on the Georgia Sea Islands in general was limited to exploration expeditions and slave raids until the 1560s and 1570s when secular priests and then Jesuit and Franciscan friars began to establish themselves among the Guale and Mocama Indian villages after the permanent settlement of St. Augustine. By the end of the 16th century, the mission San José de Sapala (or Zapala) existed on the island as one of several Spanish missions on the Georgia coast (Larson 1978, 1980b; Worth 1995, 2009:182-183; Jefferies and Moore 2009). Although the long-term mission existed elsewhere on the island, archaeologists have encountered evidence of Spanish interactions with native populations at Bourbon Field, including the recovery of olive jar and majolica sherds at various locations (Larson 1977, 1980b:37; Crook 1984:259; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). Even though there is evidence that the native occupants of Bourbon Field resisted the sedentism that Spanish missionaries advocated, undoubtedly prolonged contact with the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries had a significant impact on their culture and day-to-day activities (Crook 1984:263).

After the establishment of the British colony of Charles Town in South Carolina in 1670 and the resulting British-supported raids on the missions along the coast, the Spanish-allied mainland coastal villages in Georgia had to be re-located to the barrier islands and the mission of

Santa Catalina de Guale on St. Catherine's Island had to be abandoned. During this period of turmoil in the 1670s and early 1680s, some of the villages were relocated to Sapelo and the island's population included the four mission towns of Santa Catalina, Satuache, Sapala, and Tupiqui, as well as a non-Christian Yamassee village (Worth 1995:34; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). Persistent British-supported Native American and pirate attacks forced the Spanish to move the residents of the Guale and Mocama missions on the Georgia barrier islands, including San José de Sapala, further south, nearer to the protection of the fort at St. Augustine in 1684 (Worth 1995:194). As a result of the Spanish and British conflict, few Native Americans remained on Sapelo and the other Georgia barrier islands by the beginning of the 18th century.

The British Colonial Period (1733-1776)

In 1733, colonists from England and Scotland, led by General James Oglethorpe arrived in what became the planned town of Savannah (Coulter 1940:38; Sullivan 1990:16). Settlers from Salzburg, Austria joined the new colony in 1734. A year later, the Trustees of the Georgia colony agreed to the establishment of two fortified towns along the coast to serve as protection of their new claims from the Spanish. Scottish Highlanders settled one of the towns and an associated garrison near the old British-built Fort King George (circa 1721-1734), giving it the name of Darien, while British and Salzburg colonists settled the second town and garrison, Frederica, on St. Simons Island (Lewis 1973, 1975:8; Bell 1987:98; Sullivan 1990:10,14,16-18).

Conflict between the British and Spanish over Georgia territory had not yet ended when Savannah and the fortified towns of Darien and Frederica were established, but the evacuation of the coastal Spanish missions in the second half of the 17th century had left the Georgia coast practically uninhabited and open to resettlement (Worth 1995:50). With the native Guale and Mocama populations gone, Creek Indians from the Georgia interior had laid claim to the coastal

lands by the time of Oglethorpe's arrival (O'Grady 1980:1). The Creeks did not resist British settlement of the coast, however, and they signed a treaty with Oglethorpe early in the colonization process that gave them Sapelo Island, as well as St. Catherines Island and Ossabaw Island, to use as their exclusive hunting grounds (Coulter 1940:38; Sullivan 1990:80). The treaty successfully prevented conflict with the local Indians and allowed Oglethorpe and his fellow colonists to focus on defending the new colony from Spanish encroachments.

In 1747, Creek Indian chief, Malatchi, gave Mary Musgrove (also known as Coosaponakeesa) and her husband, Thomas Bosomworth, Sapelo, St. Catherines, and Ossabaw Islands (Coulter 1940:38; Sullivan 1990:80; Honerkamp et al. 2007:4). Musgrove had been Oglethorpe's interpreter, but, in spite of her services to the new colony, the British government soon denied the legitimacy of her and Bosomworth's claims to the islands. In an attempt to get official recognition of their ownership, Musgrove and Bosomworth went to England in 1754 and unsuccessfully plead their case with the Board of Trade in London (Coulter 1940:38; O'Grady 1980:1; Honerkamp et al. 2007:4). While abroad, they met merchant Isaac Levy and, still confident in their claims to the Georgia islands, sold him half of their disputed title, agreeing that he should travel to America and attempt to develop their joint holdings. Although the British government never recognized Musgrove and Bosomworth's claims to the islands, Levy, ignorant of the dubious nature of their title, made efforts to settle and cultivate Sapelo and Ossabaw Islands (Yonge and DeBrahm 1760; Honerkamp et al. 2007:4).

In 1757, another treaty between the British government and the Creek Indians gave St. Catherines, Ossabaw, and Sapelo Islands, and land near Savannah back to the Crown, which soon brought the Musgrove-Bosomworth-Levy partnership to a close (Coulter 1940:38; Sullivan 1990:80; Honerkamp et al. 2007:4). As part of the negotiations, Musgrove and Bosomworth

received proceeds from the sale of Sapelo and Ossabaw Islands and were allowed to keep St. Catherines where they had built a residence. Despite Levy's efforts to obtain legal ownership of Sapelo and Ossabaw Islands, the British government ignored his claims and put the islands up for auction. In May 1760, Grey Elliott, who was a land speculator and member of the King's Council in the Colony of Georgia, purchased Sapelo for 725 pounds, thereby bringing the first phase of British settlement on the island to a close (O'Grady 1980:2; Sullivan 1990:80; Honerkamp et al. 2007:4).

After Elliott's purchase, the Surveyors General of the Georgia Colony, Henry Yonge and William DeBrahm made a detailed map of Sapelo as part of a larger coastal survey for the British Crown. The map includes the location of the limited settlements that were already established on the island during the Musgrove-Bosomworth-Levy partnership (Yonge and DeBrahm 1760; Sullivan 1990:47-51; Honerkamp et al. 2007:4). It depicts structures at multiple locations on the island, including the general areas associated with what would later become Chocolate Plantation, High Point, Raccoon Bluff, Long Tabby, and Kenan Field, but there is no evidence of development at the future site of Bourbon Field where the map merely notes the presence of live oaks (Figure 5) (Yonge and DeBrahm 1760). Thus, the earliest efforts of settlement during the British colonial period seem to have excluded Bourbon Field.

Sapelo did not remain under Elliott's ownership for long and likely saw little development during his brief tenure, but the island changed hands in 1762 and large-scale plantation activities commenced soon thereafter (O'Grady 1980:2; Sullivan 1990:80; Honerkamp 2008:6). Scotsman Patrick Mackay purchased Sapelo and nearby Blackbeard Island and built a residence at High Point, in the northernmost portion of Sapelo. Mackay's ownership and occupation represents the first long-term plantation activities on the island. His enterprise



FIGURE 5. Aerial image of Sapelo Island with major historic sites indicated.

included growing cotton and corn and raising cattle and other livestock near his residence at High Point and possibly at other nearby locations on the north end, likely extending as far south as Chocolate Plantation on the west side of the island (*Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* 1799:2; Honerkamp et al. 2007:5). Mackay's intensive plantation activities required the use of enslaved laborers (Georgia Colonial Conveyances 1784:375-376). Although the Georgia Colony initially prohibited slavery, the use of slaves became legal in the early 1750s and by the time of Mackay's tenure on Sapelo, Georgia colonists were importing slaves from West Africa, primarily through trade in the West Indies and South Carolina (Bell 1987:99; Stewart 1996:86,92). Relying on slave labor, Mackay was able to sustain his Sapelo plantation until his death in 1776 (Sullivan 1990:80; Crook et al. 2003:8). Although it is feasible that the site of Bourbon Field was used as part of Mackay's plantation given its close proximity to High Point and the large-scale nature of his plantings, there is no direct historical evidence that links Mackay to the site.

During Mackay's ownership of Sapelo Island, plantation agriculture was already becoming predominant along the Georgia coast. While the production of short-staple cotton, corn, and indigo was relatively common, rice was the primary crop grown on the large coastal plantations (Flanders 1967:41-45; Stewart 1996:89). Rice planters on the Georgia coast in the 1760s held more land than all of the small planters and farmers on the coast combined, a trend that would continue until the Civil War (Stewart 1996:92). The colonial Georgia rice planters became a regional aristocracy, an elite and powerful group that represented the top economic, social and political tiers of coastal society throughout the antebellum era. Although not a rice planter, Mackay's relatively large and successful plantation on Sapelo made him a member of the high-status planter class and the first of many prominent planters to occupy the island.

The Revolutionary War and Early American Independence (1776-1789)

After Patrick Mackay's death in 1776, the extent and type of plantation activities that continued on Sapelo are unclear. In his will, Mackay bequeathed all of his estate to his wife, Isabella, who he also appointed as executrix (Georgia Colonial Wills 1768:298-299). Isabella seems to have had limited involvement with the Sapelo plantation, as historians believe that brothers Lachlan and William McIntosh, whose family was particularly prominent in coastal Georgia from the colonial period to the early 19th century and who were related to the Mackay family through marriage, managed the island plantation until the early 1780s (O'Grady 1980:2; Sullivan 1990:34,80; Honerkamp 2008:6). The McIntosh brothers both fought with the Continental army during the American Revolution and it is unlikely that their management of the Sapelo estate resulted in any significant new developments (Sullivan 1990:34).

Coastal Georgia and South Carolina planters faced many difficulties during the Revolutionary War and the Mackay estate on Sapelo, like other Sea Island plantations, faced the risk of British and loyalist raids, as well as the mass exodus of slaves. In November 1775, John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore and the last royal governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation that "offered freedom to those willing to join His Majesty's forces and to take up arms against the rebels" (Bell 1987:31). The effects of Dunmore's Proclamation, as it became known, were soon felt on the Georgia coast. In March 1776, General Lachlan McIntosh, one of the aforementioned managers of the Sapelo estate, claimed that British forces were pillaging the Sea Islands for provisions and encouraging the slaves residing on the islands to desert the plantations and join them. As an example, McIntosh cited the capturing of a guard vessel on Sapelo by British forces in December 1776 wherein the crew, slaves and valuables were confiscated and removed from the island (O'Grady 1980:2; Bell 1987:33). McIntosh's claims illustrate the tumultuous

conditions in which coastal Georgian planters found themselves throughout the Revolutionary War. Loyalists and patriots alike with low-country Georgia and South Carolina plantations found themselves at constant risk of plunder by both sides of the conflict and loss of slaves was practically inevitable in British occupied areas. Although there is no specific mention of runaway slaves and pillaging on Sapelo, it is possible that Mackay's estate suffered losses during the war.

Shortly after the end of the Revolutionary War, land speculator John McQueen purchased Sapelo and Blackbeard Islands at a sheriff's sale (Georgia Colonial Conveyances 1784:375-376; O'Grady 1980:3; Sullivan 1990:80). Isabella Mackay had passed away prior to the 1784 sale and McQueen acquired Sapelo from the combined estates belonging to her and her husband. McQueen never resided on Sapelo or its associated islands, and made no new developments or improvements during his tenure. Money troubles and mounting debt forced McQueen to sell his Georgia island holdings in 1789 and move to East Florida where he hoped to escape his debts by becoming a Spanish citizen (O'Grady 1980:3; Thomas 1989a:37; Sullivan 1990:80).

The French Sapelo Company (1789-1800)

After the Revolutionary War, there was a lag in low-country Georgia and South Carolina agricultural production while the planters rebuilt their slave forces and agricultural operations, but the introduction of long-staple "Sea Island" cotton in the late 1780s and early 1790s brought back prosperity to many coastal plantations (Phillips 1959:150-151; Flanders 1967:55-56; Stewart 1996:116). The English invention of spinning and weaving machinery that made the manufacturing process of textiles much cheaper in the second half of the 18th century resulted in a high demand for cotton in England. This demand combined with the need in the United States for a new profitable product made cotton an attractive option for southern plantations (Phillips 1959:150).

It was during this new chapter of large-scale staple crop production that the French Sapelo Company, or the “Societe de Sapelo,” took over ownership of Sapelo Island. Frenchman François-Marie Loys Dumoussay de la Vauve purchased Sapelo and the adjoining Blackbeard Island from John McQueen, comprising a total of approximately 9,250 acres, for 10,000 pounds sterling on 1 February 1789 (Liberty County Deed Records 1789:170-173; Thomas 1989a:37; Keber 2002a:174). Dumoussay, son of a wealthy banking family in Paris, had traveled to the United States looking for investment opportunities and, while there, made the acquaintance of Julien Joseph Hyacinthe de Chappedelaine, a fellow Frenchman who was of noble Breton ancestry and also looking for promising financial prospects abroad. In their homeland it was the beginning of the French Revolution, making it a troublesome time for Frenchmen with connections or loyalty to the French nobility (Thomas 1989a:38). After Dumoussay and Chappedelaine’s joint visit to Sapelo, Dumoussay was inspired by its nearly pristine condition and decided it would be the perfect investment that would bring them wealth and allow them to escape the political and economic instability of their homeland. With the low country economy on the way to recovery, the acquisition of Sea Island property undoubtedly seemed like a lucrative and worthwhile investment. Having gone into debt to purchase Sapelo and the surrounding islands, Dumoussay convinced Chappedelaine to be a joint investor in the property (Dumoussay de la Vauve 1790).

Although Dumoussay believed that establishing plantation activities on Sapelo would be a profitable enterprise, he knew that it would require more money up front than he and Chappedelaine could afford by themselves. By 1790 both men had returned to France, and Dumoussay persuaded Chappedelaine to find additional investors to help them develop the newly acquired property (Chappedelaine 1790; Thomas 1989a:38). Eventually Chappedelaine

was able to recruit three other well-to-do French investors: his uncle Charles Pierre César Picot de Boisfeillet, Christophe Poulain DuBignon, and Pierre Jacques Grandclos Meslé (Thomas 1989a:40-41). The five men signed a “Copartnership Agreement” on 5 October 1790 in Saint-Brieuc, France with Chappedelaine signing for his uncle who could not attend the meeting (Sapelo Company 1790; Thomas 1989a:38-39). The agreement stated that each partner would pay 48,000 livres for one-fifth interest in the Sapelo and Blackbeard Island property, but that all the land, slaves, and livestock would be jointly owned. Chappedelaine paid only 24,000 livres for his share, but helped Dumoussay with other initial expenses (Dumoussay de la Vauve and Picot de Boisfeillet 1790; Keber 2002b:151). The copartnership planned to develop an island-wide plantation enterprise and each partner could claim 500 acres for his own personal use and to build a residence, if desired.

Once the agreement had been signed, it was time for the Sapelo Company to carry out their plans. Not all of the partners traveled to Georgia at the same time, but in November 1790 Dumoussay, Chappedelaine, and DuBignon left France, arriving in Savannah in the winter and stopping there for supplies before heading to the island (Keber 2002a:179, 2002b:152). Picot de Boisfeillet had plans to come to Sapelo with his family at a later date and Grandclos Meslé had no plans to leave France at all. Instead, Grandclos Meslé sold his friend Nicolas-François Magon de La Villehuchet half of his share in island property and he traveled to Sapelo in his stead, escaping troubles with the revolutionary court in France and becoming the sixth member of the Sapelo Company (Thomas 1989a:41; Keber 2002a:177-178). There were plans for each member living on the island to choose a location for their own residences, but the partners initially lived communally in a frame house with simple furnishings at High Point on the north end of Sapelo (DuBignon 1804; Thomas 1989a:42; Keber 2002b:156). Even though the company had not yet

turned a profit, within the first few months of arriving in Georgia, Dumoussay was so confident that their joint business venture would be a success that he purchased Jekyll Island to the south of Sapelo, half of St. Catherines Island to the north, as well as a house lot in Savannah (Thomas 1989a:39). It was an ambitious start for the French Sapelo Company.

In addition to the company partners living on the island and some of their family members, there were plantation overseers for Sapelo and Jekyll Islands, slaves, and a small number of hired workmen and servants from France with their families (Thomas 1989a:42; Keber 2002a:184). Initially, the company borrowed the slaves of John McQueen who were already on the island, but Dumoussay purchased 15 slaves to be jointly owned by the company shortly after they took up residence on Sapelo (Liberty County Deed Records 1789:170-173; Keber 2002b:155). Historical documents associated with this purchase are not explicit as to the identities or origins of the slaves, but is likely that these 15 slaves included those individuals formerly belonging to McQueen (Thomas 1989a:42; Crook et al. 2003:9). Dumoussay was aware that more slaves would eventually be needed, and he evidently thought it best to build up their labor force gradually since they were an expensive investment, a decision that created many problems for the company (Dumoussay de la Vauve 1790; Keber 2002b:174)

Despite the confidence and enthusiasm of some of the company members, the islands did not prove to be the lucrative business venture that they had all hoped. The partners living on Sapelo attempted a variety of plantation activities including growing Sea Island cotton and rice and raising cattle and other livestock, with plans for eventually cutting and selling the island's abundant live oak lumber to the King's Navy (Dumoussay de la Vauve 1790; Keber 2002a:183-184). The staple crops were unsuccessful because of weather-related problems such as drought and flooding and, though the company had plans to erect a saw mill for live oak lumber, they

never built it. Ultimately they relied mostly on raising cattle, as the other livestock fared as poorly as their staple crops (Thomas 1989a:43; Keber 2002b:173).

Additionally, the company suffered from too small a labor force. The plantation activities they had set so much financial store in required a much larger number of slaves. Elsewhere in Georgia the boom in cotton production that began in the late 18th century had resulted in a significant increase in slaveholding (Flanders 1967:69; Vlach 1993:x-xi). This trend was particularly true along the coast where large-scale Sea Island cotton production was added to the already labor intensive rice cultivation. According to Ralph Betts Flanders (1967:79), “The coastal sea island region had an average of 67.2 slaves per farm or plantation with slaves constituting 66.7% of the population by 1850.” In spite of the example set by planters elsewhere on the coast, the Sapelo Company attempted to conduct similar ambitious plantation activities with a significantly smaller labor force.

Stress caused by financial difficulties was compounded by the communal living situation. The company members residing in Georgia expected to have homes built for them shortly after the plantation activities commenced, but yet again, things did not go as planned. Disenchanted by the failures of the plantation efforts and having trouble getting along with the other partners on the island, Villehuchet left Sapelo for France in the spring of 1792 (Keber 2002a:188). By that time, the three remaining partners on Sapelo had each chosen areas for their own homes to be built and Picot de Boisfeillet, still living France, had commissioned Chappedelaine to make accommodations for him and his family until they could make the trip; however, few of the anticipated residences were actually constructed (DuBignon 1804; Thomas 1989a:42; Sullivan 1990:822; Keber 2002b:152). Dumoussay had his eye on the area around the “Spanish Fort,” now known as the Sapelo Shell Ring on the northwest side of the island. Chappedelaine chose

Blackbeard Island and the south end of Sapelo, and DuBignon had picked out a place on the ocean side of the south end that he called “Bel Air” (Thomas 1989a:42; Keber 2002a:181). By the time Picot de Boisfeillet finally came to Sapelo from France in January 1793 only Dumoussay had made progress with his separate residence and DuBignon had moved to the Horton House on Jekyll Island with his family, essentially giving up on the Sapelo Company altogether (DuBignon 1804; Haumont 1804; Keber 2002b:179). High Point remained a communal residence for several months after the Picot de Boisfeillet family’s arrival, but then, with tensions running high between the remaining partners, Dumoussay escaped to his own newly constructed residence (DuBignon 1804; Thomas 1989a:45).

Although several of the place names associated with the Frenchmen’s residential plans and plantation activities are still in use today, Bourbon Field is not among them. As continues today, the partners used the name “High Point” (also called “the Point”) for the northern tip of Sapelo and the location of their communal residence. Additionally, they used the place names “South End,” “Hang Bull” (also called “Hanging Bull”), and “Chocolate” “(Figure 5)” (Chappedelaine 1794; Thomas 1989a:43; Crook et al. 2003:7). The name “Bourbon” or “Bourbon Field” has not been found in historic documents preceding the postbellum era (Sullivan 1990:431; Humphries 1991; Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. 2012, pers. comm.); however, historical records indicate that small- and large-scale planters owned the Bourbon Field tract throughout its antebellum history, even if they did not refer to it by that name. Although the name “Bourbon Field” obviously has French connotations and has often been credited as originating with the Frenchmen of the Sapelo Company, the fact that it does not appear as a place name until after the Civil War suggests that it may not have come into use until later in the historic period. Even if the Sapelo Company partners did not name the tract, it is certainly

feasible that they used Bourbon Field in their attempts at large-scale plantation activities. Given its close proximity to their main headquarters at High Point, its ideal climate and environment for Sea Island cotton production, and its access to the Atlantic Ocean and Blackbeard Island by way of Blackbeard Creek, the site location could have facilitated trade and may have been useful for the lumber business they hoped to develop.

Although the Sapelo Company had attempted plantation activities that had brought wealth and prominence to other Sea Island planters, the Frenchmen were not able to overcome their financial, logistical, and interpersonal issues. Within six months of Picot de Boisfeillet's arrival on Sapelo, the company members remaining in Georgia made a formal request with the Liberty County Superior Court to have their jointly owned properties divided and 11 local men were assigned the task as objective arbiters (Liberty County Superior Court 1793; Thomas 1989a:46-47). Grandclos Meslé and Villehuchet, both in France at the time, had effectively detached themselves from the company's activities and DuBignon had been outspoken to the other partners about his dissatisfaction with the company's management and financial set-backs (Liberty County Deed Records 1790; DuBignon 1793; Keber 2002a:192-193). Tensions ran high between Dumoussay and the other partners still living in Georgia due to the company's dire financial situation (Dumoussay de la Vauve 1792; Cooper [1804]). The company's debts far outweighed its meager profits and very few of the partners' original plans had come to fruition. It therefore took little convincing when DuBignon pushed for a termination of the partnership in 1793 (Thomas 1989a:45-47).

The Sapelo Company members signed multiple documents in the fall of 1793 to officially end the partnership and split up the company properties. The first of these was the "Dissolution of the Copartnership," which was signed on 13 September 1793 (Sapelo Company 1793a). The

document declared the original copartnerhsip agreement “null and void” and stated that each of the company’s former members could “act on his own account.” Each of the ex-partners would receive a fifth of the landholdings and 3 of the 15 jointly owned slaves. Another document signed just two months later on 18 November 1793 settled some of the remaining details and superseded the dissolution agreement (Sapelo Company 1793b; Thomas 1989a:47-48). This liquidation agreement emphasized an absolute division of all of the company property and determined that May 1794 would be the tentative deadline for all of the property divisions. It appointed Dumoussay as sole manager of the division of the property and supervisor of those men hired to assist with the division. Each of the ex-partners was permitted to choose 500 acres on Sapelo for their own use and the court-appointed arbiters would incorporate those choices into the 2,000 acre tracts they would assign to each of the ex-partners.

The division of land ended up being the least contentious aspect of the liquidation process. DuBignon was partial to Jekyll Island, where he had been living with his family since 1792, and after swapping his fifth of the Sapelo Island property for Jekyll Island property with Chappedelaine and Dumoussay and purchasing Granclos Meslé and Villehuchet’s joint portion of Jekyll Island he remained there until his death, eventually becoming the owner of the entire island (Thomas 1989a:48). Dumoussay’s and Chappedelaine’s holdings together comprised of more than half of Sapelo Island, as well as the entirety of Blackbeard Island. During the liquidation process, Dumoussay produced a map that showed the exact division of Sapelo, but it has since been lost (Picot Boisfeillet v. Executors of Dumoussay and Chappedelaine [1804]; Thomas 1989a:47). According to Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr.’s (1989b:44-45) extensive research on the Sapelo Company’s ex-partners, Dumoussay’s fifth included the 1,600 acres of Blackbeard Island, as well as a 400 acre tract in the northeastern portion of Sapelo that later became known

as Dumoussay's Field "(Figure 5)." Chappedelaine's fifth was a 2,000 acre tract known simply as the South End, which included the southern portion of the island and the site known as Hanging Bull on the western coast of the island (Thomas 1989b:46). Grandclos Meslé and Villehuchet's jointly owned fifth, according to Thomas's (1989b:48) findings, included the Chocolate Plantation tract located on the western coast in the north half of the island.

While there are surviving deeds that provide evidence of the tracts owned by the other five ex-partners, no deed exists that can be associated with Picot de Boisfeillet's fifth of Sapelo. Thomas (1989b:50,106) has been able to deduce, however, by using the information provided by the deeds associated with the other Frenchmen's property and Picot de Boisfeillet's well-recorded residence on the High Point tract, that he owned between 1,500 and 2,000 acres on the northernmost portion of Sapelo, including not only High Point, but Bourbon Field and Raccoon Bluff on the northeast coast "(Figure 5)."

Other aspects of the company's liquidation process proved less peaceful than the property divisions. The first of several disagreements occurred not long before the termination of the Sapelo Company when Picot de Boisfeillet and his nephew Chappedelaine, who had been living together at High Point, had a major argument that resulted in Chappedelaine moving out to live with Dumoussay (DuBignon 1804; Haumont 1804; Thomas 1989a:45; Keber 2002a:193-194). Another argument took place in May and June of 1794 when arrangements were made by Dumoussay and DuBignon to sell the jointly owned feral cattle on Sapelo in a public auction to occur on 20 May 1794 (*Georgia Gazette* 1794a:4). Although the profits from the auction were to be divided equally among the former partners, Picot de Boisfeillet was very much against the sale claiming that his consent had never been sought and that the auction would result in the cattle selling for less than they were actually worth (Picot de Boisfeillet 1794a:2; Thomas

1989a:49; Keber 2002a:194). He chose to show his displeasure through a notice in the *Georgia Gazette*, a Savannah newspaper, that appeared on 15 May 1794, the same day that the advertisement notifying the public of the auction appeared wherein he forbade “any sale or contract for any cattle not yet divided between the owners” (Picot de Boisfeillet 1794a:2). Picot de Boisfeillet’s notice was not only unsuccessful in preventing the auction from occurring, but resulted in a very public printed quarrel between himself and Dumoussay for several months in the *Gazette* (Dumoussay de la Vauve 1794a:2, 1794b:1, 1794c:2; Picot de Boisfeillet 1794b:2).

The antipathy between Picot de Boisfeillet and the Dumoussay-Chappedelaine duo came to an abrupt end on 11 September 1794 when Dumoussay died unexpectedly on Sapelo “after a few days’ illness” (*Georgia Gazette* 1794b:3). After Dumoussay’s death, Chappedelaine discovered that Dumoussay’s will had left him with nothing, despite the large sums of money that he had loaned to Dumoussay through the course of their friendship and in spite of the two men’s business partnership (Dumoussay de la Vauve 1793; Cooper [1804]; Thomas 1989a:50; Keber 2002a:196-197). Chappedelaine did not have long to contemplate his new financial situation as an encounter with Picot de Boisfeillet just four days after Dumoussay’s death, resulted in his own untimely death (*Georgia Gazette* 1794c:3; Thomas 1989a:50; Keber 2002a:197). Picot de Boisfeillet had shot and killed his nephew and was soon arrested.

Picot de Boisfeillet, the only surviving ex-partner with an interest in Sapelo, continued his residence on the north end of the island for the remainder of his life. Although he was arrested and indicted for the murder of Chappedelaine, it appears that Picot de Boisfeillet was not convicted, as historical evidence indicates that he was never imprisoned or executed and that he passed away several years later at his home on Sapelo (Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church 1800:52; Thomas 1989b:49-50). The murder case remained unresolved for

several years after Chappedelaine's death, and by January 1797 it was evidently being examined at the state level, as Picot de Boisfeillet and his attorney, Charles Harris, appeared before the Georgia Judicial Circuit Judges (*State v. Picot Boisfeillet* 1797a, 1797b). They made a failed attempt to get the charges against Picot de Boisfeillet dismissed on the grounds that there had not been a speedy trial, but there is no surviving record of how the case was ultimately resolved.

Aside from his involvement in a lengthy murder case as well as several lawsuits and counter-lawsuits that occurred between the surviving ex-partners and their executors through the early 1800s, Picot de Boisfeillet seemed to live a fairly quiet life with his family on Sapelo in the years following the Sapelo Company business venture (*Picot Boisfeillet v. Executors of Dumoussay and Chappedelaine* 1797). He kept himself busy with plantation activities on the north end of Sapelo and family concerns, such as the birth of his son, Charles Balthazar Joseph, in February 1799 and the wedding of his oldest daughter, Jeanne Marie, to Ralph Clay, the son of a prominent Savannah family in April 1799 (*Picot de Boisfeillet* 1796:5; *Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church* 1799:50; *Sacramental Register* 1799; *Thomas* 1989b:50; *Keber* 2002b:198). Although it is clear that he lived on the north end, there is some uncertainty as to the location of his plantation residence on Sapelo. There are some coastal Georgia historians who believe that he built a home and attempted planting activities at Bourbon Field, but historical research in Atlanta and Savannah did not produce any reliable evidence of Picot de Boisfeillet occupying the tract (*Sullivan* 1990:823; *Keber* 2002a:199, 2002b:198).

The present investigation uncovered only two possible links between Picot de Boisfeillet and Bourbon Field, neither of which makes for a particularly convincing argument. The first relates to the apparent French origin of the site's name. In the Picot B. Floyd Manuscript Collection at the Georgia Historical Society Archives in Savannah, there is genealogical

information collected by his descendents that suggests the Picot de Boisfeillet of Sapelo Island was remotely related to the royal Bourbon family in France (Boisfeillet [*sic*] Genealogical Data [1940-1965]). Notes made by these descendents indicate that the genealogical researchers believed that the origin of the name Bourbon Field derived from Picot de Boisfeillet's connection and loyalty to the royal family. It is a logical association to make, especially since Picot de Boisfeillet left France during the French Revolution; however, the possible genealogical link does not by any means prove that Picot de Boisfeillet lived at Bourbon Field. It merely suggests a possible explanation of the origins of the name "Bourbon" that is contingent upon further evidence of his occupation of the tract.

The second source that provides a possible link between Bourbon Field and Picot de Boisfeillet's occupation of Sapelo Island is Charles Spalding Wylly's (1914) "Story of Sapelo," which claims that Picot de Boisfeillet made a home and lived at Bourbon Field for several years. In 1914 Charles Spalding Wylly, a descendent of the former Sapelo planter Thomas Spalding, wrote an historical narrative for Sapelo at the request of Howard E. Coffin, who was then the owner of the island (Sullivan 1990:88,405). The narrative begins in the colonial period and continues to the early 20th century. While the "Story of Sapelo" provides a great deal of useful information and is often based on the firsthand accounts of former Sapelo residents, the narrative frequently strays from historical realities, especially in the earlier periods of the island's history. As Wylly (1914:1) himself explained in the preface to "Story of Sapelo", "In picturing of the early French owners and others, I have not felt myself bound to an absolute verity, capable of proof, and have thought that there is a touch of art infinitely more valuable and instructive than the mere dead bones of a biography." Based on his own admissions of inexactness and the clearly fictitious elements of his accounts of the Frenchmen who resided on the island, Wylly's

“Story of Sapelo” seems unlikely to be a reliable source for associating Picot de Boisfeillet’s plantation to Bourbon Field. It is quite possible, of course, that more compelling historical evidence for Picot de Boisfeillet’s occupation of Bourbon Field exists, but simply was not discovered in the present investigation.

Instead of associating Picot de Boisfeillet’s plantation home with Bourbon Field, the historical evidence recovered in the Atlanta and Savannah archives suggests that he lived at High Point for the duration of his residence on Sapelo. The most direct piece of evidence is a newspaper notice that Picot de Boisfeillet (1796:5) put in the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* in May 1796, alerting the readers that a possible runaway slave named Dick had been found and was being kept on Sapelo until his owner claimed him. The notice says specifically, “The Subscriber sometime in December last, had a NEGRO Fellow brought to his Plantation on Sapelo High Point, by his Overseer, who appeared to be a run away.” Since it identifies Picot de Boisfeillet’s plantation as being located at High Point, it is clear that he remained there at least until the first half of 1796, which is more than three years after his arrival to the island and nearly three years since the Sapelo Company’s dissolution. Picot de Boisfeillet lived only four more years after the newspaper notice was printed, which means that if he built a plantation estate at Bourbon Field, it would have had to occur in a very short period of time (Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church 1800:52).

Other evidence for Picot de Boisfeillet’s estate being located at High Point is less direct, but still compelling. Documents associated with the management of Picot de Boisfeillet’s estate after his death indicate that his plantation activities on the north end of Sapelo had not been particularly successful and that he was in significant debt (Catonnet [1804a], [1804b]; Montalet 1811). Since he was having some financial problems, it may have been difficult for Picot de

Boisfeillet to build a new plantation estate at Bourbon Field. Furthermore, a new estate would have been unnecessary since there was already plantation headquarters established at High Point that none of the other Sapelo Company ex-partners attempted to claim. With the name “Bourbon” appearing more than 150 years after Picot de Boisfeillet passed away, it is likely that the site name developed not from Picot de Boisfeillet himself, but either from later oral history related to Picot de Boisfeillet and the other Frenchmen who had lived on the north end or from affiliations with Bourbon cotton or Bourbon sugar cane, which were grown in some locations on the Georgia coast in the late 18th century and early 19th century (*Republican Star or Eastern Shore General Advertiser* 1814:4; Phillips 1959:151-152; Sullivan 1990:431; Humphries 1991:85,87,119). It is well documented and uncontested that Picot de Boisfeillet’s son-in-law, Jean de Berard Mocquet Montalet, who had married the second eldest daughter, Charlotte Angelique Servanne, in 1802, lived at High Point when he took over the Picot de Boisfeillet estate and moved to Sapelo around 1805 (Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church 1802:129; Montalet 1804b:3, 1811; Hopkins 1897:2; Thomas 1989b:52; Sullivan 1990:85,823). If Picot de Boisfeillet had developed a plantation estate at Bourbon Field before his death, it seems strange that Montalet would have chosen to live at the older High Point residence. It is more likely that Picot de Boisfeillet had remained at High Point and Montalet moved into the recently occupied house there.

Even if Picot de Boisfeillet never lived at Bourbon Field, evidence suggests that he did own the tract as part of his share of Sapelo and it is certainly plausible that he utilized the tract in his plantation activities. Picot de Boisfeillet’s plantings could have extended beyond High Point, particularly if there were lands that already had been cleared and used for agriculture by the former Sapelo Company. Sea Island cotton had become a valuable crop by the late 1790s and

had been grown previously by the Sapelo Company, making it feasible that Picot de Boisfeillet used Bourbon Field for cotton (Phillips 1959:152-154; Keber 2002a:183). Additionally, although Picot de Boisfeillet might not have resided there, the tract may still have been occupied during his tenure. There were other Frenchmen living at unrecorded locations on the island, some of whom were the workmen who came over with the Sapelo Company members in the early 1790s, and Picot de Boisfeillet's overseer, John LaFong, must have had a residence somewhere on the north end (Dumoussay de la Vauve 1794c:2; Picot de Boisfeillet 1796:5; Delorny et al. 1801; Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet 1801; Thomas 1989a:42,49). Marie Joseph Emile de Charon, a cousin of Picot de Boisfeillet's wife, also lived on Sapelo with his wife (Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet 1801). No details of Charon's residence on the island could be found in the historical records, but he most likely lived on the Picot de Boisfeillet north end property and could have resided at Bourbon Field.

Picot de Boisfeillet did not have long to develop his own plantation, as he passed away at his home on Sapelo on 13 August 1800. The cause of death is unknown, but according to his death record he was buried later that same day on the "premises of his residence on Sapelo" (Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church 1800:52). The identification of Picot de Boisfeillet's burial would serve as direct evidence of the location of his former plantation, but, unfortunately, his gravesite has yet to be discovered. He died at the age of 56 and left behind his wife, Marie Anna de Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet and four children, three of whom were still minors (Picot de Boisfeillet 1799; Thomas 1989b:50). Although some historians have suggested that he and his wife moved to the mainland in an area near Darien in the years before his death, leaving the care of his island plantation to their overseer, Picot de Boisfeillet's death record clearly states that he died and was buried on his Sapelo estate (Parish Register of St. John the

Baptist Catholic Church 1800:52; Sullivan 1990:84; Keber 2002b:198). Notwithstanding the numerous ambiguities associated with Picot de Boisfeillet's occupation of Sapelo and the brevity of his time there, he was arguably one of the more interesting characters involved in Bourbon Field's past. His death marked the end of the Sapelo Company partners' involvement on the island and, thus, served as the conclusion of one of the more dramatic and turbulent periods in Sapelo's history.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANTEBELLUM ERA AND BEYOND: OCCUPATIONS OF BOURBON FIELD THROUGH THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

Turn of the Century and the Early Antebellum Period (1800-1820s)

Within the first decade of the 19th century, cotton became the primary crop grown in Georgia. Following Eli Whitney's invention of a cotton gin that could efficiently process short-staple cotton in 1793, cotton production spread to western Georgia and beyond (Flanders 1967:59-61). Amidst the development of an increasingly homogenous plantation landscape elsewhere in Georgia, the Sea Island coast remained unique in its monopoly of large-scale rice and long-staple cotton production (Stewart 1996:116-117). Successful long-staple cotton production had far more environmental constraints than the short-staple variety grown throughout Georgia, which confined it exclusively to the Sea Islands and a narrow strip of land on the coast where the "moisture-laden sea breezes" could reach the crop and give it a silky, glossy texture unmatched by any other type of Georgia cotton (Stewart 1996:118). Despite the limited area in which long-staple cotton could be cultivated, its production on the Georgia coast continued to grow into the early 1800s, reaching export levels of almost 9,000,000 pounds by 1805 (Phillips 1959:153).

Low-country Georgian and South Carolinian planters had imported the long-staple cotton that came to be known as "Sea Island cotton" from the Bahamas in the 1780s while trying to find the ideal type of cotton for large-scale production (Stewart 1996:116). Though not perfect, long-staple cotton had the advantage of higher quality, stronger, and more elastic filaments which could be sold at higher prices than short-staple cotton (Phillips 1959:151-152, 223). Additionally, its longer filaments and smooth seeds made the use of Whitney's gin unnecessary,

as simple roller gins could be used to remove the seeds (Stewart 1996:121). These factors made long-staple cotton particularly attractive to the Sea Island and coastal planters of Georgia and South Carolina, so much so that it rivaled rice production for a time after its introduction. Many new long-staple cotton plantations developed along the “rice coast” of Georgia and South Carolina in the 1790s and many large-scale rice planters added long-staple cotton to their agricultural regimes (Stewart 1996:116-117).

By the early 19th century, the methods for long-staple cotton production had become relatively standardized along the Sea Island coast and involved growing the cotton on ridges that were five feet wide and nearly the same distance apart. On the ridges the distance between plants varied, ranging from half of a foot to several feet (Phillips 1959:153; Flanders 1967:56-57; Stewart 1996:119). Even with strict adherence to established cultivation methods, long-staple cotton yields were typically small and often unpredictable compared to those of short-staple cotton in other parts of Georgia. Long-staple cotton was in general a slow-growing crop that was particularly sensitive to even small climate fluctuations and required careful handling (Phillips 1959:154). For these reasons, coastal Georgia Sea Island cotton planters commonly grew other cash crops like rice and sugar as well (Stewart 1996:100). The price of cotton also could be unpredictable and crop diversification proved especially valuable when outside political and economic factors like the Non-Importation Act of 1806 and the Embargo of 1807 prevented exports and dropped cotton prices (Flanders 1967:64).

On Sapelo Island, Thomas Spalding appeared on the scene in 1802 and ultimately established one of the most successful plantations on the Georgia coast. His father-in-law, Richard Leake, and a man named Edward Swarbreck had purchased the South End tract and the Chocolate Plantation tract in 1801 from Lewis Harrington, a brother-in-law of the Sapelo

Company ex-partner Grandclos Meslé, who had recently acquired the South End and was living at Chocolate Plantation, managing the property (Thomas 1989b:46-47; Sullivan 1990:95). In 1802, shortly after acquiring the Sapelo property, Richard Leake passed away and Spalding took his place in the joint ownership of the tracts with Swarbreck (Coulter 1940:14). Spalding settled on the South End tract and Swarbreck eventually settled at Chocolate Plantation.

Through the South End plantation, his mainland plantation called Ashantilly located near the city of Darien, and other landholdings, Spalding became one of the largest slaveholders and most prominent planters of McIntosh County (Coulter 1940:41,299; Sullivan 1990:121). Once settled on Sapelo, he built a large stately mansion with Ionic-style columns on the South End tract and acquired more than four hundred slaves who labored in the production of a variety of crops including rice, cotton, sugar, corn, indigo, olives, and oranges (Coulter 1940:43; Sullivan 1990:108). Long-staple cotton was one of Spalding's primary crops and he has been credited with improving the methods for cultivating it, nearly tripling the typical 100 pounds per acre yield through the technique of planting the crop at smaller intervals (Coulter 1940:70; Flanders 1967:56-57; Sullivan 1990:117). Spalding maintained his Sapelo plantation for half a century, reaching a level of success that only a small number of low-country planters could hope to attain, much less surpass (Coulter 1940:299).

The situation at Bourbon Field and the rest of Sapelo's north end was not as promising at the beginning of the 19th century. After Picot de Boisfeillet's death in 1800, the estate was left to his wife, Marie Anna de Larmandie, but she passed away less than a year later on 10 March 1801 around the age of 40 (*Georgia Gazette* 1801:3; Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church 1801a:54-56). While Picot de Boisfeillet's will stated that his property be divided evenly between his four children if his wife should pass away, Marie Anna de Larmandie's will gave

more specific instructions for her estate which most likely superseded those of her husband since she had become the sole owner of the estate (Picot de Boisfeillet 1799; Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet 1801). She assigned only \$1,200 to her eldest child, Jeanne Marie Clay, since she was married and the other Picot de Boisfeillet children were minors with no other source of income. Besides the payment of certain debts, the remainder of Marie Anna de Larmandie's estate was supposed to be divided equally between the three remaining children with the single exception that her other daughter, Charlotte Angelique Servanne (or Servanne Angelique Charlotte), was to receive all of her furniture, clothes, silver plates, jewels, and other household items. Because three of her children were still minors, Marie Anna de Larmandie appointed her cousin, Marie Joseph Emile de Charon, who was living somewhere on the north end of Sapelo with his wife, as their legal guardian (Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet 1801). If Charon passed away or left the country, Jacques de Chessa was second in line to be the children's guardian and, finally, if Chessa was unable to fulfill that role, then John LaFong, the overseer and manager of her presumed High Point plantation, would be their guardian. Whoever acted as guardian to the three children was simultaneously appointed the trustee of Marie Anna de Larmandie's estate.

Although Marie Anna de Larmandie indicated in her will that her property on Sapelo would eventually be sold, it seems likely that in the years immediately following her death, plantation activities on the north end of the island continued as they had before under the management of John LaFong, while the fates of the three minor Picot de Boisfeillet children were being determined (Picot de Boisfeillet 1799; Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet 1801). In her will, Marie Anna de Larmandie mentions that LaFong had been the only overseer and manager of the Picot de Boisfeillet plantation, and had been provided with necessities but had not received regular payments. The fact that they could not pay LaFong for his work as overseer and manager,

as well as Marie Anna de Larmandie's observations that her fortune had been "much reduced" and that she had multiple debts that had not been paid, indicates that Picot de Boisfeillet's Sapelo plantation remained unsuccessful after his death (Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet 1801). However unprofitable the plantation may have been, it seems that Marie Anna de Larmandie trusted LaFong to manage it alone, as she had left it in his care and was staying in Savannah at the time of her death (*Georgia Gazette* 1801:3). Around the year 1800, LaFong acquired Patterson Island for his own use, a small island located in the marshlands between Sapelo and the mainland (Sullivan 1990:206). It is unclear whether or not he was still living on Sapelo full-time when Marie Anna de Larmandie died or if he was traveling back and forth between Patterson and Sapelo, acting as an absentee manager and overseer for the Picot de Boisfeillet estate. Either way, with his own new property to develop, LaFong probably did not remain attached to the Sapelo plantation for very long after Marie Anna de Larmandie's death.

With Marie Anna de Larmandie passing away so soon after making her will when three of her orphaned children were still minors, her plans for the guardianship of her children had to be implemented. Her first choice, Marie Joseph Emile de Charon, did take on the responsibility initially of providing for her children and managing the affairs of her estate. Specifically, he assisted with the inventory and appraisal of her estate after her death and completed the 1801 through 1802 Annual Return for the Picot de Boisfeillet estate (Delorny et al. 1801; Charon 1801-1802). The Annual Return indicates that Charon found boarding for the Picot de Boisfeillet children instead of caring for them himself, as their boarding was listed as one of the estate expenses. It therefore seems likely that the children did not live on Sapelo after their mother's death. The Annual Return also lists unspecified plantation expenses and notes that significant amounts of cotton were harvested. Even with the plantation's cotton production, Marie Anna de

Larmandie's estate remained badly in debt at the end of 1802 (Charon 1801-1802; Catonnet [1804a], [1804b]). The dire financial situation in addition to the listing of the expense of a surveyor on the Annual Return, suggests that Charon may have been trying to settle the estate either by selling the Sapelo property or dividing it for the future use of the Picot de Boisfeillet children. Charon had a son and daughter baptized on the island in July 1801 and, according to other baptism records associated with his family, he remained on the Georgia coast through the early 1800s (Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church 1801b:31, 1801c:31, 1803a:38, 1803b:38, 1803c:39). By 1813, however, he had left Georgia for Cuba, which undoubtedly ended his involvement with the Picot de Boisfeillet estate (Magny 1858).

Jacques de Chessa, Marie Anna de Larmandie's second choice for guardianship of her children and trustee of her estate, appears to have had little association with the Sapelo property. Chessa's connection to the Picot de Boisfeillet family is not specified in Marie Anna de Larmandie's will and historic research revealed little on his identity and affiliation with Sapelo. He was a witness to Picot de Boisfeillet's will in 1799 and the Annual Return lists a small sum of money paid to him from the Picot de Boisfeillet estate in 1801 so it is possible that he was a family friend or former business associate (Picot de Boisfeillet 1799; Charon 1801-1802). Chessa was a Savannah merchant and naturalized United States citizen by 1799, but it is likely that he left the Savannah area after 1801 as his name disappears from the historical record (Hemperley 1967).

By 1804, any responsibilities that LaFong, Charon, and Chessa may have had for the Picot de Boisfeillet Sapelo estate were taken over by another Frenchman by the name of Jean de Berard Mocquet Montalet. Montalet was a sugar planter who had moved from the French Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue (now the Republic of Haiti) to Georgia in 1797 to escape

the violent slave uprisings occurring there (*Republican Star or Eastern Shore General Advertiser* 1814:4; Sullivan 1990:84; Honkerkamp 2008:8). He purchased his own plantation called the Hermitage on the Savannah River after arriving in Georgia and eventually married Charlotte Angelique Servanne Picot de Boisfeillet on 11 October 1802 (Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church 1802:129; Montalet 1804a:2; Thomas 1989b:52). They had a child named Jean Raoul born on 9 August 1803, but Servanne died during the birth of her second child in June 1805 at the Hermitage at the young age of 18 (Parish Register of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church 1804:129, 1805:152; Thomas 1989b:52). The fates of these two children have yet to be uncovered in the historical record and they may have passed away at a young age.

Prior to Servanne's death, Montalet had made payments on debts owed by the Picot de Boisfeillet estate and had legally combined the estates of Picot de Boisfeillet and his wife (Montalet 1803, 1811). In 1804 he successfully applied to be the administrator of the estate (Montalet 1804b:3). Soon after his wife passed away, Montalet put the Hermitage up for sale and moved to High Point on Sapelo (Montalet 1804a:2; Sullivan 1990:84). No deed exists for his acquisition of the High Point tract, but it is likely that it was Servanne's share of the Sapelo north end property and he had some legal claims to the property as her widower (Thomas 1989b:52). Montalet also acquired the 400 acre tract on the northeastern portion of the island called Dumoussy's Field from Dumoussay's heir, John Stephen Trubert "(Figure 5)" (Dumoussay de la Vauve 1793; *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* 1803:3; Trubert v. Hopkins 1816; Thomas 1989b:45). Using the High Point and Dumoussay's Field tracts, Montalet developed a plantation on Sapelo, growing cotton and possibly sugar, until his death in 1814 (Montalet 1811; *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger* 1814:3; *Republican Star or Eastern Shore General Advertiser* 1814:4).

Bourbon Field's role in the developments associated with the Picot de Boisfeillet estate during the first decades of the 19th century is not completely clear. With Montalet acquiring a specific portion of the Picot de Boisfeillet Sapelo property that seems to have been set aside for Servanne, it is possible that the estate may have been divided before all of the minor children had become legal adults and set aside for them to acquire later. Part of the reason that Servanne likely received the High Point tract was a particular bequest in her mother's will:

I mean and wish that all that shall be found in my house at the time of my decease, to wit, furniture, wearing apparel, silver plate, jewels and such things, be delivered to by daughter Charlotte Angelique Servanne, and remain her own, she being in that respect my special legate, wishing nevertheless that the aforesaid stock...remain to the use of the house till the time comes when my property shall be sold (Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet 1801).

With Servanne's inheritance including everything in the presumed High Point house, it is logical that her allotment of the Sapelo property would include the High Point tract. At the very least her mother's bequest probably made it easier for Montalet to acquire the tract.

Although he was administrator of the entire Picot de Boisfeillet estate, Montalet never owned Bourbon Field or Raccoon Bluff (Trubert v. Hopkins 1816; Molyneaux v. Floyd 1827; Thomas 1989b:52; Sullivan 1990:85). If a division of the Picot de Boisfeillet property took place prior to or during Montalet's tenure, the two tracts were probably intended for the two Picot de Boisfeillet sons since Marie Anna de Larmandie's will specifically excluded Jeanne Marie Clay from receiving island property; however, neither son seemed to have much involvement in Sapelo affairs. Michel moved to Virginia after marrying his half-niece and lived there until his

death in 1851 while Charles Balthazar, the youngest, went to a Catholic school in Maryland under the supervision of a distant relative of the former Sapelo Company partner Chappedelaine, Picot Cloriviere, and passed away there in 1813 at the age of 13 (Holdcraft 1966:158; Thomas 1989b:51).

With the Picot de Boisfeillet sons living elsewhere, the only link that could have existed between Bourbon Field and family members during the first decade of the 19th century was as absentee owners. Besides Montalet's acquisition of High Point, no evidence has been recovered of anyone attempting to buy and develop the Sapelo north end tracts in the Picot de Boisfeillet estate. It is possible that, as administrator, Montalet managed the Bourbon Field tract and had it leased or rented by small-scale planters or farmers during his time on Sapelo. With the Picot de Boisfeillet estate being in such a bad financial state, Charon and Montalet both may have welcomed the extra income that would have come from renting or leasing certain tracts during their tenures managing the estate (Charon 1801-1802).

The settling of the Picot de Boisfeillet estate ended up being no simple matter. In 1811, a decade after Marie Anna de Larmandie had died, Montalet was still attempting to pay off debts from the Picot de Boisfeillet estate to Peter Catonnet, a Savannah cotton factor (Catonnet [1804a], [1804b]; Montalet 1811). The difficult financial situation most likely complicated the allocation of Sapelo property to the children. If no action had been taken previously, the death of the youngest child, Charles Balthazar, in 1813 may have signaled the beginning of the division process or served as the motivation to sell the north end tracts not held by Montalet since the other siblings were no longer minors (Thomas 1989b:51-52). In that case, Bourbon Field probably would have gone to Michel with the Raccoon Bluff tract, since he was the only surviving sibling allotted Sapelo property in their mother's will (Larmandie Picot de Boisfeillet

1801). The specific ownership and utilization of Bourbon Field during this period is speculative since the tract was either called by another name or no name at all and remains indiscernible in the historical record.

It is possible that the Bourbon Field tract was still under the ownership of Picot de Boisfeillet estate as late as 1817, as a letter from Michel Picot de Boisfeillet to his sister Jeanne Marie Clay in April of that year indicates that the settlement of the combined estates of his parents was still in progress (Picot de Boisfeillet 1817). Apparently, Picot de Boisfeillet had been married previously before his marriage to Marie Anna de Larmandie and had children from the first marriage who were still living in France. According to Michel's letter, they received some money from the settlement of the estate and Jeanne Marie would be receiving a sum as well. Picot de Boisfeillet still had property in France when he died and it is likely that the money Michel refers to in the letter came from the sale of the French property (Montalet 1803). It is unclear whether the settlement of the entire Picot de Boisfeillet estate was in progress at this point, or just the settlement of the property in France. If the former is true, then Bourbon Field may not have come under new ownership until after 1817.

The War of 1812 may have slowed the settlement process, as the British occupation of the Georgia coast significantly affected the regular activities of planters and other coastal residents. Sir George Cockburn of the British Royal Colonial Marines landed on Cumberland Island, the southernmost Georgia Sea Island, on 10 January 1815, beginning a two month long raid of the Georgia coast (Bell 1987:171-172). A previous proclamation made by Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane in April 1814 had said that all slaves on southern plantations were welcome aboard British vessels and if they joined British forces, they would be freed and sent to British lands in North America and the West Indies (Bell 1987:170). The British continued to

make slave raids through March 1815, even though a peace treaty ending the war had been signed and ratified by February 17. British forces occupied Cumberland and St. Simons Islands throughout the two months, confiscating all moveable property from many of the plantations in addition to taking slaves. Sapelo occupants managed to avoid the disruption felt by their neighbors to the south and the island was never raided by the British; however, with such intensive economic and social disruptions occurring in close proximity and continual maritime interferences by the British, the regular business conducted by Sapelo residents was undoubtedly affected (Bell 1987:172-176; Sullivan 1990:123).

General Francis Hopkins, Montalet's executor, purchased the High Point and Dumoussay's Field tracts for his own plantation activities sometime between 1816 and 1821 (Molyneaux v. Floyd 1827; Honerkamp 2008:8). Montalet was bankrupt when he died in 1814 and, as a result, Hopkins had debts to pay when he acquired the Sapelo properties (Trubert v. Hopkins 1816). Although his son, John, may have lived briefly at High Point, Hopkins did not live on the property he purchased from the Montalet estate, but resided instead at Belleview Plantation on the mainland (Sullivan 1990:826; Honerkamp 2008:8). Hopkins died in 1821. A lawsuit against the Hopkins estate in 1827 resulted in an inventory of all of the slaves owned by Hopkins and a general record of the lands where they lived and worked (Molyneaux v. Floyd 1827). The inventory indicates that Hopkins had 167 slaves, some of whom were residing on the High Point and Dumoussay's Field tracts. There is no mention of the Bourbon Field tract, or any other Sapelo tracts. Thus, the situation at the Bourbon Field tract during Hopkins's tenure is, once again, uncertain. As Montalet's executor, it is likely that, if the settlement of the Picot de Boisfeillet estate was still underway, Hopkins took over its administration and the status of the

Bourbon Field tract may have remained as it was before, possibly rented or leased by small-scale planters or farmers.

While documents associated with Hopkins's landholdings on Sapelo do not indicate that he owned Bourbon Field, the other known landowners associated with the island during the late 1810s and early 1820s cannot be definitively linked to the Bourbon Field tract either. Thomas Spalding's Sapelo landholdings were still restricted to the South End and Edward Swarbreck was focused on developing a plantation on the Chocolate Plantation tract (Wylly 1914:21,32; Coulter 1940:299; Sullivan 1990:87-89). James Shearwood (1819:1) advertised a "summer retreat" or hotel on Sapelo in the *Darien Gazette* on 29 February 1819, but it was located along the ocean, most likely on the south end of the island (Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. 2012, pers. comm.).

Sometime before 1825, Edward H. Sams had purchased the Raccoon Bluff property, owning 911 acres on the island and 68 slaves (McIntosh County Tax Digest 1825). Though close by, Sams's property did not include Bourbon Field and, in fact, Raccoon Bluff remained an independent tract throughout the antebellum period (Sullivan 1990:765; Humphries 1991:240).

Charles Spalding Wylly's (1914:32) "Story of Sapelo," which, though not free of mistakes, provides more accurate information for the time period associated with Thomas Spalding's tenure on Sapelo than for the earlier French occupations, claims that Swarbreck "had given up his option on the Bourbon property" before settling at Chocolate Plantation in the early 1800s. Although Wylly does not elaborate, the statement suggests that Bourbon Field was up for sale sometime before 1815 when Edward Swarbreck began his occupation of the Chocolate tract (Sullivan 1990:87-88). It is possible that the Picot de Boisfeillet estate was finally settled and the remaining property had been put up for sale and was in limbo during Hopkins's and Swarbreck's association with the north end. No original historical documents have mentioned the possibility

of Swarbreck wanting to purchase Bourbon Field and it may be one of the fictional elements in Wylly's narrative. In any case, Bourbon Field was the only tract associated with the former Picot de Boisfeillet estate on Sapelo not accounted for by the early 1820s.

The Late Antebellum Period (1827-1860)

In the 1820s long-staple cotton production was booming, with exports having increased from 9,000,000 pounds per year to 11,000,000 pounds by 1819 along the Sea Island coast (Phillips 1959:153). With the limited amount of land suitable for Sea Island cotton production, the Georgia coast had the highest average of improved acreage in the state (Flanders 1967:79). Although the plantation landscape continued to grow along the Georgia coast, planters still contended with environmental issues that frequently limited the success of their cash crop production. One of the most significant environmental problems encountered by coastal planters was the severe soil nutrient depletion that occurred after a few years of intensive cotton cultivation. Since land was at a premium on the Sea Islands and old cotton fields could not be abandoned for newly cleared fields as was frequently done on cotton plantations elsewhere in Georgia, rigorous fertilizing regimes had to be adopted (Flanders 1967:67-68; Stewart 1996:154). Diligence with fertilizing allowed Sea Island cotton fields to be productive for longer, but did not guarantee high yields. Weather issues, such as flooding, drought, and hurricanes, frequently affected cotton production, making yields unpredictable. In 1820, with the impact of weather and the crop's specific cultivation requirements, 100 pounds of Sea Island cotton per acre was considered a successful yield (Flanders 1967:85).

In the 1830s, environmental obstacles for cotton production were compounded by serious economic problems. As the fertility of the agricultural lands declined, the quality of long-staple cotton declined and the price of the cotton dropped in the English markets (Stewart

1996:122,154). Sea Island planters who had once prided themselves on producing the highest quality cotton strands had to face not only lower profits, but a blow to their plantations' prominent reputations. The discouraging situation grew worse with the Panic of 1837 and the cotton crisis of 1839 which caused cotton prices to plummet further and resulted in the bankruptcy of many Georgia planters (Phillips 1959:152-153; Flanders 1967:89). The largest, most successful plantations on the Georgia coast, like Thomas Spalding's plantation on Sapelo and the Butler plantations on St. Simons and Butler Islands, were not dependent solely on cotton and could cope with the increasing environmental and economic challenges, but the average coastal cotton planter was not so fortunate (Flanders 1967:79; Stewart 1996:163-165).

The predominant coastal Georgia plantations were well established by the 1820s and 1830s, and some of them, like Thomas Spalding's Sapelo plantation, took on the traditional grandeur and elegance popularly associated with southern plantations (McIntosh County Tax Digest 1825, 1837). Most Georgia plantations, even in the wealthier low-country areas, did not attain such high levels of success or prominence, however. As John Michael Vlach (1993:8) notes in his book *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, "Only the plantations that were run with large numbers of slaves, a hundred or more, approached the manorial ideal," which was less than 1% of all southern slaveholding families as late as 1860. While the outlier large-scale plantations like Spalding's on Sapelo Island and the Butler estate on St. Simons and Butler Islands did fit the "manorial ideal" and had hundreds of slaves at their disposal, the average number of slaves owned by McIntosh County residents was 12.5 in 1825 and 18.3 in 1837 (McIntosh County Tax Digest 1825, 1837; Flanders 1967:79). Plantations have often been defined as having 20 slaves or more (Genovese 1972:7; Vlach 1993:7). By this definition, the average slaveholding McIntosh County residents were farmers, not planters and,

furthermore, only 12% of all slaveholding families in the south had what qualified as a plantation by the end of the antebellum era (Vlach 1993:7). The traditional and romanticized views of the large-scale antebellum southern plantations so often portrayed in popular culture were in fact the exception and not the rule.

On Sapelo, planter Dr. Charles W. Rogers arrived in 1827 and began to develop a majority of the north end of the island into a large plantation that came close to the “manorial ideal.” Although his plantation may not have matched the Spalding Plantation in size or success, it was certainly no small-scale venture. Initially, Rogers only purchased the Chocolate Plantation tract where he resided and made improvements to the plantation established by Edward Swarbreck (Spalding 1914; Sullivan 1990:88). Eventually Rogers also purchased most of the sundry north end tracts on Sapelo, including Bourbon Field, Dumossay’s Field, and, High Point, uniting them under the same owner for the first time since the French Sapelo Company’s joint ownership three decades earlier “(Figure 5)” (Spalding 1914; Coulter 1940:40; Sullivan 1990:88). By the mid-1830s, Rogers had proven himself to be a successful planter. The 1837 McIntosh County Tax Digest indicates that Rogers owned 93 slaves and 2,900 acres of high land, making him one of the leading planters in the county (McIntosh County Tax Digest 1837; Sullivan 1990:242). In the later 1830s, when he had acquired the other north end tracts, Rogers used the Chocolate tract as his plantation headquarters and the new holdings as satellite agricultural lands. The 1840 U.S. Census lists 100 slaves under his ownership, a small increase since the 1837 Tax Digest (United States Bureau of the Census 1840b). In spite of the economic troubles and environmental issues occurring during his tenure, Rogers was able to develop a profitable, large-scale plantation based on Sea Island cotton production and raising livestock (Wylly 1914:33-34; Sullivan 1990:88; Honkerkamp et al. 2007:10-11). By the time he left

Sapelo in 1843, Rogers had incorporated most of the north end of the island into his plantation, with the exception of the Raccoon Bluff tract, owning a total of 7,000 acres (McIntosh County Deed Records 1873:196-199; Spalding 1914; Wylly 1914:33; Sullivan 1990:89).

Historical documents indicate that Bourbon Field was part of the 7,000 acres eventually acquired by Rogers, but there is some evidence that it may have been rented or leased for plantation activities or possibly even owned by a man named Thomas King during the late 1830s and early 1840s. In a letter to Charles Spalding Wylly about her recollections of living on Sapelo and the island's history, Ella Barrow Spalding (1914), wife of Thomas Spalding's grandson, said specifically that Thomas King from the King family in Liberty County, Georgia "lived in Bourbon Field, owning a place of 500 acres." Wylly (1914:33), who had asked Spalding to send her recollections to assist him in his writing of the "Story of Sapelo" echoed her statement about Thomas King in his narrative with a few small changes, claiming that "The Bourbon lands, formerly de Beoufeillet's [*sic*] were owned at the time by Thomas King, son of William I. King of Harris Neck, McIntosh County." The time period he is referring to in this statement is the early 1840s, when Rogers was leaving Sapelo. No other known historical source mentions Thomas King owning land on the island or having a plantation at Bourbon Field. The only Thomas King that owned land in McIntosh County during that general time period was a relation of William J. King (who Wylly mistakenly called William I. King), but was not his son. Thomas King owned land along the South Newport River in the northern part of McIntosh County, Georgia, but moved to Macon in Bibb County before 1840 to serve as the Cashier of the Macon branch of the Bank of Darien (United States Bureau of the Census 1830a, 1840a; Sullivan 1990:78,250,765). These facts and events make it doubtful that King lived at Bourbon Field for any length of time during Rogers's tenure on the north end. It is possible that he briefly rented or

leased the tract to use as agricultural land, but ownership seems unlikely since his name does not show up on any of the censuses or tax digests associated with Sapelo residents in the time period between the mid-1820s and early 1840s (McIntosh County Tax Digest 1825, 1837; United States Bureau of the Census 1830b, 1840b).

The statements that Ella Barrow Spalding (1914) and Charles Spalding Wylly (1914:34) make about King derive from second- and third-hand information that may have been part of oral tradition when they lived on the island in the late 1800s, but the facts were most likely not researched, since the writings of both individuals were largely based on personal memories. On the other hand, both Spalding and Wylly do include specific, though not identical, details about King and his connection to Bourbon Field, which suggests that at least Spalding, who was the first to mention him, had a particular source for her information when she conveyed it to Wylly. Thus, further historical data is required to dismiss or confirm King's possible connection to Bourbon Field. Indirect evidence does suggest that if he was linked to the tract at all, it was only for a short period of time.

Although Spalding (1914) and Wylly (1914:33) claimed that Randolph Spalding received Bourbon Field separately from Thomas King and other historical resources indicate that he received Bourbon Field as part of a larger north end parcel from his father, there is a consensus that Thomas Spalding's son, Randolph, acquired the 7,000 acres incorporating all of the north end except for Raccoon Bluff around 1843 (McIntosh County Deed Records 1873:196-199; Crook et al. 2003:16). Thomas Spalding purchased all the north end lands owned by Rogers in 1843 and soon thereafter gave them to Randolph as a wedding present. After the acquisition of the north end tracts, all of Sapelo belonged to the Spalding family with the single exception of the Raccoon Bluff tract on the northeastern coast (Wylly 1914:33; Coulter 1940:40). With his

new north end estate, Randolph and his wife, Mary, settled at Chocolate Plantation, living in Rogers's former residence and using the land around the Chocolate tract, the Shell Ring, High Point, Bourbon Field, Dumoussay's Field, and other land for Sea Island cotton production and most likely maintenance of livestock (United States Coast Survey 1859; Wylly 1914:33-34; Sullivan 1990:135). By 1850, Randolph's estate was worth \$5,000 and incorporated 1,200 acres of improved land (United States Bureau of the Census 1850b). The 1850 Agricultural Schedule recorded Randolph's plantation as producing 21 bales of ginned cotton (400 pounds each), as well as 2,500 bushels of Indian corn and 12 tons of hay. It also listed a total livestock value of \$1,250 (United States Bureau of the Census 1850a). Randolph's plantation included 87 slaves, some of whom probably came from Rogers's former estate and some of them were undoubtedly part of Thomas's wedding gift (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). Though it was a smaller plantation with a significantly smaller labor force than Thomas's south end plantation, Randolph's north end estate certainly placed him among the wealthy and prominent planters on the Georgia coast.

As an agricultural tract, Bourbon Field was most likely occupied primarily by slaves during Randolph Spalding's tenure on Sapelo's north end. While Thomas Spalding's paternalistic attitude towards his slaves is well documented, in addition to the significant degree of independence he gave to his slaves through the use of the task system and dispersed slave settlements, little is known about Randolph's slave management style (Coulter 1940:113; Bell 1987:100-101; Sullivan 1990:120; Honerkamp and Bean 2009:4). Thomas Spalding's successful management of a slave population of more than 400 probably inspired Randolph to look to his father's methods to guide interactions with his own slaves, although he may not have followed them exactly (McIntosh County Tax Digest 1837). Paternalism had become a common approach

to slavery in the antebellum south, because daily interactions and close contact between planter families and their slaves forced planters' to acknowledge the humanity of their enslaved laborers (Lovell 1932:99; Genovese 1972:5-6). Large-scale planters like Thomas and Randolph Spalding depended on slave labor for their success, and paternalism helped them to justify their use of the slavery system because it "defined the involuntary labor of the slaves as a legitimate return to their masters for protection and direction" (Genovese 1972:5).

Though Randolph almost certainly shared the prevalent paternalistic views of his father and other fellow Georgia planters, his slaves may have had less independence than those on the south end plantation. While Thomas Spalding had his slaves living in dispersed settlements, each close to a particular agricultural field where they labored, Randolph seems to have maintained the practice of his predecessors at Chocolate Plantation in which slaves lived in close proximity to the planter's residence (United States Coast Survey 1859; Crook 2008:4-5). The northern Sapelo section of a United States Coast Survey chart of Sapelo Sound from 1859 recorded rows of probable slave cabins in the northern agricultural field of the Chocolate tract approximately 600 m from the main plantation structures, as well as two shorter rows of slave cabins a short distance east of the planter's house that are still evident as tabby ruins on the site today (Figure 6) (United States Coast Survey 1859; Crook 2008:5). By limiting the occupation areas of slaves to places where they could be closely supervised, Randolph seems to have asserted his control over his slaves in a more direct way than his father. While the slave cabins are clearly depicted at Chocolate Plantation on the 1859 map, there is possible evidence of structures at Bourbon Field in the northeastern area near the Blackbeard Creek shoreline, although it is difficult to determine if the symbols on the map represent buildings or merely trees in an unplowed area (Figure 7).

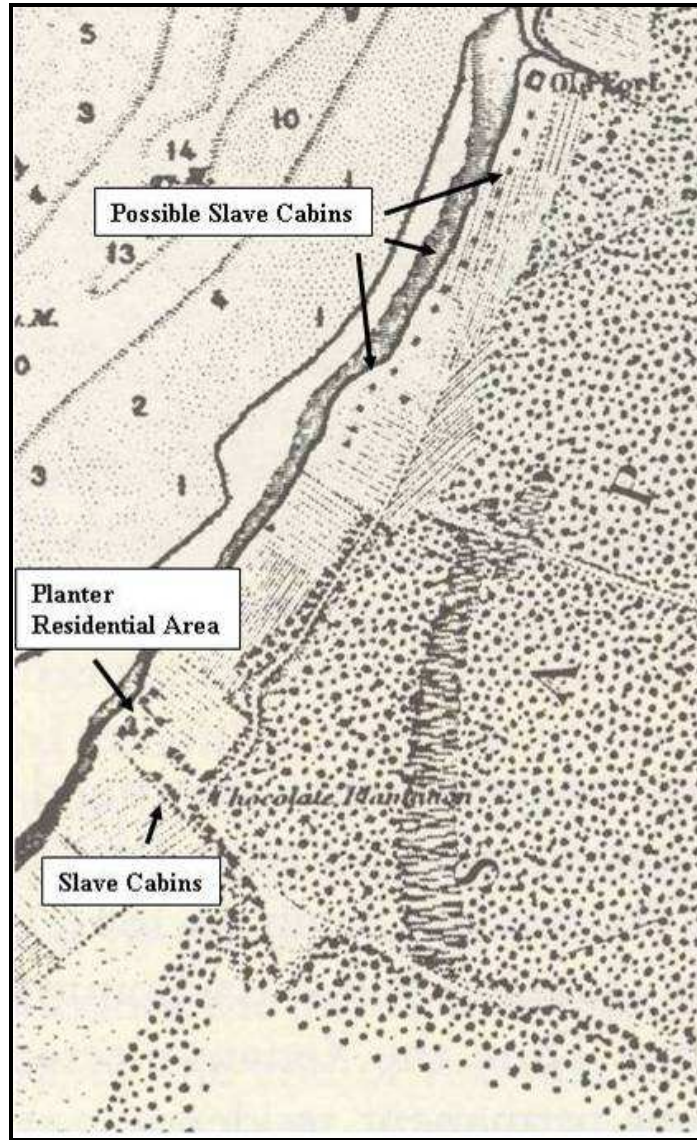


FIGURE 6. Chocolate Plantation section of the 1859 *United States Coast Survey Chart of Sapelo Sound* with historic structures indicated. (Public Domain: Courtesy of NOAA Office of Coast Survey's Historical Map and Chart Collection.)

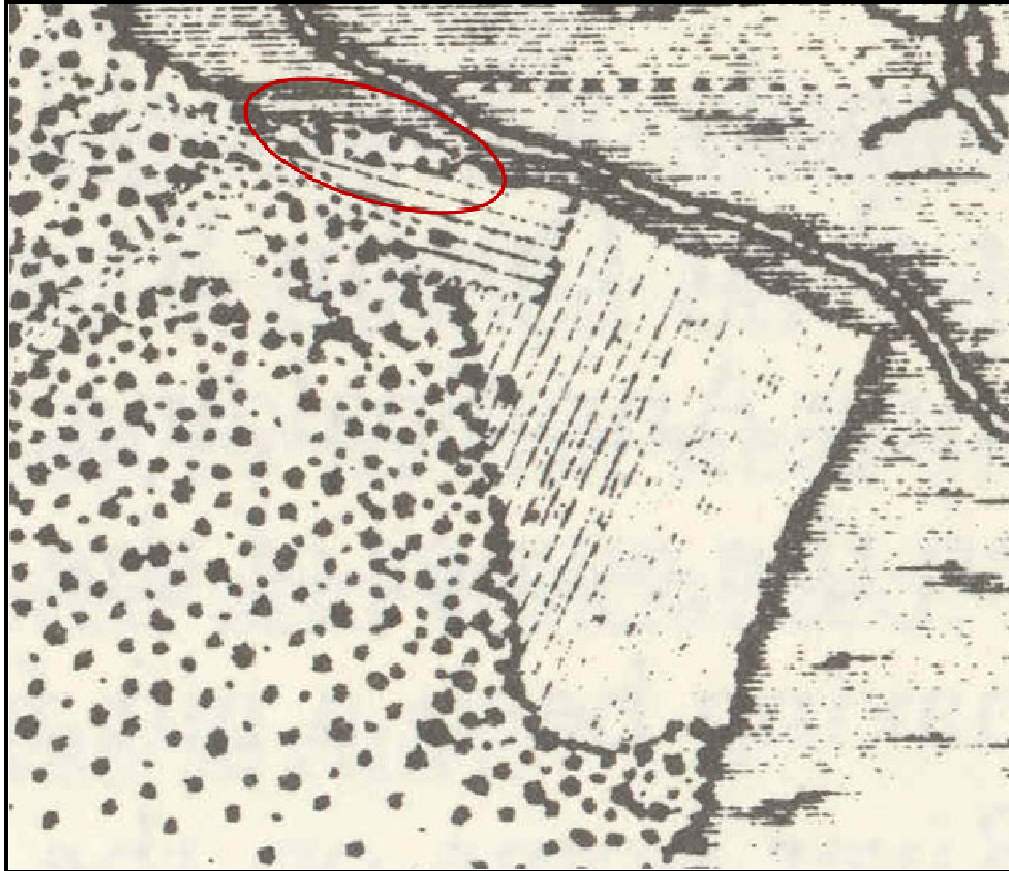


FIGURE 7. Bourbon Field section of the 1859 *United States Coast Survey Chart of Sapelo Sound*. Area circled may represent an occupied portion of northwest Bourbon Field. (Public Domain: Courtesy of NOAA Office of Coast Survey's Historical Map and Chart Collection.)

With several of the agricultural fields, like Bourbon Field, existing a good distance from the primary residential areas, Randolph must have relied on the use of multiple overseers or drivers to supervise the slaves' work. His father refused to use white overseers to manage slaves in the field, but rather had a slave appointed as a head man, or driver, in each of his settlements who was responsible for supervising the other slaves' work and reporting regularly to him on their progress (Coulter 1940:85; Sullivan 1990:120). Randolph may have employed a similar technique, assigning certain slaves to be drivers for each of his agricultural fields as there is no record of a white overseer living on Chocolate Plantation (United States Census Bureau 1850b). It is also plausible that he used white overseers who resided elsewhere on the north end.

The combination of dispersed agricultural fields with a centralized slave residential area may have made it difficult for Randolph to employ Thomas Spalding's relatively lenient version of the task system. The task system as used by Thomas Spalding involved assigning slaves specific tasks to complete each day, rather than having the slaves work from a specific time in the morning to a specific time in the afternoon or evening (Coulter 1940:85). When they finished their task(s) for the day, Spalding's slaves were permitted to use the rest of the day to do activities of their choice, which typically involved supplementing their own diet by gardening, hunting, fishing, and raising small livestock or crafting their own goods to trade or sell for cash (Coulter 1940:85; Sullivan 1990:120-121). Only during cotton picking time and especially busy periods did Spalding deviate from the task system. His interpretation of the task system worked well with the dispersed settlement organization, as the close proximity between their homes and work spaces meant that slaves could easily transition from their allotted work to their own activities without everyone in the settlement having to follow the same particular schedule (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:4). Variations of the task system existed on other coastal

plantations, in which a task was defined more rigidly as a specific patch of land to be worked by a specific number of slaves within a specific amount of time (Stewart 1996:128). This method was especially practical on rice plantations because it correlated efficiently with the grid layout of the rice fields. All versions of the task system relied on the possibility of free time as motivation for slaves to do their work, although drivers and or overseers were still used for supervision purposes.

The other labor management system used on the coast was the gang labor system which differed from the task system in that it used the threat of punishment inflicted by overseers and drivers as a motivation for slaves working in the fields (Stewart 1996:128; Honerkamp and Bean 2009:4). It also typically followed a regular schedule with slaves often working from sun-up until a certain time in the evening. Randolph may have decided to deviate completely from his father's methods and use the gang labor system, but, since the task system was already established on Sapelo and the gang labor system was relatively uncommon on long-staple cotton plantations, it is more likely that he chose to use the task system (Flanders 1967:143-144). He may have used a more rigid organization of the system that meant that the slaves generally started and finished their allotted tasks at similar times, allowing them to travel in groups to and from the Chocolate tract.

Whatever his methods for slave and plantation management, Randolph must have had the approval of his father, who placed the south end Spalding Plantation in Randolph's care when he passed away in 1851. Randolph was expected to maintain the south end plantation until his son Thomas Spalding II, the sole heir of his grandfather's estate, was old enough to claim it (Coulter 1940:300-301). Initially, Randolph ran both plantation estates from his own home at Chocolate Plantation, but after a fire burned down his residence in 1853, he and his family moved to his late

father's south end mansion (Wylly 1914:42). Agricultural activities presumably continued at Bourbon Field and the rest of the north end after the move, but Randolph undoubtedly relied more than ever on drivers or overseers to supervise the slaves living throughout the island. In 1857 Randolph moved his family to a rented plantation in Baldwin County, Georgia, but continued plantation operations and visits to the island, using the south end mansion as a family retreat (Wylly 1914:42-43; Sullivan 1990:137). If he had employed no overseer or plantation manager before, it is likely that he was forced to hire one once he became an absentee landowner and slaveholder, although there is no record of it. Unfortunately, most of the historical details of Sapelo plantation operations during Randolph's tenure have been left to conjecture, as all plantation records and family documents at the south end mansion disappeared or were destroyed during the Civil War (Sullivan 1990:137).

In 1860, despite being on the precipice of civil war, Georgia plantations had made a comeback since the cotton crisis of 1839 and the widespread issues of soil depletion. The development of commercial fertilizers and the realization that cotton seed and livestock manure also made excellent fertilizers rejuvenated Georgia plantations and the entire cotton belt (Flanders 1967:93). Between 1839 and 1859, the amount of cotton produced in Georgia nearly doubled and in 1860 the number of Georgia slaveholders was at an all time high (Flanders 1967:67,82).

During this time of growth and relative prosperity, Randolph Spalding's success as a planter also seemed to reach new heights. In 1860 the value of his real estate property was \$10,000 and the value of his personal property was \$134,000 (United States Bureau of the Census 1860b). Furthermore, his plantation was valued at \$60,000 and comprised of 2,170 improved acres and 9,000 unimproved acres (United States Bureau of the Census 1860a). He

also owned 252 slaves (United States Bureau of the Census 1860c). Randolph's overall increase in property was undoubtedly due, at least in part, to having two plantations and most of an entire island under his care. In the 1860 Agricultural Schedule, there was a dramatic increase in the number and value of livestock and the amount and types of crops produced that far exceeded Randolph's agricultural property in 1850 (United States Bureau of the Census 1850a, 1860a). The Agricultural Schedule reported that Randolph's plantation had a total livestock value of \$11,350, more than 9 times higher than the value in 1850. Additionally it recorded his plantation as producing 200 bales of cotton (400 pounds each), 5,000 bushels of Indian corn, 30 and 3/4 tons of hay, and 2,025 pounds of rice, while in 1850 Randolph's plantation had produced only a fraction of those yields and did not produce any rice. The combined size and value of the Sapelo estates under Randolph's care was formidable and correlated well with the "manorial ideal" that only a very small number of antebellum planters were able to attain. These elevated levels of wealth, success, and prominence proved short-lived with the Civil War fast approaching (Vlach 1993:8).

The Civil War (1861-1865)

Most of the plantations on the Georgia Sea Islands were abandoned at the start of the Civil War. The exodus began in December 1861 when Union naval forces gained control of the coast and continued through April 1862, when Fort Pulaski on the Savannah coast fell to Federal forces compelling any planters still remaining on the Sea Islands to leave for the mainland (Sullivan 1990:137; Humphries 1991:xxiii). Some of the planters stayed close to the coast, but others went far into central Georgia in an effort to protect their slaveholdings. Although Randolph Spalding and his family had already removed themselves from Sapelo to the mainland coast in 1857, they had made frequent trips to the island before Federal gunboats showed up in

nearby waters and they had to abandon their holdings on the island altogether (Lovell 1932:267). The abandonment of island plantations in 1861 was not simply a precaution, but a necessity because the Georgia coast was already beginning to face conflict. Federal warships were present on the coast, tightening control of shipping and smuggling lanes and gradually gaining a stranglehold on the southern maritime economy (Humphries 1991:xxiii). The predominance of the Union ships on the Georgia coast prevented Confederate troops from occupying the coast for any length of time. General Robert E. Lee had to order the evacuation of the Sea Islands by February 1862, ending the Confederate occupation of Sapelo that had begun in 1861 (Sullivan 1990:137). The presence of the Union naval forces was so strong that eventually residents of the city of Darien and the adjoining mainland coast also moved inland towards central Georgia, leaving the once prosperous region all but deserted. Union forces burned Darien to the ground in June 1863, forcing the complete abandonment of the coastal area (Sullivan 1990:294).

Throughout the war, the primary occupants of Sapelo were slaves most likely from the Spalding and neighboring island plantations. Randolph had taken most of the slaves from the Spalding plantations with him when he moved to the rented plantation on the Georgia mainland, but there may have been a small number that managed to avoid the forced migration to Baldwin County (Sullivan 1990:366; Crook et al. 2003:21). Union troops, patrolling the nearby waters, made periodic expeditions to the island and some of the slaves living there joined them. Between the slaves living on the island and the brief Union occupations, the Sapelo planter residences, including Spalding's south end mansion, were looted, vandalized, and largely destroyed (Sullivan 1990:137; Crook et al. 2003:21). Though Spalding family members would eventually return to the island, the ruins that remained of the antebellum planter residences served as a reminder that they no longer reigned supreme over the land and people of Sapelo. Randolph did

not live to see the destruction of his family's plantations. He was a Confederate army colonel in the 29th Regiment of the Georgia Infantry, but died early in the war on 17 March 1862 from pneumonia at a camp in Savannah (Wylly 1914:43; Myers 1972:1683; Sullivan 1990:137).

Reconstruction, the Postbellum Era, and Beyond (1865-1960s)

In the final year of the Civil War, Sapelo and all the other Sea Islands along the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida were confiscated by the federal government to be settled by ex-slaves. The confiscation was initiated by General William Tecumseh Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 issued on 12 January 1865, which stated that all abandoned islands and abandoned rice fields along rivers as far as 30 miles from the coast between Charleston, South Carolina and Jacksonville, Florida were to be reserved for the settlement of freedmen and women and excluded from any white occupants (Humphries 1991:xxv). Sherman issued the order in an effort to quell complaints that he had neglected the large numbers of runaway slaves, who, desiring freedom, had rushed to join his troops during his famous march through Georgia in 1864 (Humphries 1991:xxiv-xxv). Congress supported Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 and ordered that all abandoned lands and property be seized and then divided into 40 acre units to be settled by individual black families. To assist in the resettlement, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was established with General Otis Howard appointed as its head. The Freedmen's Bureau placed Tunis Campbell, a New Jersey black man, in charge of resettling Sapelo, St. Catherines, Ossabaw, Colonel's, and Burnside Islands. By June 1865, 312 individual freedmen and women or families had received their own 40 acres on Sapelo and schools had been established to educate the children (Humphries 1991:xxv-xxvi). At the end of 1865, there were 900 free black men, women, and children living on the island, farming and becoming self-sufficient (Sullivan 1990:366).

Though it was successful, the resettlement of Sapelo Island and the rest of the coast was short-lived. Not long after the war had ended, President Andrew Johnson gave in to the constant stream of complaints and demands of the former white landowners, pardoning more than 20,000 planters and returning to them all confiscated land and property (Humphries 1991:xxvi). The Spalding family was among the pardoned, but threats of violence from the freed blacks living on Sapelo prevented them from immediately returning to their former estates. Before moving to the island themselves, the Spaldings leased land to two northerners, McBride (first name is unknown) and S. D. Dickson, who tried to hire the freed blacks as sharecroppers (Sullivan 1990:366; Humphries 1991:xxvi-xxvii). Few actually signed contracts with McBride and Dickson, however, because they were wary of working for whites again and were enjoying their newfound independence. Around the same time, in early 1866, Randolph's widow, Mary Bass Spalding, sold the 7,000 acres on the north end of the island belonging to her late husband's estate to John N. A. Griswold of New York City and Newport, Rhode Island, for about \$50,000 (McIntosh County Deed Records 1873:196-199; Wylly 1914:44-45; Sullivan 1990:366; Humphries 1991:xxvii). Griswold hoped to develop a successful Sea Island cotton plantation and had a residence built at High Point, although he spent little time on the island (Spalding 1914; Sullivan 1990:367).

The next year, after Union troops came to Sapelo and forced the restoration of Spalding ownership, the family returned to the south end. The troops ordered that the freed blacks either sign labor contracts or leave the island, which resulted in McBride and Dickson having better success obtaining sharecropping contracts. The two speculators were at an advantage because many of the freed blacks occupying Sapelo were ex-slaves of the Spaldings and did not want to work for their former masters; however, their fraudulent treatment of the sharecroppers created a

variety of problems and McBride and Dickson left island by 1867 (Sullivan 1990:366; Humphries 1991:xxviii). Sapelo, once again, became primarily plantation property, despite the changes brought about by the Civil War.

Bourbon Field and the other north end tracts were under Griswold's ownership from 1866 to 1873 (Sullivan 1990:367; Crook et al. 2003:22). Although he had high hopes for his Sapelo property, Griswold's Sea Island cotton plantation was not particularly successful and he ended up renting the north end to Archibald C. McKinley for \$500 a year beginning in late 1870 and continuing through 1873 (Humphries 1991:52-53,240) McKinley was the husband of Sarah "Sallie" Spalding, sister of Thomas Spalding II. With the restoration of Spalding ownership on the south end of the island, Thomas II, heir to the estate of his grandfather, the original Thomas Spalding, had moved to the island with his brother Bourke and widowed mother, Mary, hoping to rebuild the property back to its former glory (Wylly 1914:45; Sullivan 1990:368). Thomas II and Bourke convinced McKinley to join them and he and his wife moved to the residence Griswold had built at High Point while their own residence was being built on the south end of the island. The Spalding brothers and McKinley became business partners, growing cotton and other crops and raising cattle to sell to ships that passed the island coming to and from Darien and the surrounding area (Humphries 1991:xxxviii-xxxix).

In addition to his joint business venture with the Spaldings, McKinley planted cotton on the north end property that he rented from Griswold and subleased land to black tenant farmers who paid the rent in shares equal to 6,444 pounds of cotton at harvest time (Humphries 1991:xxxviii,87). Bourbon Field was one of the subleased properties. McKinley kept a journal for most of his time on Sapelo and in it he mentions hauling "rent cotton" from Bourbon Field in November 1871 and 1872 (Humphries 1991:87,119). He noted in his 6 November 1871 daily

entry, “Went with Bourke to Bourbon, McCoy, and Drisden Point to get amount of land planted there. The rent on those fields amounts to 3,231 pounds seed cotton” (Humphries 1991:85). According to later entries, Bourbon Field alone typically produced between 1,275 and 1,300 pounds of cotton at harvest time, which was a significant yield. McKinley’s use of the name “Bourbon” for the Bourbon Field site represents the earliest known use of the name in a primary document (Sullivan 1990:431).

By 1873, McKinley and his wife had moved to their own residence at a site known alternately as Barn Creek or Riverside, on the southwestern coast of Sapelo and Griswold sold the north end of the island to James Cassin, another New Yorker for \$65,000 “(Figure 5)” (McIntosh Deed Records 1873:196-199; Humphries 1991:74; Crook et al. 2003:23). McKinley remained at Riverside until 1877 when he and Sallie moved to Milledgeville, Georgia to live with and care for his elderly father. The Spalding brothers, their wives, and their mother stayed on the island continuing agricultural activities (Humphries 1991:xl). The north end property changed hands again in 1879, when Cassin lost the property to Henry P. Townsend, also a New Yorker, due to foreclosure. Two years later, Amos Sawyer of Northampton, Massachusetts purchased the property (Sullivan 1990:367; Humphries 1991:240). While Cassin and Townsend did not live on Sapelo, Sawyer resided at Chocolate Plantation part-time and tried, like his predecessor Griswold, to bring large-scale plantation activities back to the north end.

The situation at Bourbon Field seems to have changed little between the short tenures of Cassin and Townsend and through Sawyer’s ownership. A small settlement of black families remained on the tract as tenants who sharecropped or had other arrangements with the white landowners that allowed them to rent the land (Crook et al. 2003:24). Elsewhere on the island, black residents were purchasing land and forming their own communities, asserting their

independence and unique cultural identity as “Saltwater Geechee.” The first Geechee-owned tract was Raccoon Bluff, just south of Bourbon Field. A group of Geechee who called themselves the William Hillery Company purchased Raccoon Bluff and the land around it, totaling to 1,000 acres, from Hugh Street in 1874. The Geechee on Sapelo continued to buy tracts for themselves through the 1880s from Sawyer and the Spaldings (Crook et al. 2003:24-25). Bourbon Field, however, never came under the ownership of Geechee residents. Sawyer and his family owned the tract until 1912 when Howard E. Coffin, Chief Engineer and Vice President of the Hudson Motor Company of Detroit, purchased most of Sapelo for commercial and recreational pursuits (Moore 1897; McIntosh County Deed Records 1912:234-235; Sullivan 1990:601)

Based on interviews of older Geechee residents in the 1990s, there were three Geechee families who lived in the Bourbon Field area during Sawyer’s tenure and possibly while Coffin attempted to expand his property holdings on Sapelo (Crook et al. 2003). The Geechee residents included Liberty Handy, his two daughters, Carrie (or Clara) and Lilla, and his three sons, Manson, Abraham, and Edward, as well as Billy Rankin’s family, and James Green’s family. These families were probably sharecroppers and tenant farmers, cultivating cotton on the tract, as had been done since the antebellum period, if not before (Crook et al. 2003:25-26,81). They were the last full-time occupants of the Bourbon Field tract, as all of the Sapelo Geechee communities were consolidated into the single residential area of Hog Hammock at the south end of the island by 1964. Richard J. Reynolds, Jr., heir to his father’s thriving tobacco business, purchased Coffin’s Sapelo property in 1934 and, in addition to other developments on the island, managed to expand his holdings by encouraging and pressuring Geechee residents to sell their land elsewhere on the island in exchange for lots in Hog Hammock (Crook et al. 2003:37). In 1969,

five years after Reynolds's death, his wife, Annemarie, sold a majority of the north end of Sapelo, including Bourbon Field, to the State of Georgia to serve as the Richard J. Reynolds State Wildlife Refuge (Crook et al. 2003:39).

CHAPTER V

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH METHODS

Field Work

Three primary objectives served to guide the 2010 excavations in the northwestern region of Bourbon Field: 1) determine the spatial boundaries of the colonial, early American, antebellum, and postbellum occupations of the site; 2) determine the temporal parameters of these historic occupations, including peaks and lulls of activity; and 3) determine the site's function and significance as it pertained to the broader plantation-oriented culture and economy of Sapelo Island during the 18th- and 19th-centuries

The 2007 and 2008 survey excavations previously conducted by UWF field school crews had covered much of the designated northwestern area, but there were still gaps in the established 20 m interval survey grid and the specific parameters of the historic components had not yet been determined. The first phase of archaeological research consisted of shovel test excavations. Ultimately, 38 50 x 50 cm square shovel tests were excavated within the established northwestern area, filling in gaps in the survey grid and extending grid north to the Blackbeard Creek shoreline and grid west just beyond and above East Perimeter Road (Figure 8). While East Perimeter Road proved to be a clear western boundary for the historic components in the southern portion of the designated area, the western boundary became more difficult to define closer to the northern creek shoreline. Thus, in search of the western boundary, shovel tests were excavated between East Perimeter Road to the south and the creek shoreline to the north moving further and further westward until reaching the outskirts of a large slough, which appeared to be a natural boundary line for the historic components.

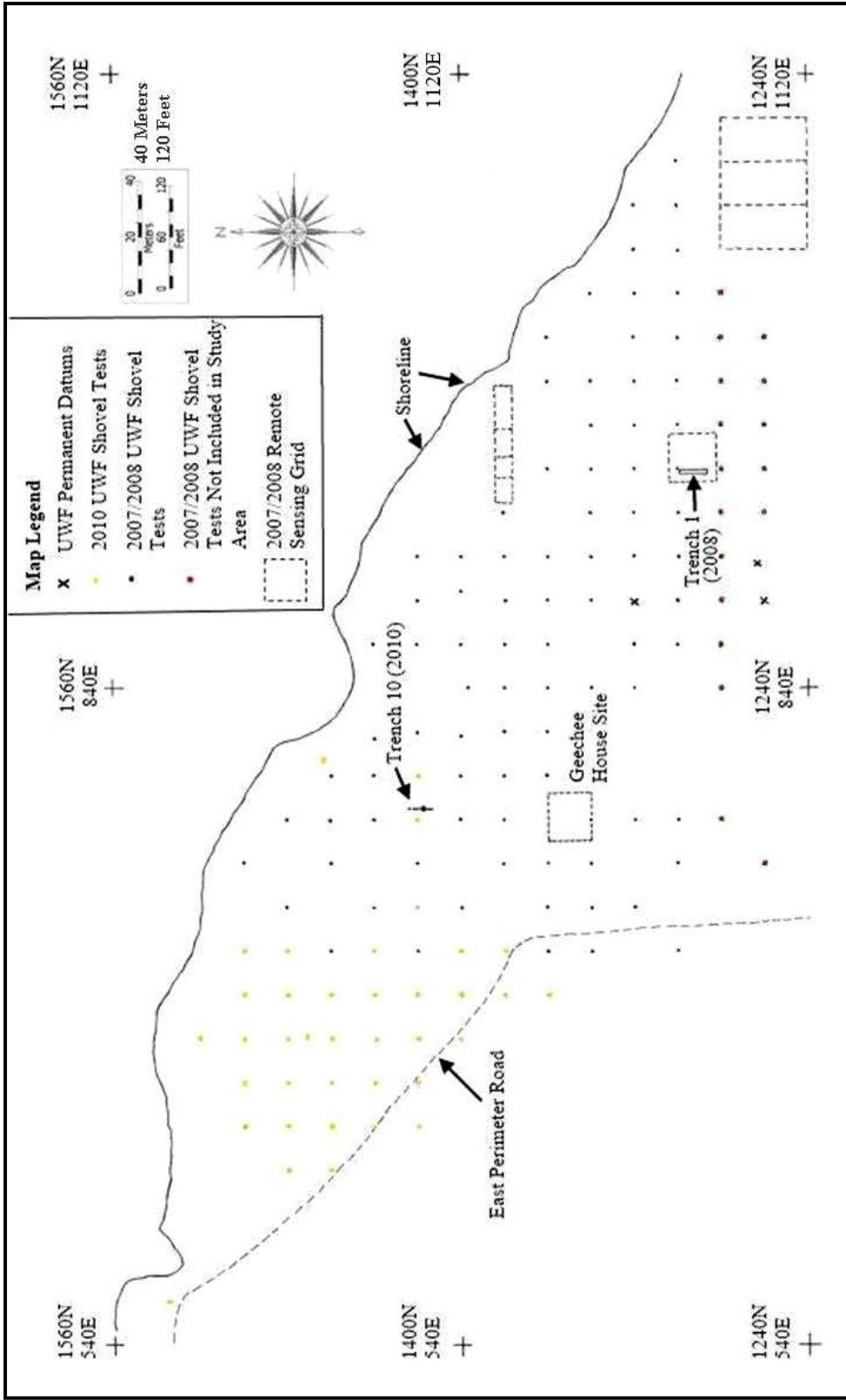


FIGURE 8. Map of the 2007, 2008, and 2010 UWF shovel test excavations in northwest Bourbon Field with important features indicated. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

Shovel tests were laid out on the established grid at 20 m intervals and were excavated in 20 cm levels measuring from the ground surface. Each level was screened separately through 1/8" mesh, excluding features which were screened through 1/16" mesh. These designated intervals, levels, and screen mesh sizes ensured that new shovel test data was consistent with and comparable to the previous UWF survey excavations conducted at Bourbon Field. In general, the shovel tests were oriented and excavated with the datum point (marked by a stake) in the northeast corner. During the field work the project code of "10S" was assigned to the excavations.

The shovel tests were excavated over the course of three visits to the island. The initial excavations took place in February 2010. The primary purpose of the trip was a fundraising event called Weekend for Wildlife that occurs annually on Sapelo and other nearby Georgia Sea Islands. During Weekend for Wildlife, for two days, a small crew of UWF and University of Tennessee at Chattanooga (UTC) students and their respective professors, Norma Harris and Nick Honerkamp, re-established the UWF survey grid from 2007 and 2008 and excavated three shovel tests.

In order to re-establish the grid, the UWF and UTC crew located an old permanent property marker that was put in either by Howard E. Coffin or Richard J. Reynolds, Jr., as well as two PVC pipe and concrete markers put in by UWF previously in the tree line just north and northwest of the cleared field "(Figure 8)" (Norma Harris 2012, pers. comm.). These three markers had each been assigned specific northings and eastings within the former total station grid during UWF's previous investigations: 1363.287N 897.491E for the permanent property marker and 1260N 880E and 1320N 880E for the two PVC pipe and concrete markers. Using these three known points, the crew oriented the total station to the 2007/2008 UWF grid and shot

in new points that corresponded to that grid (Figure 9). Because the permanent datums were not located in the designated northwestern portion of the site where the new shovel tests were to be laid out, temporary datums were shot in and used for resections as the total station was moved closer and closer to the desired area. Once the total station had been moved to a suitable location, the first three shovel tests were laid out and excavated.

With the UWF grid re-established and the first shovel tests completed, survey excavations continued with greater efficiency and at a faster pace on the next two visits to the site. A small crew of UWF students and principal investigator Norma Harris traveled to Sapelo in May 2010, joining the UTC archaeology field school, led by Nick Honerkamp. Over the course of five days, the combined UTC and UWF crews excavated 21 shovel tests. A smaller UWF and UTC crew of volunteers returned to Bourbon Field in August 2010 for the final set of excavations, bringing the total number of shovel tests to 38. This last set of shovel tests finalized the boundaries associated with the Bourbon Field's northwestern historic components and filled in the remaining gaps in the UWF grid that were considered high probability areas for historic artifacts. The designation of "high probability area" was based on the recovery of heavy concentrations of historic artifacts in the shovel tests excavated in close proximity to a particular gap in the grid. Defining the western boundary for the site's historic components proved to be the most difficult survey objective and its fulfillment required a majority of the shovel tests. To make sure that Eastern Perimeter Road and the large slough associated with Bourbon Field's northern shoreline together formed a definitive western boundary, multiple shovel tests were excavated on the western side of the road and a judgmental shovel test was excavated off of the grid on the western side of the slough. All of these shovel tests were found to be sterile, and thus the proposed western boundary line was confirmed "(Figure 8)."

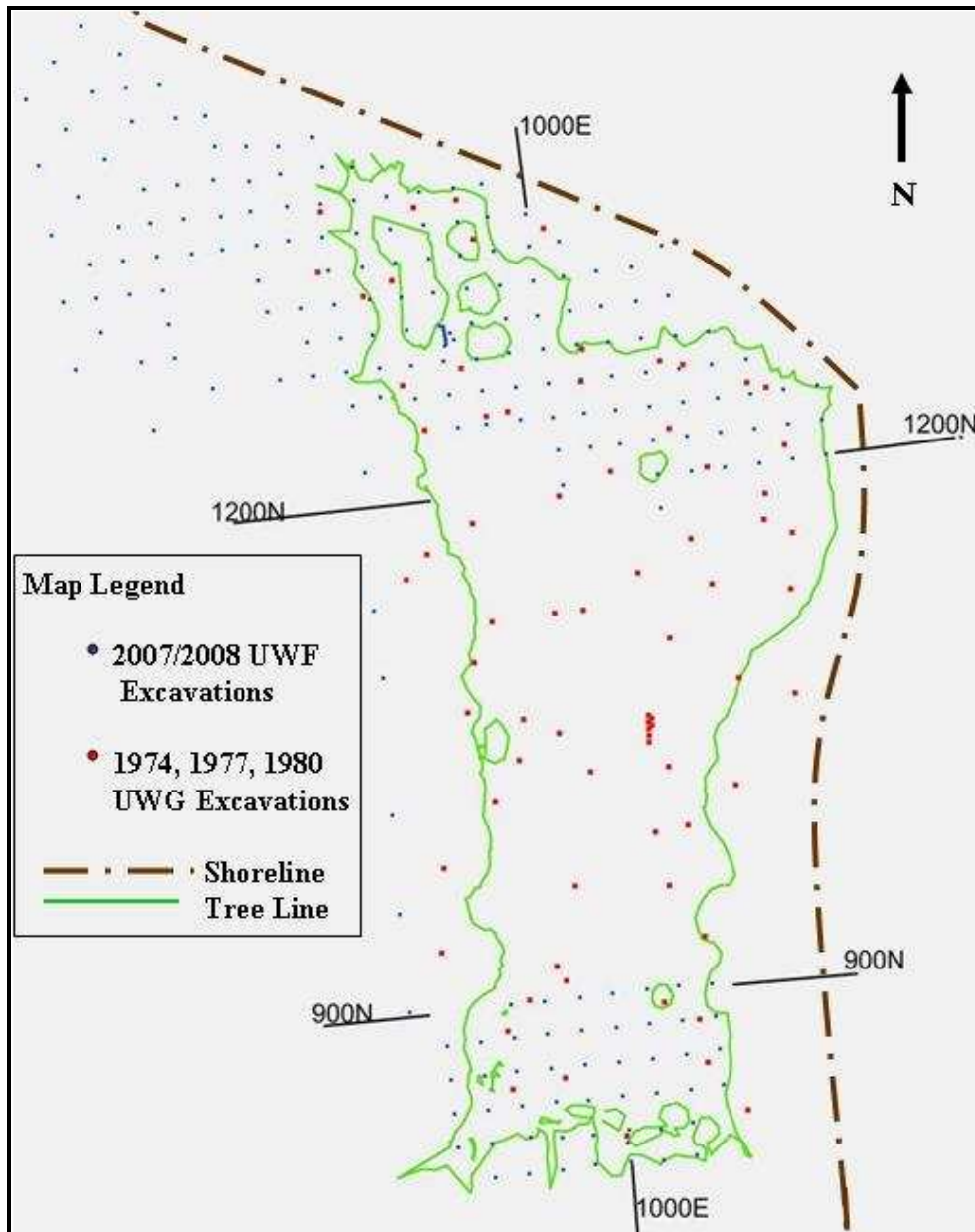


FIGURE 9. Map of Bourbon Field showing the 2007/2008 UWF survey grid and excavations (in blue) and the University of West Georgia's 1974, 1977, and 1980 excavations (in red). (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2009.)

While the final set of shovel test excavations were underway, a north-south trench was set up through the center of the tabby remains. The purpose of the trench excavations was to determine the function of the former structure, as well as an approximate date range for the structure's occupation and use. As the only above-ground articulated historic structural feature known to exist at Bourbon Field, a better understanding of the original purpose and significance was considered important for accurate interpretations of the site's 18th- and 19th-century occupations.

The tabby remains are modest and highly eroded and their former function is therefore not readily apparent. They are rectangular in shape with dimensions of approximately 2.5 m east-west by 1.25 m north-south. Inside the small tabby rectangle there are no above-ground tabby remains or features. The eastern half of the rectangle is more intact than the western half, but the top of the walls in the eastern half is little more than 20 cm above the surrounding ground surface. Much of the tabby in the western half of the rectangle is eroded and the dimensions of the west wall are only discernable through probing. There is a noticeable rise in the topography surrounding the tabby remains and probing prior to the excavations indicated that a significant amount of tabby rubble below the modern ground surface created this rise.

A trench cutting through the center of the remains and extending north and south through the tabby rubble was ultimately agreed upon as the most ideal layout because the perpendicular placement of the trench would not only expose portions of both the north and south walls of the remains for close examination, but could also reveal cultural material and architectural features inside the rectangular remains and allow for comparisons between the assemblages recovered north and south of the remains (Figure 10). Before its precise dimensions were determined, a center point for the trench was established inside the tabby remains, 1.25 m from the outside

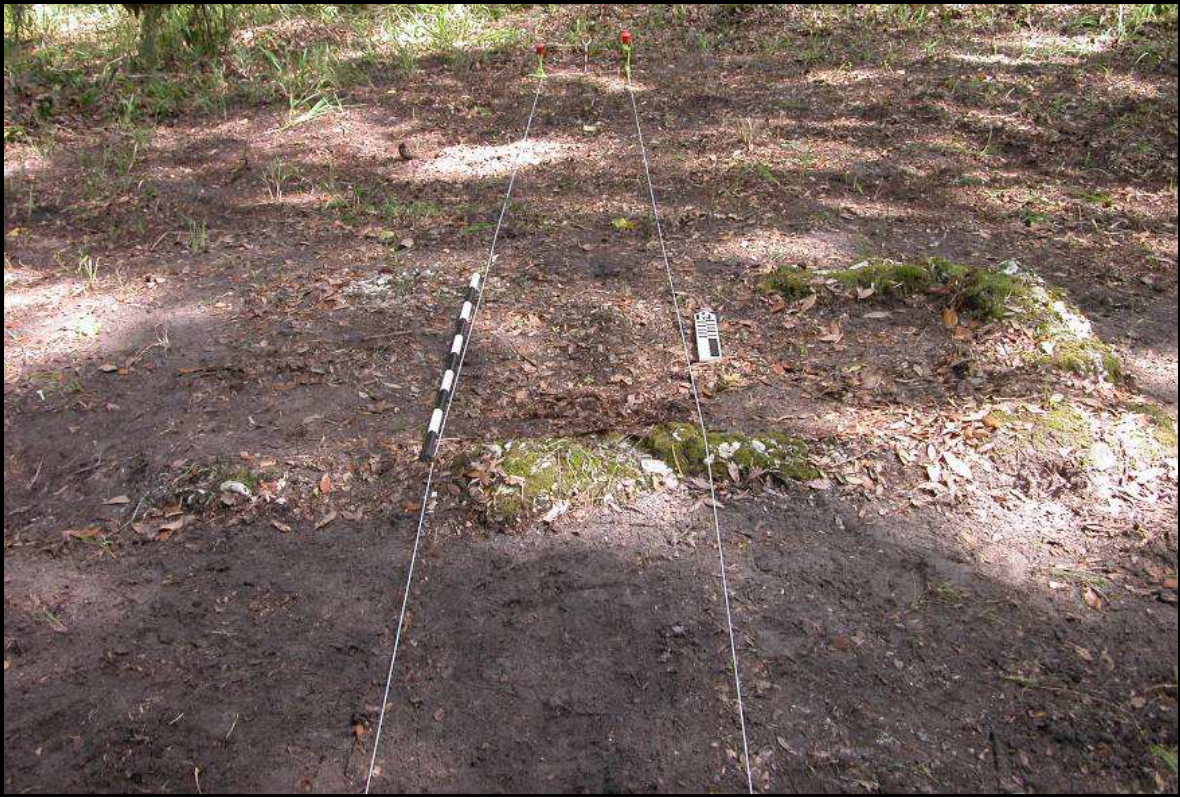


FIGURE 10. Layout of Trench 10 through Bourbon Field's above-ground tabby remains prior to excavations. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

edges of the east and west walls of the rectangle and approximately 62.5 cm from the outside edges of the north and south walls. Because the western half of the tabby rectangle widens and is much less visible, the trench was set up in reference to and parallel with the intact eastern wall.

A map created by the 2007 UWF field school students included the exact dimensions of the subsurface tabby rubble associated with the remains and was used to determine an appropriate length for the trench (Figure 11). The southern half of the trench was laid out to extend just beyond the concentration of tabby rubble depicted in the map, approximately 4.5 m from the center point inside the remains. For consistency's sake, the northern half of the trench was symmetrical to the southern half, also extending approximately 4.5 m from the center point. In this way, the two halves were set up to provide comparable datasets. The width of the trench was only 50 cm with the trench walls running 25 cm east and west of the center point in order to make the completion of trench excavations possible within the strict time constraints of seven field days, and for the purpose of conserving a majority of the tabby remains for future research efforts. The trench was designated as Trench 10 to prevent any possible duplication of numbers with previous excavations at Bourbon Field.

The 9 x 0.5 m Trench 10 was divided into units of approximately 1 x 0.5 m to provide tighter contextual control for diagnostic and architecturally significant artifacts and features (Figure 12). The density of architectural debris in the southern units made the maintenance of straight walls problematic at times, and the dimensions of some units were slightly irregular. For the units that were adjoining the northern and southern walls of the tabby remains, the tabby walls were included as part of the unit's 1 m length, which meant that the actual unit excavations occurred within a smaller area than the other units (i.e. 85 or 90 cm x 50 cm). The units were

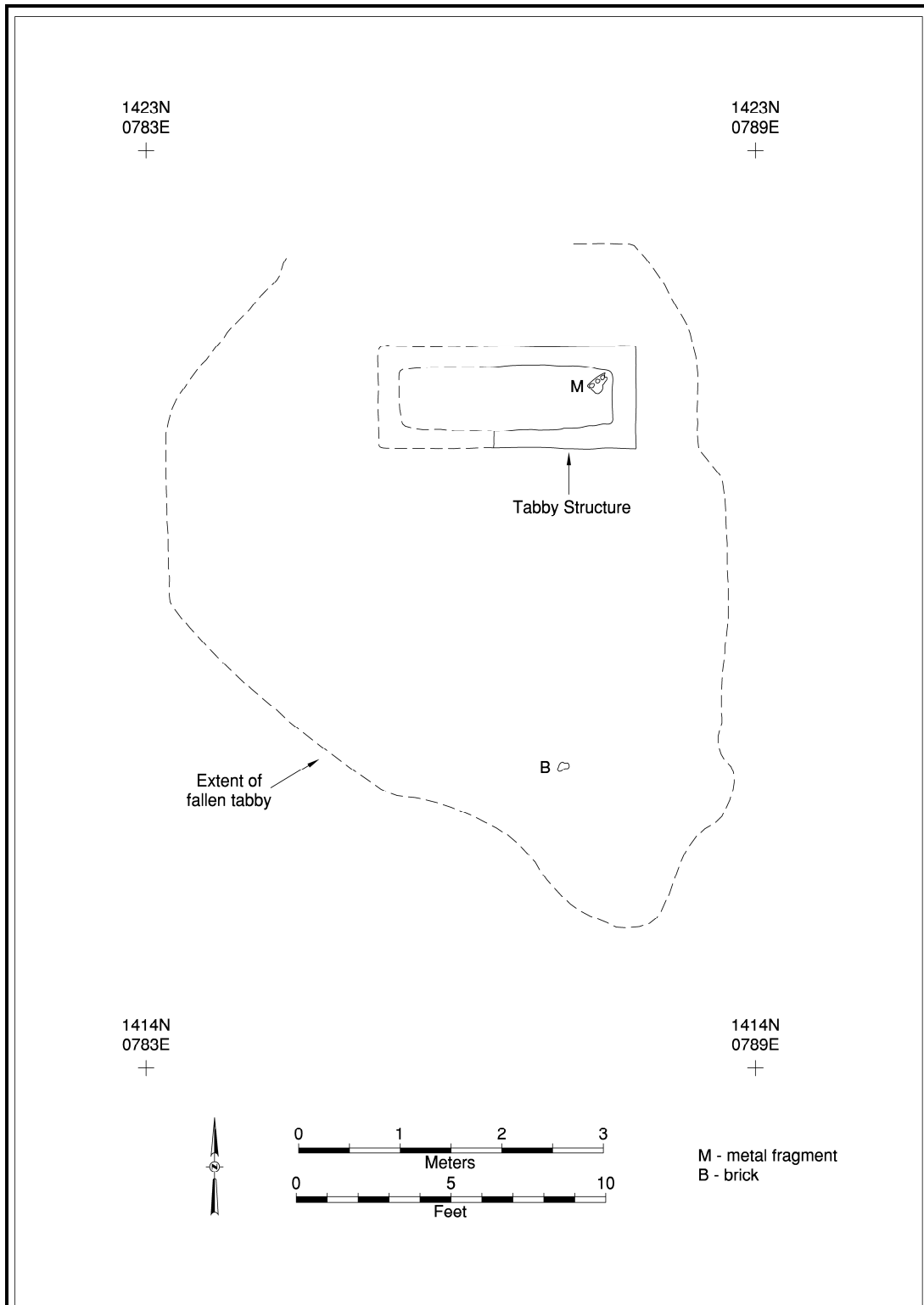


FIGURE 11. Map of Bourbon Field's above-ground tabby remains made during the 2007 UWF field school. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2007.)

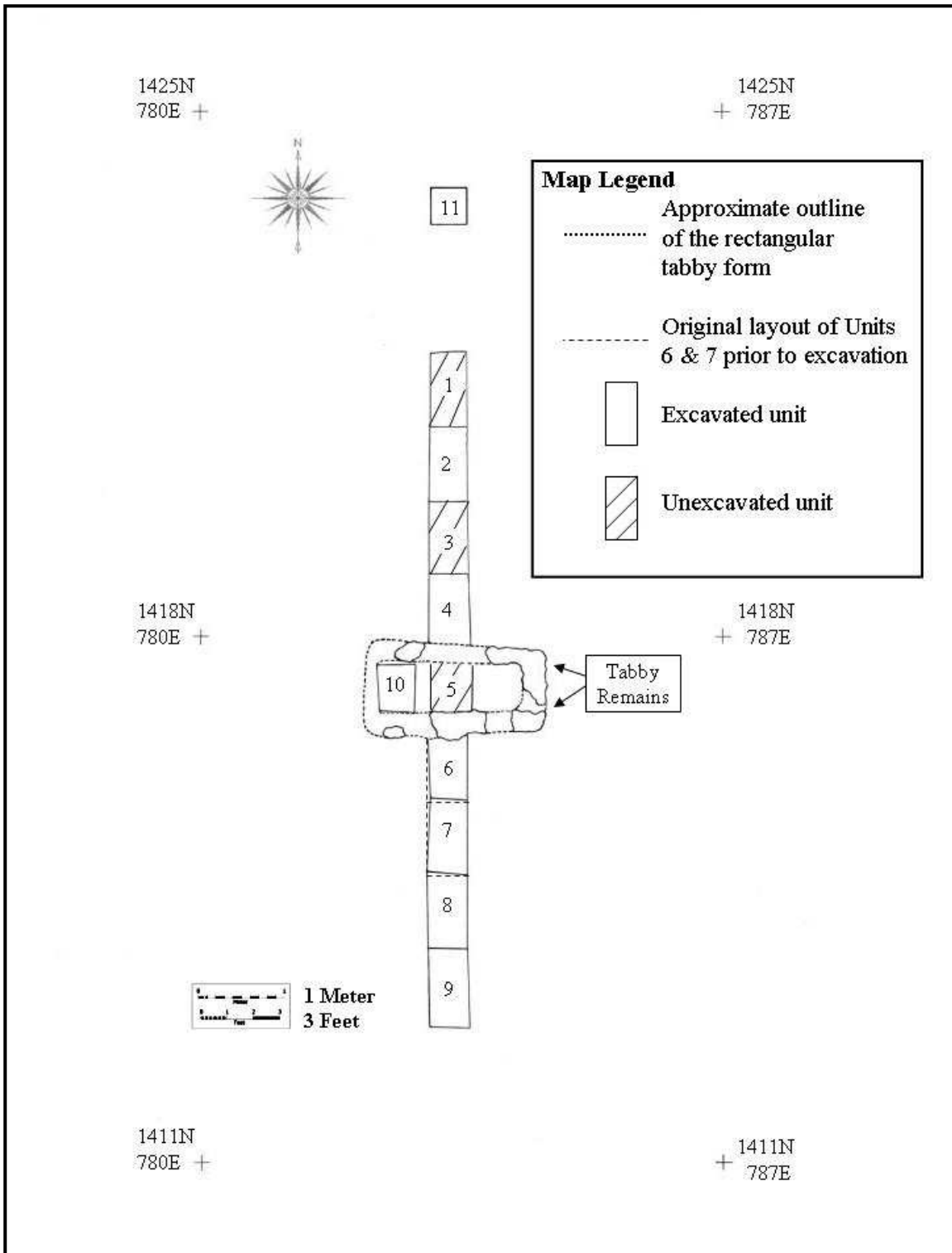


FIGURE 12. Map of the Trench 10 unit excavations through the center of the rectangular tabby remains. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

numbered one through nine, beginning with the northernmost unit and including the area inside the tabby remains as a separate, albeit smaller unit.

For a greater degree of vertical contextual control, the units were excavated in 10 cm levels instead of the 20 cm levels used in the shovel tests. Each level was screened through 1/8" mesh and features were screened through 1/16" mesh. When extremely dense tabby rubble or large, articulated architectural components were encountered in the units, excavations ceased so that features of the former structure and its ultimate collapse could be examined and documented *in situ*, without removing large, intact architectural remains. In those areas, excavations stopped completely and the architectural components were left in place. This was necessary in all of the units in the southern portion of Trench 10 where the architectural debris from the former structure were concentrated, but in none of the units in the northern portion. In the northern units there was a significantly smaller amount of tabby rubble with no clear articulation of architectural components and, thus, the excavations proceeded through two full levels of sterile subsoil (Figure 13).

Before the trench excavations began, an optical transit was used to take elevations for the corners of all of the units, the center of each unit, and the tops and bottoms of the tabby walls included in Trench 10. Significant elevation differences existed across the units in the trench, mainly due to the rise on which the tabby rectangle was situated. Thus, to reduce the likelihood of confusion between levels in different units and to simplify elevation conversions, the levels were standardized across all of Trench 10. Using raw, unconverted transit measurements, this meant that in every unit of Trench 10, Level 1 was 1.20 meters below datum (mbd) to 1.30 mbd, Level 2 was 1.30 mbd to 1.40 mbd and so on. The term "datum" in this instance, refers to the elevation of the crosshairs in the transit's viewing telescope, or, in other words, what is known as



FIGURE 13. Excavations in the southern portion (*foreground*) and northern portion (*background*) of Trench 10. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

the transit's Height of Instrument (HoI). Because Trench 10's standardized levels required precision, measures were taken to ensure that the transit elevation readings were consistent each day, which included placing the transit tripod in same spot every morning and establishing a standard HoI of 1.45 mbd for the transit.

At the beginning of trench excavations, the total station was set up near Trench 10 for mapping purposes. The precise coordinates and elevations for each unit's datum point in the northeast corner were recorded, as well the coordinates and elevations for the corners and interior center point of the rectangular tabby remains. Additionally, an elevation measurement compatible with the UWF total station grid was determined for the transit's HoI to allow for elevation conversions between the two survey instruments.

As excavations proceeded, it became clear that it was not necessary for all of the units inside Trench 10 to be excavated. The significant assemblages recovered in the southern units, as well as the important architectural components exposed in the floors and profiles of those units made the excavation of the entire southern portion of the trench a priority. The northern portion of the trench, however, with its lack of articulated architectural remains, was not fully excavated. The two units excavated in the northern part of Trench 10--Units 2 and 4--produced a substantial assemblage of historic artifacts and revealed a distinct layer of tabby rubble as well as a burned layer in their profiles, but provided little architectural information. As Unit 2 and Unit 4 contained similar artifact assemblages and had comparable profiles, it seemed unlikely that excavating the remaining northern units (Units 1 and 3) would produce much in the way of new information. With the strict time constraints that were in place, the excavation of other units that were more likely to provide additional information took precedence.

In addition to the six units excavated in the northern and southern parts of Trench 10, there was a unit excavated inside the rectangular tabby remains. This unit, however, was not excavated in line with Trench 10. Probing and coring throughout the interior of the tabby rectangle indicated that the center area inside the remains was devoid of architectural material and any significant concentration of artifacts. This void may have been the result of looting or unrecorded excavations and suggested that the center area was unlikely to produce much data on the former structure. Probing and coring in both the eastern and western areas inside the rectangular remains, adjacent to Trench 10 indicated the presence of subsurface tabby and other cultural material. Ultimately, the western portion of the interior of the tabby remains was chosen for excavations, because the probe had met with significant resistance at multiple depths, indicating possible architectural features or other archaeological anomalies. This western area was designated as Unit 10, since the center area inside the tabby remains had already been labeled as Unit 5. Unit 10 was bounded to the north, south, and west by the interior edges of the highly deteriorated tabby rectangle walls, and extended east approximately 50 cm from the inside edge of the west wall “(Figure 12).” The result was approximately a 65 x 50 cm unit, which was excavated in the standardized 10 cm levels until sterile subsoil was encountered.

During the last few days of field work, one more unit was laid out and excavated in line with Trench 10. Unit 11 was put in approximately 2 m north of Unit 1 and was smaller than the other Trench 10 units with dimensions of only 50 x 50 cm “(Figure 12).” The primary purpose of excavating Unit 11 was to determine the extent of the burned layer that was uncovered in the northern units of Trench 10. The close proximity of the tabby rubble and burned layers in the profiles of Units 2 and 4, as well as the recovery of numerous burned artifacts suggested that the layer might represent a structural burning episode. Therefore, a

determination of the extent of the burned layer might aid in an estimation of the burned structure's original size. A core tool was used to determine the approximate edge of the burned layer and Unit 11 was laid out roughly over the layer's edge in line with Trench 10. Unit 11 was excavated in the standardized 10 cm levels used elsewhere in the trench and ended after hitting sterile subsoil. The east and west profiles, where the burned layer edges were most evident were photographed and drawn before the unit was backfilled.

The final component of the Trench 10 excavations was a 25 x 50 cm slot trench in Unit 6 along the outside edge of the southern wall of the tabby remains (Figure 14). The purpose of the slot trench was to gain a better understanding of the structure represented by the tabby remains and its utilization through a comparison of the depth and content of the cultural deposits on each side of the remains. Among other findings, such comparisons could yield information on whether or not multiple building episodes are represented by the tabby remains and the architectural rubble. Since the large concentrations of articulated tabby debris in the southern portion of Trench 10 had prevented excavations from continuing into sterile subsoil, the depth and contents of the cultural deposits below those structural components remained uncertain. The slot trench provided a way to determine the approximate depth of the cultural deposits on the south side of the rectangular tabby remains, and produced a significant sample of artifacts below the top layer of tabby debris without having to remove a large portion of the intact architectural remains. For the sake of speed and efficiency, it was excavated as a whole, rather than in levels. Once sterile subsoil was encountered, excavation of the slot trench ceased and its profiles and plan view were photographed and drawn.

Various forms of documentation were used to record pertinent information from the units associated with Trench 10. Before any excavations took place, the entire trench and the



FIGURE 14. Slot trench inside of Unit 6, Trench 10
(Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

rectangular tabby remains were photographed. Then, for every level that was excavated in each individual unit, a UWF Level Form was filled out with information regarding the level's elevation, Munsell description, artifact assemblage, associated features, disturbances, and soil samples. Additionally, at the end of each level the plan view of the unit was photographed and mapped, with the exception of Units 10 and 11 in which, due to time constraints, the plan views were only mapped if there was any evidence of changes in soil color and/or texture. At the end of excavations, all of the unit profiles were also photographed, and mapped. As an additional record of the Trench 10 excavations, photographs were taken by Nick Honerkamp from the branches of a nearby tree of all the units except for Unit 11 and the slot trench, which had not yet been excavated (Figure 15).

Lab Work

The artifact bags amassed over the course of excavations at Bourbon Field were transported to and stored in artifact boxes at the collections facility, Building 49, on the UWF campus until they could be sorted and processed. The lab work associated with the Bourbon Field assemblage began after the final set of artifacts from the August excavations had dried and the work continued over the course of the Fall 2010 and Spring 2011 semesters. The lab work was carried out by the author with the assistance of four archaeology graduate students. Initially, each provenience was rough sorted at the lab and then the proveniences were fully processed and coded by the author in the UWF Anthropology Department archaeology lab under the supervision of lab director Jan Lloyd and principal investigator Norma Harris.

During the rough sorting stage of lab work, the artifacts in each provenience were separated and sorted into groups according to type and general attributes. The contents of the 10S proveniences were sorted using stacked 1/4" mesh and 1/16" mesh screens. All of the artifacts



FIGURE 15. Trench 10 excavations and the tabby remains. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

in the 1/4" screen were sorted and bagged while all of the material that ended up below in the 1/16" screen was scanned quickly for any significant artifacts to be pulled and then bagged together as "<1/4" scanned." For the especially large, multi-bag proveniences, a standard sample of 1,000 g of tabby and 500 g of oyster shell was retained, and additional amounts of either material were discarded. The original total weight and the discarded weight were recorded on the bag containing the sample. Tabby mortar or tabby plaster with special characteristics, such as whitewashed or lathing marked tabby, was not included in the 1,000 g sample

The full processing of the Bourbon Field (10S) proveniences was conducted primarily by the author. In most cases, only the ceramics and the glass were washed before processing, and the other artifacts were dry-brushed on an as needed basis. Once all artifacts were clean and dry, they were identified and separated using standardized UWF database codes for material types and attributes. The "< 1/4" scanned" material for each provenience was also re-examined in greater detail and any newly discovered unique or diagnostic artifacts were pulled out and identified with the rest of the artifacts in the provenience. Each separated and identified artifact or group of artifacts was recorded on UWF archaeology lab code sheets and bagged in archival-grade bags and labeled with the appropriate provenience information. As the lab work progressed, the director, Jan Lloyd, checked the author's artifact identification and the code sheet information for each provenience and then input the artifact data into the UWF Microsoft Access© 10S database. The entire database for the 2010 Bourbon Field excavations was completed in May 2011. The fully processed 10S proveniences have been returned to UWF's collection facility, along with the paperwork and photos associated with the 10S project, and will remain there until the Georgia state archaeologist requests a specific date and permanent storage facility for the return of the collection to Georgia.

CHAPTER VI

SHOVEL TEST EXCAVATIONS: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Survey excavations at Bourbon Field produced a diverse historic assemblage that revealed more details about the historic occupations of the site than could be deduced from its incomplete and often scanty historical record. Despite the general lack of historical evidence indicating long-term intensive occupations of Bourbon Field before the Civil War, the data set resulting from shovel test excavations in the northwestern area is substantial and suggests that occupations of the site occurred relatively early in the historic period. The artifact assemblage has a decidedly domestic composition and contains the types and variety of artifacts that would be used as part of regular household activities and daily life on a farm or plantation. The discovery of such a substantial domestic assemblage indicates that Bourbon Field was significantly more than an agricultural field during at least part of the historic period and provides a great deal of new information about occupations at the site.

Establishing Boundaries for Bourbon Field's Historic Components

One of the principal goals of the archaeological investigations in the study area was to clearly define the parameters of the site's historic components outside of the heavily plowed field. While the results of previous archaeological investigations at Bourbon Field had revealed that the primary historic occupation area was in the northwestern portion of the site, the precise location, distribution, and extents of the historic components had yet to be identified. Establishing the boundaries of the historic resources was a basic, but necessary objective in evaluating the type, degree of intensity, and significance of the 18th- and 19th-century occupations at Bourbon Field.

When combined with the shovel test survey results from the 2007 and 2008 University of West Florida (UWF) field schools, the 2010 survey data revealed a surprisingly contained historic occupation area with definable parameters (Figure 16). To the north, the historic components were bounded generally by Blackbeard Creek; however, in most areas along the northern part of the grid, including the landing, there was a buffer of relatively sterile shovel tests starting between 20 and 40 m before the terrain makes the steep drop down to the creek shoreline, indicating that daily domestic activities during the historic period generally did not occur directly on the water's edge.

The eastern boundary of the historic components, in contrast, cannot be delineated by geographical or topographical features, but instead is marked by a gradual decline in the number of historic artifacts and an increase in the number of Native American prehistoric and protohistoric artifacts found in the shovel tests. The 960E grid line essentially marks the eastern boundary for the historic occupation area. Historic ceramics stopped appearing in shovel tests east of the 960E grid line, with the exception of a plain delft sherd and an Ichtucknee Blue on White Majolica sherd, each the only one of its kind found during UWF investigations at Bourbon Field, which were recovered in units on the 1020E and 1040E lines, respectively. In the shovel tests between the 960E and 1040E lines, a few other types of historic material were recovered, primarily small glass and iron artifacts, but these items were infrequent and very low in number. The recovery of historic artifacts ceased altogether after the 1040E grid line, approximately 80 m from the site's northeastern shoreline. The shovel tests with large, midden-like concentrations of historic artifacts actually stopped a significant distance west of the 960E line, approximately on the 840E line, and the size and diversity of the historic assemblage diminished consistently from that point eastward.



FIGURE 16. GIS map of the 2007, 2008, and 2010 shovel tests excavated in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

A large portion of the southern boundary for the primary historic components at Bourbon Field corresponds roughly to the northern edge of the cleared field. The least disturbed historic deposits recovered in the shovel test surveys of the site existed north of the 1300N grid line, which means that only the northernmost portion of the cleared field is included in the primary historic occupation area. The southern parameter indicated by the shovel test data suggests that the primary area used for historic domestic activities bordered the presumed agricultural field, but that the two areas may have been kept intentionally separate, possibly due to the different functions they served. This apparent separation may be misleading, however, as Lewis Larson's 1974 and 1977 unit excavations in the cleared field did produce significant numbers of historic artifacts, providing possible evidence of domestic activities occurring south of the proposed boundary line (Larson 1977, 1980b:37,42-44; Crook 1980b:82-84). Long-term plowing and mowing of the field has made it difficult to confirm the existence of historic occupation areas within its limits.

The parameters for the historic material recovered in the westernmost portion of the study area did not extend as far south as the 1300N grid line. East Perimeter Road, existing approximately 80 m north of the 1300N line, is a distinct southwestern boundary for the western components. The shovel tests north and northeast of the road were almost always positive for historic artifacts, but the shovel tests excavated in the immediate vicinity and south of the road in various places were consistently sterile, devoid of any historic components. In addition to providing a clear southwestern boundary line, the lack of historic artifacts south of the road also indicates that East Perimeter Road may have existed in some form during the historic period. It may have been a road that connected Bourbon Field to other plantation sites on Sapelo, a

possibility made more likely by the fact that Bourbon Field was often owned in conjunction with other north end tracts by a single planter during the historic period.

The establishment of the western boundary for the historic occupation area proved to be a particularly difficult task as the historic components extended further west than originally predicted and continued through thick palmetto groves and some of Bourbon Field's densest wooded areas. Two major landmarks formed the bulk of the western parameter for the historic components: East Perimeter Road and a slough that dips into Bourbon Field's northern shoreline "(Figure 2)." Sloughs are "elongate brackish or fresh water swamps" and, on Sapelo, they developed from Holocene lagoons that were "partially filled with eroded sands" from adjacent beach ridges (McMichael 1980:47). While East Perimeter Road definitively formed the southernmost part of the western boundary line, its westward route left the remaining northern portion of the western boundary to be defined by the slough that extends southward from the creek shoreline. The slough and the densely wooded area around it created a natural boundary for historic components in the designated northwestern portion of Bourbon Field. Significant numbers of historic artifacts were recovered in the shovel tests east of the area surrounding the slough, but those findings ended by the 620E grid line, approximately 40 m east the slough, and the judgmental shovel test excavated west of the slough as well as a pedestrian survey along the western edge of the slough produced no historic artifacts or signs of historic occupation.

Stratigraphy

The shovel tests excavated in the historic occupation area revealed a generally consistent stratigraphy. The cultural deposits were shallow, rarely extending more than 40 cm below the ground surface and sometimes ending as early as 20 cm below the ground surface. As a result, many of the shovel tests were no more than 60 cm deep (three 20 cm excavation levels),

although a few extended 80 cm below the ground surface. The shovel tests most commonly contained three to four strata (Table 1) (Figure 17). Cultural deposits were limited to the first two strata. The third stratum of sterile subsoil stratum often extended to the bottom of the shovel test, although, in some units, a compact spodic horizon was encountered below the subsoil. A spodic horizon consists of hardpan, or compacted, nearly impenetrable soil, which has been cemented by a combination of iron and high densities of organic matter, and can range in color from a reddish color to very dark hues (Wilding et al. 1983:218-219). The spodic horizon in northwest Bourbon Field may represent a relict slough, but the extent and precise distribution of the horizon could not be determined since cultural deposits were quite shallow in many places and shovel test excavations often ceased after only three 20 cm levels, which was above the depth that the spodic horizon was typically encountered. While there were some variations from the typical three to four strata shovel tests, they all consistently shared relatively shallow cultural deposits and ended with either the spodic horizon or light gray or white subsoil.

TABLE 1
STRATIGRAPHY TYPICAL OF SHOVEL TESTS IN NORTHWEST BOURBON FIELD

Stratum	Depth (cmbs)	Munsell Designation(s)	Soil Type and Consistency
1	0-20	10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown, 10YR2/1 black, or 10YR 5/1 gray	Semi-compact, fine-grain sand (includes root mat)
2	10-40	10YR4/1 dark gray or 10YR3/1 very dark gray	Semi-compact, fine-grain sand
3	20-60	10YR7/1 light gray or 10YR 8/1 white	Semi-compact, very fine-grain sand
4 ^a	50-80	10YR2/1 black or 10YR3/2 very dark brown	Hardpan, compact, very fine-grain sand

Note: The depths shown for each stratum represent the range of elevations where that particular stratum most commonly fell, and do not reflect the exact beginning and ending depths for each stratum. For that reason, there is a significant amount of overlap across the depths listed for each stratum. Depth is measured as centimeters below ground surface (cmbs).

^a Stratum 4 was not found in every shovel test, most likely because shovel tests excavations often ceased at 60 cmbs.

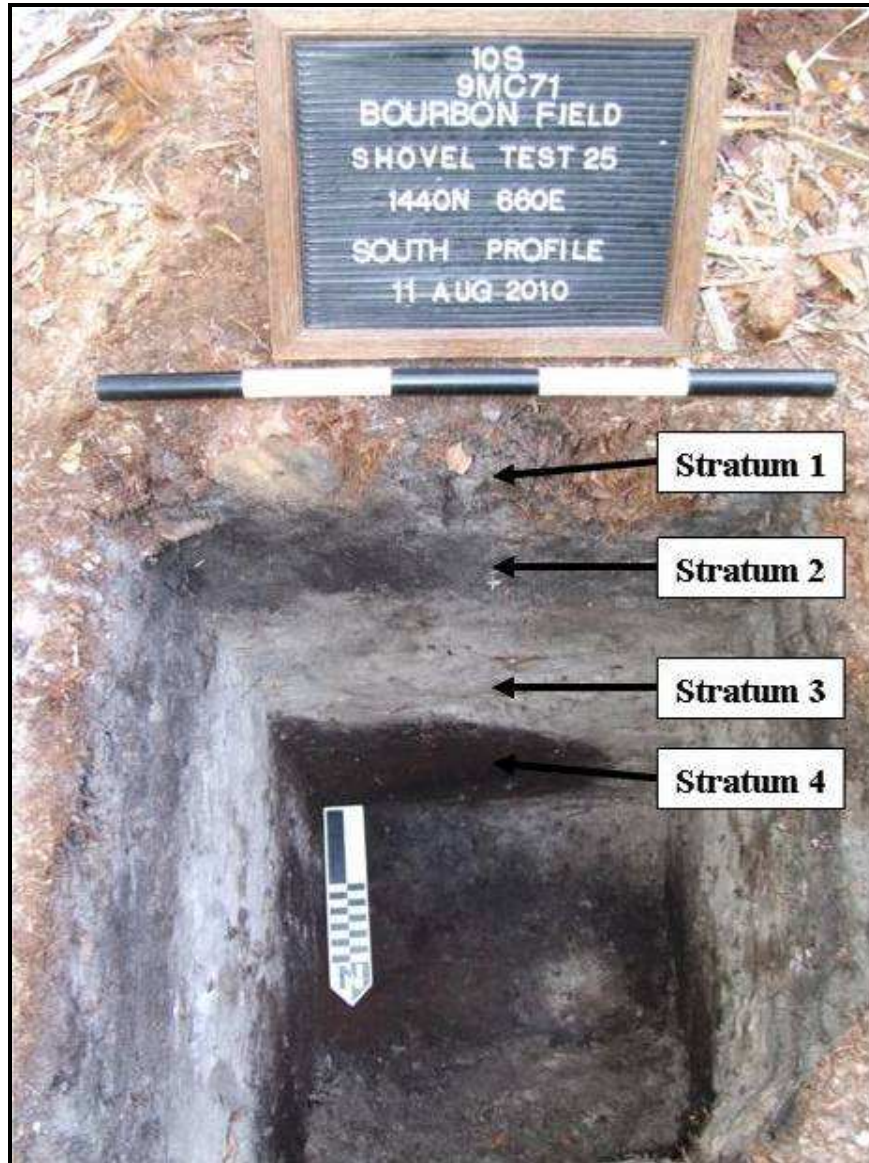


FIGURE 17. Typical four strata shovel test profile in northwest Bourbon Field. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

Native American Artifact Assemblage

Despite thousands of years of occupations at Bourbon Field, the assemblage recovered in most of the study area was, surprisingly, single-component. In the primary areas with heavy concentrations of historic artifacts northwest of and surrounding the above-ground tabby remains there was only a very sparse distribution of Native American ceramics and small chert flakes. Most of the shovel tests in these areas did not produce any Native American ceramics or other evidence of prehistoric or protohistoric occupations. One significant exception was the discovery of a concentration of Altamaha Complicated-Stamped sherds (Feature 1002) in one of the westernmost shovel tests (1440N660E) (Figures 18, 19). The sherds appeared to be from the same vessel and were found in a slightly concave shape, as if a single pot had been dropped face-down and then left on the ground; however, the sherds did not form a complete vessel. Carbonized wood was the only artifact found in context with the broken pot. A few historic artifacts were found above the feature and on the surface a large fragment of tabby was found adjacent to the shovel test. Below the feature, in the light gray sand classified as subsoil in other shovel tests, there was a single small utilized chert flake, which may be associated with an earlier prehistoric occupation. Thus, the feature appeared to be associated with a single isolated incident and not a prolonged protohistoric occupation in that particular area.

The general lack of Native American components in a large portion of the historic occupation area is puzzling as Native American artifacts and features predominate at the site as a whole. The eastern boundary for the historic components is actually marked by an increase in the frequency of Native American sherds recovered in shovel tests. As the number of Native American artifacts increased, the number of historic artifacts decreased until the historic components ceased altogether. Though the reasons behind the apparent separation of the primary



FIGURE 18. Map of northwest Bourbon Field with the location of Feature 1002 indicated.

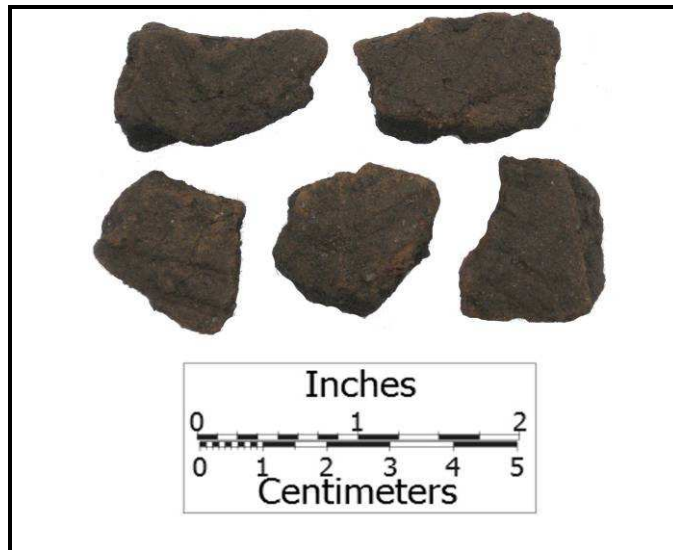


FIGURE 19. Altamaha Complicated-Stamped sherds from Feature 1002.
(Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

historic occupation area from the major Native American archaeological components have yet to be determined, future research efforts may shed light on the subject.

Historic Artifact Assemblage and South's Artifact Groups

Within the newly established boundaries for the historic components of the Bourbon Field study area, shovel tests produced a substantial assemblage that included a variety of significant and diagnostic artifacts. When placed in Stanley South's (1977) function-based historic artifact groups, the artifacts recovered from the 126 shovel tests excavated in the northwest area indicate that Bourbon Field did not always serve strictly as a satellite agricultural tract, but was also the site of regular, long-term domestic activities (Table 2). The substantial architectural assemblage suggests that there were multiple structures at the site made from varying combinations of wood, tabby mortar and plaster, and brick, while the kitchen group is indicative of household activities and day-to-day living (Tables 3, 4). Besides a large number of historic ceramics, the kitchen artifacts include cooking preparation and serving vessels and utensils, as well as a variety of faunal material that ranges from domestic animals to wild game (Figure 20) (Table 5). Additionally, the significant amount of shell recovered in the shovel tests is evidence both of the utilization of tabby as a construction material and the dietary importance of seafood for Bourbon Field's historic occupants (Table 6).

The other artifact groups, though not as substantial, also provide evidence of a regular occupation of the site (Otto 1984; Cabak and Groover 2006:62). Artifacts belonging to the arms, activities, and tobacco groups reveal evidence of subsistence and recreational activities like hunting and fishing, in addition to agricultural-related activities (Tables 7, 8, 9). The clothing and personal artifacts, which were unlikely to be disposed of intentionally, suggest continual traffic in portions of the historic occupation area and serve as possible evidence of the presence of

individuals with different socioeconomic statuses (Tables 10, 11). Additionally, the furniture artifacts like the brass furniture tacks and escutcheon plate seem to represent household furniture that was not merely functional, but decorative as well (Table 12) (Figure 21).

TABLE 2
SHOVEL TEST ARTIFACTS, BY GROUP

Artifact Group	Count	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Activities	--	47.8	0.0
Architecture	--	28007.6	17.0
Arms	32	10.4	0.0
Clothing	6	3.1	0.0
Furniture	11	4.5	0.0
Kitchen	--	1202.5	0.7
Other ^a	--	36.9	0.0
Personal	3	0.4	0.0
Shell ^a	--	136481.6	82.3
Tobacco	17	32.9	0.0
Total	69	165827.7	100.0

Note: Some artifacts are weighed, but not counted in the UWF Archaeology Lab. Groups that contain artifacts without a recorded count have no data entered in the “Count” column in the tables and are not included in the count total.

^aThis group is not one of South’s (1977) artifact groups, but the artifacts associated with it do not fit easily into any of the established groups.

TABLE 3
ARCHITECTURE GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Bracket, Iron	1	8.5	0.0
Brick Fragments, Handmade	5	556.8	2.0
Brick Fragments, >1/2” Indeterminate	103	3354.6	12.0
Brick Fragments, <1/2” Indeterminate	--	68.2	0.2
Clay, Fired	--	12.7	0.1
Glass, Window	2	3.6	0.0
Hook, Hardware	1	9.4	0.0
Nails, Cut	60	134.4	0.5
Nails, Indeterminate	114	142.6	0.5
Nails, Wrought	14	33.6	0.1
Screw	1	0.3	0.0
Spike, Iron	1	15.2	0.1
Tabby Brick Fragments	2	988.5	3.5

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)
 ARCHITECTURE GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Tabby Mortar, Finished	--	218.4	0.8
Tabby Mortar, Unmodified	--	20817.2	74.3
Tabby Plaster, Lathing Marked	--	582.5	2.1
Tabby Plaster, Whitewashed	--	1061.1	3.8
Total	304	28007.6	100.0

TABLE 4
 KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Bone, Unmodified	--	263.9	21.9
Ceramics, Historic	188	428.9	35.7
Container Fragments, Iron	--	8.0	0.7
Cooking Pot Fragments, Iron	1	7.7	0.6
Glass, Case Bottle	4	20.0	1.7
Glass, Drinking	1	0.1	0.0
Glass, Indeterminate	51	30.8	2.6
Glass, Other Bottle	14	28.0	2.3
Glass, Very Thin	6	1.7	0.1
Glass, Wine Bottle	72	396.8	33.0
Knife Blade, Iron	1	16.6	1.4
Total	338	1202.5	100.0

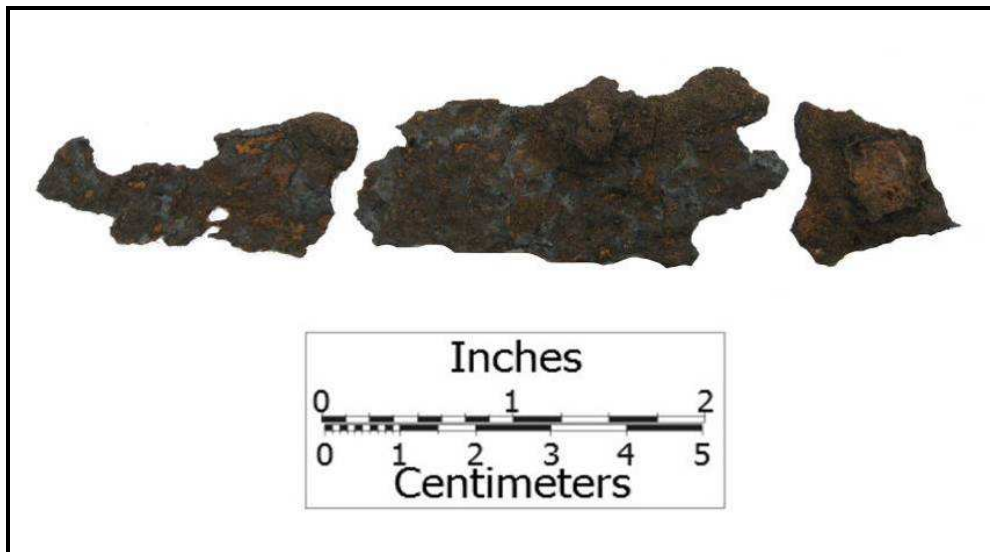


FIGURE 20. Iron knife blade fragments recovered in a shovel test.
 (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

TABLE 5
UNMODIFIED BONE FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Bone Type	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Amphibian, Indeterminate	3.3	1.3
Bird, Indeterminate	4.2	1.6
Bone, Indeterminate	96.8	36.7
Catfish	3.0	1.1
Cow	2.9	1.1
Deer	8.3	3.1
Drum/Sheepshead	3.0	1.1
Fish, Indeterminate	24.7	9.4
Mammal, Indeterminate	27.0	10.2
Mammal, Indeterminate Large	68.8	26.1
Mammal, Indeterminate Small	2.6	1.0
Opossum	0.1	0.0
Pig	7.5	2.8
Reptile, Indeterminate	0.4	0.2
Rodent, Indeterminate	0.3	0.1
Stingray	0.3	0.1
Turtle	10.7	4.1
Total	263.9	100.0

TABLE 6
SHELL FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Shell Type	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Barnacle	20.9	0.0
Cockle	17.2	0.0
Conch	52.4	0.0
Crab	1.2	0.0
Gastropod, Indeterminate	60.2	0.0
Mercenaria (Clam)	8073.4	5.9
Oyster	90821.1	66.6
Scallop/Cockle, Indeterminate	9.4	0.0
Shell, Indeterminate	35986.0	26.4
Whelk	1439.8	1.1
Total	136481.6	100.0

Note: The shell was not included in the kitchen group because some of it came from units containing tabby and may have served an architectural purpose; however, a significant portion of the shell most likely relates to dietary practices.

TABLE 7
ARMS GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Casing	2	0.2
Percussion Caps, Brass	2	0.3
Shot, Lead	28	9.9
Total	32	10.4

TABLE 8
ACTIVITIES GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Barbed Wire Fragments	4	35.4
Chain	1	7.3
Fishing Weight, Lead	1	4.7
Horse Tack	--	0.4
Total	6	47.8

TABLE 9
TOBACCO GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Pipe Bowl Fragments, White Clay	9	8.0
Pipe Bowl and Stem Fragments, White Clay	2	10.8
Pipe Stems, White Clay	6	14.1
Total	17	32.9

TABLE 10
CLOTHING GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Bead, Clothing (Glass)	1	0.2
Buckle Fragment, Indeterminate ^a	1	1.4
Button, Bone	1	0.1
Button, Brass	1	0.7
Hook and Eye, Clothing	1	0.1
Rivet	1	0.6
Total	6	3.1

^a Artifact may not belong in the clothing group, but its placement in that group is the best guess based on its most probable function.

TABLE 11
PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Bead, Personal Adornment (Glass)	2	0.3
Jewelry Part	1	0.1
Total	3	0.4

TABLE 12
FURNITURE GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Escutcheon Plate	1	3.2
Staple Fragments, Furniture	7	0.3
Tacks, Furniture	3	1.0
Total	11	4.5

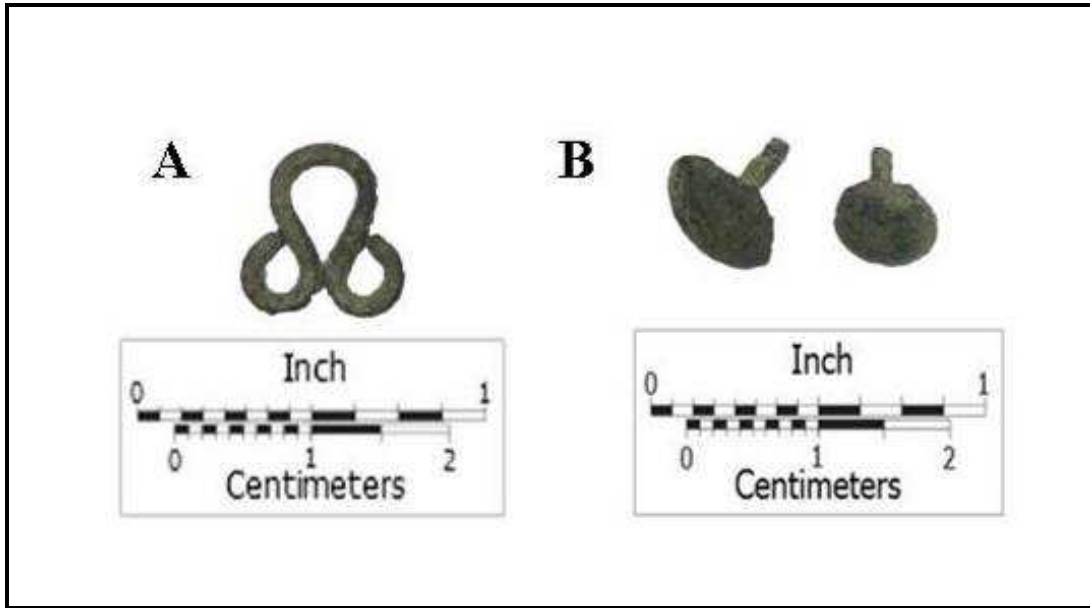


FIGURE 21. (A) Brass clothing eye and (B) brass furniture tacks recovered in shovel tests.
(Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

Historic Ceramics

Although the historic ceramic assemblage includes a wide spectrum of types that spanned both early and later historic periods, pearlware (circa 1780-1840), in all of its various forms, predominates in the Bourbon Field historic ceramic assemblage (Table 13) (Figure 22). The 93 pearlware sherds outnumber both the earlier ceramics with date ranges beginning in the colonial period and the later ceramics with date ranges extending into the postbellum era (Gaimster 1997; Florida Museum of Natural History 2011) (Figure 23). The only ceramics definitively associated with the Spanish period are a glazed olive jar sherd (circa 1490-1900) and Ichtucknee Blue on White majolica (circa 1600-1650), recovered in shovel tests in the study area’s easternmost periphery. Creamware (circa 1762-1820) is the second most common type of ceramic recovered in northwest Bourbon Field; although, at 40 sherds, the creamware assemblage is less than half the size of the pearlware assemblage.

TABLE 13
HISTORIC CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Ceramic Type	Count	Count (%)	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	1	0.5	0.6	0.1
Coarse Earthenware, Lead-Glazed	1	0.5	0.1	0.0
Creamware, Annular	1	0.5	1.0	0.2
Creamware, Hand-Painted	1	0.5	1.3	0.3
Creamware, Mocha	2	1.1	6.9	1.6
Creamware, Plain	36	19.1	43.7	10.2
Creamware, Relief-Molded	1	0.5	2.4	0.5
Creamware, Royal Edge	1	0.5	3.7	0.9
Delft, Plain	1	0.5	0.7	0.2
Majolica, Ichtucknee Blue on White	1	0.5	0.9	0.2
Olive Jar, Glazed	1	0.5	13.0	3.0
Pearlware, Annular	5	2.7	10.1	2.4
Pearlware, Blue Hand-Painted	3	1.6	2.8	0.7
Pearlware, Hand-Painted	4	2.1	4.3	1.0
Pearlware, Molded	1	0.5	6.8	1.6
Pearlware, Molded-Edge	1	0.5	3.1	0.7

TABLE 13 (CONTINUED)
 HISTORIC CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES FROM SHOVEL TESTS

Ceramic Type	Count	Count (%)	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Pearlware, Plain	42	22.3	84.6	19.7
Pearlware, Shell-Edged	5	2.7	17.8	4.2
Pearlware, Sponged	1	0.5	1.2	0.3
Pearlware, Sprig Earthtones Polychrome	3	1.6	2.0	0.5
Pearlware, Transfer-Printed	28	14.9	29.8	6.9
Porcelain, Over-Glazed Chinese	1	0.5	1.2	0.3
Porcelain, Plain	1	0.5	0.5	0.1
Redware, Lead-Glazed	12	6.4	15.8	3.7
Refined Earthenware, Indeterminate	3	1.6	6.4	1.5
Stoneware, Brown Salt-Glazed	3	1.6	52.9	12.3
Stoneware, Gray Salt-Glazed	4	2.1	67.0	15.6
Stoneware, Lead-Glazed	1	0.5	1.4	0.3
Whiteware, Hand-Painted	1	0.5	2.1	0.5
Whiteware, Plain	10	5.3	23.1	5.4
Whiteware, Transfer-Printed	10	5.3	20.0	4.7
Yellowware, Annular	2	1.1	0.8	0.2
Yellowware, Wormy Finger-Painted	1	0.5	0.9	0.2
Total	189	100.0	428.9	100.0

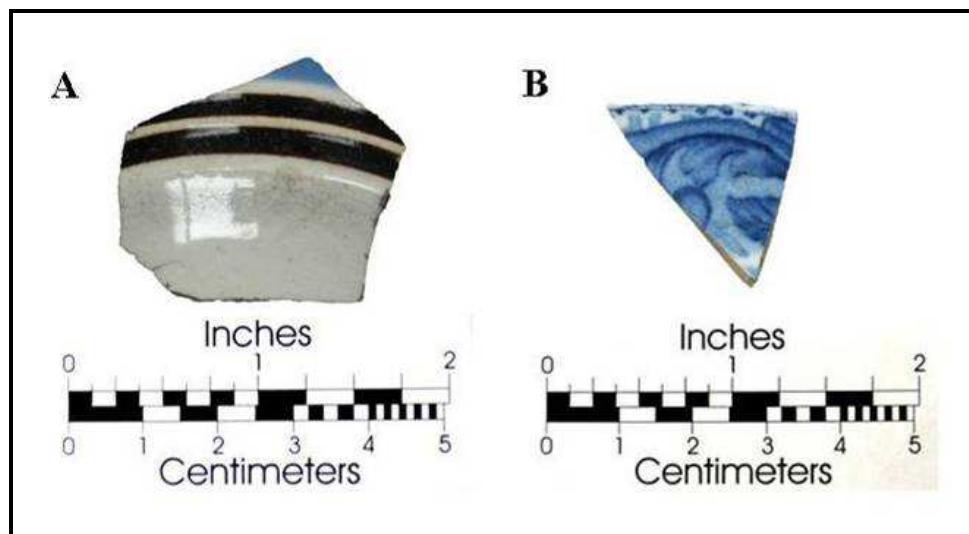


FIGURE 22. (A) Annular pearlware cup sherd and (B) transfer-printed pearlware rim sherd recovered in shovel tests. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

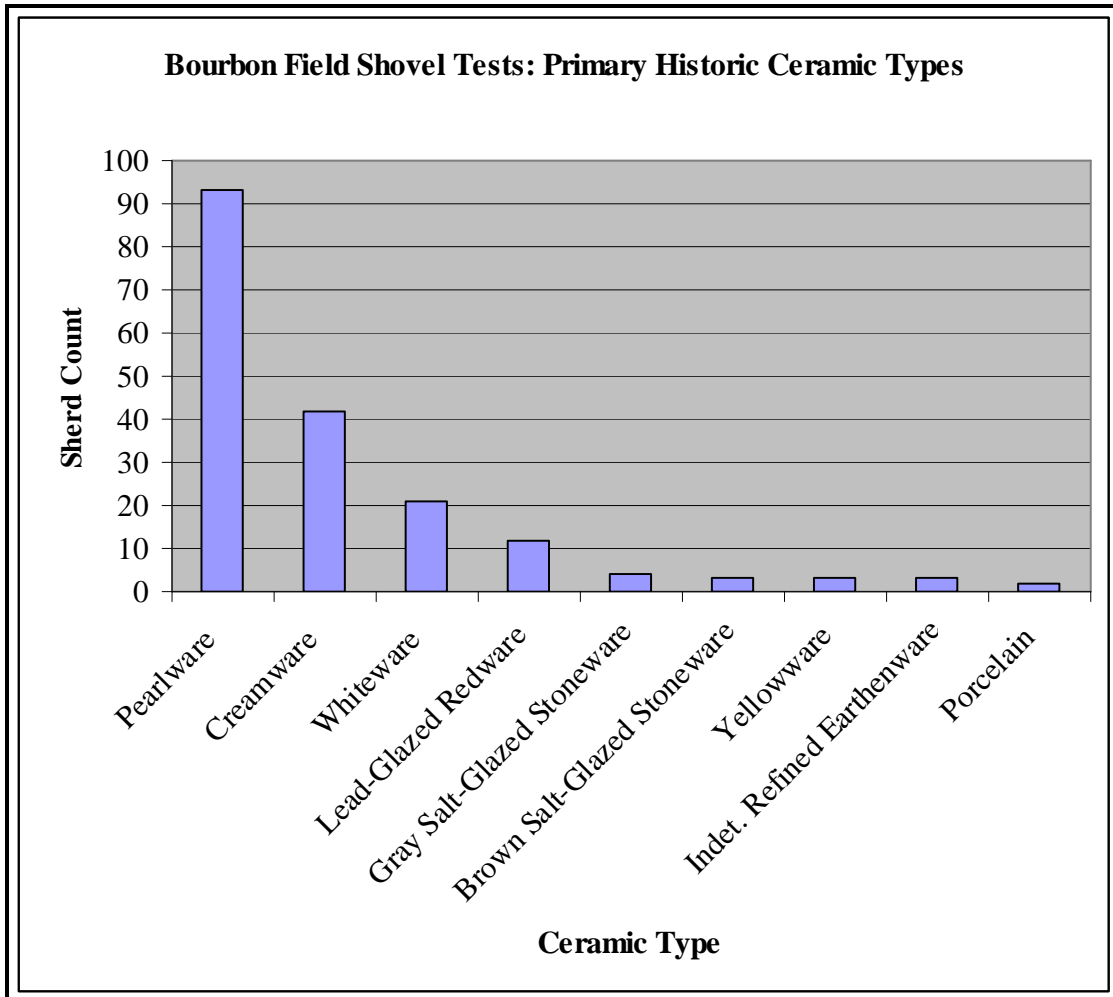


FIGURE 23. Graph showing the frequencies of the primary historic ceramic types recovered in shovel tests.

Practically all diagnostic historic ceramics were found in the first two excavation levels of the shovel tests (0 to 40 cm below ground surface), which typically correlated with the same upper dark gray stratum, and only two shovel tests contained ceramics in Level 3 (40 to 60 cm below ground surface) (Figure 24). One shovel test (1320N1040E) did contain a ceramic below Level 3, but it was a single Spanish mission period majolica sherd (circa 1600-1650). All of the more numerous diagnostic historic ceramic types, earlier and later, were found in Levels 1 and either 2 or 3 throughout the study area (Table 14).

Shovel tests in the northern portion of the study area, close to the Blackbeard Creek shoreline held the highest concentrations of historic ceramics (Figure 25). Even in places where large numbers of ceramics were not found, most of the shovel tests contained at least one to four historic sherds, providing evidence that the northern area was where the most intensive historic occupations occurred. In general, the consistent recovery of historic sherds in shovel tests ended between 100 and 120 m from the shoreline and the shovel tests containing historic ceramics further south were much sparser. The diversity of historic ceramics was also particularly high in the northernmost portion of the occupation area and included significant numbers of both earlier and later ceramic types with date ranges spanning the 18th and 19th centuries. Most of the units excavated in the northern region contained a combination of these earlier and later ceramics.

Using the Florida Museum of Natural History's (2011) Digital Type Collection and the UWF archaeology lab's unpublished Sapelo Island historic ceramic guide (Harris [2010]), mean ceramic dates were calculated for the ceramic assemblage, including one that utilized all diagnostic sherds (MCD 1) and another that excluded ceramics with especially long date ranges of 200 years or more (MCD 2) (Table 15). Lead-glazed redware (circa 1490-1900) and gray salt-glazed stoneware (circa 1700-1900) were both taken out of the MCD 2 calculations. Not

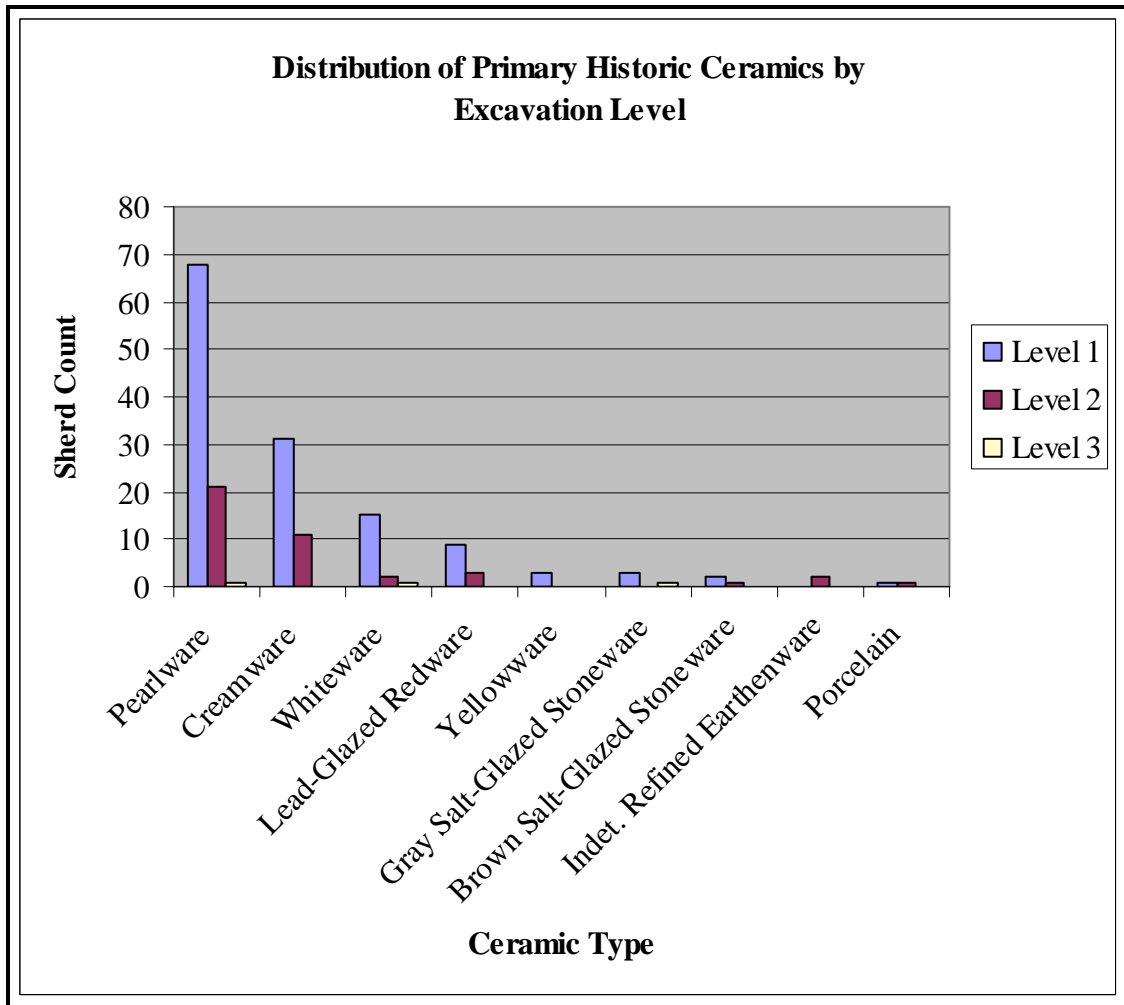


FIGURE 24. Graph showing the distribution of the most numerous historic ceramic types recovered in shovel tests, by excavation level. “Indet.” stands for “Indeterminate” on the graph. (The Spanish mission period olive jar and majolica sherds were not included in the graph.)

TABLE 14
 CERAMICS RECOVERED IN SHOVEL TESTS, BY LEVEL

Level	Ceramic Type	Count	Weight (g)	
1	Coarse Earthenware, Lead-Glazed	1	0.1	
	Creamware	31	28.6	
	Pearlware	68	124.8	
	Porcelain	1	0.5	
	Redware, Lead-Glazed	9	9.4	
	Stoneware, Brown Salt-Glazed	2	13.4	
	Stoneware, Gray Salt-Glazed	3	9.0	
	Stoneware, Lead-Glazed	1	1.4	
	Whiteware	15	37.3	
	Yellowware	3	1.7	
	Total	134	226.2	
	2	Creamware	11	15.1
		Pearlware	21	34.8
Porcelain		1	1.2	
Redware, Lead-Glazed		3	6.4	
Refined Earthenware, Indeterminate		2	4.9	
Stoneware, Brown Salt-Glazed		1	39.1	
Whiteware		2	1.1	
Total		41	102.6	
3	Olive Jar	1	13.0	
	Pearlware	1	2.4	
	Stoneware, Gray Salt-Glazed	1	58.0	
	Whiteware	1	0.1	
	Total	4	73.5	
4	Majolica	1	0.9	
	Total	1	0.9	

Note: Ceramics recovered during photo-cleaning involving multiple levels were not included in the table.



FIGURE 25. GIS map showing the distribution of historic ceramics in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

included in any of the mean ceramic date calculations were the olive jar and majolica sherds, as well as the indeterminate coarse and refined earthenware sherds and the lead-glazed stoneware sherd, all of which lacked well-defined date ranges.

TABLE 15
MEAN CERAMIC DATES FOR THE SHOVEL TEST
CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

MCD 1 Sherd Count	MCD 1	MCD 2 Sherd Count	MCD 2
181	1805.6	165	1814.4

With the two mean ceramic dates less than a decade apart, they both suggest a similar early occupation of Bourbon Field that feasibly could have begun in the late 1700s and continued at least through the first few decades of the 19th century. The presence of whiteware (circa 1830-present) in the ceramic assemblage could be associated with occupations that occurred as late as the 20th century and it brings the ceramic *terminus post quem* (TPQ) to 1964, the year by which all Geechee residents had been relocated to the Hog Hammock community on the south end of Sapelo by Richard J. Reynolds, Jr. (Crook et al. 2003:37).

An analysis of the distribution of specific ceramic types provides evidence of a continuous, relatively long-term occupation of the entire northern area, rather than staggered occupations in various locations. In places where shovel tests contained high numbers of historic sherds there was generally a combination of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware (Figures 26, 27, 28). The productive westernmost shovel tests had creamware, pearlware, and lead-glazed redware, but no whiteware, suggesting that a slightly earlier occupation may have occurred in the western region. Although whiteware sherds were present throughout the rest of the northern area, the pearlware and creamware sherds were far more common. Thus, earlier ceramics predominate throughout the northernmost portion of the occupation area.



FIGURE 26. GIS map showing the distribution of creamware in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)



FIGURE 27. GIS map showing the distribution of pearlware in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)



FIGURE 28. GIS map showing the distribution of whiteware in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

Additional mean ceramic dates were calculated for specific regions within the study area (Table 16). The entire historic occupation area was divided into three separate segments, starting the westernmost area and moving eastward (Figure 29). The divisions between segments were based roughly on the clusters of shovel tests with high concentrations of historic ceramics. The first segment (Segment 1) consisted of the western third of the occupation area (640E-740E). The second segment (Segment 2) covered the central area, consisting primarily of productive shovel tests surrounding the above-ground tabby remains (760E-860E). The third segment (Segment 3) corresponded to the eastern third of the occupation area where the historic artifacts and ceramics are much sparser and spread out, suggesting that the area was on the outskirts of the intensive historic occupations (880E-1020E). The mean ceramic dates for the three segments resulted from calculations using all diagnostic ceramics (MCD 1) and calculations that eliminated ceramics with unusually long date ranges of 200 years or more, which might skew the results (MCD 2). The indeterminate coarse earthenware, indeterminate refined earthenware, and the lead-glazed stoneware sherds were not included in any of the mean ceramic date calculations because they lack clearly defined date ranges.

TABLE 16
MEAN CERAMIC DATES AND CERAMIC TPQ'S FOR SHOVEL TESTS, BY AREA

Site Area	MCD 1 Sherd Count	MCD 1	MCD 2 Sherd Count	MCD 2	TPQ
Segment 1 (640E-740E)	104	1803.6	92	1815.1	1964
Segment 2 (760E-860E)	92	1815.9	67	1819.6	1964
Segment 3 (880E-1020)	8	1787.6	7	1797.3	1840



FIGURE 29. GIS map showing the distribution of historic ceramics in northwest Bourbon Field, divided into segments.
 (Map by author, 2012.)

Using all diagnostic sherds, the mean ceramic dates for all three segments are noticeably different, with nearly 28 years separating Segment 2 and 3; however, with the elimination of certain outlier ceramic types from the calculations, the difference becomes less significant. The TPQ's for the historic ceramics recovered in each of the three segments provide similar temporal data. While the presence of whiteware (circa 1830-present) in Segments 1 and 2 results in the same late TPQ of 1964, Segment 3 has a significantly earlier TPQ of 1840 with the latest ceramic type being transfer-printed pearlware (circa 1780-1840).

High v. Low Status Artifacts

In addition to temporal data, the historic ceramic assemblage provides clues for the possible socioeconomic status of Bourbon Field's former historic occupants. The most expensive and high status ceramic type recovered in the study area was porcelain, but it was recovered only in two shovel tests, both of which were located in the central half of the occupation area in the vicinity of the above-ground tabby remains (Hume 1970:257; Miller 1980:32). Transfer-printed pearlware and whiteware, two other higher status ceramic types found in the occupation area, were much more frequent than porcelain and were recovered all across the northernmost region with no visible pattern or clusters (Figure 30) (Miller 1980:4, 1991:14). The transfer-printed pearlware and whiteware sherds were actually the most frequent of all decorated historic wares recovered in the entire study area.

Annularwares, which traditionally have been associated with slaves and lower status individuals on southern plantation sites because of their tendency to be cheaper, more utilitarian vessels, were much less common than the transfer-printed ceramics (Miller 1980:3-4; Otto 1984). Found in the form of creamware, pearlware, and yellowware, the annularware sherds were always recovered in shovel tests that also had transfer-printed ceramics, indicating that



FIGURE 30. GIS map showing the distribution of transfer-printed ceramics in northwest Bourbon Field.
(Map by author, 2012.)

neither decorative type could be associated solely with individuals of a particular high or low socioeconomic status. The annular ceramics were found primarily in the western region of the study area, with only one annularware sherd recovered in the vicinity of the above-ground tabby remains (Figure 31).

Plain creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, as well as brown and gray salt-glazed stoneware, which also were cheaper than the decorated refined earthenwares and often served as utilitarian wares rather than table wares, were found throughout the entire historic occupation area in no specific pattern (Hume 1970:100-101; Miller 1980:3). Like the annularwares, these utilitarian vessels were frequently recovered in shovel tests that also produced transfer-printed ceramics.

As a result of dietary and status differences, slave and planter assemblages frequently have produced different vessel form data on southern plantation sites (Drucker 1981:64-66; Otto 1984:167; Adams and Boling 1989:77-80; Singleton 1991:153). Most notably, bowl sherds and cooking and storage vessels have been recovered in areas associated with slaves and slave activities while plates, platters, tea cups, saucers, and other serving vessels have been found in areas associated with the planter families. Unfortunately, most of the historic ceramic sherds were not large enough and did not have distinctive enough features to definitively identify them as plates, bowls, cups, or other vessel forms. In fact, only 16 shovel tests had sherds with identifiable vessel forms (Figure 32). Plates were the most common identifiable vessel form, followed by bowls and cups, which had identical frequencies. A tea pot sherd, a platter sherd, a mug sherd, and a jug sherd were also recognized in the ceramic assemblage.



FIGURE 31. GIS map showing the distribution of annular ceramics in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

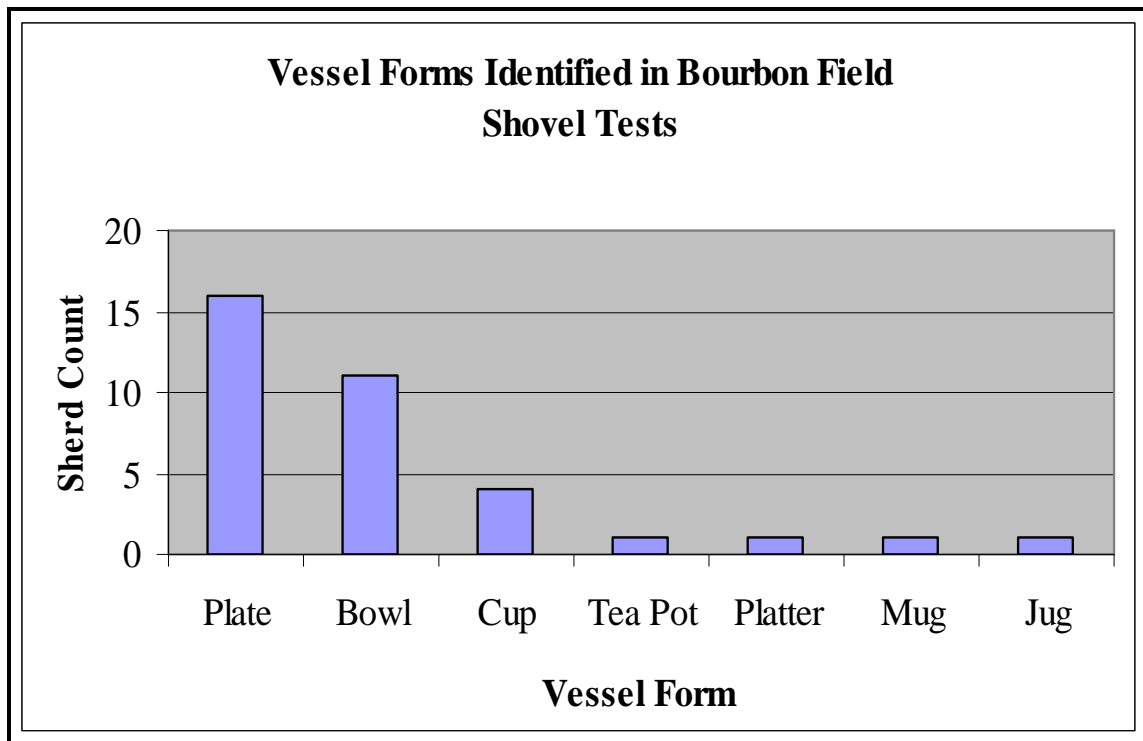


FIGURE 32. Graph depicting the frequencies of the ceramic vessel forms found in shovel tests.

Distribution analysis for the various vessel forms generally proved inconclusive. Plate sherds were scattered throughout the study area with no clear distribution pattern (Figure 33). The bowl sherds had a less scattered distribution (Figure 34). They occurred in shovel tests in the westernmost portion of the historic occupation area and in shovel tests on either side (east and west) of the above-ground tabby remains. The cup sherds had a similar distribution as the bowl sherds, occurring in the western region of the occupation area and relatively close to (north and east of) the above-ground tabby remains; however, the cup sherds were never recovered in the same shovel tests as the bowl sherds and, in all but one shovel test, they were recovered in the same shovel tests as plate sherds (Figure 35). In separate shovel tests, plate sherds were also found in shovel tests containing bowl and jug sherds.

The small number of sherds with identifiable vessel forms resulted in similar problems when CC Index calculations were attempted for the historic sherds recovered in the shovel tests in the occupation area. Developed by George L. Miller (1980, 1991), the CC Index uses plain creamware, which was consistently the cheapest ceramic type available during the 19th century, as the basis for establishing the relative value of other 19th-century ceramics. Assigning plain creamware (or cream colored “CC” ware) a set value of 1.00, Miller has given other ceramic types their own values based on how much more expensive they were than plain creamware in particular years during the 1800s. The specific values designated for different ceramics depend on the approximate dates of their production, the vessel form, the presence or absence of decoration, and the type of decoration. A total CC Index value can be calculated for each primary vessel form--bowls, plates, and tea wares--in a historic ceramic assemblage once a representative date for the assemblage has been chosen. For the CC Index calculations in the present investigation, 1814 was chosen as the representative year for historic occupations because it was



FIGURE 33. GIS map showing the distribution of plate sherds in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)



FIGURE 34. GIS map showing the distribution of bowl sherds in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)



FIGURE 35. GIS map showing the distribution of cup sherds in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

the closest year available in Miller's index tables to most of the mean ceramic dates calculated for Bourbon Field (Table 17). The year 1814 is also close to the median of pearlware's date range, the most numerous of all historic ceramic types recovered in the shovel tests.

TABLE 17
1814 CC INDEX VALUES FOR SHOVEL TEST CERAMICS

Vessel Form	CC Index
Bowl	1.40
Plate	2.38
Tea Ware	2.80

The results of the CC Index calculations conform fairly well to the traditional associations between different vessel forms and socioeconomic status wherein plates and tea wares are associated with individuals of higher socioeconomic status due to their function as serving and table ware and because they were often decorated and relatively expensive, while bowls and cooking vessels are associated with individuals of lower socioeconomic status because of their utilitarian function and lack of elaborate decorations. At 1.40, the CC Index value for the bowl sherds found in the Bourbon Field shovel tests is not much higher than the value of plain creamware (1.00), but the plate sherds, with a total value of 2.38, are more than double the value of the plain creamware and the tea ware sherds, at 2.80, are nearly three times the value of the plain creamware. If there were more sherds with identifiable vessel forms, more significance could be attributed to these CC Index values.

The distribution of other status-related artifacts was similarly ambiguous. Artifacts that could have been associated with higher status individuals, such as jewelry parts, drinking glass fragments, window glass, decorated metal buttons, and furniture artifacts were only recovered in one or two shovel tests spread out through the historic occupation area (Kelso 1984:205-206; Adams and Boling 1989:93-94; Honerkamp et al. 2007:57-58). In fact, it was rare that more than

one of these high status artifacts was recovered in the same shovel test and less than half of the shovel tests with historic artifacts had any high status artifacts at all. The only part of northwest Bourbon Field with a significant number of high status artifacts was the area near the tabby remains, which produced furniture artifacts, a drinking glass shard, and two window glass shards--the only two recovered in shovel tests (Figure 36). Interestingly, no comparable concentrations of definitively low status artifacts existed in the historic occupation area.

Architectural Artifacts and Historic Structures

The architectural artifacts recovered in shovel tests help to further characterize the historic occupations at Bourbon Field. The shovel tests excavated in the delineated historic occupation area produced a considerable amount and variety of architectural materials. Tabby mortar and plaster, brick, and nails were the primary architectural artifacts recovered in the survey excavations. The broad spectrum of information associated with the architectural material at Bourbon Field made detailed analysis of the three primary architectural artifact types essential to determining the site's function and significance during the historic period.

The largest category of architectural materials recovered during the shovel test survey of the occupation area was tabby mortar and plaster. Tabby, a version of concrete that is made from oyster shell, lime, sand, and water, was a popular architectural material used by planters on Sapelo Island and was common all along the Georgia coast (Coulter 1940; Sullivan 1990). Tabby mortar was purely structural and often had a coarse texture with large fragments of shell, while tabby plaster typically had a finer, smoother texture and was utilized both as the finishing on the outside of structures and as covering for lathing on structures with wooden elements (Honerkamp et al. 2007:58). The distribution of both forms of tabby suggests that there were at least five structures in the historic occupation area of the site, including the structure associated



FIGURE 36. GIS map showing the distribution of (non-ceramic) high-status artifacts in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

with the above-ground tabby remains and the large subsurface concentration of tabby that was discovered north of shovel test 1340N920E. The possible presence of three additional historic structures is indicated by three clusters of shovel tests with relatively high amounts of tabby. These three suspected structures are hereafter referred to as Structures 1, 2, and 3, beginning with westernmost cluster of shovel tests and moving eastward (Figure 37). Each of these clusters includes a shovel test that produced at least 500 to 1,000 g of tabby mortar and, in most cases, significant amounts of plaster. Since the three shovel test clusters span a significant area, it is also possible that they each represent multiple structures. The fourth structure (Structure 4) can be pinpointed to a more specific location that includes not only the above-ground tabby remains, but also the adjacent shovel test (1420N780E) excavated west of the remains and within the parameters of the dense subsurface tabby scatter surrounding the remains. The hypothesized fifth structure (Structure 5) north of shovel test 1340N920E could not be examined due to time constraints and therefore is not included in the analysis of Bourbon Field's historic structures. The three possible historic structures (Structures 1-3) and above-ground tabby remains (Structure 4) may represent domestic structures, as they roughly coordinate with areas containing high frequencies of historic ceramics "(Figure 25)." While in most cases, the areas with high historic sherd counts do not match the four areas with high tabby concentrations perfectly, they do overlap with and extend north of the suspected historic structures and tabby remains.

Structures 1 through 4 are located in the northern portion of the study area, but, based on the shovel test data alone, there does not appear to be a particularly significant pattern existing between the four tabby concentrations. There may be some significance in the fact Structure 4 is considerably farther away from the closest suspected historic structure than Structures 1, 2, and 3



FIGURE 37. GIS map showing the distribution of tabby mortar and plaster in northwest Bourbon Field with Structures 1, 2, 3, and 4 outlined in white. (Map by author, 2012.)

are from each other. Structures 1, 2 and 3 are all located in the northwestern-most corner of the study area no more than 20 m apart, while Structure 4 is located further east, approximately 60 m from the nearest suspected structure (Structure 3).

Outside of Structures 1, 2, 3, and 4 small amounts of tabby mortar (less than 200g) were found in shovel tests throughout the northwestern area. Similar to the overall historic ceramic distribution, a vast majority of the tabby was found in a swath that paralleled the northwestern shoreline, surrounding the three suspected structures and the tabby remains and extending no more than 100 m south of Blackbeard Creek. Shovel tests further south generally did not have any tabby, and those that did were dispersed and relatively isolated from each other instead of being concentrated in specific areas. The swath of tabby-producing shovel tests was mostly contained in the western half of the study area, stopping 80 m or so west of the northern edge of the cleared field that covers most of the site.

While structural tabby mortar was the most common form of tabby, shovel tests did produce small amounts of bricks made from tabby and various types of tabby plaster, including finished and whitewashed tabby plaster, as well as tabby plaster with lathing marks (Table 18) (Figures 38, 39). Interestingly, rather than being scattered throughout the tabby-producing shovel tests in the northwestern-most area, the modified tabby plaster and tabby bricks only appeared in areas that have been pinpointed as possible historic structures and in the shovel test adjacent to the above ground remains (1420N780E) (Figure 40). Finished tabby plaster was found in Structures 1 and 4, white-washed tabby plaster was found in Structures 1 and 2, and tabby plaster with lathing marks was found in Structures 1, 2, and 4. In contrast to the various types of tabby plaster, the tabby bricks and brick fragments were only found in Structure 4.

TABLE 18
 ARCHITECTURAL ARTIFACTS ASSOCIATED WITH FOUR POSSIBLE
 STRUCTURES IN NORTHWEST BOURBON FIELD

Architectural Material	Structure 1	Structure 2	Structure 3	Structure 4
Brick, Handmade (g)	0	0	0	127.1
Brick, Indeterminate (g)	274.9	361.4	138.1	315.8
Total Brick (g)	274.9	361.4	138.1	442.9
Tabby Brick (g)	0	0	0	988.5
Tabby Mortar, Finished (g)	29.9	0	0	188.5
Tabby Mortar, Finished and Marked (g)	859.6	0	0	0
Tabby Mortar, Unmodified (g)	6,289.5	1,308.1	1,099.5	11,503.9
Tabby Plaster, Lathing Marked (g)	329.9	164.5	0	88.1
Tabby Plaster, Whitewashed (g)	919.2	141.9	0	0
Total Tabby (g)	8,428.1	1,614.5	1,099.5	12,769.0
Nails and Nail Fragments (#)	18	13	10	28

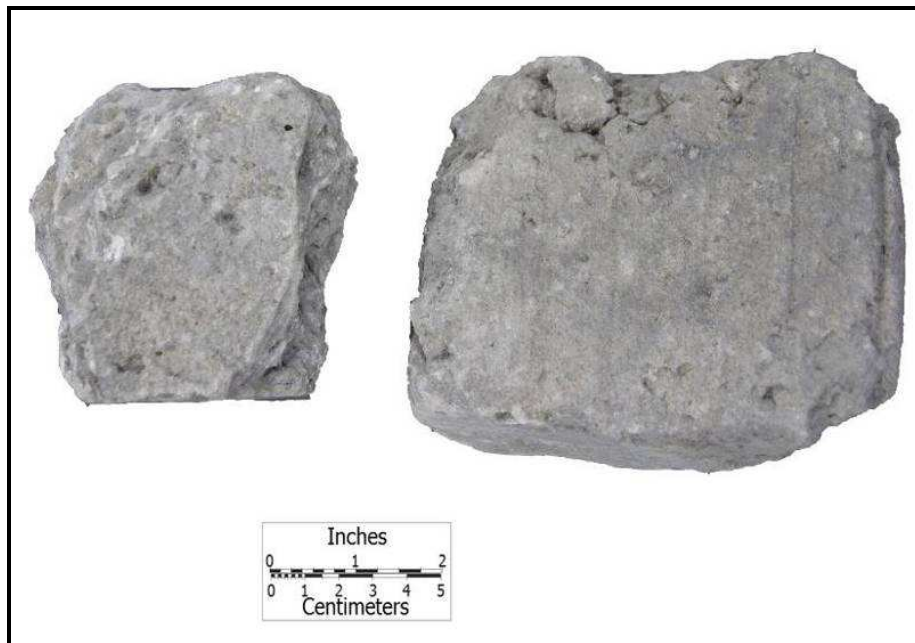


FIGURE 38. Tabby brick fragments recovered in shovel test 1420N780E.
 (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

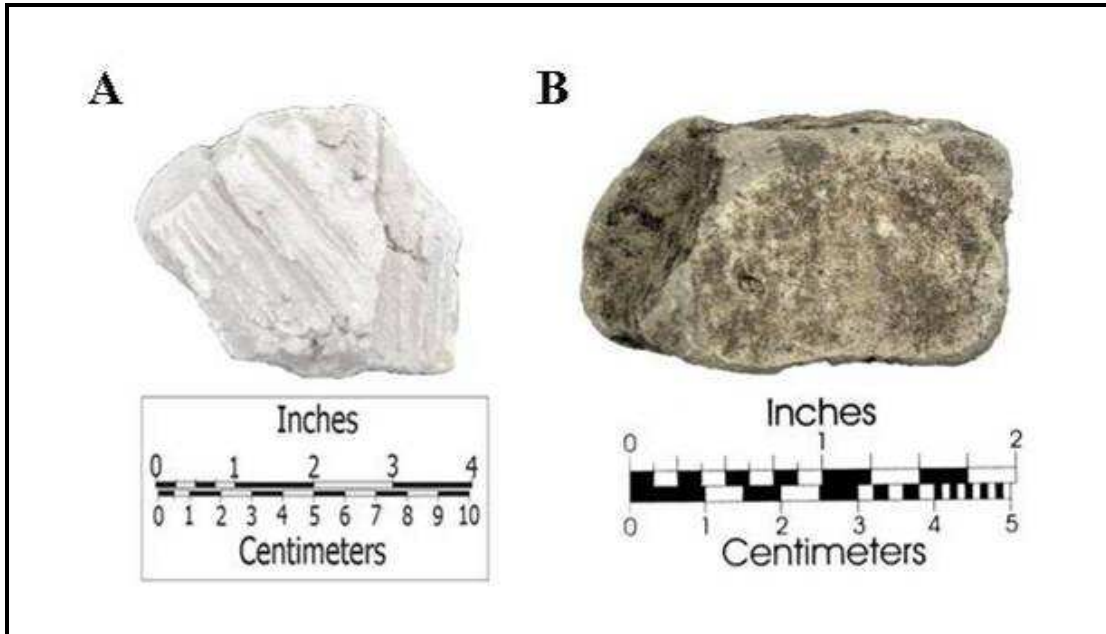


FIGURE 39. (A) Tabby with lathing marks and (B) whitewashed tabby recovered in shovel tests. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)



FIGURE 40. GIS map showing the distribution of modified tabby mortar and plaster in northwest Bourbon Field with Structures 1, 2, and 4 outlined in white. (Map by author, 2012.)

As with tabby, the clay bricks and brick fragments recovered in the shovel tests in the study area were concentrated for the most part in the northwestern region (Figure 41). Most of the clay brick was indeterminate, except for a very limited amount of handmade brick and a few brick tile fragments. While in general there was less clay brick than tabby in the study area, it was still a common find in the shovel tests. There was only one shovel test with 500 to 1,000 g of indeterminate brick, while the rest of the shovel tests with indeterminate brick contained 400 g or less. A majority of the shovel tests containing brick had between 10 and 200 g (18 out of the 28 shovel tests). Only five shovel tests had significant amounts of identifiable handmade brick, but there was no more than 200 g of handmade brick in those shovel tests.

There were two areas with several shovel tests that had significant concentrations of brick in them, but they were both relatively large areas and did not seem to pinpoint the specific locations of possible brick structures or architectural features. One of the two areas with significant concentrations of brick was in the western region not far from East Perimeter Road and included a total of 13 shovel tests; however, only one of those shovel tests had a large amount of brick (500 to 1,000 g) and it was peripherally located. The other area loosely surrounds the above-ground tabby remains and includes nine shovel tests. The shovel test with the most brick in that area, 1420N780E, was adjacent to the tabby remains (Structure 4) and also had the most tabby of all the shovel tests in the historic occupation area “(Table 18).” It did not have enough brick in it to suggest the presence of a large brick architectural feature, but it does provide evidence that the former structure had some brick elements. With the exception of the shovel test adjacent to the tabby remains, most of the shovel tests in the surrounding area had only 10 to 50 g of brick, which is too small an amount to associate with a particular structure or architectural feature. Besides being in the same general area, the distribution of brick only



FIGURE 41. GIS map showing the distribution of brick in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

loosely corresponds to the distribution of tabby. The specific areas containing shovel tests with the largest amounts of brick overlap with but do not exactly match the clusters of shovel tests with significant concentrations of tabby (Structures 1-3) “(Figure 37).” The only exception is the shovel test adjacent to Structure 4.

The shovel tests in the historic occupation area also produced a large number of nails and nail fragments, but their distribution did not fall into a clear pattern (Figure 42). As with the other architectural materials, most of the shovel tests containing nails were located in the northwestern area relatively close to the Blackbeard Creek shoreline; however, unlike the brick and tabby, the nail distribution dips south in the central portion of the study area near the suspected Geechee house site, and becomes quite sparse in the eastern half of the occupation area. There were 32 shovel tests that produced nails and nail fragments, a vast majority of which only contained 1 to 10 nails total. The largest number of nails and nail fragments found in a single shovel tests was 28 and those were found in the shovel test associated with the above-ground tabby remains (Structure 4) “(Table 18).” Out of the remaining shovel tests containing nails and nail fragments, there are only two that produced more than 10 nails.

The concentration of nails found south of the tabby remains is most likely associated with the former Geechee house that once existed in that area, but the nails recovered in many of the shovel tests east of the tabby remains do not correspond to any known structures or concentrations of tabby or brick (Harris 2007; Harris and Jarvis 2009, 2010). They may be the remains of smaller, purely frame structures which, for some practical purpose, were closer to the cleared agricultural fields than the structures with tabby and brick elements. Alternately, the proximity of those shovel tests to the northern edge of the cleared field may mean that the nails and nail fragments in the southeastern area are merely artifact scatter resulting from plowing.

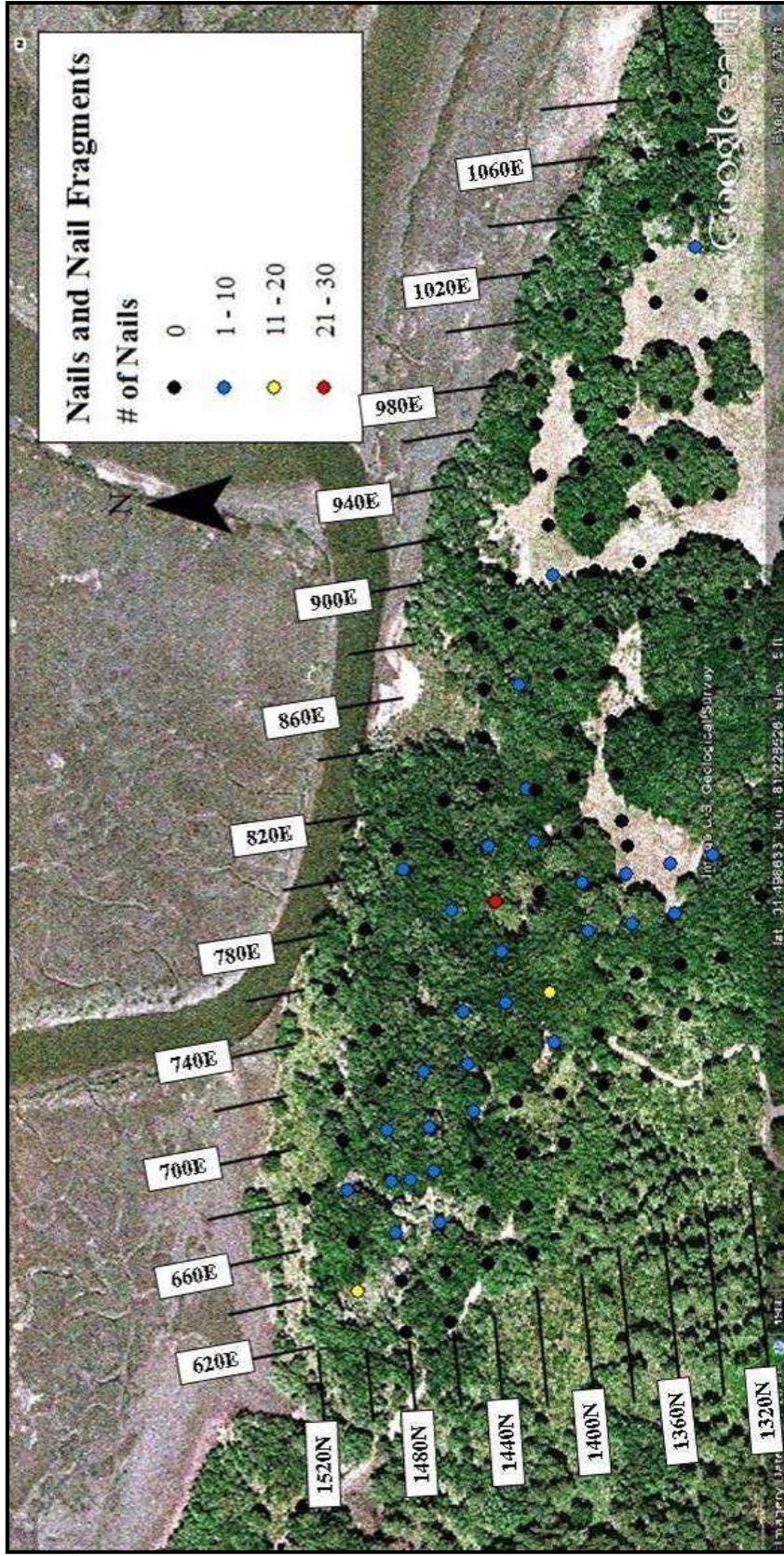


FIGURE 42. GIS map showing the distribution of nails and nail fragments in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

Most of the 188 nails and nail fragments found in the study area were either cut or indeterminate nails. The assemblage included 60 cut nails, 14 wrought nails, and 114 indeterminate nails. Out of the 32 shovel tests containing nails, 15 had identifiable cut nails and only 8 had wrought nails. The cut nails tended to be concentrated in the far northwest portion of the study area where there were significant tabby and brick concentrations (Figure 43) Shovel tests containing cut nails and nail fragments existed almost solely in the western half of the study area, with the exception of only a handful of shovel tests. The distribution of the shovel tests with wrought nails and nail fragments was much more irregular, and they were sparsely scattered throughout the study area (Figure 44). The scattered distribution of a small number of wrought nails is not enough to identify specific areas that may have had earlier structures. In fact, the sheer scarcity of the wrought nails suggests that the historic occupation of the site primarily occurred after cut nails had been invented in 1790 (Hume 1970:252-253).

Mean ceramic date calculations provided additional data on the occupations associated with the three possible structures. Structure 4 was excluded from this analysis because its associated mean ceramic dates were obtained using data from the trench excavations discussed in the following chapter. With the goal of determining whether or not the suspected structures represent different occupations or one continuous occupation, mean ceramic dates were generated from the small historic ceramic assemblages recovered in the shovel tests associated with Structures 1, 2, and 3 (Table 19). Shovel tests 1500N640E, 1480N640E, and 1500N660E were used for Structure 1's mean ceramic date calculations, while shovel tests 1460N660E, 1460N680E, and 1440N680E were used for Structure 2 and shovel tests 1460N720E and 1440N720E were used for Structure 3.



FIGURE 43. GIS map showing the distribution of cut nails in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)



FIGURE 44. GIS map showing the distribution of wrought nails in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

TABLE 19
 MEAN CERAMIC DATES AND CERAMIC TPQ'S FOR THREE POSSIBLE
 STRUCTURES IN NORTHWEST BOURBON FIELD

Structure	MCD 1 Sherd Count	MCD 1	MCD 2 Sherd Count	MCD 2	TPQ
1	14	1789.2	13	1801.8	1840
2	33	1780.2	25	1822.9	1964
3	28	1790.3	23	1811.0	1964

Once again, two mean ceramic dates were calculated: one with all sherds that had clearly defined date ranges (MCD 1) and one that excluded diagnostic sherds with especially long date ranges (MCD 2), primarily in the form of gray salt-glazed stoneware (circa 1700-1900) and lead-glazed redware (circa 1490-1900) (Florida Museum of Natural History 2011). While the mean ceramic dates generated from calculations using all the diagnostic sherds associated with each suspected structure were all fairly early, the mean ceramic dates that did not include the ceramics with the longest date ranges were all later, falling within the first couple decades of the 1800s. The TPQ's associated with the ceramic assemblages were even later. Structure 1 had a TPQ of 1840, while Structures 2 and 3 and the shovel test adjacent to the tabby remains (Structure 4) had a TPQ of 1964.

Historic Middens

While there were shovel tests containing significant amounts of historic artifacts throughout the study area, actual middens (and possible middens) occurred in a much more restricted area (Figure 45). Middens, or refuse deposits associated with human activities, often help to delineate intensively occupied areas at historic sites (Thomas 1999:361). In this analysis, both the extent of historic deposits and the type and number of historic artifacts were considered in identifying the presence of middens. As a rule, the middens identified by shovel tests in the study area continued for at least two 20 cm levels, had high artifact densities in each level, and

included a variety of artifacts such as faunal material, ceramics, glass, pipe stems and bowls, buttons, furniture artifacts, arms-related artifacts, and architectural debris. Shovel tests that produced assemblages that met these qualifications and are therefore defined as middens only occurred in a relatively small northwestern area. Their distribution started at the far northwest corner and continued southeast about 180 m, dipping south no more than about 100 m from the creek shoreline. It is a tighter and more linear distribution than the distributions of any of the specific historic artifact types discussed thus far, but it occurs in the same general northwest region of the study area.

There are four shovel tests where middens were definitively identified due to the size, diversity, and extent of their historic assemblages. Additionally, 10 shovel tests were defined as “possible middens” because, by comparison, they had less diverse and/or smaller historic assemblages than the four definite middens but their historic deposits were still larger, more diverse and more extensive than the other shovel tests in the study area. They were most likely middens that were used less frequently or for a shorter period of time. The distribution of the middens and possible middens corresponds fairly closely to the distribution of shovel tests with high concentrations of tabby “(Figure 37).” All of the definite middens occur in shovel tests that are associated with either the above-ground tabby remains or the three possible historic structures. There are multiple possible middens as well in the areas with the highest tabby concentrations. The similar distribution of high tabby concentrations and middens or possible middens provides further evidence that these areas mark the former location of historic structures since middens tend to be associated with occupied areas and buildings.

The ceramic assemblages in most of the possible midden and midden shovel tests include a variety of earlier and later ceramics ranging from creamware and brown salt-glazed stoneware

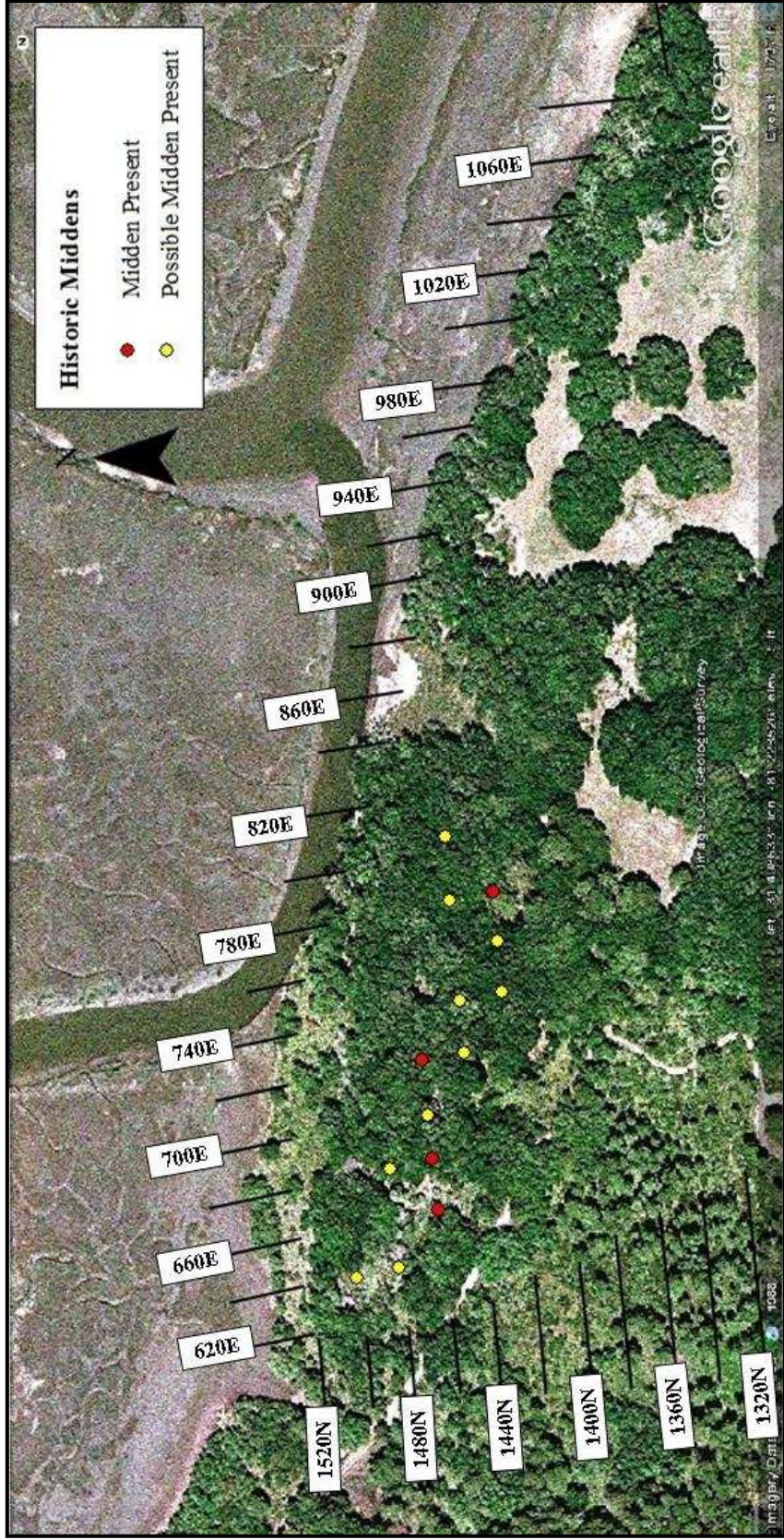


FIGURE 45. GIS map showing the distribution of historic middens and possible historic middens in northwest Bourbon Field. (Map by author, 2012.)

to whiteware, which suggests a relatively long-term occupation and use of the middens (Tables 20, 21). A few of the middens and possible middens, however, contain either a distinctly earlier ceramic assemblage or a distinctly later ceramic assemblage, indicating the possibility of different occupations through time. The middens and possible middens in the northwestern corner of the study area near the slough to the west seem to have primarily earlier ceramics with a predominance of creamwares and pearlwares and low numbers of whitewares and other later ceramics (1500N640E, 1480N640E, 1460N660E, and 1480N680E). In contrast, the midden in the shovel test immediately adjacent to above-ground tabby remains (1420N780E) produced only ceramics with date ranges spanning later time periods, such as whiteware and gray salt-glazed stoneware.

TABLE 20
CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES IN POSSIBLE MIDDEN SHOVEL TESTS

Shovel Test	Ceramics	Count	Weight (g)
1500N640E	Pearlware	4	12.8
	Redware, Lead-Glazed	1	0.4
	Total	5	13.2
1480N640E	Creamware	4	3.1
1480N640E	Pearlware	6	40.4
	Total	10	43.5
1480N680E	Creamware	2	3.0
	Pearlware	1	4.4
	Total	3	7.4
1460N697.5E	Creamware	1	3.0
	Pearlware	5	6.0
	Stoneware, Brown-Salt-Glazed	1	5.5
	Whiteware	1	0.1
	Total	8	14.6
1440N719E	Redware, Lead-Glazed	1	0.4
	Total	1	0.4
1440N740E	Creamware	2	1.3
	Pearlware	3	1.9
	Whiteware	1	6.7
	Total	6	9.9

TABLE 20 (CONTINUED)
 CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES IN POSSIBLE MIDDEN SHOVEL TESTS

Possible Midden	Ceramics	Count	Weight (g)
1420N740E	Creamware	1	0.1
	Pearlware	2	4.9
	Total	3	5.0
1420N760E	Pearlware	1	5.2
	Whiteware	1	2.8
	Total	2	8.0
1440N780E	Creamware	6	8.2
	Pearlware	1	1.2
	Porcelain	1	1.2
	Total	8	10.6
1440N800E	Creamware	3	2.5
	Pearlware	13	10.0
	Whiteware	1	1.0
	Total	17	13.5

TABLE 21
 CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES IN MIDDEN SHOVEL TESTS

Shovel Test	Ceramics	Count	Weight (g)
1460N660E	Creamware	1	1.4
	Pearlware	15	25.7
	Redware, Lead-Glazed	1	5.7
	Whiteware	3	3.4
	Total	20	36.2
1460N680E	Creamware	1	0.3
	Pearlware	3	1.3
	Redware, Lead-Glazed	5	2.5
	Stoneware, Gray Salt-Glazed	1	3.1
	Yellowware	2	0.8
	Total	12	8.0
1460N720E	Creamware	11	11.6
	Pearlware	7	12.9
	Redware, Redware	2	3.5
	Stoneware, Brown Salt-Glazed	1	39.1
	Stoneware, Gray Salt-Glazed	2	58.1
	Total	27	134.0
1420N780E	Whiteware	4	8.8
	Total	27	134.0
	Stoneware, Gray Salt-Glazed	1	5.8
1420N780E	Whiteware	2	9.1
	Total	3	14.9

Summary and Discussion of Shovel Test Data

Based on the boundaries determined from the shovel test survey in the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field, the historic occupants of the site confined their domestic activities to a relatively contained and perhaps conscientiously chosen area of roughly 31,000 m², or 7.7 acres. The concentration of historic artifacts extends less than 200 m south of the shoreline, and spans only 400 m east-west at its widest point. While this historic occupation area takes up a relatively small portion of the entire Bourbon Field site, it is still more extensive than had been assumed previously. Significantly, the limited distribution of historic artifacts in the northwest area partially correlates with the patch of unplowed land depicted near the shoreline in the 1859 Coast Survey map of Sapelo Sound, which was described in Chapter IV as a possible overseer and/or slave occupation area during Randolph Spalding's tenure of the tract "(Figure 7)." Although the primary historic deposits extend south and east of the unplowed area on the map, the similar location of less disturbed concentrations of historic artifacts and the wooded northwestern area shown on the map serves as the only direct correlation between historic and archaeological evidence specifically indicating occupations in that part of the site. The distribution of historic artifacts south of the unplowed area on the map may partly result from the later occupations associated with the probable postbellum Geechee house site.

In general, the sparseness of the historical record associated with Bourbon Field seems to indicate only agricultural utilization and limited, discontinuous occupations of the site prior to the Civil War, but the substantial historic deposits in the northwestern area signify a relatively long-term, intensive occupation or possibly multiple successive occupations over a considerable span of time. The limited area associated with the historic components may simply be a reflection of small-scale plantation operations. Although environmental constraints may have

limited the extent and scale of plantation activities occurring there, the contained northwestern occupation area was probably chosen intentionally, perhaps because of its close proximity to the landing on the creek shoreline and its easy access to the road connecting Bourbon Field to other plantations and resources on the island, or for other practical concerns. While the reasons for historic utilization of this particular area may be speculative, it is certain that the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field played a major role in the plantation activities that occurred at the site.

Despite the important prehistoric and protohistoric components found elsewhere in Bourbon Field, historic artifacts and above-ground features predominated in the northwestern area. Among other things, the artifacts recovered from shovel test excavations provided information on the time periods associated with the site's historic occupations, the socioeconomic status of the site's historic occupants, the type and function of the historic structures that formerly existed at the site, and certain details about daily life and plantation activities at Bourbon Field during the historic period. In general, the frequency of architectural and domestic artifacts in the shovel test assemblage suggests that the site's role as a satellite agricultural tract through a large part of Sapelo's history did not prevent it from serving other important functions.

Of the domestic items, the historic ceramic assemblage was the most substantial, serving as the primary source for temporal data associated with occupations of the site. Pearlware (circa 1780-1840) in all its various forms was, by far, the most common ceramic type recovered in shovel test excavations, totaling to 93 of the 188 sherds in the assemblage. The frequency of pearlware combined with the low number of Spanish mission period ceramics and those from the British colonial period suggests that intensive historic occupation of Bourbon Field did not occur until after the Revolutionary War; however, colonial occupation or use of the site cannot be

eliminated entirely as creamware (circa 1762-1820) was the second most numerous ceramic type with a sherd count of 42. Whiteware (circa 1830-present) lagged behind both pearlware and creamware with a total of 21 sherds and other ceramics with date ranges extending to later periods, such as yellowware (circa 1840-1950) and gray salt-glazed stoneware (circa 1700-1900) were far less numerous. The frequency of creamware and pearlware sherds compared to whiteware sherds and other later ceramics suggests that the most intensive historic occupations of Bourbon Field most likely occurred prior to the mid-19th century. While it is possible that the numerous creamware sherds originated with colonial occupations at Bourbon Field, the higher frequencies of pearlware sherds suggest that the creamware sherds represent a post-Revolutionary War occupation (or occupations). There is significant overlap in the date ranges commonly associated with pearlware and creamware and their combined predominance in Bourbon Field's historic ceramic assemblage provides strong evidence for primarily late-18th-century and early-19th-century occupations at Bourbon Field.

The temporal information obtained from calculations using Stanley South's (1977) Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) Formula supports the theory that historic occupations at Bourbon Field peaked primarily before the late antebellum period (circa 1840-1860). Both dates calculated for the shovel test ceramic assemblage--1805.6 using all diagnostic ceramics and 1814.4 excluding sherds with date ranges of 200 years or more--point towards a decidedly early-19th-century occupation. These mean ceramic dates may not be a direct reflection of occupation periods, however, as the occurrence of certain ceramic types associated with earlier dates like creamware at historic sites can be related more to economic factors than the precise date ranges assigned to them (Miller 1980, 1991; Otto 1984). It is likely that slaves and other lower status individuals often had no choice but to use older, less fashionable, and therefore cheaper wares even after

newer types were developed while their wealthier counterparts were more able to follow the latest consumer trends, purchasing and using the newest, most expensive ceramic wares. Thus, depending on the status of the occupants, there may be a time lag between the actual dates of occupation and the date ranges associated with the ceramics they used. The mean ceramic dates calculated from the shovel test ceramic assemblage may have been impacted by similar economic factors and cannot entirely be taken at face value, but, when combined with the ratio of pearlware and creamware sherds to whiteware sherds, they do provide a strong argument for less intensive occupations in the latter half of the 19th century.

Although the historic ceramic assemblage recovered from shovel test excavations is certainly substantial and diverse enough to represent more than one occupation, the distribution of the different ceramic types makes it difficult to identify chronologically separate occupations. The consistency of ceramic diversity across the northern region of the occupation area indicates that the same parts of the site were used intensively through time, rather than certain regions being occupied during different time periods. In general, the various ceramic types were found within the same two uppermost 20 cm excavation levels, spanning the dark gray or brown strata existing above sterile subsoil, revealing no clear chronological pattern. Based on the stratigraphic juxtaposition of earlier and later ceramics throughout the study area, it is possible that occupations of Bourbon Field were relatively continuous throughout the historic period. Of course, disturbances from long-term plowing in large portions of the northwestern area may also have contributed to the similar distribution of earlier and later ceramic types.

When northwest Bourbon Field was divided into three segments according to the west-to-east distribution of ceramics, there was some indication of chronologically separate occupation areas. While the mean ceramic dates calculated for the western segments (Segments 1 and 2) all

fell within the first two decades of the 19th century, the mean ceramic dates associated with the easternmost segment (Segment 3) fell within the late 18th century. Though the difference in mean ceramic dates is not especially large and falls within periods of overlap between the date ranges attributed to creamwares (circa 1762-1820) and pearlwares (circa 1780-1840), Segment 3's small ceramic assemblage also lacks later ceramics and is the only one with a *terminus post quem* (TPQ) in the 19th century rather than the 20th century, providing additional evidence that occupations in the eastern part of the historic occupation area were limited to earlier time periods. The significance of these findings requires further testing, however, since Segment 3 contained only eight diagnostic sherds.

The historic ceramics recovered in shovel tests revealed little about the socioeconomic statuses of Bourbon Field's former occupants. Based on the widespread distribution of both utilitarian and table wares and ceramics that have been associated with higher and lower socioeconomic statuses, the occurrence of specific ceramic types did not provide any indication that there were areas restricted to occupants of a certain status at Bourbon Field during the historic period. The only exceptions to this rule were the dearth of annularwares and the exclusive appearance of porcelain near the rectangular tabby remains, but both findings are based only on a handful of sherds and their significance is therefore uncertain.

Analysis of the ceramic sherds with identifiable vessel forms produced even more ambiguous information regarding socioeconomic status and revealed little about the function of particular regions in the historic occupation area. Only a small number of sherds could be identified according to vessel form and those few sherds had a relatively scattered distribution pattern. The bulk of identifiable vessel forms were plates, bowls, and cups. Bowl and plate sherds were often found in the same shovel tests, but cup sherds were only found by themselves

or with plate sherds. There may be significance in the limited distribution of cup sherds but there are too few of them to draw conclusions. In general, the distributions of bowl, plate, and cup sherds overlap, making it impossible to use vessel form data to delineate certain areas utilized by occupants of particular status in the present investigation. Calculations of CC Indices for the plate, bowl, and tea ware sherds did correspond to traditional connotations between specific vessel forms and socioeconomic categories with bowls having a relatively low index value, plates have a medium-high value, and tea ware having a distinctly high value; however, the lack of meaningful distributions of those vessel forms meant that no special significance could be attributed to the values except to say that both upper and lower social statuses may be represented in the historic Bourbon Field assemblage. Since plates, bowls, and cups were found throughout the site, it is also possible that the differences in the former occupants' statuses were relatively small.

Other artifacts that may have status-related significance, such as jewelry, non-essential clothing and furniture items, and glass table ware are not especially common, but occur mostly in the vicinity of the rectangular tabby remains. This concentration of possible high status artifacts may suggest that the previous occupant of the structure associated with the remains was of higher socioeconomic status than other occupants of the site. Some of the shovel tests that make up the "cluster" of higher status, relatively expensive items are more than 20 m away from the tabby remains and may represent outbuildings utilized by the occupants of the main structure, or they may represent middens from other unassociated structures. In general, the shovel test data suggests that there was not a dramatic difference in the socioeconomic statuses of the historic occupants of Bourbon Field or at least that the differences are not significant enough to detect with survey data. With the usual stipulations regarding shovel test data, the distribution of high

and low status artifacts recovered in the survey serves at least as tentative evidence that Bourbon Field was not home to large-scale, wealthy planter and his many slaves, but was more likely occupied by a middle-class individual, such as a small planter, farmer or overseer, and a small number of slaves.

The distribution of architectural artifacts generally supports the theory that Bourbon Field was the site of relatively modest plantation operations. Concentrations of architectural artifacts in the study area represent the remains of at least five possible structures, all within a contained area. The relative quantities and distributions of those architectural artifacts provide information on architectural preferences, economic status, and the spatial layout and organization of former plantation(s) at Bourbon Field. Primarily, the architectural assemblage recovered in shovel tests consisted of tabby mortar and plaster in various forms, as well as brick and nails. The assemblage generally indicates that the plantation structures were not made of solid tabby as was often the case elsewhere on Sapelo, but rather were the product of multiple construction techniques and styles.

Detailed analysis of the distribution of tabby mortar and plaster, the most common architectural materials found in the shovel tests at Bourbon Field, produced new insight into site function and organization. Tabby's predominance among the architectural material recovered in the historic occupation area serves as evidence that the former occupants followed local architectural trends, even if, either for economic reasons or because of personal preference, they used different construction techniques. The concentrated distribution of shovel tests containing tabby in the northwestern-most area indicates that most of Bourbon Field's historic structures, or at least its historic structures with tabby architectural features, were located in this relatively small area. The finding of tabby throughout the entire northwestern region of the study area also

suggests that there may have been more than the five structures indicated by the shovel test data, the above-ground remains, and the subsurface tabby concentrations detected by probing. With 20 m intervals between shovel tests, significant concentrations of tabby could have easily been missed during the survey and the shovel tests containing tabby certainly encompass a large enough area to house more than five structures. It is also possible that by themselves each of the clusters of shovel tests with large amounts of tabby interpreted in this investigation as Structures 1, 2, 3, and 4 actually contained the remnants of multiple structures. The possibility of additional structures is also supported by the discovery of multiple distinct rises in the topography near the creek shoreline, including the large subsurface concentration of tabby (Structure 5) discovered near the landing in the vicinity of the 920E line, as well as a few other less distinct rises close to the 760E, 780E, and 800E lines which, when cored, often produced evidence of oyster shell and tabby. These rises may represent the highly deteriorated remnants of other tabby structures.

While the four suspected structures included the shovel test data analysis do seem to be located in a contained area possibly chosen for its potentially advantageous proximity to the water's edge (to the north), the landing (to the east), and the road (to the west), there is no clear pattern in their organization except that Structure 4, represented by the tabby remains, is somewhat isolated from Structures 1, 2, and 3 to the west. There is, however, a similar distribution between the areas associated with the four suspected structures and general historic ceramic concentrations. The close proximity of the areas with high frequencies of historic ceramics and the areas with high tabby concentrations is especially significant because it indicates that domestic activities occurred in the vicinity of the proposed historic structures, making it possible that the buildings with tabby elements were planter, overseer, or slave homes and may have included a detached kitchen. Since the tabby remains are the only above-ground

architectural ruins that still exist at the site and there is an extremely large concentration of tabby in and around the remains, it is likely that they are part of the largest and most substantial structure at the site. Its possible larger size combined with the greater distance between it and the other suspected structures suggests that the area associated with the tabby remains may have been occupied by a person or family of higher status than the other occupants of the site, such as a planter or overseer. The connection between the tabby remains and higher status individuals cannot be determined conclusively using only survey data, but the possibility provides a hypothesis that warrants further investigation.

Beyond interpretations of site organization, the various types of modified tabby mortar and plaster provide specific information on architectural trends at Bourbon Field. The finished tabby mortar and whitewashed tabby plaster were each found in two of the four areas associated with historic structures: Finished tabby mortar was recovered in Structures 1 and 2, while whitewashed tabby plaster was found in Structures 1 and 4. Their distribution suggests that whitewashing and finishing were construction details applied to different types of structures most likely for practical purposes, rather than being used aesthetically to denote the higher status of individuals occupying a particular structure. Tabby plaster with lathing marks showed up in the same suspected historic structure sites as the finished tabby mortar and whitewashed tabby plaster (Structures 1, 2, and 4). The relatively consistent finding of tabby plaster with lathing marks serves as evidence that the historic structures at Bourbon Field commonly had wood components. In fact, according to the shovel test data, while the four areas associated with historic structures all have dense tabby concentrations, none of them have enough tabby mortar concentrated in a small area to indicate that the former structures were made wholly of tabby. It

is probable that the former structures were primarily frame buildings with tabby elements, which would also explain the scarcity of above-ground tabby ruins at Bourbon Field.

In contrast to the various types of tabby plaster, the tabby bricks and brick fragments were only found in the shovel test adjacent Structure 4. The presence of tabby bricks at plantation sites is unusual on Sapelo, as most of the standing plantation ruins have either formed tabby construction or are made from sawed blocks of solid tabby (Honerkamp et al. 2007; Honerkamp 2008). The recovery of tabby bricks in the only part of Bourbon Field with above-ground tabby ruins is therefore noteworthy. The bricks may have been part of a distinctive architectural feature (or features) that separated that particular structure from the other buildings at the site and it is possible that the tabby bricks may have had status-related significance. In any case, it appears that the historic structures at Bourbon Field may have had architectural similarities, but there were still important differences in their tabby components.

Clay bricks and brick fragments were less common than the assorted types of tabby, but they had a similar distribution concentrated in the northwestern region of the study area. The largest amounts of brick were recovered in the vicinity of Structure 4 and in the western area near East Perimeter Road and the other three suspected structures; however, there was not enough brick found in either of those two locations or in any other part of the study area to suggest that there was ever a historic brick structure at the site. Instead it seems likely that the brick was used in specific elements of the former structures such as the chimneys or foundations and even with those particular architectural features, shovel test data indicates that tabby was the preferred material. Further archaeological investigation and a tighter survey grid could prove otherwise, of course. It is also possible that brick from the historic structures at Bourbon Field was borrowed and used in the construction of buildings elsewhere on Sapelo, as has been done

with architectural material at other plantation sites on the island (Honerkamp 2008; Honerkamp and Bean 2009, 2010).

The distribution of nails and nail fragments differs slightly from that of the tabby and brick, extending south of the rectangular tabby remains into the area associated with the former Geechee house. Using only survey data, the anomalous distribution of nails and nails fragments cannot be assigned any particular significance, beyond a correlation with the probable Geechee house site. The widespread scattering of shovel tests with 10 or less nails and nail fragments in the study area does not help to pinpoint specific areas where there may have been frame structures or architectural features, but it does seem to affirm that the northwestern area was occupied and utilized intensively for parts of the historic period and it supports the possibility of there being multiple structures in the northwestern part of the site. The scattered distribution may also be partly the result of long-term plowing through the 19th century. In any case, the significant number of nails recovered in shovel test excavations supports the hypothesis that the historic buildings at Bourbon Field had significant wooden elements and may have been largely frame structures.

Tabby may not have been the only architectural material used at the site, but, with a more defined distribution pattern than clay brick and nails, it seems to be the best indicator of historic structures discovered thus far at Bourbon Field. As the most reliable evidence of additional structure sites, the three western tabby concentrations (Structures 1, 2, and 3) and their associated ceramic assemblages potentially provide specific temporal data for historic occupations. Generally, the mean ceramic dates generated from calculations using all the diagnostic sherds associated with each suspected structure were significantly earlier than other mean ceramic dates produced from shovel test data at Bourbon Field. The dates all fell around the mid-1790s,

suggesting an early occupation not long after the Revolutionary War. The earlier mean ceramic dates may represent a preliminary phase of occupation at Bourbon Field that may have begun with the French Sapelo Company members' ownership of Sapelo Island in the 1790s, but it is unlikely that the occupations were limited to the Frenchmen's relatively brief tenure (Thomas 1989a). The mean ceramic dates that did not include the ceramics with the longest date ranges were all later, falling within the first couple decades of the 1800s. Those mean ceramic dates do not contrast markedly with the other mean ceramic dates generated by shovel test data and they are associated with a time period in Sapelo's history where plantation activities were developing across the island. These later dates do differ from each other by one or two decades, however, and they produce different ceramic TPQ's. Structure 1, the westernmost possible structure had a significantly earlier mean ceramic date falling close to the year 1800 and, with no whiteware, had a TPQ of 1840 instead of 1964. These differences could be interpreted as evidence that Structure 1 was part of an earlier occupation in the 19th century, or that it was not used as long as the other suspected structures. Even if there were slight variations in occupation dates, when both sets of mean ceramic dates for each possible structure are taken into account, as well as the diversity of earlier and later ceramics associated with each of the possible structures, it seems likely that all three areas were utilized for a relatively continuous period time that spanned at least the first decades of the 1800s and possibly later.

While the distribution of middens and possible middens in the study area is tighter and more linear than the distributions of any of the specific historic artifact types, it does extend over the same general northwest portion of the study area, adding further proof of intensive occupations in that location. Several of the middens and possible middens were discovered in the vicinity of the four possible structures, adding credence to the theory that those particular areas

with high tabby concentrations represent domestic structure sites. There are two areas where the midden and possible midden assemblages have temporally distinct ceramic assemblages. The northwestern corner of the study area tended to have middens and possible middens with earlier ceramics like pearlware and creamware, which correlates with the slightly earlier mean ceramic dates and TPQ associated with Structure 1 and indicates that the area was in use or occupied relatively early, possibly decreasing in importance in the later historic period. The midden adjacent to the rectangular tabby remains had primarily later ceramics with date ranges extending into the 20th century, such as whiteware and gray salt-glazed stoneware, indicating a later occupation date and collapse than the other suspected structures. The remainder of the historic middens and possible middens contain diverse ceramic assemblages and are representative of a fairly lengthy and continuous historic occupation from the latter half of the 18th century through the first half of the 19th century.

Collectively, the data recovered from shovel test excavations provided the following broad, but previously undetermined characterizations of the historic occupations at Bourbon Field. According to the survey data, the northwestern-most region of the study area, roughly bounded by the shoreline, the landing, East Perimeter Road, and the slough, was a focal point for domestic activities. Occupations of this part of the site most likely peaked in intensity between the last decades of the 18th century and the 1840s or 1850s. Although the occupations probably spanned a relatively lengthy time period, the plantation and domestic activities occurring there were limited in extent and scale. Based on the assemblage recovered in shovel test excavations, the plantation efforts at Bourbon Field were best described as modest and small-scale, involving a limited number of people who had few clearly identifiable material differences in socioeconomic status.

CHAPTER VII

TRENCH 10 EXCAVATIONS: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Tabby remains commonly mark the former sites of plantation activities on Sapelo Island and serve as obvious relics of the antebellum era. Bourbon Field's tabby remains are not as substantial as those found elsewhere on the island, but they are still indicative of broader cultural and economic trends associated with plantations on Sapelo and a closer examination of them provides important information about Bourbon Field's former occupants.

The Tabby Remains

The investigation of the site's only above-ground tabby ruins revealed a number of structural details that serve as clues for the original function of the remains. The remains are located well into the tree line, relatively close to the Blackbeard Creek shoreline, but not as close as some of the other deposits found in the historic occupation area. Based on the consistent stratigraphy and shallowness of the historic deposits in the surrounding areas, it appears that the original structure was located outside of the disturbed context of the plowed field. Thus, the former occupants chose a location that was conveniently situated between the landing along the creek and marsh shoreline and the agricultural fields, providing easy access to both. According to measurements taken with a total station, the precise dimensions of the above-ground tabby remains are as follows: 2.275 m (north wall), 0.937 m (east wall), 2.296 m (south wall), and 1.192 m (west wall) (Figure 46).

The tabby remains most likely represent an architectural feature that was originally rectangular, but now the northern and southern walls of the western half of the tabby form bow out, making the remains asymmetrical. The irregular shape is probably the result of the disintegration of the remains both from natural causes and human disturbances, including



Figure 46. Bourbon Field's above-ground tabby remains before Trench 10 excavations, facing north.
(Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

looting. Looting has occurred on plantation sites elsewhere on the island and, as the only above-ground structural remains at Bourbon Field, the tabby ruins may have been an attractive spot for looters (Norma Harris 2010, pers. comm.). Less than half of the above-ground remains still exist as solid and easily discernible walls and only two corners on the eastern side of the tabby form are still evident from the ground surface. The above-ground features thus reveal very little about the structure's original form.

Trench 10 excavations exposed the bottom portion of the remains that exist below the ground surface, providing more significant structural information. Below ground, the walls of the rectangular tabby form are fairly intact, particularly the central portion of the southern wall (Figures 47, 48). The trench excavations revealed that the rectangular tabby form is actually quite shallow and falls short of the depth required for significant structural foundations. Measured from the exposed outside edges of the tabby form, the northern wall is approximately 17 cm from top to bottom and the southern wall is approximately 21.7 cm. The bottom of the tabby form is uneven, as if the wet tabby was poured directly onto the tabby rubble that lies below it instead of being placed there after it hardened. The shallowness and unevenness of the tabby form suggests that it was either resting on the ground surface or was only a couple inches below it when that part of the former structure was constructed. In either case, the tabby remains could not have functioned as the primary support for any tall or heavy architectural feature. Lathing marks are evident on the outside of the northern and southern walls of the tabby form, indicating either that the tabby was poured into a wooden form to set at the time of the rectangular feature's construction or that there were wooden components applied to the tabby before it was completely dry. The excavations also revealed that the outside surface of the tabby was not smooth and had no evidence of whitewash. The shell in the tabby was coarsely broken



FIGURE 47. South outside wall of the rectangular tabby form exposed in Unit 6, Trench 10.
(Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)



FIGURE 48. North outside wall of the rectangular tabby form exposed in Unit 4, Trench 10
with the extent of the deteriorated wall outlined in black.
(Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

up and there were pockets of almost whole shell, as if it the tabby form been made as quickly as possible and with little concern for appearance. The cultural deposits in and around the tabby remains reveal many more details about the former structure(s).

Stratigraphy

The stratigraphy in Trench 10 differed significantly from that of the shovel tests excavated elsewhere in the study area. Trench 10 cut through a unique rise in the topography that surrounded the above-ground tabby remains. The upper strata typically had dense tabby mortar and plaster concentrations and sometimes contained more tabby than soil, particularly in the central portion of the trench, closest to the rectangular tabby form. The cultural deposits began at the surface and often continued 60 cm below the ground surface, although the densest tabby concentrations generally ended by 30 or 40 cm below the ground surface. In the northern portion of Trench 10 outside of the above-ground remains, there was a burned layer located at the bottom of the dense tabby concentration approximately 20 to 30 cm below the ground surface and between 5 and 10 cm thick (Figure 49). The burned layer contained burned tabby, ceramics, and other artifacts, as well as large amounts of charred seeds (Figure 50). Although the type of seeds could not be identified specifically, they all had the same appearance, indicating that the burned layer resulted from one particular burning episode that involved a tree or other large plant located near the former structure. The burned layer extended almost 6 m from the northern edge of the tabby remains.

Between the tabby concentrations, the burned layer, and disturbances from the structure's collapse and possible looting or unrecorded excavations, Trench 10's stratigraphy was more complicated than the shovel tests' and is not easily generalized; however, there were some shared stratigraphic elements in many of the units. The first two strata, which included the root



FIGURE 49. Trench 10, Unit 4 east wall profile with the burned layer indicated. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)



FIGURE 50. Charred seeds from the burned layer in the northern units of Trench 10. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

mat and the densest tabby concentrations typically ranged from the Munsell designation of 10YR4/1 dark gray semi-compact fine-grain sand to 10YR3/1 very dark gray semi-compact fine-grain sand. In the northern units of Trench 10, the burned layer was 10YR2/1 black semi-compact fine-grain sand. The units in the southern portion of the trench had intact and articulated architectural remains that occurred within the second stratum and, with the exception of the slot trench in Unit 6, excavations did not proceed into the lower strata. Excavations did continue into sterile subsoil in the slot trench, the northern units, and Unit 10 inside the tabby remains. As with the shovel tests, the subsoil was 10YR7/1 light gray semi-compact very fine-grain sand and generally began between 50 and 60 cm below the ground surface. Excavations in Units 2 and 4 in the northern portion of the trench encountered the hardpan spodic layer in a few areas below the subsoil, which was 10YR4/2 dark grayish brown compact fine-grain sand. The strata in between the dense tabby concentrations and the subsoil varied, but was most commonly some combination of 10YR5/1 or 10YR6/1 gray and 10YR4/1 dark gray semi-compact fine-grain sand, often qualifying as leaching zones from the upper, darker strata.

Historic Artifact Assemblage and South's Artifact Groups

The distribution of historic artifacts was relatively consistent across Trench 10. With the exception of Unit 10 inside the rectangular above-ground tabby remains, the density of historic artifacts was quite similar in each of the other seven trench units. In general, the units all had significant amounts of ceramics, glass, metal artifacts, tabby mortar and plaster, oyster and other shell, and faunal material and they continued to be productive for at least half a meter below the ground surface, becoming sterile in the seventh or eighth 10 cm level (Level 7 or Level 8). Frequently the units had multiple consecutive levels with especially diverse and substantial historic assemblages.

When placed in Stanley South's (1977) function-based historic artifact groups, the diversity of the Trench 10 assemblage becomes quite clear and the artifacts produced by the eight trench units serve as evidence of an intensively occupied domestic space (Table 22). The Trench 10 assemblage includes artifacts that fit into all of South's artifact groups, as well as some artifacts that had to be placed in additional categories. Architectural artifacts predominate in the assemblage and provide compelling evidence of multiple substantial structures (Table 23). Artifacts associated with domestic activities also make up a significant part of the assemblage. These artifacts include a variety of ceramics and glass, as well as multiple kitchen utensils and cooking items, such as cooking pot fragments and a possible fork fragment (Table 24) (Figure 51). There is a diversity of faunal material ranging from pigs and cows to fish and wild game (Table 25). The assemblage also included large amounts of oyster shell and, to a slightly lesser extent, other types of shell, which almost certainly originate in part from the collapsed tabby architectural features, but also may be evidence that seafood was an important dietary component for Bourbon Field's historic occupants (Table 26).

TABLE 22
TRENCH 10 ARTIFACTS, BY GROUP

Artifact Group	Count	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Activities	2	48.3	0.0
Architecture	--	100218.2	81.5
Arms	31	370.7	0.3
Clothing	20	9.7	0.0
Flora ^a	--	186.5	0.2
Furniture	8	2.6	0.0
Kitchen	--	1982.9	1.6
Other ^a	--	22.3	0.0
Personal	5	2.0	0.0
Shell ^a	--	20171.8	16.4
Tobacco	7	5.9	0.0
Total	73	123021.1	100.0

^a This group is not one of South's (1977) artifact groups, but the artifacts associated with it do not fit easily into any of the established groups.

TABLE 23
ARCHITECTURE GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Bracket, Iron	1	28.7	0.0
Brick Fragments, Handmade	5	1253.4	1.3
Brick Fragments, >1/2" Indeterminate	67	1504.1	1.5
Brick Fragments, <1/2" Indeterminate	--	135.3	0.1
Brick Tile Fragments	2	92.3	0.1
Clay, Unmodified	--	0.4	0.0
Glass, Window	1	0.4	0.0
Hook, Hardware	2	7.7	0.0
Nails, Cut	153	353.1	0.3
Nails, Indeterminate	272	245.9	0.3
Nails, Wrought	1	1.3	0.0
Spike, Iron	1	8.7	0.0
Tabby Brick Fragments	11	6214.0	6.2
Tabby Mortar, Finished	--	8526.2	8.5
Tabby Mortar, Marked	--	85.5	0.1
Tabby Mortar, Unmodified	--	77659.5	77.5
Tabby Plaster, Lathing Marked	--	3159.5	3.2
Tabby Plaster, Whitewashed	--	942.2	0.9
Total	516	100218.2	100.0

TABLE 24
KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Bone, Cut/Sawed	--	4.1	0.2
Bone, Unmodified	--	55.1	2.8
Ceramics, Historic	188	879.9	44.4
Container Fragments, Iron ^a	--	208.5	10.5
Cooking Pot Fragments, Iron	3	136.3	6.9
Fork Fragment, Iron	1	1.6	0.1
Glass, Case Bottle ^a	7	5.8	0.3
Glass, Drinking	1	0.4	0.0
Glass, Indeterminate ^a	38	13.9	0.7
Glass, Other Bottle	6	13.7	0.7
Glass, Very Thin ^a	3	0.5	0.0
Glass, Wine Bottle	49	167.3	8.4
Peach Pit, Charred	1	0.2	0.0
Stove Part, Iron	1	495.6	25.0
Total	298	1982.9	100.0

^a Artifact may not belong in the kitchen group, but its placement in that group is the best guess based on its most probable function.

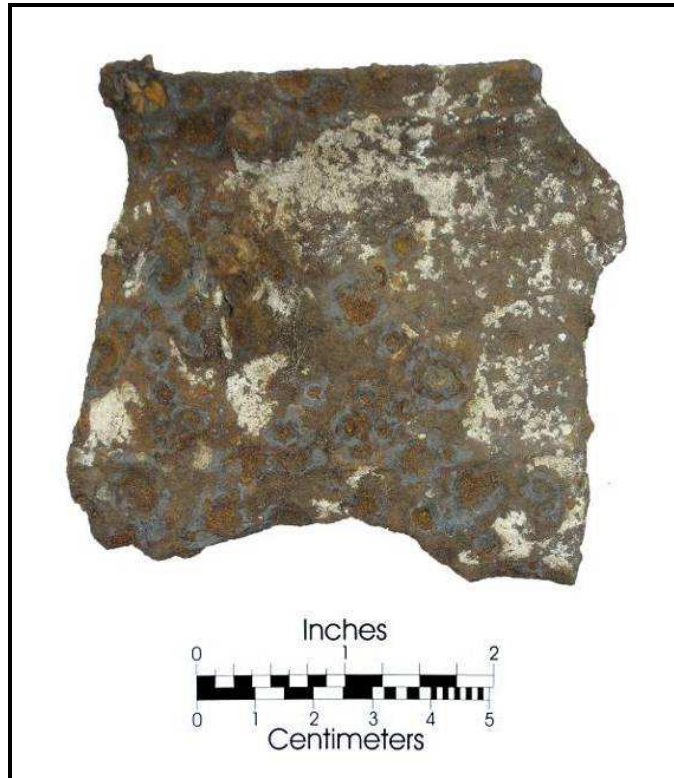


FIGURE 51. Iron cooking pot fragment recovered in Trench 10.
(Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

TABLE 25
UNMODIFIED BONE FROM TRENCH 10

Bone Type	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Bird, Indeterminate	2.1	3.8
Bone, Indeterminate	17.1	31.0
Catfish	0.6	1.1
Cow	0.2	0.4
Fish, Indeterminate	5.6	10.2
Mammal, Indeterminate	9.2	16.7
Mammal, Indeterminate Large	13.2	23.9
Mammal, Indeterminate Small	0.9	1.6
Pig	2.4	4.4
Reptile, Indeterminate	0.7	1.3
Rodent, Indeterminate	0.1	0.2
Sheepshead/Drum	0.3	0.5
Turtle	2.7	4.9
Total	55.1	100.0

TABLE 26
SHELL FROM TRENCH 10

Shell Type	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Barnacle	29.0	0.1
Coquina	0.3	0.0
Gastropod, Indeterminate	7.4	0.0
Mercenaria (Clam)	553.9	2.8
Oyster	19564.9	97.0
Scallop/Cockle, Indeterminate	3.8	0.0
Shell, Indeterminate	2.9	0.0
Whelk	9.6	0.1
Total	20171.8	100.0

The seven furniture tacks and the furniture staple serve as additional evidence of a domestic structure, especially because there are no artifacts in the assemblage indicative of a barn or outbuilding, such as farming tools or machinery related artifacts (Table 27). Although it is possible that the artifacts in the activities group were associated with farming activities, their original function remains unclear (Table 28).

TABLE 27
FURNITURE GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Staples, Furniture	1	0.1
Tacks, Furniture	7	2.5
Total	8	2.6

TABLE 28
ACTIVITIES GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Strap, Iron	1	47.7
Wire	1	0.6
Total	2	48.3

The numerous items belonging to the tobacco, personal, clothing, and arms groups recovered in Trench 10 provide significant evidence of a heavily utilized domestic space (Tables 29-32). In particular, many of the clothing and personal items were unlikely to be intentionally

discarded than other types of artifacts and probably resulted from frequent human traffic in the area associated with the tabby remains (Figure 52).

TABLE 29
TOBACCO GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Pipe Bowl Fragments, White Clay	6	3.7
Pipe Stems, White Clay	1	2.2
Total	7	5.9

TABLE 30
PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Jewelry Part, Indeterminate	1	0.1
Latch (from a diary, jewelry box, or similar object)	1	1.5
Necklace Chain Fragments	3	0.4
Total	5	2.0

TABLE 31
CLOTHING GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Buttons, Bone	11	3.4
Buttons, Brass	3	5.4
Buttons, Porcelain	1	0.5
Grommet	1	0.1
Hook and Eye, Clothing	1	0.1
Hook and Eye, Shoe	1	0.1
Straight Pin Fragments	2	0.1
Total	20	9.7

TABLE 32
ARMS GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Gun Barrel	1	356.5
Percussion Cap, Brass	3	0.3
Shot, Lead	27	13.9
Total	31	370.7

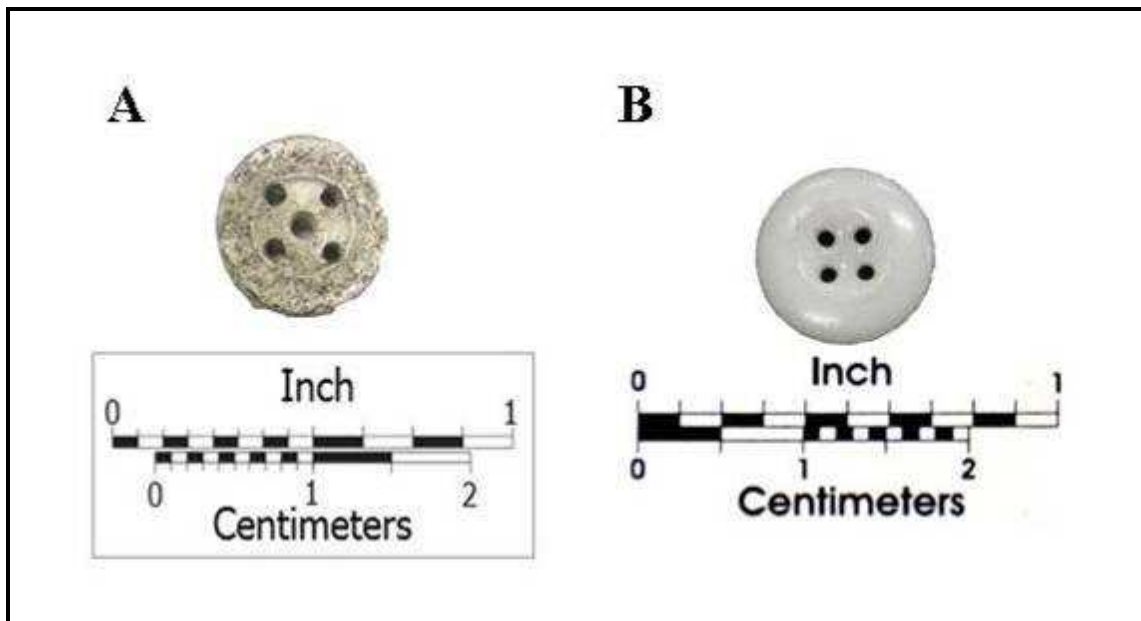


FIGURE 52. (A) Bone button and (B) porcelain button recovered in Trench 10. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

The Trench 10 assemblage included a number of noteworthy artifacts, not found in any of the shovel test excavations that provide additional details about the former occupants of the structures. In Unit 4, contiguous with the northern outside edge of the rectangular tabby form, a fragment of a gun barrel was recovered (Figure 53). It is solid iron, with the exception of a small brass ring that surrounds a hole on the side of the barrel and includes part of the attachment to the gun stock. X-rays of the gun barrel revealed solid iron in the breech end, indicating that the gun was originally muzzle-loading (Figure 54). The diameter of the barrel is approximately 0.5 in. Its diameter size and the fact that it appears to be from a muzzle-loading gun suggests that the gun barrel once belonged to a musket. Muskets were used from the 18th century through the Civil War, although they became less common with the development of rifles in the mid-19th century (Lord 1963).

In the first level of Unit 10, inside the rectangular tabby form, the recovery of an iron stove part provided later temporal data for the former structure(s) (Figure 55). The stove part was a curved piece of solid iron that had evidence of red paint and part of a maker's mark that read "B.R. Hawley." Iron stoves were first used in the early 18th century, becoming more and more common through the 19th century (Groft 1984:11-13). The stove part's good condition indicates that it was probably from a later time period, possibly even dating to the postbellum Geechee era since it was recovered only a few centimeters below the ground surface and in a possibly disturbed context. Examinations of Sears catalogs from the 1870s and 1890s, however, did not produce any evidence of the manufacturer "B.R. Hawley" and no specific date can be assigned to the stove part at this point.

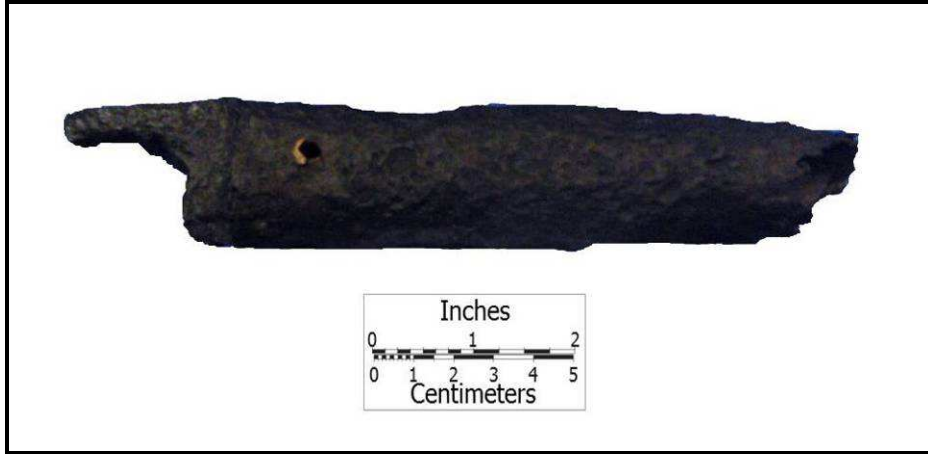


FIGURE 53. Gun barrel fragment, post-conservation, recovered in Unit 4, Trench 10.
(Courtesy of the UWF Anthropology Department Conservation Lab, 2011.)

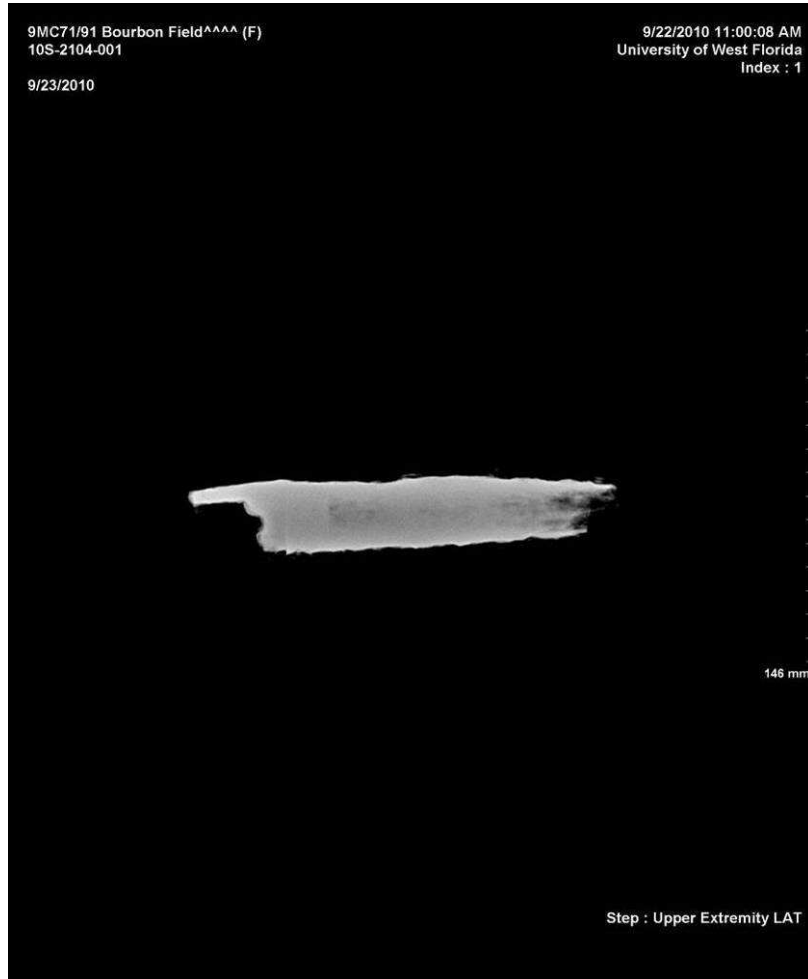


FIGURE 54. X-ray of gun barrel fragment showing solid iron at the breech end of the barrel.
(Courtesy of UWF Anthropology Department Conservation Lab, 2011.)



FIGURE 55. Iron stove part with the maker's mark inscription of "B.R. Hawley," post-conservation, found in Unit 10, Trench 10. (Courtesy of the UWF Anthropology Department Conservation Lab, 2011.)

An earlier date range is associated with the two different types of brass buttons recovered in Trench 10 (Figure 56). The first type is a flat copper alloy disc that was commonly used on coats in the second half of the 18th century, becoming larger in diameter over time. They were used through the early 19th century, but declined in popularity soon thereafter (Hume 1970:90-92). A single flat copper alloy button was found in the first level of Unit 10 in the same questionable context as the stove part. The second type was a hollow two-piece brass button with a stamped decoration. Two identical buttons of this type were found in separate units in Trench 10: one from Unit 10 and the other was recovered in Unit 6. They resemble the hollow cast brass buttons that became popular in the early 18th century, but the hollow two-piece decorated brass buttons continued in various forms through the first half of the 19th century, so it could originate with the antebellum period (Hume 1970:89-91). Found in three different parts of Trench 10, both button types indicate that an earlier date for the former structure(s) is possible.

Historic Ceramics

Trench 10 produced a variety of historic ceramics. The most common ceramic type out of the 189 sherds was gray salt-glazed stoneware, but a majority of those sherds seemed to be from the same large vessel, most likely a large jug or storage jar (Table 33) (Figure 57). Thus, the high frequency of gray salt-glazed stoneware sherds does not necessarily mean that it was the preferred and most heavily utilized ceramic type used in the former structure(s). The second most common ceramic type was pearlware in its various forms, most frequently of the plain and transfer-printed varieties. The high number of pearlware sherds is similar to the shovel test ceramic assemblage; however, in Trench 10, stonewares are far more numerous than any of the non-pearlware refined earthenwares, and unlike the shovel tests ceramic data, the number of whiteware sherds exceeds the number of creamware sherds (Figure 58).

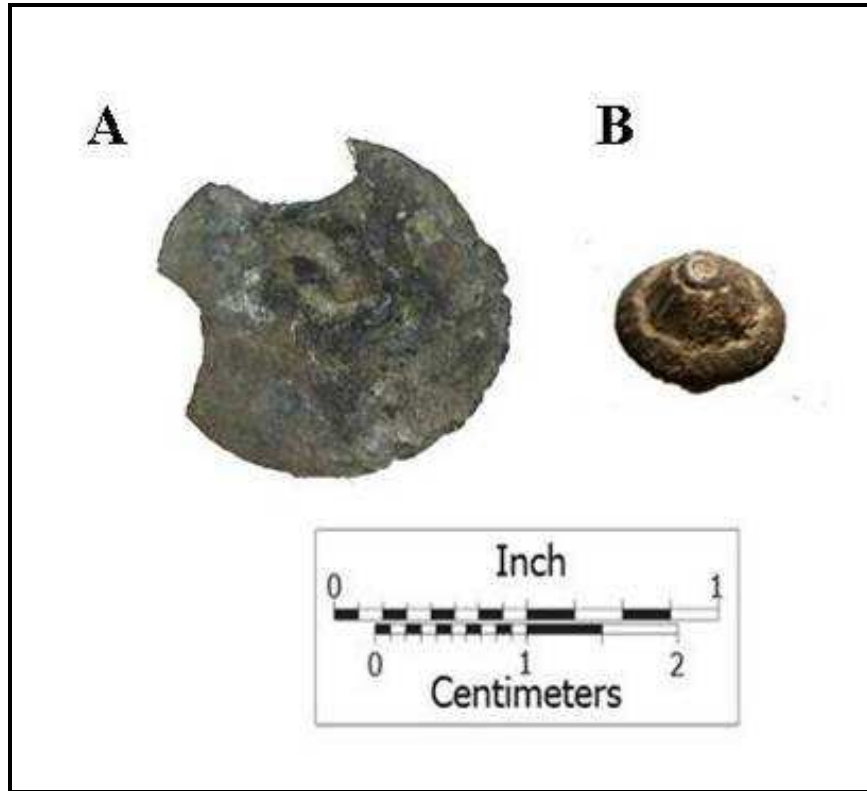


FIGURE 56. Brass buttons recovered in Trench 10: (A) a flat copper alloy disc button and (B) a hollow two-piece brass button with a stamped decoration. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

TABLE 33
TRENCH 10 HISTORIC CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

Ceramic Type	Count	Count (%)	Weight (g)	Weight (%)
Creamware, Plain	6	3.2	5.1	0.6
Indeterminate, Alkaline-Glazed	1	0.5	0.5	0.0
Indeterminate, Lead-Glazed	1	0.5	2.4	0.3
Pearlware, Annular	5	2.7	10.5	1.2
Pearlware, Indeterminate	1	0.5	1.3	0.2
Pearlware, Plain	16	8.5	37.1	4.2
Pearlware, Shell-Edged	1	0.5	1.7	0.2
Pearlware, Sprig Earthenware Polychrome	2	1.1	1.3	0.2
Pearlware, Transfer-Printed	17	9.1	7.5	0.8
Pearlware, Wormy Finger-Painted	1	0.5	0.5	0.0
Porcelain, Bone China	1	0.5	1.5	0.2
Redware, Lead-Glazed	1	0.5	0.3	0.0
Refined Earthenware, Indeterminate	5	2.7	24.6	2.8
Refined Earthenware, Transfer-Printed	1	0.5	0.2	0.0
Stoneware, Albany Slip	11	5.9	4.2	0.5
Stoneware, Brown Salt-Glazed Stoneware	21	11.2	239.7	27.2
Stoneware, Gray Salt-Glazed Stoneware	57	30.3	443.3	50.4
Stoneware, Indeterminate	29	15.5	40.1	4.6
Stoneware, Lead-Glazed	1	0.5	3.2	0.4
Whiteware, Annular	1	0.5	0.1	0.0
Whiteware, Edge-Molded	1	0.5	7.6	0.9
Whiteware, Plain	5	2.7	42.5	4.8
Whiteware, Transfer-Printed	3	1.6	4.7	0.5
Total	188	100.0	879.9	100.0



FIGURE 57. A sample of the numerous gray salt-glazed stoneware sherds, most likely from the same large vessel, recovered in Trench 10. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

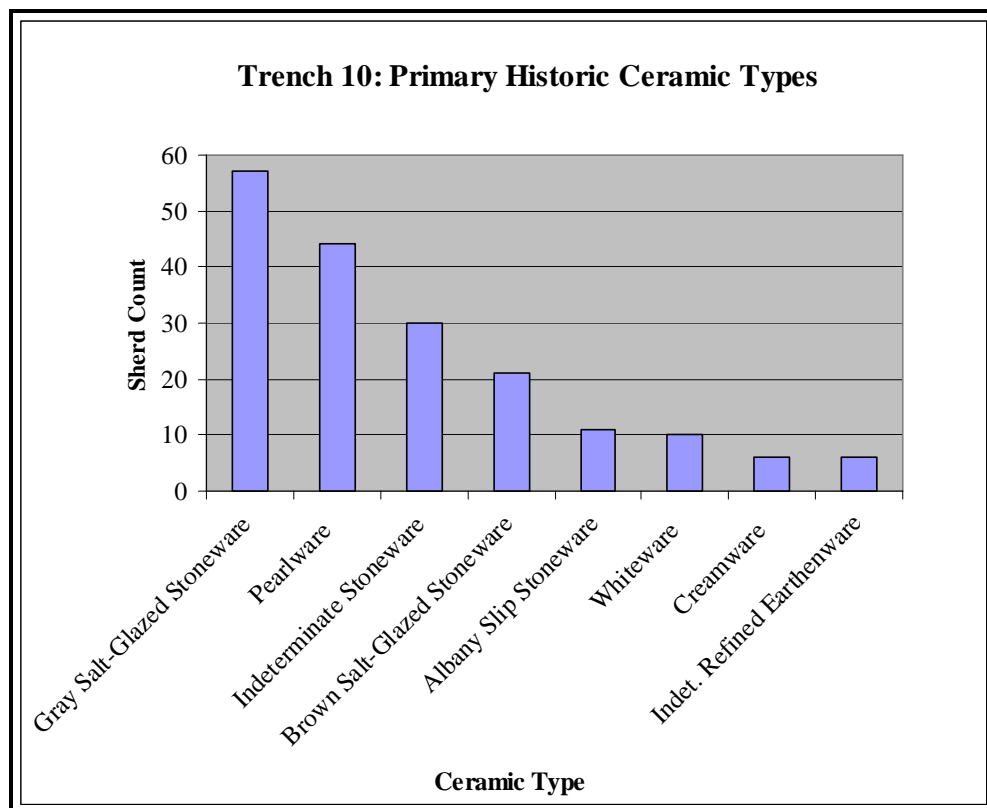


FIGURE 58. Graph showing the frequencies of the primary historic ceramic types recovered in Trench 10.

One of the historic ceramic sherds recovered in Unit 8 of Trench 10 is particularly intriguing. It is a sizable brown salt-glazed stoneware sherd with the majority of a large maker's mark (Figure 59). The maker's mark consists of a stylized large bird-of-prey, most likely an eagle, with a crown on its head and a heart in the middle of its chest. Inside the heart are the letters "ER." A ring containing the letters "G. E. I. L." encircles the bird and it is probable that there were more letters following the "L," before the vessel broke. The sherd is thick and seems to be from a utilitarian vessel of some sort, such as a mug or storage jug. Unfortunately, no other sherds from that vessel were recovered and no ceramic makers could be identified that used "ER" or "G. E. I. L." in their marks. Often British-made historic ceramics have marks associated with the king or queen ruling at the time of their manufacture, such as GR for King George and VR for Queen Victoria, but there is no British king or queen with E as a first initial that corresponds to historic period occupations on Sapelo (Hume 1970:114). Since no words in the English language begin with the letters "G.E.I.L.," the ceramic may have been made outside of Britain, possibly in Germany where there was successful stoneware industry. Historic brown salt-glazed stonewares from Britain have an early date range of 1690 to 1775, but stonewares imported from Germany have date ranges that extend from the colonial period to 1900 (Gaimster 1997). Until the details of its manufacture can be identified, the ceramic can provide limited temporal data for the structure.

Mean ceramic date (MCD) calculations provide more specific temporal data for the structure(s) represented by the tabby remains. Trench 10's mean ceramic dates resulted from three different calculations. The first utilized all diagnostic ceramics (MCD 1) and the second excluded the ceramics with unusually long date ranges of 200 years or more, as had been done

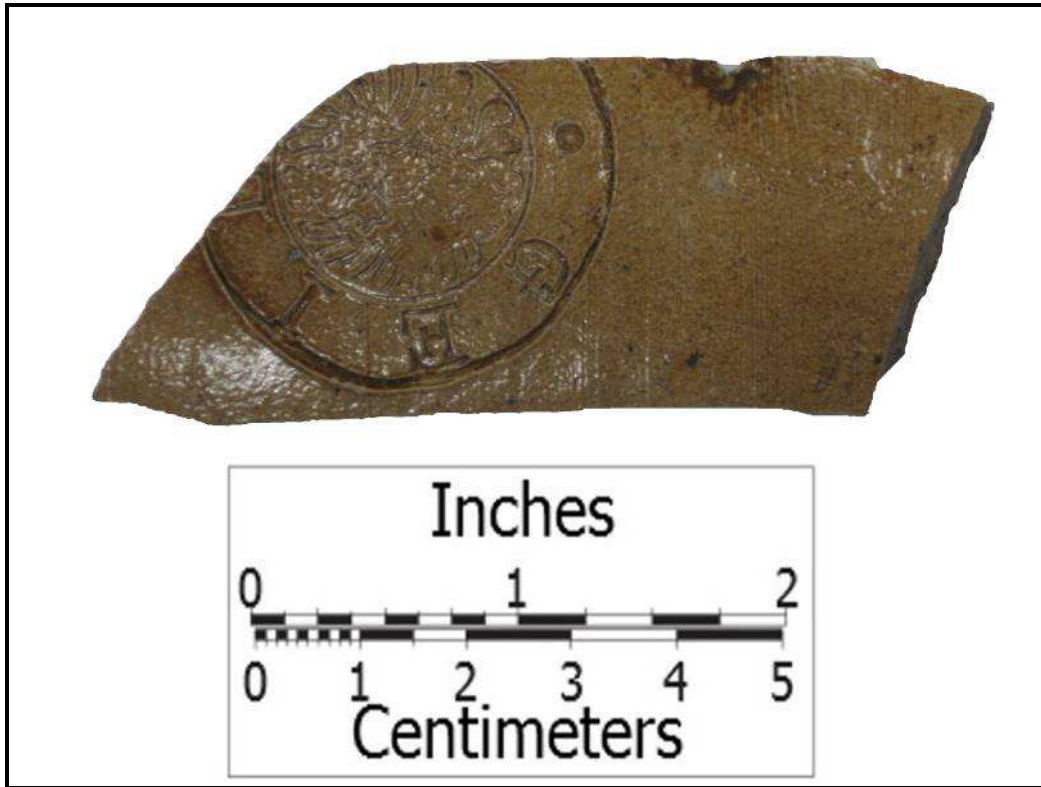


FIGURE 59. Brown salt-glazed stoneware sherd with a large maker's mark recovered in Unit 8, Trench 10. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2012.)

with the shovel test ceramic data (MCD 2). The third calculation only eliminated gray salt-glazed stoneware since a large number of the gray salt-glazed stoneware sherds in the trench seemed to come from the same large vessel (MCD 3) (Table 34). The 38 sherds that lacked well-defined date ranges, including indeterminate lead-glazed, indeterminate alkaline-glazed, indeterminate refined earthenware, and indeterminate stoneware ceramics, were excluded from all of the mean ceramic date calculations. The ceramic assemblage's TPQ post-dated historic occupations of the former structure(s) due to the presence of whiteware (circa 1830-present).

TABLE 34
TRENCH 10'S MEAN CERAMIC DATES AND CERAMIC TPQ

MCD 1 Sherd Count	MCD 1	MCD 2 Sherd Count	MCD 2	MCD 3 Sherd Count	MCD 3	TPQ
150	1808.9	92	1808.2	93	1809.4	1964

High v. Low Status Artifacts

Historic ceramics and other artifacts recovered in Trench 10 supplied limited evidence of the socioeconomic status of the occupants of the historic structure(s). While there were few ceramic sherds with identifiable vessel forms, an attempt was made to determine CC Index values for the Trench 10 ceramic data (Table 35) (Miller 1980, 1991). As with the CC Indices determined for the shovel test ceramic assemblage, 1814 was chosen as the representative year for historic occupations because it was the closest year available in Miller's index tables to the mean ceramic dates calculated for the Trench 10 assemblage. The year 1814 is also relatively close to the medians of both gray salt-glazed stoneware's (circa 1700-1900) and pearlware's (circa 1780-1840) date ranges, the two most numerous of all historic ceramic types recovered in Trench 10.

TABLE 35
 1814 CC INDEX VALUES FOR TRENCH 10 AND SHOVEL TEST
 CERAMICS

Vessel Form	Trench 10 CC Index	Shovel Test CC Index
Bowl	2.40	1.40
Plate	1.17	2.38
Tea Ware	3.67	2.80

Notable differences exist between the CC Indices associated with Trench 10 and those determined for the shovel test assemblage. The CC Index value determined for the bowl sherds recovered in the trench is significantly higher than the 1.00 assigned to plain creamware and is almost double the value determined for the bowls sherds recovered in the shovel tests. For the plate sherds recovered in Trench 10, the CC Index value is not much higher than the 1.00 for plain creamware and is much lower than the value assigned to shovel test plate sherds. In contrast, the CC Index value for tea ware sherds found in Trench 10 is the highest value calculated for any of the vessel forms recovered in the trench or in the shovel tests. It is more than 3.5 times the value for plain creamware and is substantially higher than the CC Index value calculated for the tea ware sherds from the shovel tests.

Although there were several artifacts recovered in Trench 10 that could be associated with a particularly higher or lower social status, there was no particular pattern in their distribution. Throughout the trench and in various levels, there were multiple types of higher status artifacts, including transfer-printed pearlware and whiteware sherds, a plain porcelain sherd, a drinking glass shard, very thin glass shards that may have been from glass table ware, brass buttons, a porcelain button, jewelry parts, furniture tacks, a gun barrel, a stove part, and window glass (Hume 1970:257; Miller 1980:4,32; Kelso 1984:205-206; Cabak and Groover 2006:68,77-79). The units adjacent to the above-ground tabby form, Units 4 and 6, had the most high status artifacts, but every unit had at least a few of those relatively expensive, luxury items.

There were also, however, a significant number of comparatively cheap, utilitarian type artifacts that have been considered lower status including a high frequency of gray and brown salt-glazed stoneware, Albany slip stoneware, and indeterminate stoneware sherds, as well as several annular, plain, and shell-edged refined earthenware sherds, which have been associated with slave occupation areas on other plantation sites (Hume 1970:100-101; Miller 1980:3-4; Otto 1984).

Artifact Distributions

While each unit in Trench 10 had a substantial artifact assemblage, the distribution of artifacts was not uniform. Excavations in the units adjacent to the rectangular tabby remains, Units 4 and 6, revealed not only that the tabby form was shallower than expected, but that it was constructed directly on top of a significant amount of tabby debris and other artifacts (Figure 60). Because the density of architectural debris and other artifacts below the tabby form indicates that the tabby rubble represents two different structures, the vertical distribution of artifacts was examined in detail, both in reference to excavation levels and natural strata.

Based on their elevation relative to the tabby rectangle, the arbitrary excavation levels can, theoretically, be divided and linked to either the first or the second structure. In this analysis, Levels 1 and 2 represent the occupation of the most recent structure associated with the intact above-ground tabby remains because the two levels generally contain material recovered above the bottom of the rectangular tabby form. Level 3 included material that may represent both structures, as the bottom of the tabby form varied in elevation between the bottom of Level 2 and Level 3, and thus is not grouped with any other levels. Levels 4 through 7, existing below the tabby form, represent the previous structure. Each grouping of excavations levels (Levels 1-2, Level 3, and Levels 4-7) was divided into Stanley South's (1977) artifact groups to examine the



FIGURE 60. North wall of the slot trench excavated in Unit 6 of Trench 10, which shows the dense tabby rubble concentrations existing below the bottom of the rectangular tabby form. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

distribution of specific types of artifacts and examine the function of the former structures (Table 36). Units 10, 2, and 11 were excluded from this analysis because Unit 10 seems to represent a separate filling episode and may be heavily disturbed and Units 2 and 11 included some combined levels that were excavated at the same time and could not be divided into the upper, middle, and lower level groupings. Artifacts from photo-cleaning proveniences that spanned the upper, middle, and lower level groupings were also excluded.

TABLE 36
ARTIFACTS RECOVERED IN TRENCH 10'S UPPER, MIDDLE, AND LOWER LEVELS, BY GROUP

Artifact Group	Levels 1-2		Level 3		Levels 4-7	
	Count	Weight(g)	Count	Weight(g)	Count	Weight(g)
Activities	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	48.3
Architecture	--	14491.2	--	17830.3	--	17592.6
Arms	4	357.6	1	0.4	7	2.5
Clothing	5	1.1	7	1.2	3	1.0
Flora	--	27.9	--	11.0	--	28.4
Furniture	0	0.0	3	1.0	2	0.9
Kitchen	--	190.7	--	470.6	--	758.8
Other	--	2.0	--	3.6	--	0.0
Personal	1	0.1	3	0.4	0	0.0
Shell	--	4172.9	--	3947.9	--	6470.0
Tobacco	0	0.0	1	2.2	3	2.6
Total	10	19243.5	15	22268.6	17	24905.1

Comparisons between the assemblages of Levels 1-2, Level 3, and Levels 4-7 in Trench 10 revealed that the number of artifacts generally increased with depth. While it is true that the significant difference in the number of levels in each grouping may partially account for the disparities in artifact amounts, Levels 6 and 7 in the lower level grouping often included the top of the subsoil stratum and had very few artifacts. Thus, the upper and lower level groupings are relatively comparable. In all three groupings, the architecture, shell, and kitchen groups respectively contained the largest amounts of artifacts. Levels 1-2 lacked artifacts from the activities, furniture, and tobacco groups, but still produced evidence of an intensely occupied

and/or heavily trafficked area, including various clothing, personal, and arms-related items. Levels 4-7 did not have any personal or other group artifacts, but contained items belonging to all remaining artifact groups. They produced the only activities-related artifacts in the entire Trench 10 assemblage--a wire and an iron strap. The Levels 4-7 assemblage is indicative of a domestic space and includes a particularly large amount of architectural items and shell, providing evidence of a structure pre-dating the tabby rectangle. Level 3's assemblage seems to hold more in common with the assemblage from Levels 4-7 than Levels 1-2, except for its smaller amounts of shell and kitchen artifacts, its lack of activities artifacts, and the presence of multiple personal items.

To better assess any differences in function between the hypothesized earlier and later structures, percentages were calculated for each of the artifact groups in the upper, middle, and lower level groupings based on their weight (Table 37). These calculations provided insight into the general makeup of each grouping's assemblage regardless of its relative total size. In general, the upper, middle, and lower level groupings had a very similar composition. The vast majority of each assemblage consisted of architectural artifacts, followed by shell with a large disparity existing between the two groups. Kitchen artifacts make up a similar percentage of the assemblage in each grouping, which is much smaller than the architecture and shell groups, but is still the third largest percentage in all but the Levels 1-2 grouping. In Levels 1-2, the arms group is slightly larger than the kitchen group due to the recovery of the gun barrel fragment. The remaining artifact groups in the upper, middle, and lower levels make up only a negligible percentage of the assemblages.

TABLE 37
 RELATIVE COMPOSITION OF THE ASSEMBLAGES RECOVERED IN
 THE UPPER, MIDDLE, AND LOWER LEVELS OF TRENCH 10, BY
 PERCENTAGE OF WEIGHT

	Levels 1-2	Level 3	Levels 4-7
Artifact Group	Weight (%)	Weigh (%)	Weight (%)
Activities	0.0	0.0	0.2
Architecture	75.3	80.1	70.6
Arms	1.9	0.0	0.0
Clothing	0.0	0.0	0.0
Flora	0.1	0.1	0.1
Furniture	0.0	0.0	0.0
Kitchen	1.0	2.1	3.1
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0
Personal	0.0	0.0	0.0
Shell	21.7	17.7	26.0
Tobacco	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Mean ceramic dates calculated for the upper levels (1-2), middle level (3), and lower levels (4-7) in Trench 10 provided tentative temporal data for occupations of the two structures (Table 38). Units 2 and 11 were excluded from these mean ceramic date calculations because, as mentioned previously, they included some combined levels that were excavated at the same time. Like the other Trench 10 mean ceramic date determinations, three types of mean ceramic date calculations were conducted for each of the level groupings: one that utilized all diagnostic ceramics (MCD 1), another that excluded the ceramics with unusually long date ranges of 200 years or more (MCD 2), and a third that only eliminated gray salt-glazed stoneware (MCD 3). Any ceramics that lacked a well-defined date range, primarily the indeterminate refined earthenwares and indeterminate stonewares, were left out of all three mean ceramic date calculations. In some cases, the only ceramic type with a ceramic date range of 200 years or more was the gray salt-glazed stoneware (circa 1700-1900), which meant that MCD 2 was not calculated. The presence of whiteware (circa 1830-present) in all three level groupings resulted

in the same TPQ of 1964, which contributed little to the discernment of earlier and later structures.

TABLE 38
MEAN CERAMIC DATES FOR THE UPPER, MIDDLE, AND LOWER LEVELS IN TRENCH 10

Levels	MCD 1 Sherd Count	MCD 1	MCD 2 Sherd Count	MCD 2	MCD 3 Sherd Count	MCD 3
1-2	11	1787.2	--	--	8	1782.4
3	40	1806.8	--	--	29	1809.4
4-7	80	1805.8	43	1804.8	44	1802.3

The low number of diagnostic sherds in Levels 1-2 may have affected the accuracy of the mean ceramic dates associated with their combined ceramic assemblage, which would account for the illogical result of earlier mean ceramic dates determined for the upper levels and later dates determined for the lower levels. When Level 3, which in large part includes artifacts from above the bottom of the rectangular tabby form, is lumped into the upper level grouping, the mean ceramic dates associated with the upper and lower levels make more sense from a stratigraphic perspective, resulting in slightly earlier dates for the lower levels and later dates for the upper levels (Table 39). Of course, the accuracy of these revised dates may be questionable as well due to Level 3's intermediate position between the hypothesized earlier and later tabby remains.

TABLE 39
MEAN CERAMIC DATES FOR ALTERNATE UPPER AND LOWER LEVEL GROUPINGS IN TRENCH 10

Levels	MCD 1 Sherd Count	MCD 1	MCD 2 Sherd Count	MCD 2	MCD 3 Sherd Count	MCD 3
1-3	59	1810.9	--	--	40	1811.3
4-7	80	1805.8	43	1804.8	44	1802.3

An analysis of the artifact distributions across the different strata excavated in Trench 10 provides additional data useful for interpretations of the tabby remains. There are differences

across Trench 10 in the stratigraphy and associated artifact deposits. The units in the northern portion of Trench 10 outside of the rectangular tabby form (Units 2, 4, and 11) continued until sterile without encountering solid or articulated tabby remains (Figure 61). In the northern units the upper dark gray stratum located beneath the root mat contained a vast majority of the cultural deposits. It extended from the lower portion of the tabby form to 5 to 10 cm below the bottom of the tabby form. The entire stratum is basically a concentration of tabby rubble, which gradually decreases in thickness as it progresses north away from the tabby form. The portions of the stratum above and below the bottom of the tabby form are not distinguishable from each other and it is difficult to determine if it represents multiple structures. Just below the gray stratum is the burned layer, which contained the same types and density of historic artifacts, except for the relatively large amounts of charcoal and charred seed. The historic artifact distribution essentially ends after the burned layer, where there is a leaching zone followed by the sterile subsoil stratum.

The stratigraphic distribution of ceramics did not help to distinguish between the earlier and later structures. A vast majority of the historic ceramics was recovered in the same dark gray upper stratum of the units that also contained concentrations of tabby rubble and could not be divided according to their stratigraphic context. In some cases a dark gray stratum, typically spanning 20 to 30 cm from the ground surface, could be distinguished from the very dark gray stratum below it, occurring somewhere between 30 and 50 cm below ground surface; however, both strata contained a variety of earlier and later ceramics ranging from brown salt-glazed stonewares (circa 1690-1775) and creamwares (circa 1762-1820) to whitewares (circa 1830-present) and Albany slip stoneware (circa 1800-1986) (Harris [2010]; Florida Museum of



FIGURE 61. The west wall of Unit 4, which represents a typical post-excavation profile in the northern portion of Trench 10. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

Natural History 2011). Immediately below the dark gray and very dark gray strata was a leaching zone that contained few ceramics, followed by sterile subsoil.

In the southern portion of Trench 10 outside of the tabby form only certain parts of the stratigraphy were exposed during unit excavations. Besides the 50 x 25 cm slot trench adjacent to the tabby form in Unit 6, the southern units remained in the same upper dark gray stratum that contained historic artifacts and tabby rubble in the northern portion of the trench. Within the dark gray stratum, the southern units revealed articulated architectural features less than 25 cm below the ground surface in the area adjacent to the tabby form (Unit 6) and between 10 and 20 cm below the ground surface in the slightly lower elevation units further south (Units 7, 8, and 9).

The most significant of the subsurface architectural remains was the edge of a large, relatively flat slab of solid tabby that was exposed in Unit 6 and the northern portion of Unit 7. The portion of the tabby slab in those units was approximately 90 cm long and spanned 45 cm at its widest point, but it clearly extend beyond the narrow scope of the trench and its actual size is unknown. Although the solid tabby slab was deteriorated in places and did not have a particularly smooth surface or edges, it was intact enough to determine that it had once been a flat surface associated with the former structure, most likely a tabby wall of some kind. The top surface of the tabby slab was encountered at approximately the same depth as the bottom of the tabby form in Unit 6, and cannot be definitively associated with an older previous structure. It is likely that both the rectangular tabby form and the tabby slab were from the same architecture feature of the most recent structure.

South of the tabby slab were very dense concentrations of tabby rubble that decreased in intensity as they progressed southward, finally ceasing in the southern end of Trench 10 in Unit 9, less than 5 m from the rectangular tabby form (Figure 62). These tabby concentrations were



FIGURE 62. Southern portion of Trench 10 with the dense tabby rubble and architectural debris exposed. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

much denser than those in the northern half of the trench, so much so that they were not removed during excavations. They were approximately the same elevation as the tabby slab, and may have originally been part of the same tabby wall or other flat architectural feature.

The slot trench in Unit 6 provided the only stratigraphic evidence in the southern portion of the trench of consecutive building episodes. The slot trench revealed dense concentrations of various forms of tabby mortar and plaster and oyster shell, as well as a number of other historic artifacts such as ceramics, glass, brick, nails, and bone, all recovered below the bottom of the tabby form. In the northern profile of Unit 6, the slot trench clearly reveals that the tabby form is resting directly on top of a dense layer of tabby rubble “(Figure 60).” In fact, more than 10 cm below the bottom of the tabby form, there was such a dense concentration of tabby that only half of the slot trench was excavated down to the top of the subsoil stratum to minimize the removal of large amounts of tabby.

The stratigraphy in Unit 10 inside the rectangular tabby form was completely different from the rest of the Trench 10 excavations. Unit 10 consisted of layer upon layer of architectural material, mostly in the form of tabby mortar, plaster, and brick fragments with few other non-architectural artifacts (Table 40) (Figure 63). This extremely dense concentration of tabby did not end until after the seventh 10 cm level. Although with so few temporally diagnostic artifacts it is difficult to interpret conclusively, the unusual and extensive distribution of architectural artifacts in Unit 10 suggests that a filling episode may have occurred after the major occupations of the area around the tabby remains, which would account for the unit’s unique contents and depth of historic deposits. In this hypothesized filling episode, the architectural debris from the former structure(s) was used as the “filler” for a hole that was dug either by looters or for some other purpose. The interior of the tabby form exposed in Unit 10 serves as additional evidence

TABLE 40
UNIT 10 ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGE, BY GROUP

Artifact Group	Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Architecture	Brick Fragments, Handmade	5	472.6
	Brick, Indeterminate	--	532.8
	Brick Tile	1	83.4
	Hook, Hardware	1	2.9
	Nails and Nail Fragments	55	95.7
	Tabby Brick Fragments	10	5424.0
	Tabby Mortar, Unmodified	--	20723.2
	Tabby Mortar, Finished	--	6251.5
	Tabby Mortar, Marked	--	85.5
	Tabby Plaster, Lathing Marked	--	2152.2
	Tabby Plaster, Whitewashed	--	585.0
	Total	72	36408.8
	Arms	Percussion Cap, Brass	1
Shot, Lead		12	5.9
Total		13	6.0
Clothing	Buttons, Bone	2	1.4
	Buttons, Brass	2	4.7
	Total	4	6.1
Flora	Nuts, Charred	--	0.2
	Seeds, Charred	--	9.9
	Wood, Carbonized	--	23.1
	Total	--	33.2
Furniture	Staple Fragments	1	0.1
	Total	1	0.1
Kitchen	Bone, Cut/Sawed	--	4.1
	Bone, Unmodified	--	12.8
	Ceramics	8	23.6
	Container Fragments, Iron	--	2.2
	Glass, Indeterminate	5	0.6
	Glass, Very Thin	3	0.5
	Glass, Wine Bottle	6	7.4
	Peach Pit, Charred	1	0.2
	Stove Part, Iron	1	495.6
	Total	24	547.0
Other	Cinders	--	3.9
	Stone, Non-Cultural	--	5.6
	Total	--	9.5
Shell	Barnacles	--	2.1
	Indeterminate	--	0.3
	Mercenaria (Clam)	--	33.8

TABLE 40 (CONTINUED)
 UNIT 10 HISTORIC ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGE, BY GROUP

Artifact Group	Artifact Type	Count	Weight (g)
Shell	Oyster	--	3619.9
	Total	--	3656.1
Artifact Total		114	40666.8



FIGURE 63. South wall profile of Unit 10 showing the dense architectural rubble and possible evidence of a modern filling episode. (Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2010.)

of a later disturbance, as it is in a far worse condition than the parts of the tabby form exposed in Units 4 and 6 and does not exist as a solid wall in most places.

Besides the possibility of multiple consecutive building episodes, the general assemblages recovered in different parts of Trench 10 revealed other important information about the occupations of the former structure(s). Comparisons between the assemblages found in the northern and southern units of Trench 10, as well as Unit 10 using South's (1977) artifact groups yielded significant differences (Tables 41, 42). In general, the southern portion of the trench produced significantly more kitchen-related items than the northern portion, including more than six times as many historic ceramics and four times more glass (Table 43). Additionally, the southern units contained specific kitchen artifacts such as a drinking glass shard, iron cooking pot fragments, and a possible fork fragment that are not present in the northern units. The southern units also had significantly more shell and bone. The southern and northern units did contain similar amounts of architectural material, but the northern units produced more furniture, arms, clothing, and personal items than the southern units and had considerably more flora artifacts in the form of carbonized seeds and carbonized wood, providing further evidence of a burning episode in the northern area (Table 44).

TABLE 41
ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGES RECOVERED IN THE NORTHERN, CENTRAL (UNIT 10), AND SOUTHERN UNITS OF TRENCH 10, BY GROUP

Artifact Group	Northern Units		Southern Units		Unit 10	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Activities	0	0	2	48.3	0	0
Architecture	--	23814.1	--	39995.3	--	36408.8
Arms	6	359.7	12	5.0	13	6.0
Clothing	12	1.7	4	1.9	4	6.1
Flora	--	124.7	--	28.8	--	33.0
Furniture	6	2.3	1	0.2	1	0.1
Kitchen	--	278.9	--	1157.0	--	547.0

TABLE 41 (CONTINUED)
ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGES RECOVERED IN THE NORTHERN, CENTRAL
(UNIT 10), AND SOUTHERN UNITS OF TRENCH 10, BY GROUP

Artifact Group	Northern Units		Southern Units		Unit 10	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Other	--	9.8	--	3.0	--	9.5
Personal	5	2.0	0	0	0	0
Shell	--	3800.4	--	12715.3	--	3656.1
Tobacco	6	4.9	1	1.0	0	0
Total	35	28398.5	20	53955.8	18	40666.8

TABLE 42
COMPARISON OF THE ASSEMBLAGES RECOVERED IN THE NORTHERN,
CENTRAL (UNIT 10), AND SOUTHERN UNITS OF TRENCH 10, BY
PERCENTAGE OF WEIGHT

Artifact Group	Northern Units	Southern Units	Unit 10
	Weight (%)	Weight (%)	Weight (%)
Activities	0.0	0.1	0.0
Architecture	83.9	74.1	89.5
Arms	1.3	0.0	0.0
Clothing	0.0	0.0	0.0
Flora	0.4	0.1	0.1
Furniture	0.0	0.0	0.0
Kitchen	1.0	2.1	1.4
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0
Personal	0.0	0.0	0.0
Shell	13.4	23.6	9.0
Tobacco	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 43
KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS RECOVERED IN THE NORTHERN, CENTRAL
(UNIT 10), AND SOUTHERN UNITS OF TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Northern Units		Southern Units		Unit 10	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Bone, Cut/Sawed	--	0	--	0	--	4.1
Bone, Unmodified	--	17.5	--	24.8	--	12.8
Ceramics	22	135.8	158	720.5	8	23.6
Container Fragments, Iron	--	60.4	--	145.9	--	2.2
Cooking Pot Fragments	0	0.0	3	136.3	0	0.0

TABLE 43 (CONTINUED)

KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS RECOVERED IN THE NORTHERN, CENTRAL (UNIT 10), AND SOUTHERN UNITS OF TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Northern Units		Southern Units		Unit 10	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Fork Fragments	0	0.0	1	1.6	0	0.0
Glass, Case Bottle	1	0.1	6	5.7	0	0.0
Glass, Drinking	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0
Glass, Indeterminate	8	1.5	25	11.8	5	0.6
Glass, Other Bottle	2	4.5	4	9.2	0	0.0
Glass, Very Thin	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.5
Glass, Wine Bottle	9	59.1	34	100.8	6	7.4
Peach Pit, Charred	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
Stove Part, Iron	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	495.6
Total	42	278.9	232	1157.0	24	547.0

TABLE 44

ARCHITECTURE GROUP ARTIFACTS RECOVERED FROM THE NORTHERN, CENTRAL (UNIT 10), AND SOUTHERN UNITS OF TRENCH 10

Artifact Type	Northern Units		Southern Units		Unit 10	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Bracket, Iron	0	0.0	1	28.7	0	0.0
Brick Fragments, Handmade	1	355.4	1	425.4	5	472.6
Brick Fragments, Indeterminate	--	764.2	--	342.4	--	532.8
Brick Tile	0	0.0	1	8.9	1	83.4
Clay, Unmodified	--	0.4	--	0.0	--	0.0
Glass, Window	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0
Hook, Hardware	0	0.0	1	4.8	1	2.9
Nails and Nail Fragments	225	303.2	146	201.4	55	95.7
Spike, Iron	1	8.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tabby Brick Fragments	0	0.0	1	790.0	10	5424.0
Tabby Mortar, Finished	--	1313.4	--	961.3	--	6251.5
Tabby Mortar, Marked	--	0.0	--	0.0	--	85.5
Tabby Mortar, Unmodified	--	20510.1	--	36426.2	--	20723.2
Tabby Plaster, Lathing Marked		463.3	--	544.0	--	2152.2
Tabby Plaster, Whitewashed	--	95.4	--	261.8	--	585.0
Total	227	23814.1	152	39995.3	72	36408.8

Inside of the rectangular tabby form, the contents of Unit 10 differed significantly from the rest of the trench. Unit 10 produced only eight historic ceramics, which represented a mere 5% of the total ceramic assemblage recovered in Trench 10. The unit's other kitchen-related artifacts were also low in number and diversity. Instead, architectural artifacts predominated in the assemblage. In addition to a significant amount of nails and clay brick, Unit 10 had an extremely large quantity of tabby, with nearly double the amount of tabby mortar as either the three northern units or the four southern units. Unit 10 alone produced more than two times the combined weight of clay brick and the various forms of tabby than both the northern and southern portions of Trench 10 and it contained all but one fragment of the identified tabby bricks found in the trench. The other artifact frequencies in Unit 10 are less noteworthy. It produced quite a few lead shot, approximately the same number as all four of Trench 10's southern units, but, except for four buttons, it lacked clothing items and contained no artifacts belonging in the personal, tobacco, or activities groups.

To facilitate interpretations of the architectural function of the tabby in and around the above-ground remains, a detailed analysis of the distribution of tabby throughout the Trench 10 was conducted. For each unit, the analysis included the assessment of the total amounts of tabby, the depth of the tabby deposits, and the levels with the most tabby, as well as the unit's percentage of the total amount of tabby recovered in all of Trench 10 (Table 45). All told, 96,586.9 g of all forms of tabby mortar and plaster were recovered in Trench 10. The northern units of the trench had a total of 22,382.2 g of all forms of tabby mortar and plaster, making up 23.2% of the total tabby assemblage in the trench (Figure 64). Unit 10 inside the remains contained 35,221.4 g of tabby, representing 36.5% of all tabby in Trench 10. The southern units produced 38,983.3 g of tabby, totaling to 40.3% of Trench 10's total tabby assemblage.

TABLE 45
DISTRIBUTION OF TABBY IN TRENCH 10

Unit #	Amount of Tabby (g)	% of All Tabby in Trench 10	Levels with the Most Tabby
11	5265.6	5.5	3, 4
2	4718.9	4.9	2, 3, 4
4	12397.7	12.8	2, 3
10	35221.4	36.5	3, 4, 5, 6
6	20117.3	20.8	2, 3, 4, 5, 6
7	6731.6	7.0	3
8	4080.0	4.2	4
9	8054.4	8.3	5
Total	96586.9	100.0	--

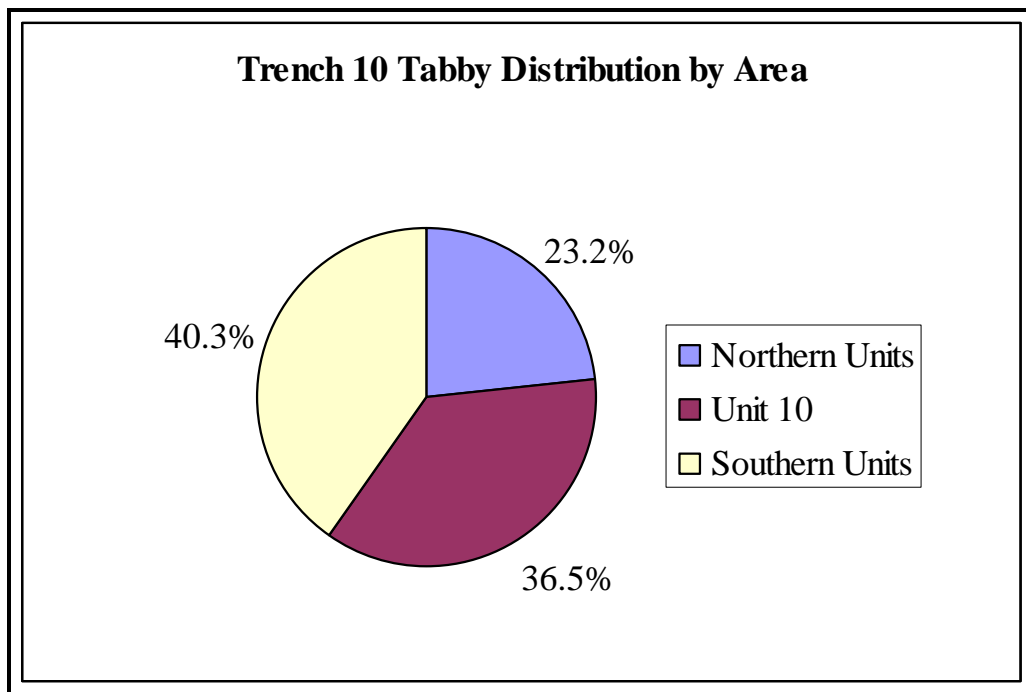


FIGURE 64. Pie chart depicting the northern, southern, and central units' contributions to the total amount of tabby recovered in Trench 10.

Summary and Discussion of Trench 10 Data

The data recovered in the Trench 10 excavations provides evidence of multiple building episodes, and allows for preliminary interpretations of the former structures in terms of function, architectural attributes, time period of use, and type of occupancy. The trench excavations centered upon the rectangular tabby form, the only *in situ* structural element that remained of the historic buildings, and revealed important details about that particular feature. Although it was originally thought to be the foundations of a tabby chimney or a similar substantial structural element, the rectangular form was surprisingly shallow, extending no more than 20 cm below the ground surface. The bottom of the form was quite uneven and rested upon a dense layer of tabby rubble, giving the impression that the tabby was poured directly on a rough ground surface that covered the remains of another structure. The tabby itself had a fairly coarse appearance with impressions from wood lathing and no evidence of whitewashing. In general, the combination of the tabby form's relatively small size, limited depth, and rough appearance suggests that it represents an architectural feature belonging to a modest, practical structure that differed significantly from the large, multiple-story, elegant mansions used by the more prominent planters on Sapelo Island.

The tabby form's position on top of other structural remains indicates that the building associated with the form may have been constructed in order to replace a previous structure that existed in the same location. The reasons behind constructing one structure on top of the remains of another are unclear, especially since the remains of the previous structure include large tabby fragments and do not seem to create a level surface on which to build. It is certainly feasible that the burned layer in the northern part of Trench 10 may have originated from a fire that destroyed the previous structure and necessitated the speedy construction of a replacement structure in the

same location; however, the connection between the burned layer and the remains of two structures in the same location is by no means certain at this stage of research and requires further investigation.

While architectural materials made up the largest portion of the assemblage recovered in Trench 10, there was considerable evidence of regular domestic or household activities. Although it is possible that at least one of the former structures could have been a kitchen with all of the ceramics, glass, and cooking utensil artifacts present in the assemblage, it seems more likely that they were houses given the large number of personal and clothing artifacts, as well as the significant presence of artifacts in the arms, tobacco, and activities categories, which, in general, suggest daily living as opposed to a structure with a specialized function. The jewelry and clothing items may be evidence of a female presence, another indication that the structure had a domestic function.

Ceramics were predominant among Trench 10's kitchen-related artifacts and they revealed some important details about the former structures. Besides the numerous gray salt-glazed stoneware sherds that largely seemed to originate from the same broken vessel, pearlware (circa 1780-1840) was the most common ceramic type, totaling to 43 of the 188 historic sherds. The high number of pearlware sherds correlates well with the prevalence of pearlware elsewhere in the study area and points towards a fairly early occupation that peaked prior to the 1850s. The trench ceramic assemblage differs from the shovel test assemblage, however, in the higher frequency of brown salt-glazed stoneware sherds (circa 1690-1775), and fairly low numbers of creamwares (circa 1762-1830) and whitewares (circa 1830-present). Indeterminate stoneware and Albany slip stoneware (circa 1800-1986) were also common finds in Trench 10, but were not recovered in any of the shovel tests in the study area. The different mean ceramic dates

calculated for Trench 10 with and without the gray-salt glazed stoneware (circa 1700-1900) and lead-glazed redware (circa 1490-1900) sherds were surprising similar, falling around 1808 or 1809. They indicate an early 19th century occupation, which generally corresponds to the same time period indicated by the shovel test ceramic data; however, the presence of some later ceramics like whiteware and Albany slip stoneware resulted in the late ceramic *terminus post quem* (TPQ) of 1964 and suggests that the most recent structure could have been occupied or at least utilized later, possibly into the postbellum era.

Trench 10's mixture of earlier and later ceramics included a combination of expensive table wares and cheaper, utilitarian wares. The large variety of utilitarian stonewares present in the ceramic assemblage suggests that cooking and food storage occurred in or around the structures, which seems to indicate either the presence of a detached kitchen or a house where practical concerns were often prioritized above aesthetic features in food-related activities. In addition to the various stonewares, there were also a large number of transfer-printed sherds, which were actually the most common type of decorated refined earthenware ceramics recovered in Trench 10. As mentioned previously, transfer-printed ceramics are often associated with higher status individuals because they were more expensive than other types and were often used as serving vessels, which contrasts sharply from the cheaper, utilitarian stonewares (Miller 1980; Otto 1984). Although the frequency of transfer-printed sherds in the trench could be interpreted as evidence of higher status occupants of the structures, transfer-printed ceramics are fairly common throughout the entire study and therefore do not seem to provide status-related significance.

The CC Index values calculated for Trench 10's ceramics generally suggest an intermediate socioeconomic status for the occupants of the former structures associated with the

tabby remains. The index values determined for the bowl and plate sherds recovered in both the shovel test and trench excavations were within the same fairly low range, between 1.00 and 2.40, but, unlike the shovel test CC Index values, Trench 10's plate sherds actually had a lower index value than the bowl sherds. Only in the teaware index values was there any indication of possible status differences. The Trench 10 tea ware had a significantly higher CC Index value than the shovel tests' tea ware. These CC Index values seem to imply that the occupants of the structures associated with the tabby remains could afford higher quality, more expensive tea wares than the site's other occupants and may have had a slightly elevated socioeconomic status, but, since there were few sherds with identifiable vessel forms, such a conclusion is tentative at best until further data can be collected.

The trench's ceramic assemblage indicates a fairly modest standard of living, but some of the other artifacts provide evidence of occupants with higher incomes. With the exception of the bone buttons, the personal and clothing items in the Trench 10 assemblage tended to be non-essential, luxury-type items and therefore seem more likely to have been the belongings of a planter or overseer's family rather than of a slave family. The artifacts associated with jewelry, glass serving ware, and tacks and staples from upholstered furniture, are less commonly associated with slaves' domestic activities, and suggest that the former structures were not slave cabins, and may have been occupied by higher status individuals (Kelso 1984:205-206; Singleton 1991:153; Cabak and Groover 2006:68,77-79). The Trench 10 assemblage also included the largest amount of architectural material found anywhere in the study area and the tabby remains therefore seem to represent the most substantial historic structures at the site, another indication of higher status occupants. Based on the combination of artifacts found in the trench, it is likely that the occupants of the former structures were part of the middle class, and

could afford some nicer, more expensive items and some luxury items, but had certain financial constraints.

While the Trench 10 assemblage is indicative of comparatively higher status occupants, the differences between it and the shovel test assemblage are by no means large and may diminish even further when more data is collected in future investigations. Together, the similarities in historic components across the study area, the limited extent and size of the assemblages recovered in the trench and shovel test excavations, and the low number of possible structural remains seem unlikely to be associated with the occupation of a wealthy, large-scale planter and his numerous slaves. Instead, the data collected in the trench and shovel test excavations are representative of a smaller plantation site with comparably fewer occupants and a less pronounced discrepancy between the socioeconomic statuses of its occupants.

Exploring the vertical and horizontal distribution of artifacts across the trench provided further insight into the history, function, and architectural elements of the structures associated with the tabby remains. The analysis and comparison of the assemblages recovered in the upper, middle, and lower excavation levels of the trench reaffirmed that the remains of a previous structure exist below the rectangular tabby form and that multiple successive building episodes may have occurred in the same location. The analysis revealed that the assemblage below the tabby form continued for 20 to 30 cm through Level 5 or 6 and included a significant variety of artifacts. The upper levels (Levels 1-2) above the bottom of the tabby form had a smaller assemblage than the middle level (Level 3) or lower levels (Levels 4-7), but, in general, all three assemblages were very similar. In each the architecture, shell, and kitchen groups, respectively, made up the largest portions of the total assemblage. The analogous composition of the upper, middle, and lower level assemblages, which included numerous kitchen-related artifacts and

some combination of items falling into the personal, clothing, activities, furniture, or tobacco groups indicate that both structures served a similar domestic function, most likely as a house. Furthermore, all three assemblages included the same three primary architectural materials-- tabby mortar and plaster, brick, and nails--with tabby always predominant, suggesting that the structures may have shared at least some construction elements.

Comparisons between the mean ceramic dates calculated for upper, middle, and lower levels proved inconclusive. The mean ceramic dates determined for the upper levels fell right around the 1780s and were actually notably earlier than the dates determined for the middle and lower levels, most likely as a result of the low number of diagnostic sherds. The mean ceramic dates associated with the middle and lower levels all fell within the first decade of the 19th century, resembling the mean ceramic dates calculated for Trench 10 as a whole and for the shovel tests. When Level 3 was grouped with Levels 1 and 2, the mean ceramic dates of the upper and lower levels became quite similar and fell into chronological order. The dates for Levels 1-3 came to 1810 and 1811, just a few years later than the dates associated with Levels 4-7, which were in the 1802 to 1805 range. These later, revised mean ceramic dates suggest that the two structures were built and occupied consecutively sometime around the early 19th century with no significant temporal gaps between the occupations of each structure. It is important to remember, however, that Level 3 straddled the bottom of the tabby form and may have contained ceramics associated with both structures, making comparisons between the mean ceramic dates of Levels 1-3 and Levels 4-7 less meaningful. Regardless of whether the levels were divided into two or three categories, each grouping always contained some combination of ceramics with both earlier and later date ranges, which also indicates successive, rather than staggered construction and occupation of the structures. The diversity of ceramics and the various mean

ceramic dates certainly indicate that the area associated with the tabby remains was a preferred spot for domestic activities for a considerable span of time in the early 1800s.

Despite similarities between the collective assemblages of the upper, middle, and lower levels, the results of excavations in the northern and southern portions of the trench and inside the rectangular tabby form produced very different results. Based on this comparison between the northern and southern units it is likely that the north side of the rectangular tabby form represents the interior of the former structures represented by the tabby remains. The southern units had midden-like numbers of artifacts, many of them associated with domestic activities, such as ceramics, glass, and faunal material, which could easily have been trash. This type of midden material most likely would have been disposed of outside of the structure, possibly near a window or door (South 1977:47-50). In contrast, the types of artifacts that were more numerous in the northern units are items that could have easily and inconspicuously ended up on a dirt floor or between the cracks of a wood floor of a regularly occupied building. The jewelry, buttons, and clothing parts could have resulted from frequent human traffic inside the structure and the furniture items could have come from furnishings inside the structure. The clothing, personal, and furniture items also tended to be more valuable and thus were less likely to be intentionally thrown away. Although they are conjectural, these interior and exterior designations warrant further research in future investigations of the tabby remains.

Unit 10's assemblage was quite different, consisting primarily of architectural material, and showing signs of a disturbed context. If Unit 10's assemblage was found in its original context, its contents suggest that the interior of the rectangular tabby form was the site of at least one substantial architectural feature and did not function as an occupied space in or around the structure. The fact that Unit 10's primary artifact type was tabby and that it contained more tabby

than was found in any other single unit in Trench 10, combined with its comparatively small domestic assemblage makes any other interpretation seem improbable. It is more likely, however, that the contents of Unit 10 originated from a disturbed context. While it is possible that the interior area of the rectangular tabby form was unintentionally filled with the debris of the tabby architectural features of the former structure when it collapsed, the unusual density and depth of the tabby debris in Unit 10 seems to confirm that an intentional filling episode took place after the structure had already collapsed.

Although Unit 10 produced a larger quantity of tabby, the southern part of Trench 10 contained the only articulated subsurface tabby remains, which consisted of a large slab of relatively flat tabby and an extremely dense concentration of large tabby fragments. The location of the slab of tabby adjacent to the tabby form and the increasingly fragmented tabby remains beyond it in the southernmost units of the trench indicated that both the slab and the dense tabby rubble were once attached to the tabby form and were part of the same wall fall in which the lower portions of the wall remained more intact because they had less distance to fall during the structure's collapse. This theory could be tested with further excavations near the tabby rectangle in future investigations at Bourbon Field. In any case, it is clear that the tabby portion of the latest structure mostly collapsed to the south, a fact that may be helpful in isolating the different structural remains in future investigations. The northern portion of Trench 10 also contained a substantial amount of tabby, but it consisted of a fairly shallow, disarticulated layer of rubble and smaller fragments, spanning above and below the bottom of the tabby form. The layer most likely includes architectural material from the structure associated with the rectangular tabby form and the previous structure, but it is difficult to distinguish between the two.

While significant quantities of tabby mortar and plaster were recovered in all regions of Trench 10, the total amount and the extent of its distribution indicates that the historic structures associated with the remains were not made wholly of tabby, but were most likely frame structures with certain tabby elements. The entire trench produced 96,586.9 g of tabby, a substantial sum, but not enough to account for a large part of a tabby building. The presence of dense tabby concentrations in a variety of levels across the trench, ranging from Levels 1 to 6 once again supports the theory there were other building episodes in the same spot as the above-ground remains. When the total amount of tabby in Trench 10 is considered to be part of multiple structures, it becomes even less likely that any of the structures were made primarily of tabby. The recovery of a large number of cut and indeterminate nails in Levels 1 through 6 throughout the trench as well as the presence of tabby with lathing marks in various levels in all but one unit suggests that the previous structures may have been frame buildings or at least had significant wooden components. There is also brick in every unit in various levels, although not in nearly as substantial quantities as the tabby, which suggests that there were brick architectural features in the former structures as well.

Unfortunately, the analysis of the tabby recovered in Trench 10 did not bring much clarity as to the former function of the rectangular tabby form. Prior to excavations, the tabby form was assumed to be the foundations of a tabby chimney, but its shallowness indicated that the form may have served as foundations for a less substantial architectural feature. Furthermore, a clear boundary for the articulated tabby rubble exposed in the southern portion of Trench 10 was identified in Unit 9 less than 5 m from the southern edge of the tabby form. If the tabby debris in the southern units and the tabby form are from the same architectural feature as has been hypothesized previously, then that feature does not appear to be especially extensive. Based

on this new information, the best educated guess for the function of the tabby form is that it was originally the foundation of a relatively small, supportive architectural feature such as a staircase or a pier. Historic structures on Sapelo, particularly those located near bodies of water, were often built on piers as a precaution against flooding (Spalding 1914; Honerkamp 2008). The structure at Bourbon Field associated with the tabby form, also may have been built on piers, in which case the rectangular tabby form could have been the bottom of staircase that provided access to the structure or the bottom of one of the more substantial piers. A more definitive interpretation of the tabby form will require further archaeological research beyond the scope of the present investigation.

Although several questions about the tabby remains and associated structures could not be fully addressed in the present preliminary investigation, the Trench 10 excavations certainly helped to characterize the occupations occurring at Bourbon Field while plantation activities predominated on Sapelo. The trench data illustrated the modest nature of the occupations, as the tabby remains most likely represent the largest historic residences at the site and yet the associated artifact assemblage showed more evidence of practical considerations than ostentation or luxury. Additionally, the differences in material culture between those structures represented by the remains and the other occupied areas were fairly limited. According to these findings, it seems likely that Bourbon Field was a low profile, small-scale plantation site with primarily middle- and lower-class occupants, an interpretation that correlates well with the historical record and provides an interesting perspective for comparisons with the more prestigious plantation sites on Sapelo.

CHAPTER VIII

SAPELO ISLAND'S PLANTATION LANDSCAPE: A COMPARISON BETWEEN BOURBON FIELD AND THREE NEIGHBORING PLANTATIONS

During the 18th and 19th centuries, Sapelo Island was home to numerous plantations with varying degrees of prominence and prosperity. The three best known of these plantations are the Spalding Plantation, Chocolate Plantation, and High Point. All three have been the subject of archaeological and historical research and figure prominently in the island's early American and antebellum past (Thomas 1989a; Sullivan 1990; Crook et al. 2003; Honerkamp et al. 2007; Honerkamp 2008; Honerkamp and Bean 2009). The three sites all share similarities with Bourbon Field in their 18th- and 19th-century occupations, as two or more of the tracts were often owned either by the same plantation owner, by relatives, or by business partners at different points during the historic period; however, despite similarities in their histories, as well as their shared environment, similar agricultural activities, and their proximity to one another, the three plantation differed significantly in their specific chronologies, intensity of historic occupations, acreage, productivity, slave population size, and level of economic success. The uniqueness of each plantation provides multiple avenues for comparisons with the historically lesser known Bourbon Field, and serves as evidence that the broad generalizations and stereotypes associated with 18th- and 19th-century southern plantations are often more misleading than informative.

The Spalding Plantation

Background

The Spalding Plantation, owned by Thomas Spalding, was Sapelo's largest and most successful plantation (Coulter 1940; Honerkamp and Bean 2009). In many ways, the Spalding

Plantation fit the stereotype of a southern antebellum plantation, as it contained considerable amounts of land, produced large quantities of cash crops, relied upon the labor of hundreds of slaves, and included a stately mansion that served as the home for the plantation owner and his family (Figure 65) (Vanishing Georgia Photographic Collection 1915-1934; Coulter 1940:43-44; Sullivan 1990:98-99). Between 1802 and 1851, Spalding acquired all of Sapelo except for a 650 acre tract on the northeast portion of the island, as well as numerous coastal Georgia mainland tracts (Sullivan 1990:95). After Spalding passed away in 1851, the Spalding Plantation's success continued until the start of the Civil War under the management of his son, Randolph (Sullivan 1990:134-137). Ownership of the south end portion of the plantation returned to the Spalding family in the postbellum era and agricultural activities continued there through the late 19th century (Sullivan 1990:370; Humphries 1991:xiv-xv; Honerkamp and Bean 2009:4).

In the 20th century, many areas associated with the Spalding Plantation were heavily disturbed by the activities of Howard Coffin and Richard J. Reynolds, Jr. (Crook et al. 2003:27, 37). Both men developed various portions of the island, using the resources and land for numerous financial and leisure-related pursuits. Their activities affected above-ground resources and subsurface archaeological deposits alike, particularly in the southern portion of Sapelo (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:8). Among other developments, the ruins of Spalding's former tabby mansion were demolished and built over by Coffin. Reynolds made his own additions to the new mansion and had many other structures were built nearby, including a dairy and a barn, which later became a laboratory and dormitory complex for the University of Georgia Marine Institute Program (Crook et al. 2003:39; Honerkamp and Bean 2009: 5).

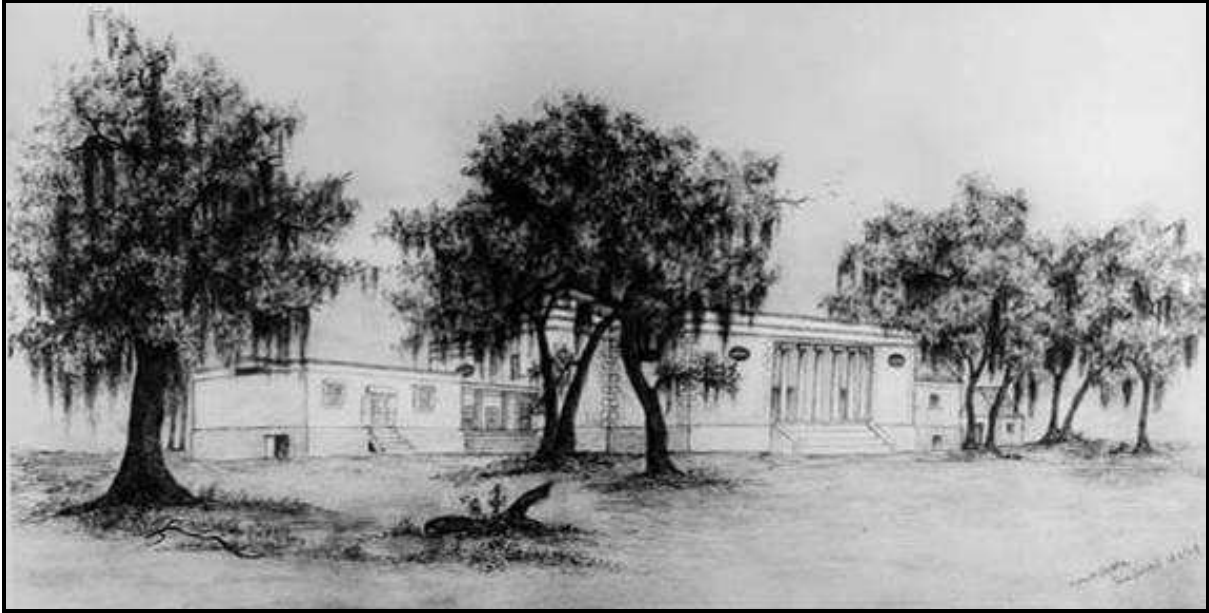


FIGURE 65. Drawing of Spalding's tabby mansion circa 1844. (Public Domain: Courtesy of the Georgia State Archives, Vanishing Georgia Photographic Collection, 1915-1934.)

Archaeological Research and Findings

Archaeological investigations associated with the Spalding Plantation have focused primarily on slave settlements, since Coffin's and Reynolds's 20th-century activities and development on Sapelo destroyed the remains of Spalding's south end mansion and have heavily disturbed the areas around it. The only excavations conducted at a non-slave site occurred in an area on the south end of the island known as Long Tabby, where Spalding had built a tabby sugar works between 1806 and 1813 "(Figure 5)" (Sullivan 1990:111). Spalding, always a supporter of diversity in crop production, was the first planter in Georgia to grow and produce sugar as cash crop, and has been dubbed "the father of the Georgia sugar industry" (Coulter 1940:111). Spalding's sugar works included an octagonal mill house and a boiling and curing house. In 1976, the University of West Georgia field crews mapped the ruins of the mill house and excavated two units inside the remains (Crook and O'Grady 1977). The excavations produced only architectural artifacts that were deposited in the postbellum era or later, indicating that the area was used for trash disposal.

Archaeological investigations have also been conducted in four areas associated with Spalding slave settlement sites: New Barn Creek, Behavior, Hanging Bull, and the South End "(Figure 5)" (Crook 2008; Honerkamp and Bean 2009, 2010). Three of these sites--Hanging Bull, Behavior, and New Barn Creek--were investigated by Ray Crook of University of West Georgia (UWG). New Barn Creek and Behavior were affiliated slave settlements located near the Long Tabby sugar works site, and a good distance northwest of Spalding's mansion. Hanging Bull was a separate south end settlement site that existed about 2 km north of Behavior and eventually became part of a plantation tract that Spalding gave to his daughter Catherine and her husband Michael J. Kenan in 1842 (Crook 2008:7). Based on H.S. DuVal's 1857 map of Sapelo

Island for the U.S. Coastal Survey, Crook (2008:7) has observed that the three slave settlements follow a similar pattern of “broad dispersal within a predefined area, suggesting that the general boundaries for the slave settlement may have been prescribed by Spalding” and that, most likely, the cabins within those areas “were constructed in locations that provided the most contiguous acreage for each residence.” Even if Spalding did not give his slaves much direct supervision, he still managed to maintain some element of control over their daily lives.

Investigations at Hanging Bull were limited to a pedestrian survey of the site by a UWG field crew after timber harvesting had disturbed the area in 1993 (Crook 2008:8). Crook and his crew mapped the Hanging Bull site and conducted surface collections in the disturbed areas and the nearby roadbed. They found and recorded numerous shell features and an old artesian well. Although few artifacts could be dated precisely, the surface collection indicated a 19th-century occupation, with whiteware and bottle glass being the most common artifacts recovered. The assemblage also included some tabby mortar fragments indicating the possibility of slave cabins, but their association with former structures could not be confirmed as the cabins depicted on the 1857 DuVal map.

The archaeological investigations at New Barn Creek and Behavior were more extensive and included excavations of two presumed slave cabin ruins. The slave cabins correspond reasonably well with structures shown on the 1857 DuVal map, since the UWG field crew found the first cabin, or “Cabin No. 1,” near the location of a structure depicted on the map in the south-central section of Behavior and the second cabin, or “Cabin No. 2,” at or very near the southernmost structure depicted at New Barn Creek (DuVal 1857; Crook 2008:10-14). UWG excavated Cabin No. 1 at Behavior in two separate, week-long field sessions in 1994 and 1997, exposing the wall-rubble outline of the structure and the north and west adjacent areas.

Excavations revealed that the structure was quite small at about 2.3 m long by 1.7 m wide, with the long axis oriented northwest to southeast. Finished tabby with grape vine impressions recovered in the excavations suggest that the structure was of tabby “wattle and daub” construction. The mean ceramic date for Cabin No. 1 and surrounding areas was 1851.58, but the structure may date to an earlier time period, as the pearlware was concentrated around the wall rubble and the whiteware was found more to the north of the structure in association with a number of cut nails that may be from a later frame structure. Notable artifacts included kaolin pipe stems and bowl fragments, gunflints and lead shot, an axe, a hoe, a hammer head, a two-prong fork, buttons of shell, wood, glass, and brass, a small glass hair brooch, bottle-glass fragments, small blue faceted glass beads, two Indian head pennies, and diverse faunal remains.

Cabin No. 2 associated with the New Barn Creek settlement was excavated as part of a brief two week UWG investigation in 1999 (Crook 2008:15-22). The cabin was discovered during a pedestrian survey of the newly tilled field at New Barn Creek, in the northern portion of the field. The surface collection in the field produced a large assemblage of artifacts with a mean ceramic date of 1838.51. Cabin No. 2 was very similar to Cabin No. 1, only slightly larger. It measured about 4.7 m long and 2.5 m wide, and had a northeasterly facing doorway located midway along one of its long walls. The cabin also had tabby fragments with grape vine impressions and seemed to have a similar tabby “wattle and daub” construction, although some of Cabin No. 2’s tabby “daub” had evidence of whitewashing on the finished side. The excavations of Cabin No. 2 revealed the presence of another structure that was “constructed within the footprint of the earlier and smaller wattle and tabby daub cabin” (Crook 2008:20). Based on the numerous postholes, it appeared to be the remains of a frame structure erected on pilings. It was larger than Cabin No. 2 at 4.7 m wide by 9.5 m long, and was oriented parallel to

the nearby High Point Road. The “wattle and daub” structure was apparently razed before the construction of the frame structure, as there are tabby “daub” fragments at the bottom of the postholes. The mean ceramic date for New Barn Creek excavations was 1832.75 with whiteware being the most common ceramic type. Other notable artifacts included kaolin pipe stem and bowl fragments, small blue and green faceted glass beads, a large fish hook, axe and hoe fragments, cut nails and building hardware, cast iron and sheet metal fragments, bricks and fragments, glass and metal buttons, bottle glass, and slate flakes.

The dispersed settlement plan evident in locations of Hanging Bull, New Barn Creek, and Behavior gave Spalding’s slaves considerable autonomy (Crook 2008:23). The slaves’ significant degree of independence is demonstrated in Cabin No. 1’s diversity of faunal remains, which provides evidence that they were hunting wild game, fishing, collecting oysters, and raising some livestock. Numerous other artifacts found in association with the two cabins in the Behavior and New Barn Creek area such as gunflints and fish hooks and items like glass beads and brooches that most likely had to be purchased also suggests a high level of self-sufficiency and autonomy.

Investigations of the fourth Spalding Plantation slave settlement, located on the south end of Sapelo close to the site of Spalding’s mansion, occurred in 2008 and 2009 as part of the University of Tennessee Chattanooga’s (UTC) summer field school led by Nick Honerkamp (Honerkamp and Bean 2009, 2010). Although there are no above-ground remains associated with this slave community, the 1857 DuVal map of Sapelo Island shows a cluster of slave cabins about 300 m north of Spalding’s main house, as well as a line of cabins about the same distance to the northeast, and a single cabin close to the main house which was presumably the residence of a house slave or servant (DuVal 1857; Honerkamp and Bean 2009:2). The cabins are

numbered one through fourteen on the map. Ray Crook superimposed the south end section of the DuVal map onto a modern Google Earth© image of the south end, providing Honerkamp and the UTC crew with a defined area in which to survey for evidence of the former cabins. The layered DuVal map and Google Earth© image served as the basis for the 2008 survey grid (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:6).

As the first archaeological survey conducted in the vicinity of Spalding's south end house site, Honerkamp and the UTC field crew hoped to gather archeological data associated with the slave settlement(s) depicted in the DuVal map in order to add to the assemblages recovered from other Spalding slave communities elsewhere on the island and contribute to interpretations of slave life and culture on Sapelo (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:1,24). Unfortunately, the 2008 survey excavations failed to produce the coveted archaeological evidence of slave cabins until the final days of the project. The UTC crew excavated 81 50 x 50 cm square shovel tests, including one shovel test that was expanded into a 1 m x 1 m square unit to better examine a possible feature (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:6-8). Unfortunately, a majority of shovel tests produced few if any historic artifacts and most of the surveyed project area proved fruitless in the search for antebellum components. It seemed that the construction of roads and other modern developments during the 20th century had obliterated, or at least disturbed beyond recognition, the antebellum deposits associated with slave occupations (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:8-9).

In the final days of the project, several small refined earthenware sherds were discovered on the ground surface south of the survey grid in an area not previously associated with any of the slave cabins depicted in the 1857 DuVal map (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:10-11). Ten shovel tests were excavated in this southern area and they proved far more fruitful than their predecessors. In the final ten shovel tests, the UTC crew found a variety of whitewares,

pearlwares, and creamwares, as well as alkaline-glazed stoneware, totaling to 61% of the entire historic ceramic assemblage from the 2008 survey (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:11). The ten shovel tests also produced a majority of the container glass and cut nails for the entire survey assemblage, as well as a number of personal, clothing, and arms artifacts, including three buttons, a copper hook and eye, a burned bone toothbrush fragment, a French gunflint, and white clay pipe bowl and stem (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:14).

The fact that the productive shovel tests did not correlate with the slave cabins on Crook's original superimposed Google Earth© map caused Honerkamp to question Crook's alignment of the DuVal map with the modern landscape. The final ten shovel tests produced the midden-like assemblages that were expected for areas associated with former slave cabins and the historic artifact assemblages seemed to follow the linear pattern of those shovel tests. Furthermore, while no structural features were discovered, a large number of cut nails were recovered, providing possible evidence of the frame structures expected for slave cabins on Sapelo during the late antebellum period (Honerkamp and Bean 2009:15). The mean ceramic date for the final ten shovel tests was 1849.8, which corresponds fairly well to the date of the DuVal map. Inspired by the combined evidence for slave cabins in the southern portion of the site, Honerkamp and Bean (2009:12) adjusted the alignment of the DuVal map with modern landscape so that the south end of the 2008 survey grid coincides with the line of slave cabins in the 1857 map. The adjustment correlated well with the natural landscape and the coastlines, but resulted in the rather glaring error of a 50 m discrepancy in the location of Spalding's south end mansion.

The unexpected results of the 2008 survey inspired Honerkamp to return to Sapelo's south end in the summer of 2009 with another UTC field school crew. The goals of the 2009

archaeological investigation of Spalding's south end slave settlement were twofold: 1) to define spatial and temporal parameters for the intact archaeological record of the south end, and 2) to try to identify the presence of frame structures most likely associated with slave occupations during the antebellum period (Honerkamp and Bean 2010: 5). While tabby was a common building material on Sapelo during most of the antebellum period for both planters and slaves alike, the preference for slave cabins seems to have shifted, for undocumented reasons, from tabby to frame structures in the later antebellum period, an architectural trend which continued in postbellum Geechee homes (Sullivan 1990; Honerkamp et al. 2007; Crook 2008:20; Honerkamp and Bean 2010:11). Since DuVal's map suggests that the south end slave settlement existed during the later antebellum period, most likely during Spalding's son Randolph's ownership, Honerkamp expected to find evidence of frame structures in the 2009 excavations.

The UTC field crew excavated 80 50 x 50 cm shovel tests, two of which were expanded to 1 m x 1 m units because of features (Honerkamp and Bean 2010:5-7). These shovel test were far more productive than those excavated in 2008. They recovered a variety of antebellum period artifacts, including 326 historic ceramic sherds. Transfer-printed whiteware was the most common ceramic type and the mean ceramic date for the assemblage was 1846.2, which roughly correlates to the same time period as the DuVal map. One of the 1 m x 1 m units revealed two historic postholes and produced red, clear, and blue beads, several lead shot and percussion caps, a lead fishing weight, and plain and decorated whiteware and pearlware sherds. A yellow tinted glass bead was also recovered nearby.

The shovel tests also produced two definable frequency distributions of nails that are likely associated with former frame structures (Honerkamp and Bean 2010:7-8). A vast majority of the nails were cut, reinforcing the likelihood that the assemblage represents an antebellum

occupation. The two historic postholes were found on the edge of one of the concentrated nail distributions, providing further evidence of the presence of frame structures. As Honerkamp and Bean (2010:8) note, if the deposits really do represent frame slave cabins, “there should in general be an inverse spatial distribution between square nails and domestic refuse, assuming [there were] wood floors in the frame buildings that would preclude primary deposition.” The data from the shovel tests did show a general, though not perfect, inverse relationship between the nails and other architectural and midden materials. Based on these findings, it seems that the 2009 survey excavations revealed the “faint signatures” of at least two possible frame slave cabins that can be correlated roughly to the 1857 DuVal map and that seem to represent a dramatic change in slave housing on Sapelo (Honerkamp and Bean 2010:8).

Chocolate Plantation

Background

Chocolate Plantation (9MC96) is located on the western coast of northern Sapelo Island on the Mud River. The site contains Sapelo’s most extensive and substantial above-ground tabby ruins in existence today, including the remains of the main house, outbuildings, nine slave cabins, a two-part structure with a drive-through in the middle which could represent a former cotton barn, and a two-story barn that was restored in the early 20th century (Crook et al. 2003:12; Honerkamp et al. 2007:7-10). While historic occupations of the site may have left behind a more visible mark on the landscape, Chocolate Plantation is a multi-component site and served as a significant occupation site during the prehistoric period.

As it appears today, the Chocolate Plantation site consists of two cleared fields located on either side of a tree-lined driveway with tabby ruins located in both fields. The field extending south from the driveway, often referred to as Long Row Field, was almost a mile long and

covered 80 acres in the antebellum period, but has since been hemmed in significantly by the tree line (Honerkamp et al. 2007:10). Long Row Field contains most of the site's tabby ruins, including the main house, nine duplex-style slave cabins and three or four outbuildings (Figures 66, 67). The main house is located close to the coast, originally facing the Mud River. The outbuildings are clustered near the house, but the slave cabins are located further away, forming two parallel rows that run southeast to northwest. Extending north is another field with no known place name that also covered 80 acres in the antebellum period (Honerkamp et al. 2007:10). A two-part structure hypothesized to be a cotton barn is located on the edge of this northern field close to the driveway (Figure 68). Two other structures exist at the site: the two-story restored tabby barn located along the Mud River shoreline at the end of the driveway and, just east of the barn, a Sears home assembled at the site sometime between 1929 and 1940 (Honerkamp et al. 2007:18). The Sears home is the only structure at the site that is not made of solid tabby.

Archaeological data suggests that occupations of the Chocolate Plantation site spanned prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic periods, continuing into the 20th century (Honerkamp et al. 2007). Historic occupation of Chocolate Plantation most likely began during the British colonial period when Mary Musgrove, Thomas Bosomworth, and Isaac Levy owned Sapelo (Yonge and DeBrahm 1760; Honerkamp et al. 2007:5). From 1760 until 1800, Sapelo changed hands relatively frequently and, although the Chocolate tract may have been included in the early plantation activities, the various owners typically lived elsewhere on the island (Thomas 1989a:39; Crook et al. 2003:11; Honerkamp et al. 2007:6).

In 1801, business partners Richard Leake and Edward Swarbreck purchased Chocolate and the south end of Sapelo came under the ownership of Thomas Spalding (Crook et al. 2003:12). When Leake died in 1802, Spalding became co-owner of the Chocolate tract in

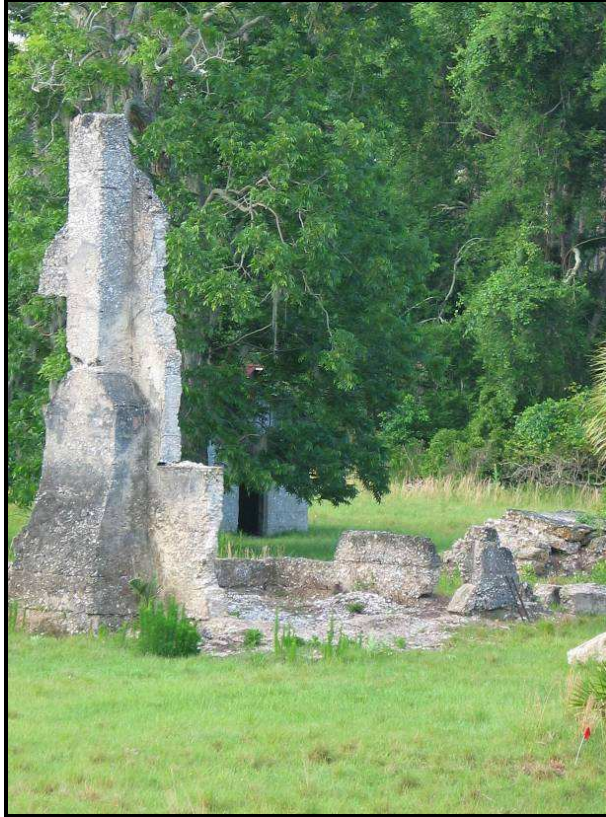


FIGURE 66. Main house ruins at Chocolate Plantation (Honerkamp et al. 2007:9).



FIGURE 67. Slave cabin ruins at Chocolate Plantation.
(Courtesy of the UWF Archaeology Institute, 2006.)



FIGURE 68. Possible cotton barn ruins at Chocolate Plantation (Honerkamp et al. 2007:9).

his stead. Swarbreck eventually moved to Chocolate Plantation and, between 1815 and 1819, built the tabby slave cabins, the main house, and the outbuildings that exist as ruins at the site today (Sullivan 1990:87; Honerkamp et al. 2007:6-7). Swarbreck most likely grew Sea Island cotton and sugar cane on the Chocolate tract with a labor force of at least 70 to 100 slaves. From 1827 through the remainder of the antebellum period, the development of large-scale agricultural activities continued at Chocolate Plantation and elsewhere on the north end of Sapelo during the tenures of Dr. Charles Rogers and Randolph Spalding (Sullivan 1990:88-89; Crook et al 2003:16). Rogers added the two-story tabby barn to the Chocolate property, which was later restored and is in much better condition than the site's other antebellum tabby structures.

After the Civil War, even when the Spalding family regained ownership of Sapelo, Chocolate Plantation was never used as a formal, permanent residence again (Sullivan 1990:368). Instead, Geechee families who were, in many cases, former Spalding slaves lived at Chocolate Plantation as homesteaders and tenant farmers during the postbellum period as the north end changed from one owner to the next (Honerkamp et al. 2007:13-14). Of these Geechee occupations, the Jacob Green family lived the longest on the Chocolate tract, residing in a refurbished slave cabin from the postbellum period through the early 20th century.

Archaeological Research and Findings

Between 1974 and 1976, University of West Georgia (UWG) field crews supervised by Lewis Larson and Ray Crook conducted preliminary investigations at Chocolate Plantation (Honerkamp et al. 2007:20-21). In 1974, the UWG crew established a permanent grid system and benchmark and Ray Crook created a topographical map of the entire site that included the locations of tabby ruins, standing structures, and other important features. Crook also made plan drawings of some of the tabby structures. UWG crews excavated a 5 ft wide trench and multiple

5 x 5 ft square units throughout the site between the field seasons of 1975 and 1976. They also exposed and recorded the presence of a poured tabby floor in one of slave cabin ruins. The excavations produced a substantial assemblage of historic artifacts that included a variety of ceramics dating primarily to the post-colonial occupation periods, as well as brick fragments, pipe stem and bowl fragments, and the rather unusual find of a small blonde French-style gunflint (Honerkamp et al. 2007:21,77-81).

In the summer of 2006, Nick Honerkamp of the University of Tennessee Chattanooga (UTC) took a small field school to Sapelo to conduct an extensive shovel test survey of Chocolate Plantation (Honerkamp et al. 2007). The UTC field school excavated 117 50 x 50 cm square shovel tests throughout the entire site, avoiding any excavations within known structural remains. Additionally, remote sensing was conducted in two areas of the site that had produced historic features in the shovel tests using Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) equipment. There was not time to ground-truth the intriguing anomalies generated by the remote sensing, but the GPR data may guide future research efforts at Chocolate.

The 2006 UTC survey of Chocolate Plantation was extremely productive and provided evidence of literally thousands of years of cultural occupations at the site (Honerkamp et al. 2007:49). The field school collected a large assemblage of artifacts representing prehistoric and protohistoric Native Americans, as well as the long-term historic period occupations. For the historic period, the archaeological survey data provided definitive evidence for substantial and long-term antebellum and postbellum occupations of Chocolate Plantation, but only tentative evidence for a brief colonial occupation of the site. Out of the total 247 identifiable historic ceramic sherds recovered during the survey, whitewares and, to a lesser extent, pearlwares predominated in the assemblage with sherd counts of 147 and 40, respectively (Honerkamp et al.

2007:39-40). The large numbers of these post-colonial ceramics combined with the recovery of various and numerous types of 19th-century artifacts such as cut nails, tabby mortar, buttons, and beads serves as evidence that the most intensive and long-term historic occupations of the Chocolate tract occurred during the 19th century. This conclusion correlates well with the available historical record of Chocolate Plantation.

Because the ruins of several historic tabby structures still exist on Chocolate Plantation's modern day landscape, clear delineation of planter activity areas and slave activity areas was possible. Although there was undoubtedly some overlap between the activity areas of the planter family and slaves, in his analysis, Honerkamp could loosely designate the northern area around the main house and the smaller outbuildings as being primarily the planter family activity area, while defining the slave activity area as the area south of the main house encompassing the two rows of slave cabins (Honerkamp et al. 2007:40). Despite a clear spatial delineation of planter and slave domestic areas, the differences between the ceramic assemblages were minimal. The UTC crew recovered almost equal percentages of the utilitarian type wares and annularwares commonly associated with antebellum slave sites in the ceramic assemblages of both areas, with a difference of no more than 3%. Similarly, comparisons between the other artifact types found in the planter and slave areas yielded few noteworthy distinctions. The only type of artifact that ended up being suggestive of status differences was architectural. Tabby plaster, which was often used on the outside surfaces of structures to give them a smoother, finished appearance, was concentrated in significant amounts near the main house and the special-use outbuildings but not near any of the slave cabins. The same was true of window glass, with only a handful of shards recovered in the slave activity area. Geechee oral history says that slave cabins on Sapelo typically had wooden shutters instead of glass in the windows, which would explain this

archaeological pattern (Honerkamp et al. 2007:58). While further testing would be necessary to confirm the idea, Honerkamp hypothesizes that tabby plaster and window glass may have served as status markers at Chocolate Plantation during the antebellum period.

The 2006 survey also produced several diagnostic clothing, personal, and activity-related artifacts. The UTC crew found two plain brass buttons, two bone button fragments, and a shell button fragment (Honerkamp et al. 2007:41-42). The bone button fragments were found in close proximity to slave cabin ruins, indicating that they were worn and even perhaps made by slaves at Chocolate. According to Noel Hume (1970:90) the shell button has a date range of 1827 to 1865 and was probably a fairly expensive item. Fittingly, it was recovered near the foundations of the main house. The 2006 assemblage also included three glass beads, a glazed clay pipestem recovered near the two-story restored tabby barn, a porcelain doll arm found just north of the main house, and a sad iron found south of the main house near one of the outbuildings (Honerkamp et al. 2007:41,44-45). The recovery of these unusual and often diagnostic personal, clothing, and activities-related artifacts gave the 2006 survey assemblage a more personal and humanizing perspective, providing insight into the day-to-day lives of the people who lived and worked at Chocolate Plantation.

High Point

Background

High Point (9MC66) is located on the northern tip of Sapelo Island, bordered by the marshlands of Sapelo Sound to the north and the Mud River to the west. Unlike Chocolate Plantation, High Point is not a cleared field, but rather a wooded area with dense vegetation in many places, including almost impenetrable clusters of saw palmettos. The adjacent Mud River provided access to the Georgia mainland and, according to historical sources, a portion High

Point's western shoreline served as a landing for trade and the movement of goods to and from Sapelo during at least part of the 19th century (Humphries 1991; Honerkamp 2008:3). The northern edge of High Point, on the other hand, lacks direct access to navigable waterways, and, thus, saw less activity in the 18th and 19th centuries.

While plantation activities were attempted at the site throughout the historic period, operations were not as extensive or as successful at High Point as they were at Chocolate Plantation or the Spalding Plantation (Sullivan 1990; Honerkamp et al. 2007; Honerkamp 2008). Although the remnants of numerous historic structures exist at High Point, the site's tabby ruins are not as substantial as those at Chocolate, and, with the exception of the main house, the functions of most of these former buildings were not readily apparent prior to survey excavations. The site is bordered and divided in some places by High Point Road. The most substantial tabby ruins exist in the eastern half of the site, only a few feet from the road (Figure 69). These ruins represent the main house from one of the historic occupations of the site. They consist of two series of tabby foundation blocks and the tabby rubble piles of two interior chimneys. The inside series of blocks form the edge of the house, and, according to Honerkamp (2008:15), "The outer series of blocks, measuring approximately 52 ft. square, comprise the edge of a veranda that surrounded the main house proper (c. 36 ft. on each side)." Differing from the structures at Chocolate Plantation, this house was most likely a frame structure that sat above the ground on the tabby foundation blocks (Honerkamp 2008:18)

Evidence of other structures exists in numerous locations at the site, including the modest tabby foundation and chimney ruins of a building located southwest of the main house across High Point Road. These ruins may represent a detached kitchen or other support structure associated with the main house (Honerkamp 2008:19). The rest of the tabby ruins are spread out



FIGURE 69. Tabby block foundations of the plantation house at High Point.
(Photo by author, May 2007.)

in the western part of the site and consist of no more than one or two highly eroded tabby blocks or tabby corner posts. These tabby blocks and corner posts are most likely the remnants of structural foundations. Based on archaeological evidence, Honerkamp (2008:25-28) suspects that they represent separate and possibly earlier occupations than the occupation of the main house. As these tabby ruins seem to represent fairly small structures and, in general, seem to show “a suspicious alignment,” Honerkamp (2008:31) hypothesizes further that at least some of the former structures may have been a line of slave cabins associated with plantation activities at High Point.

High Point and Bourbon Field share a very similar history and the two tracts were often owned jointly by the same planters. High Point’s somewhat sporadic occupations began at least as early as the colonial period (Honerkamp 2008:5). The finding of a few olive jar sherds on High Point’s western coastline and the notation of “Oranges & limes” in the location of High Point on a 1760 map of the island made by Surveyors-General Henry Yonge and William DeBrahm serve as possible evidence that the tract was utilized in the late 16th and 17th centuries during the Spanish mission period (Yonge and DeBrahm 1760). While activities associated with the mid-18th-century Musgrove-Bosomworth-Levy ownership of Sapelo may have occurred at High Point, the first certain historic occupation of the tract occurred in 1762, when Patrick Mackay bought the island and developed a plantation there. From 1789 to 1814, the High Point plantation was under French ownership, beginning with the French Sapelo Company and ending with Jean de Berard Mocquet Montalet (Picot de Boisfeillet 1796:5; Thomas 1989a:38-39; Sullivan 1990:85). Following the French occupations of the tract, High Point, like Bourbon Field, went through a series of absentee land owners (Honerkamp 2008:8-9). Francis Hopkins, Montalet’s executor, purchased the tract sometime between 1819 and 1821, but, because he

already Belleville Plantation on the mainland, he never lived there. From 1827 through the 1850s, High Point became an agricultural tract for the larger plantation enterprise owned first by Dr. Charles Rogers and then by Randolph Spalding.

John N. A. Griswold purchased the north end property in 1866 and either built or refurbished a house at High Point (Humphries 1991; Honerkamp 2008:10). He attempted to grow cotton on the tract and elsewhere on the north end, but was unsuccessful and eventually rented out the land to Archibald McKinley and his wife. After Griswold sold his Sapelo holdings in 1873, High Point, along with the other north end tracts, transferred hands fairly frequently until coming under the ownership of Howard Coffin in 1912.

Archaeological Research and Findings

Nick Honerkamp returned to Sapelo during the summer of 2007 with another small UTC field school to conduct a site-wide shovel test survey of High Point. Because the spatial details of the historic occupations of High Point are significantly less visible on the modern landscape than is the case at Chocolate Plantation, the research goals in 2007 included some very different concerns. In addition to gaining a basic understanding of the types of archaeological resources that exist at High Point and their significance, Honerkamp and his UTC crew hoped to discover the true extent of the historic archaeological record at the site, defining the site location more precisely than anyone else had been able to do previously (Honerkamp 2008:1).

In pursuit of these multi-faceted research objectives, the UTC field crew excavated 100 50 x 50 cm square shovel tests, beginning near the main house ruins next to High Point Road and covering areas to the east and west and on either side of the road (Honerkamp 2008:13-14). In addition to the 100 shovel tests, the UTC crew excavated a 1.5 x 1.5.m unit bisecting a

depression located southwest of the main house ruins (Honerkamp 2008:20-23). The depression had been hypothesized to be a filled well associated with the tabby ruins.

The UTC crew excavated several shovel tests adjacent to the main house ruins, hoping to determine a general time period for the historic occupation of this structure. According to Honerkamp (2008:15), “No ceramic types predating whiteware were found in units adjacent to this feature, and in fact the overall density of artifacts associated with this structure was rather light.” These results were somewhat surprising because, as the most prominent and substantial tabby ruins at High Point, the main house traditionally has been associated with the late 18th-century and early 19th-century French occupations of the site (Sullivan 1990:823). The recovery of only late historic ceramics and no French artifacts suggests that the ruins are actually associated with the short-lived postbellum plantation activities of John N. A. Griswold (Honerkamp 2008:15). The cut tabby block foundations serve as additional evidence for a later construction and occupation of the main house. Both Geechee oral history and historical records from the postbellum era suggest that tabby from older, unused structures was sometimes recycled in the 19th century to make new structures (Humphries 1991:42-43; Honerkamp 2008:17-18). It therefore seems likely that the tabby blocks at High Point were cut from tabby ruins or abandoned structures elsewhere on the island and re-used in the late 19th century.

The 1.5 x 1.5 m unit excavated in the depression near the hypothesized Griswold house ruins confirmed its former function as a hand-dug well (Honerkamp 2008:20-21). The assemblage from the well suggested that it was associated with the presumed Griswold house ruins. All of the ceramics were distinctly late, with none predating whiteware (circa 1830-present) and several of the other artifacts, such as dry cell battery fragments, could be dated to the later decades of the 19th-century.

Numerous tabby fragments, blocks, and corner posts indicating the presence of former structures were discovered through the course of survey excavations at High Point (Figure 70). The rectangular foundation across the road from the Griswold house ruins, which had been previously identified and mapped by UWG's Ray Crook, consists of only four right angle tabby corners, three low-to-the-ground tabby block fragments between the corners, and a low mound of tabby rubble in the center, presumably representing a chimney. Based on its proximity to the Griswold house ruins, the two structures' matching orientations, and the similar cut tabby fragments, the former structure is believed to date to the Griswold occupation and may represent a detached kitchen; however, the area around it produced no temporally diagnostic artifacts or kitchen midden materials and these interpretations of the structure were neither confirmed nor disproved by the survey excavations (Honerkamp 2008:19).

The UTC crew found the remainder of the tabby fragments and corner posts in areas a significant distance west of the Griswold ruins, indicating that they represent different and possibly earlier occupations of the site (Honerkamp 2008:24-28). Recorded for the first time during the survey, in general each of the tabby fragments and corner posts were isolated with no clear-cut evidence for the remainder of the structure they represented. Based on the scarcity of large tabby fragments, it is likely that the structures were frame buildings with tabby foundations, differing from the poured tabby structures found at Chocolate Plantation. Near one of the tabby fragments, a sizable French-style, honey-colored blade gunflint was recovered, providing tantalizing, if not irrefutable, evidence of the former French occupations. Shovel tests and surface collections near three of the other tabby fragments produced earlier ceramics than those recovered near the Griswold house ruins, including pearlware, slip-decorated earthenware, and a single delft sherd. These earlier ceramics serve as evidence of High Point's known colonial



FIGURE 70. Tabby corner post identified during the 2007 UTC survey excavations at High Point (Honerkamp 2008:25).

and early American period occupations, although a particular location for the Mackay or French Sapelo Company occupations could not be delineated.

The total artifact assemblage from the 2007 survey, although generally smaller than the assemblage from the 2006 Chocolate Plantation with notably fewer historic ceramics, was nonetheless productive, including several noteworthy and diagnostic finds (Honerkamp 2008:33). As with the Chocolate Plantation assemblage, whiteware (circa 1830-present) was the most common historic ceramic recovered at High Point, but significantly more pearlware (circa 1780-1840) sherds were found at High Point than at Chocolate Plantation (Honerkamp 2008:34). Honerkamp suggests that this difference in historic ceramic assemblages is probably a direct reflection of the punctuated and less successful plantation activities at High Point and the earlier beginnings of those occupations. In contrast, at Chocolate Plantation continuous and intensive occupations were maintained through the later antebellum period.

The survey produced several notable artifacts; including five French faience sherds in shovel tests west of the Griswold house (Honerkamp 2008:42-43). These sherds have a manganese brown glaze on the exterior and most likely date to the late 18th and early 19th century. This date range conveniently corresponds with all three of High Point's French occupations. Other significant historic artifacts included a wholly intact dark olive green wine bottle with a cup based mold, a green glass faceted bead, a glass tumbler fragment, an iron knife tang, an iron hoe fragment, an iron door hinge, several brass furniture tacks, and various white clay pipe stem and pipe bowl fragments (Honerkamp 2008:34-36). While the latter items do not point to a specific date range for High Point occupation, they do provide evidence of the details of every day life of the site's occupants during the plantation era on Sapelo.

Bourbon Field and Sapelo Island's Plantation Landscape

Because, in their various histories, they represent a broad spectrum of plantation types, the Spalding Plantation, Chocolate Plantation, and High Point sites present particularly useful and informative avenues for comparisons with Bourbon Field. Comparing the historical and archaeological data from the different historic occupations of these three sites with those of the less historically known Bourbon Field helps to define the types of plantation activities that occurred at the site and assess Bourbon Field's particular place within the local culture and economy of Sapelo Island.

From a historical perspective, Bourbon Field shares the most similarities with High Point. More often than not, from the colonial period through the postbellum era, Bourbon Field and High Point belonged to the same landowners (Thomas 1989a, 1989b; Sullivan 1990; Honerkamp 2008). They both served as the site of multiple plantation enterprises, and neither, as an individual tract, attained the ideal levels of prominence or wealth exemplified at the Spalding Plantation and, to a lesser extent, at Chocolate Plantation. Although the histories of Bourbon Field and High Point have much in common, High Point still had a more prestigious role to play in the historical record. Because "High Point" developed as a place-name in the early historic period, the site can be clearly linked to specific individuals who played a significant role in the history of Sapelo (DuBignon 1804; Sullivan 1990:80-85,431). By contrast, the original name, if there was one, of Bourbon Field is unknown and the site can only be indirectly or peripherally linked to Sapelo's well-known historical figures.

Bourbon Field also shares a significant historical connection to Chocolate Plantation. Through a large part of the antebellum period, Bourbon Field served as an agricultural tract contributing to the success of planters living on the Chocolate tract and helping to make the north

end plantation operations some of Sapelo's largest and most prominent agricultural enterprises (Sullivan 1990:88; Crook et al. 2003:16). While Chocolate Plantation and Bourbon Field had several landowners in common, they never functioned the same way during their joint-tenure. Chocolate Plantation filled a much more prestigious and well-documented role than simply serving as a satellite tract because it was the home base for successful plantation operations on the north end of Sapelo, complete with a mansion for the planter's family, various substantial structures required for large-scale plantation activities, two sizable agricultural fields, and the largest concentration of resident slaves on that part of the island. Bourbon Field's lower profile and dependent status as a satellite agricultural field through the later antebellum period meant that it relatively invisible in the historical record while it was connected to Chocolate Plantation.

Bourbon Field's position among the other three Sapelo plantation sites as the most historically indistinguishable tract makes its archaeological resources particularly valuable. Its near invisibility in the historical record also means that archaeological comparisons between the four sites have the potential to reveal a great deal more about how plantation activities at Bourbon Field factored into the cultural and economic trends on Sapelo than the historical analysis. As has been discussed in previous sections, archaeological surveys and/or limited unit excavations have been conducted at all four sites, although investigations of the Spalding Plantation were limited primarily to slave communities. In general, the four sites produced many of the same types of historic artifacts, but there were key differences in the size and specific composition of their assemblages. Survey databases associated with UTC's excavations at Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and the south end of the island provided the primary material for comparisons with the survey data from Bourbon Field as they were easily accessible and represented fairly analogous assemblages in terms of sample size and field methods. The UWG

surface collections and excavations at Hanging Bull, Behavior, and New Barn Creek are discussed as well, but in less detail. Because the comparisons are largely based on survey data, it is important to note that the results are tentative and may be disproved with additional research.

Comparisons of survey assemblages from Bourbon Field, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and Spalding’s south end slave community, revealed that the four sites had similar types of artifacts associated with domestic activities despite their different functions throughout the historic period (Table 46). Bourbon Field’s kitchen assemblage shares the most similarities with High Point, both in quantity and composition. In terms of size, the kitchen-related assemblages for Bourbon Field and High Point seem to hold an intermediate position between the large-scale Chocolate Plantation site and the slave community near Spalding’s south end mansion. The surface collections and unit excavations at the Hanging Bull, Behavior, and New Barn Creek slave sites produced similar types of artifacts, including a two-pronged fork, various ceramics, bottle glass, and a diversity of faunal remains (Crook 2008:8,13-14,23). The smaller size of the assemblages seems to be the primary difference between kitchen-related material culture at the slave sites and the general plantation sites.

TABLE 46
KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SURVEY UNITS AT BOURBON FIELD,
CHOCOLATE PLANTATION, HIGH POINT, AND SPALDING’S SOUTH END
SLAVE SITE

Artifact Type	Bourbon Field		Chocolate Plantation ^a		High Point		South End ^b	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Bone, Unmodified	--	263.9	--	939.0	--	247.0	--	35.9
Ceramics, Historic	188	428.9	258	--	146	--	74	--
Container Glass	90	444.8	241	--	73	--	63	--

TABLE 46 (CONTINUED)
 KITCHEN GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SURVEY UNITS AT BOURBON FIELD,
 CHOCOLATE PLANTATION, HIGH POINT, AND SPALDING'S SOUTH END
 SLAVE SITE

Artifact Type	Bourbon Field		Chocolate Plantation ^a		High Point		South End ^b	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Drinking Glass	1	0.1	0	--	1	--	0	--
Kitchen Ware	2	32.3	1	--	2	--	0	--
Total	281	1170.0	500	939.0	222	247.0	137	35.9

Note: For the Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and South End data, weights were not included in the reports for most of the kitchen artifacts and therefore could not be included in the table.

^a Only the UTC 2006 survey data is included for Chocolate Plantation.

^b UTC's report for the 2009 survey at Spalding's south end slave site is still in progress and analysis is ongoing, so the data in the table is from the 2008 survey only.

Sources: Honerkamp et al. (2007:38-39); Honerkamp (2008:33); Honerkamp and Bean (2009:14).

The ceramic assemblages associated with Bourbon Field, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and the Spalding slave communities had much in common, but comparisons did reveal a few significant differences (Table 47). Sherd counts for each specific type of ceramic were available for the 2007, 2008, and 2010 UWF excavations at Bourbon Field, the 1975 and 1976 UWG and 2006 UTC excavations at Chocolate Plantation, the 2007 UTC excavations at High Point, the 2008 and 2009 UTC excavations at the south end slave site, and the 1994, 1997 and 1999 UWG surface collections and excavations at Behavior and New Barn Creek (Honerkamp et al. 2007:39-40; Crook 2008:15,18,22; Honerkamp 2008:34; Honerkamp and Bean 2010:6). The total sherd counts for these sites often included the combined ceramic data from survey and larger unit and trench excavations. Hanging Bull's ceramic assemblage was not included in the detailed comparisons because it represented only a small surface collection (Crook 2008:8).

TABLE 47
 CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES FROM BOURBON FIELD, CHOCOLATE PLANTATION, HIGH POINT, AND THE SPALDING
 PLANTATION SLAVE SITES, BY SHERD COUNT AND SHERD COUNT PERCENTAGE

Ceramic Type	Bourbon Field		Chocolate Plantation		High Point		South End		Behavior		New Barn Creek	
	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)
Astbury Ware	0	0.0	2	0.4	0	0.0	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Coarse Earthenware	2	0.5	16	3.0	12	5.6	11	3.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Creamware	48	12.7	20	3.8	36	16.8	2	0.6	0	0.0	38	6.3
Delft	1	0.3	1	0.2	0	0.0	1	0.5	0	0.0	1	0.2
Ellers Ware	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Faience	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Indeterminate	2	0.5	11	2.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Jackfield	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Majolica	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Olive Jar	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Pearlware	136	36.1	94	17.9	21	9.8	63	19.3	11	12.1	147	24.4
Porcelain	3	0.8	11	2.1	9	4.2	6	1.8	0	0.0	6	1.0
Redware, Lead-Glazed	13	3.4	8	1.5	0	0.0	2	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Refined Earthenware, Other	9	2.4	3	0.6	15	7.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Stoneware, Indeterminate	29	7.7	0	0.0	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Stoneware, Other	13	3.4	1	0.2	0	0.0	2	0.6	1	1.1	0	0.0
Stoneware, Salt-Glazed	85	22.6	34	6.5	5	2.3	6	1.8	2	2.2	27	4.4
Whiteware	31	8.2	320	61.1	107	50.0	231	70.9	75	82.4	384	63.7
Yellowware	3	0.8	3	0.6	0	0.0	1	0.3	2	2.2	0	0.0
Total	377	100.0	524	100.0	214	100.0	326	100.0	91	100.0	603	100.0

The plantation sites all produced diverse historic ceramic assemblages with different ratios of earlier and later ceramics, but Bourbon Field was the only site in which pearlware (circa 1780-1840) was the most numerous ceramic type. The excavations at other plantation sites consistently generated more whiteware (circa 1830-present) than any other ceramic. The more numerous whiteware sherds at the Spalding Plantation slave sites, High Point, and Chocolate Plantation can be linked either to intensive occupations during the late antebellum period, intensive postbellum occupations or some combination of the two. Long-term Geechee occupations did occur at Bourbon Field in the postbellum era and later 19th century, but, with the high frequencies of pearlwares, they are over-shadowed in the historic ceramic assemblage by post-Revolutionary War and early 19th-century occupations. By itself, the higher frequency of pearlware at Bourbon Field does not necessarily translate to an earlier occupation, since pearlware is still one of the most common ceramic types recovered in all of the other plantation sites; however, there are additional differences in ceramic data that do seem to set occupations at Bourbon Field apart from the rest of the plantation sites. After pearlware, salt-glazed stoneware--a combination of brown (circa 1690-1775) and gray (circa 1700-1900)--represents the second-most common type of ceramic, followed by creamware (circa 1762-1830), and sherd counts for both types surpass those recovered at the other Sapelo plantation sites. Furthermore, the number of whiteware sherds recovered at Bourbon Field is dramatically lower than any of the other sites. The combination of these distinct characteristics suggests that the most intensive occupations at Bourbon Field peaked significantly earlier than the occupations at Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and the various slave sites associated with the Spalding Plantation.

The mean ceramic dates associated with the different plantation sites paint a similar picture (Table 48). While the assemblages from the various excavations at High Point, Chocolate

Plantation, and the Spalding Plantation slave sites all had mean ceramic dates that fell in the 1840s or 1850s, the combined assemblage from survey and trench excavations in northwest Bourbon Field resulted in the significantly earlier mean ceramic date of approximately 1805. The strong similarity between the mean ceramic dates associated with Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and the three Spalding slave communities makes Bourbon Field’s earlier date particularly striking and provides evidence that Sapelo’s primary occupations were concentrated elsewhere during the later antebellum period. It is likely that Bourbon Field’s role as a satellite agricultural tract for larger plantation operations occurring elsewhere on the north end between the late-1820s and the 1850s resulted in less full-time residents at the site.

TABLE 48
MEAN CERAMIC DATES ASSOCIATED WITH SAPELO PLANTATION SITES

Bourbon Field	Chocolate Plantation	High Point	South End	Behavior	New Barn Creek^a
1804.9	1857.6	1843.9	1846.2	1851.6	1856.0

^a The mean ceramic date for New Barn Creek was calculated from the combined ceramic assemblage recovered from the controlled surface collection and the excavation of Cabin #2.

While clear differences existed between Bourbon Field and the other plantation sites in ceramic assemblages and the associated temporal data, analysis of the status-related artifacts produced fairly ambiguous results. Porcelain, the most expensive ceramic type represented in the ceramic assemblages, was present at Bourbon Field, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and the south end tract, but not at Behavior or New Barn Creek “(Table 47).” Bourbon Field had only three sherds, fewer than all of the other sites with porcelain, but since porcelain sherds were not especially common on any of the sites and were found at slave sites and larger-scale plantation sites alike, little significance can be attributed to their frequency. Other artifacts recovered during survey excavations that may have belonged to higher socioeconomic status individuals included porcelain and shell buttons, jewelry items, and a porcelain doll arm (Table 49). These items were

dispersed across all four sites in no definitive concentrations and revealed little about their relative socioeconomic statuses or economic prominence, despite significant differences in occupations and utilization.

TABLE 49
CLOTHING AND PERSONAL GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SURVEY UNITS AT
BOURBON FIELD, CHOCOLATE PLANTATION, HIGH POINT, AND SPALDING'S
SOUTH END SLAVE SITE

Artifact Type	Bourbon Field		Chocolate Plantation ^a		High Point		South End ^b	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Beads, Glass	3	0.5	3	--	1	--	0	--
Buckles	1	1.4	0	--	0	--	1	--
Buttons, Bone	1	0.1	2	--	0	--	1	--
Buttons, Brass	1	0.7	2	--	1	--	1	--
Buttons, Porcelain	0	0.0	0	--	0	--	1	--
Buttons, Shell	0	0.0	1	--	0	--	0	--
Button, Suspender	0	0.0	1	--	0	--	1	--
Clothing Fasteners	2	0.7	0	--	1	--	1	--
Doll Arm, Porcelain	0	0.0	1	--	0	--	0	--
Jewelry Part	1	0.1	0	--	0	--	0	--
Tooth-brush Frag	0	0.0	0	--	0	--	1	--
Total	9	3.5	10	--	3	--	7	--

Note: For the Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and South End data, weights were not included in the reports for any of the personal or clothing artifacts and therefore could not be included in the table. Totals only include the available count and weight data.

^a Only the UTC 2006 survey data is included for Chocolate Plantation.

^b UTC's report for the 2009 survey at Spalding's south end slave site is still in progress and analysis is ongoing, so the data in the table is from the 2008 survey only.

Sources: Honerkamp et al. (2007:38-39); Honerkamp (2008:33); Honerkamp and Bean (2009:14).

More obvious differences exist in the spatial organization and architectural components of the four plantations. There was certainly no standard spatial layout for the Sapelo plantations and each had unique features and functionality. Archaeological data indicates that Bourbon Field had a very specific and contained area designated for the most intensive domestic activities, located between the Blackbeard Creek shoreline to the north and the agricultural field to the south. The domestic structures of all occupants, planters and slaves alike, were mostly confined to this relatively small area and the agricultural field was the largest and most prominent feature on the landscape. The entire site comprised of those two functional areas: The principal contained domestic area and the single large agricultural field, primarily used for the production of Sea Island cotton (Humphries 1991:85,87,119).

The Spalding Plantation and Chocolate Plantation differed from Bourbon Field in size, organization, and function. The Spalding Plantation included the entire south end of the island, organized into a number of agricultural fields and slaves communities, with a large area devoted to Spalding's elegant mansion and associated domestic structures. Only one of the numerous slave communities was located near Spalding's main house, while the rest were dispersed over the south end of the island (Honerkamp and Bean 2009, 2010). The Spalding south end tract was used for a variety of plantation activities including Sea Island cotton production, and the production of a number of other staple crops. Though considerably smaller than the Spalding Plantation, Chocolate was the second largest plantation tract on Sapelo. It had a sizable, central domestic area with the planter house and other plantation structures. Large agricultural fields, primarily for growing Sea Island cotton, extended both north and south of the tract, but the slave cabins were located inside and adjacent to the plantation's central domestic area, allowing for close surveillance (United States Coast Survey 1859; Honerkamp et al. 2007).

High Point was a much smaller plantation tract that, like Bourbon Field, primarily consisted of a limited occupation area near the northern coastline and an agricultural field to the south (United States Coast Survey 1859; Honerkamp 2008). Unlike Bourbon Field, however, the occupied portion of High Point functioned as a planter residence at various times for larger-scale agricultural activities that extended to other tracts on the island, rather than serving only as a small-scale plantation or satellite agricultural tract (Thomas 1989a, 1989b; Sullivan 1990:80-82,84-85; Humphries 1991; Keber 2002a).

The delineation and separation of planter and slave activity or occupation areas was much easier in archaeological investigations of the Spalding Plantation and Chocolate Plantation sites than at the smaller High Point and Bourbon Field sites. The location of the planter's main house is well-documented at the Spalding Plantation and is now marked by the Reynolds Mansion, which has stood in its place since the first half of the 20th century. The locations of the Spalding Plantation slave communities are also well-documented and are still used by the Geechee residents as place-names today (Crook et al. 2003). At Chocolate Plantation, the substantial tabby ruins clearly mark the locations of the main house and associated out-buildings, as well as the slave cabins. The clear differentiation between planter and slave occupation areas at the Spalding Plantation and Chocolate Plantation sites means that artifact assemblages recovered in archaeological investigations can be specifically linked to slave activities and planter activities and their respective cultural and socioeconomic contexts can be taken into account during analysis.

At the Bourbon Field and High Point sites, however, the shortage of clearly identifiable structural remains and the lack of historical records documenting the plantations' organization make the demarcation of slave and overseer or planter occupation areas nearly impossible. Both

sites produced possible evidence of separate slave occupation areas, but the designations are hypothetical and require further research (Honerkamp 2008:31). Even if further research is conducted, a definite delineation between planter and slave activity and occupation areas is unlikely, particularly since the artifact assemblages recovered in known slave- and planter-related areas at Chocolate Plantation, a large-scale plantation with especially significant discrepancies in the socioeconomic statuses of its occupants, had few discernable differences. The more modest plantation efforts at High Point and Bourbon Field, most likely resulted in even fewer differences in material cultural associated with slave- and planter-related areas. At the Spalding Plantation and Chocolate Plantation, the most obvious archaeological evidence of the slaves' lower status is the locations of the slave occupation areas and the types of dwellings used by the slaves, but at Bourbon Field and High Point the plantation operations were not as extensive and may not have included such distinctive visual and spatial separations between planter or overseer occupation areas and slave occupation areas. Although the smaller-scale planters or overseers at Bourbon Field and High Point may not have been able to assert their higher status and control over slaves in such an overt manner, they undoubtedly found other ways to differentiate themselves in their day-to-day interactions with their slaves.

The architectural components associated with each of the four Sapelo plantations are perhaps the most distinctive of the archaeological findings. Tabby mortar was the most common type of architectural artifact recovered on all of the plantation sites, but it was not always the primary building material (Table 50) (Honerkamp et al. 2007; Crook 2008; Honerkamp 2008; Honerkamp and Bean 2009, 2010). Brick and nails were also present in most of the assemblages, recovered in smaller amounts than the tabby, but still representing some of the most popular construction materials used on Sapelo. Window glass was generally less common and tended to

be found near planter-related buildings and not in association with slave cabins (Honerkamp et al. 2007:58; Honerkamp 2008:37,39-41). It was evidently not considered an essential architectural component at any of the plantation sites, small or large, and may have been a luxury associated with higher status residents.

TABLE 50
ARCHITECTURE GROUP ARTIFACTS FROM SURVEY UNITS AT BOURBON FIELD, CHOCOLATE PLANTATION, HIGH POINT, AND SPALDING’S SOUTH END SLAVE SITE

Artifact Type	Bourbon Field		Chocolate Plantation ^a		High Point		South End ^b	
	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)	Count	Weight (g)
Brick Fragments	--	3979.6	0	--	217	--	134	--
Hardware, Brass	1	9.4	1	--	0	--	0	--
Hardware, Iron	3	24.0	6	--	1	--	0	--
Nails	185	310.6	456	--	99	--	131	--
Tabby Mortar & Plaster	--	23667.7	--	20374.0	--	28674.0	--	18.2
Window Glass	2	3.6	57	--	9	--	7	--
Total	191	27994.9	520	20374.0	326	28674.0	272	18.2

Note: For the Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and South End data, weights were not included in the reports for most of the architecture artifacts and therefore could not be included in the table. For the Bourbon Field data, some artifacts were weighed, but not counted. Totals only include the available count and weight data.

^a Only the UTC 2006 survey data is included for Chocolate Plantation.

^b UTC’s report for the 2009 survey at Spalding’s south end slave site is still in progress and analysis is ongoing, so the data in the table is from the 2008 survey only.

Sources: Honerkamp et al. (2007:38-39); Honerkamp (2008:33); Honerkamp and Bean (2009:14).

Despite similarities in building materials, architectural styles and construction techniques differed considerably from one plantation site to another. For the South End plantation, the architecture ranged from Spalding’s tabby mansion to slave cabins that were either “wattle and

daub” huts made from grapevines and tabby mortar or frame structures with brick chimneys (Crook 2008; Honerkamp and Bean 2009, 2010). At Chocolate Plantation, all types of structures whether they were associated with slave or planter occupations, were substantially built and made primarily of tabby (Honerkamp et al. 2007). High Point also had multiple structures with significant tabby components, but the tabby was generally limited to the structures’ foundations. Though there is evidence of tabby foundations from earlier occupations at High Point, the most substantial tabby remains date to John N. A. Griswold’s postbellum ownership and consist of cut blocks recycled from older tabby structures elsewhere on the island (Honerkamp 2008:16-18).

Bourbon Field’s architectural remains differ considerably from the archaeological evidence of slave cabins and planter homes found at the Spalding Plantation, Chocolate Plantation, and High Point sites. The significant amount of tabby recovered in multiple locations at Bourbon Field indicates that the primary plantation structures had more significant tabby components than the slave cabins associated with the Spalding Plantation, but the tabby did not occur in large enough concentrations to suggest the existence of solid tabby structures like Spalding’s mansion or the buildings at Chocolate Plantation. Bourbon Field’s tabby remains do not include cut tabby or clear evidence of corner foundations like those found at High Point, although the structures at Bourbon Field may very well have been similar frame structures with tabby foundations. No versions of the above-ground rectangular tabby form at Bourbon Field have been identified elsewhere on the island, which makes its function all the more mysterious. The large amount of tabby with lathing marks and the fairly numerous tabby bricks in the Bourbon Field assemblage also make the site unique among its Sapelo neighbors. The combination of Bourbon Field’s distinctive above-ground and subsurface tabby remains, as well as the evidence of wood and brick architectural elements places the site’s structures somewhere

in between Spalding's slave cabins and the more substantial, labor-intensive, and expensive tabby buildings associated with the Spalding family and Chocolate Plantation. The site may have had a few substantial structures during its historic occupations, but it certainly had no equivalent to the impressive planter homes associated with large-scale plantation activities elsewhere on Sapelo and the Georgia coast.

When combined, the results of preliminary historical and archaeological comparisons between the Spalding Plantation, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and Bourbon Field sites indicate that differences did exist in the details associated with plantation operations across Sapelo, in spite of similarities in the types of agricultural activities or their shared economic and cultural contexts. These differences help to characterize Bourbon Field's identity as one of the island's few small-scale plantation sites which shared many of the same artifact types with other Sapelo sites, but was unique in the earlier dates associated with its most intensive historic occupations, as well as its very contained occupation area, its limited evidence of historic structures, and its modest tabby remains. These distinctive features suggest that plantation activities at Bourbon Field were restricted both in size and scope throughout the historic period and, unlike other Sapelo plantation sites, it was not successfully utilized for independent large-scale agricultural operations. The importance of Bourbon Field as a residential tract for planters seems to have been comparatively short-lived, eventually becoming secondary to its value as an agricultural tract over the course of the antebellum period.

CHAPTER IX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The objectives for the historical and archaeological investigations of Bourbon Field were multi-faceted and designed with the intention of contributing to on-going research on Sapelo Island's historic plantations. The research focused on establishing site boundaries and a chronology for historic occupations of Bourbon Field, as well as evaluating the site's role in Sapelo's historic landscape through comparisons with three major plantations on the island. As the first detailed analysis of Bourbon Field's historic occupations, the research was preliminary, addressing the specific research objectives, but also adding more questions for future investigations. Though limited in scope, the results of the historical and archaeological research are significant as they provide information on a small-scale plantation site that is virtually invisible in the historical record, but that had an interesting dual-identity through the historic period as both a small plantation tract representative of the middle-class Georgia planter, and a contributor to the large-scale plantation operations for which the antebellum Georgia coast is known. The dual-identity gave Bourbon Field a subtle, but important role to play in the plantation landscape of historic Sapelo Island.

Shovel test data helped to delineate and characterize the historic occupations of Bourbon Field on a basic level. The data revealed that Bourbon Field's historic occupants confined their primary domestic activities to a specific and relatively small area in the far northwestern portion of the site. The confinement of a majority of the historic components to this limited occupation area suggests that the location was chosen specifically because it had certain attractive and practical features such as a close proximity to the Blackbeard Creek shoreline and easy access to the road connecting Bourbon Field to other plantations and resources on the island. The small

size of the historic occupation area is one of many archaeological indications that the plantation operations at Bourbon Field were small-scale and differed significantly from the larger plantations previously surveyed on Sapelo.

Although there is little above-ground evidence of historic occupations in the northwestern portion of Bourbon Field, the subsurface historic components are quite extensive. It is clear from the size, diversity, and composition of the assemblage collected in the study area, that Bourbon Field had regular, long-term occupants for at least part of the historic period. There may not be detailed historical records of the intensive occupations at Bourbon Field, but the assemblage, with its large percentage of domestic artifacts, is representative of regular household activities and daily life on a farm or plantation. It is likely, however, that the occupations associated with the probable Geechee house site in the postbellum era may also have contributed to the significant concentrations of historic artifacts in the northwestern portion of the site.

One of the primary indications that significant historic occupations occurred at Bourbon Field was the large number of historic ceramics produced by shovel test excavations in the northwestern area. The sizable historic ceramic assemblage helped to delineate boundaries for the occupation area and provided a time frame for the domestic activities occurring there. Pearlware (circa 1780-1840) and creamware (circa 1762-1830) were the most common ceramic types recovered in the historic occupation area, and their frequency indicates that the most intensive occupations of Bourbon Field occurred relatively early, spanning the late 18th century through the first few decades of the 19th century. The comparably small numbers of whitewares (circa 1830-present) and other later ceramics implies that these early undocumented historic occupations of Bourbon Field included a larger population and occurred over a longer period of time than the better known postbellum Geechee occupations in the same part of the site. Various

mean ceramic dates calculated for the historic ceramic assemblage suggest the same early time frame for the primary historic occupations, ranging from the 1780s to the 1820s. The ceramic assemblage provided no evidence of temporally separate occupations within that time frame, as the primary concentrations of ceramics in the northern region of the occupation area contained a consistent diversity of ceramics and a consistent predominance of pearlwares and creamwares, giving the impression that the same parts of the site were used intensively through time. The vertical distribution of ceramics according to shovel test stratigraphy and arbitrary excavation levels also revealed a significant degree of consistency, providing no evidence of staggered or sporadic occupations anywhere in the northwestern area.

Shovel test data revealed that tabby plaster and mortar concentrations existed in similar locations as historic ceramic concentrations, and marked the presence of three possible structures located west of Bourbon Field's only above-ground tabby remains, in the northwestern portion of the study area. The three shovel test clusters with tabby concentrations and the area around the tabby remains had similar ratios of earlier and later ceramics and generally shared high frequencies of pearlware and creamware sherds, indicating that the former structure represented by the above-ground tabby remains may have been contemporary with the other possible historic structures. The combined distribution of tabby and historic ceramics indicates that the overall historic assemblage at Bourbon Field primarily derives from either a long-term occupation or multiple consecutive occupations that utilized the same areas of the site in the late 18th century and early 19th century.

Various amounts of tabby occurred throughout the northwestern portion of the study area, in the same general location as concentrations of other historic artifacts. Tabby appeared not only in the shovel test clusters specifically associated with possible structures but in most shovel tests

in the northwestern region of the study area. Brick and nails were also common in the same region and it is likely that there were a number of other buildings accompanying the structure associated with the above-ground tabby rectangle that simply could not be identified using survey data. The historic middens and possible middens shared a similar distribution as the tabby and other architectural remains. These middens had large quantities of domestic material and their juxtaposition with architectural artifact concentrations serves as preliminary evidence that there was more than one domestic structure in the historic occupation area. The contents of the middens and possible middens, which typically included a range of earlier and later ceramics and a diversity of other artifacts, suggest that any structures that may have existed in the northwestern region of the study area were utilized fairly continuously for a significant period of time.

Based on ceramic data and the distribution of other historic artifacts traditionally associated with high or low socioeconomic status, there did not seem to be a noticeably large gap between the statuses of Bourbon Field's former occupants. Although higher status transfer-printed pearlware and whiteware sherds were the most frequent of all decorated historic wares recovered in the entire northwestern area, they had a dispersed distribution and were often found in the same context as cheaper, utilitarian wares or other artifacts that were not indicative of high socioeconomic status. The distribution of specific vessel forms and the CC Indices calculated for the sherds recovered in shovel tests produced similarly ambiguous results with no clear separation of high and low status in the occupation area (Miller 1980, 1991). Other status-related artifacts also had a dispersed distribution pattern and it was rare that more than one high status artifact was recovered in the same shovel test.

The only evidence of status difference uncovered in the shovel test survey was a few subtle clues that the occupants of the structure associated with the rectangular tabby remains may have held a higher status than the other occupants of Bourbon Field. There was a slightly higher frequency of high status artifacts in the vicinity of the above-ground remains and the remains were a significant distance from the other possible structures represented by subsurface tabby concentrations. These distribution patterns combined with the fact that the remains seem to represent the largest and most substantial historic structure at the site serve as indirect evidence that the former occupants of the structure may have held the highest socioeconomic position. Because there was no evidence of dramatic differences in the socioeconomic status across the historic occupation area, the shovel test data serves at least as tentative evidence that Bourbon Field was occupied by a small planter, farmer, or overseer who may have lived in the structure represented by the tabby remains and a small number of slaves who lived in less substantial structures in the western portion of the occupation area.

The results of the shovel test data loosely correlate with the historical record. During the time frame of late 18th century and early 19th century when, according to the archaeological record, the most intensive occupations of Bourbon Field occurred, the identity of Bourbon Field's occupants is, for the most part, unclear. The historical record indicates that the tract fell mostly to absentee landowners and managers. The invisibility of Bourbon Field's occupants in the historical record during this time corresponds well with the archaeological evidence of middle and lower class occupants. Since there is no record of Bourbon Field serving as a major residence for any of the prominent planters directly or indirectly linked with the tract, it is probable that the highest status occupants of the tract were either renters or hired overseers or managers, most likely accompanied by slaves. The small occupation area, the limited

architectural remains, and the lack of status-related artifact patterns at Bourbon Field can all reasonably be associated with activities of a small-scale planter or overseer. Historical comparisons between Bourbon Field and other Sapelo plantation sites result in similar conclusions. Bourbon Field's lack of historical representation relative to Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and the Spalding Plantation affirms that it was one of the more modest and lower status plantation tracts on the island.

From the 1830s through the remainder of the antebellum era, when, based on significantly smaller and less extensive archaeological deposits, the intensity of occupations at Bourbon Field seems to have declined, the historic record indicates that the tract mostly functioned as a satellite agricultural tract contributing to larger plantation operations based elsewhere on the island rather than being a primary residential tract. In fact, Bourbon Field existed as a dependent satellite tract for a longer period than any other plantation site on Sapelo, changing hands from one absentee landowner to the next through a large part of the 19th century (Sullivan 1990:88-89; Crook et al. 2003:11,15-16). From the postbellum era to the early 20th century, the site had long-term occupants, but it was a very small population of Geechee residents. The archaeological evidence of less intensive occupations during the late historic period can be explained, at least in part, by the small population size.

The Trench 10 excavations provided additional details to the general interpretations supplied by shovel tests data and further characterized the historic occupations of Bourbon Field. The significant domestic components in Trench 10's artifact assemblage confirmed that the tabby remains represent a domestic, intensively occupied structure, most likely a house or multiple houses. The presence of tabby and other architectural debris well below the rectangular tabby form, which was the only articulated above-ground architectural feature in the remains,

gives the impression that multiple structures are represented in the tabby remains and the Trench 10 assemblage. Excavations revealed a fairly consistent vertical distribution of artifacts with dense deposits of diverse and substantial historic assemblages across the trench. These similarities in assemblages across Trench 10 are evidence of a heavily utilized domestic space that was occupied either continuously or repeatedly for a long enough period of time to produce deep layers of domestic debris. The relative uniformity in depth and contents of historic deposits in the trench favors an interpretation of continual or consecutive occupations of the area around the tabby remains instead of multiple, temporally separate occupations.

Although there were general similarities in the historic deposits across the trench, a comparison between the northern and southern units and Unit 10 inside the rectangular tabby form yielded a few contrasting features. The southern units in Trench 10 exposed part of a possible tabby wall and other articulated tabby debris that seemed to represent the collapsed architectural feature associated with the tabby form. The larger and more articulated concentration of tabby debris in the southern units indicates that large portions of the former structure or structures fell southward upon their collapse. Based on the comparison between the northern and southern units it is likely that the north side of the tabby form is associated with an interior space and the south side is associated with an outdoor space. The southern units have the large numbers of artifacts that are typical of historic middens, many of them associated with domestic activities, while the types of artifacts that are more numerous in the northern units are items that could have easily and inconspicuously ended up on the floor of a heavily trafficked, occupied building. A comparison between Unit 10's assemblage and the assemblages found in the trench's northern and southern units provided no indication that the interior of the tabby form represented an occupied space within the former structure. Unit 10 contained primarily tabby and

other architectural debris, which extended deeper than anywhere else in Trench 10. The unusual density and depth of the architectural remains in Unit 10 is most likely the result of a later filling episode that occurred after the structure had collapsed, possibly during looting activities, and which disturbed the original context of the artifacts.

The overall artifact distribution within the trench provided no definitive interpretation for the rectangular tabby form. Even with the large amounts of tabby recovered across Trench 10, there is still less tabby than would be expected from a solid tabby structure and the presence of nails, tabby with lathing marks, and brick fragments across the trench suggests that the former structures had wooden and brick architectural components. The shallowness of the tabby form and the limited extent of the tabby debris makes the original interpretation of a chimney unlikely. The best interpretation for the tabby form without further excavations is that it was the base of a tabby feature like a staircase or foundation pier for a raised frame house.

The ceramic assemblage from Trench 10 shared many similarities with the shovel test ceramic data. Trench 10 produced a variety of historic ceramics, including both earlier and later historic ceramic types, but the earlier ceramics predominated. Gray salt-glazed stoneware (circa 1700-1900) was the most common ceramic, but most of the sherds were from the same large vessel. Pearlware (circa 1780-1840), both decorated and plain, was the second-most common ceramic type. Its high frequencies in the trench's ceramic assemblage resulted in similar mean ceramic dates as the shovel test assemblage, although the dates fell within a slightly narrower range between the 1780s and the 1810s. The calculations that used the largest numbers of diagnostic sherds tended to produce dates that fell within the first decade of the 19th century, suggesting that occupations of the former structures peaked well before the mid-19th century;

however, the presence of later ceramic types indicates that occupations could have continued into the later antebellum period.

Separate mean ceramic date calculations for the upper and lower excavation levels in the trench generated very similar dates, also falling within the first decade of the 19th century. The closeness of the mean ceramic dates in context with the tabby form and below it, indicate that the multiple structures represented by the tabby remains were built and occupied consecutively without any large temporal gaps between the occupations. It seems that either that particular area was simply preferred and built on repeatedly or that the structure associated with the tabby form had to be built quickly on top of the remains of a previous structure, possibly due to a destructive event such as a fire. The latter possibility is supported by the presence of a burned layer below the dense tabby rubble in the northern units of Trench 10. In any case, the temporal data provided by the trench's ceramic assemblage corresponds quite well with the time frame of intensive occupation implied by the shovel test data.

Trench 10's historic artifact assemblage, like the shovel test assemblage, provided evidence of middle-class occupants rather than particularly high status individuals. The most common decorated refined earthenware was transfer-printed pearlware, but cheaper, utilitarian wares in the form of various stoneware sherds were even more frequent. Additionally, neither the vessel form data nor the CC Indices could be definitively linked to high socioeconomic status (Miller 1980, 1991). The sheer size of the trench's artifact assemblage, the evidence of substantial architectural features, and the relatively large number of personal, clothing, and furniture artifacts makes it unlikely that the former occupants were slaves and instead suggests that the occupants of the former structures were the highest status individuals living at Bourbon Field. There was a large variety of status-related historic artifacts throughout the trench and the

combination of high and low status artifact types seems indicative of middle-class occupants, who could afford a limited number of expensive, luxury items.

The combined shovel test and trench excavations at Bourbon Field indicated that appearances can be deceiving when it comes to small plantation sites. Between near invisibility in the historical record and the lack of substantial architectural remains, Bourbon Field could easily be written off as an insignificant part of Sapelo's historic plantation landscape; however, the extensive and diverse historic components uncovered in the northwestern portion of the site suggest otherwise. Bourbon Field was more than an agricultural field used by planters living elsewhere on the island: It was an intensively occupied tract through at least the first half of the antebellum period. Furthermore, although Bourbon Field is one of the least prominent plantations sites on Sapelo from a historical perspective, it holds unique archaeological importance among its neighbors as representing both coastal Georgia's stereotypical large-scale plantation operations and the less celebrated, but more common small-scale agricultural endeavors that characterized most of the antebellum South.

Bourbon Field's role as a satellite tract for large-scale plantations in the later antebellum period and through most of the postbellum era was part of a well-documented trend on Sapelo and the broader Georgia coast in which successful planters acquired and utilized multiple separate tracts to maximize levels of agricultural production and enable crop diversification (Coulter 1940; Bell 1987; Stewart 1996). However, as a small-scale plantation tract with full-time occupants in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Bourbon Field was actually part of a much larger, albeit less powerful, segment of the plantation economy and southern society. In the mid-19th century, less than 1% of all southern plantations in the South had attained the level of wealth and grandeur romanticized in popular images of antebellum plantations, and most

planters had modest landholdings and 30 or fewer slaves (Vlach 1993:7-8). Nonetheless, due to their obscurity in the historical record, their near invisibility on the modern landscape compared to the substantial architectural ruins left by the larger plantations, and the constant encroachments of commercial developments, these smaller plantations are rarely the subject of detailed archaeological investigation (Cabak and Groover 2006:51-52). Although more difficult to research, an examination of small plantations is necessary to prevent skewed or biased interpretations, particularly in coastal regions where large plantations dominated the political, economic, and social realms, but represented a minority of the population. Bourbon Field represents a valuable opportunity to investigate a small-scale plantation in a protected, relatively undisturbed area.

Comparisons between Bourbon Field, Chocolate Plantation, High Point, and the Spalding Plantation sites affirmed the outlier status of large-scale plantations, even along the wealthy Georgia coast. Despite their similar economic endeavors, out of the various occupations of the four plantation sites, only a handful of them embodied the stereotypical ideal of a successful southern plantation. Only the Spalding Plantation and a few of the antebellum occupations of Chocolate Plantation were comparable to Cabak and Groover's (2006:53) descriptions of "contemporary assumptions" about southern plantations, which suggest that "plantations were characterized by monocrop agriculture, were owned by autocratic planters residing in large columned dwellings, and were operated by a large enslaved labor force." In contrast to these assumptions, the rest of the plantation occupations on Sapelo shared little with this popular image besides their production of cash crops and their use of some slave labor. For Bourbon Field, the least prestigious of these plantation sites, the possibility of achieving this manorial ideal was especially remote. Despite their lower profile, the smaller-scale occupations

exemplified at the Bourbon Field site are no less significant to understanding the island's plantation-era past.

The data produced by shovel tests and trench excavations at Bourbon Field revealed unique archaeological features, artifacts, and a distinctive site layout, but it also provided evidence of shared trends in material culture across the different plantations on Sapelo Island, regardless of their size or level of success. Data obtained from Bourbon Field, as one of the smallest and least prominent plantation sites on Sapelo, provides a useful basis for comparison that helps to distinguish and define the different levels and types of plantation operations that existed in the historic period and prevents biased and misleading interpretations of the island's past. Bourbon Field may have never played a prestigious role in the plantation activities that occurred on Sapelo, but its unusual dual association to small and large plantations meant that it was a consistently utilized tract through the plantation era. Future research at Bourbon Field will help to further illuminate and define the site's specific contributions to the plantation economy and culture on Sapelo, and the data collected at Bourbon Field will serve as one small, but significant step in dispelling the romantic misconceptions and inaccurate generalizations associated with coastal Georgia plantations.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Copyright Permission Letter

Rachel D. Perrine
14434 Old Tybee Road
Houston, TX 77084

October 4, 2012

Dr. Nicholas Honerkamp
University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Geography
104 Brock Hall
Dept. 2102
615 McCallie Avenue
Chattanooga, TN 37403

Dear Dr. Honerkamp:

I am completing a master's thesis at the University of West Florida entitled "Bourbon Field: Preliminary Investigations of a Barrier Island Plantation Site, Sapelo Island, Georgia." I am writing to request your permission to reprint the following material in my thesis/dissertation:

Honerkamp, Nicholas, Ray Crook, and Orion Kroulek
2007 Pieces of Chocolate: Site Structure and Function at Chocolate Plantation (9MC96), Sapelo Island, Georgia. Report to Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, Atlanta, from Jeffrey L. Brown Institute of Archaeology, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, pp. 2, 9.

The figures to be reproduced from the report include a small map insert of Georgia with the location of Sapelo Island and the rest of McIntosh County outlined (p. 2) and photographs of the main house ruins and possible cotton barn ruins at Chocolate Plantation (p. 9).

Honerkamp, Nicholas
2008 Archaeological Survey and Testing at High Point Plantation (9MC66), Sapelo Island, Georgia. Report to Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, Atlanta, from Jeffrey L. Brown Institute of Archaeology, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, p. 25.

The figure to be reproduced from the report is a photograph of the tabby corner post identified during University of Tennessee at Chattanooga's 2007 survey excavations at High Point (p.25).

A print copy of my thesis/dissertation will be archived in the John C. Pace Library at The University of West Florida in Pensacola. An electronic version will be archived at the Florida Center for Library Automation (FCLA). The requested permission extends to any future revisions and editions of my thesis/dissertation including non-exclusive world rights in all languages. These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or others authorized by you. Your signing of this letter will confirm that you own the copyright to the above-described material.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Sincerely,

Rachel D Perrine

Rachel D. Perrine

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By: *Nicholas Honerkamp*
Nicholas Honerkamp, Ph. D.

Date: Oct 5, 2012

