# SPACES AND PLACES OF LOWCOUNTRY GEORGIA PLANTATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF WATTLE AND TABBY DAUB SLAVE CABINS ON SAPELO ISLAND, GEORGIA

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# ABSTRACT

Plantation landscapes on the Georgia coast were created and maintained by plantation owners and enslaved peoples with influences from the broader Atlantic World. Slave housing and settlements on Sea Island cotton and rice plantations on Sapelo and St. Simon's Islands are an especially useful way to examine the combination of African, Caribbean, European, and later American influences and material results of tensions between these influences. However, many previous interpretations of enslaved life on the Georgia coast have been based on standing domestic architecture and enslaved people listed in later census records, creating a bias towards a small subset of the enslaved populations. Here I take a contextual approach to explore the lowcountry in the context of the broader Atlantic World; examine the spatial connection between plantation management styles and plantation settlement landscapes; and critically examine slave housing on the coast; and investigate if there is a connection between type of slave housing and settlement landscape organization. I use Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to quantify plantation spaces with Thiessen tessellations at five plantations to conclude that the settlement space of the Sapelo Plantation is significantly different than at nearby plantation settlements. Archaeological and geophysical investigations at Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements within the Sapelo Plantation show a connection between the geometry of settlement space and evidence of place-making with wattle and tabby daub slave cabins that are similar to those identified in Caribbean plantation contexts. Though plantation owners defined the structure and boundaries of certain plantation spaces, enslaved people could manipulate, maintain, and control certain parts of those landscapes. The degree to which enslaved people could engage in reconfigurations of private places and spatial control of settlement spaces is reflected in the rigidity of the plantation landscape.

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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In May of 1803, a group of Igbo captives brought from modern day Nigeria arrived in Savannah, Georgia aboard a slave ship called the *Wanderer*. Once in Savannah, about 75 enslaved people were transferred to a coastal vessel, the *York*, and were subsequently chained and moved below deck until transfer to their places of bondage. The captain of the *York* was going to deliver the enslaved people to John Couper of Altama Plantation and Thomas Spalding of the Sapelo Plantation. According to Geechee oral history, during the short voyage south, the captive Igbo, led by an Igbo High Chief and warrior named Oba, took over the *York* and grounded it in Dunbar Creek on the shoreline of St. Simon's Island. What happened next is unclear, as events have become legend, tangled with the Myth of the Flying African, among modern Gullah-Geechee and Igbo people. One version states that in an act of amazing resistance to a life of forced slavery, a group of Igbo people from the grounded *York* walked into the waters of the creek and "took to the swamp," drowning themselves, chanting "the water spirit brought me here, the water spirit will bring me home" (Nelson 2018). Water, in Igbo religion, is a transitive medium through which people pass from life to the afterlife. The Igbo men and women who walked into the creek were walking away from their future enslavement and back to their home in Africa. A total of thirteen bodies of drowned Igbo were found as well as three white overseers (Goodwine 1998).

The effects of the Igbo Landing suicides lasted well after 1803. The people that did not drown were re-captured by Captain Patterson and Butler Estate overseer Roswell King. Bounty hunters were paid by plantation owners (at $10/slave) to recapture runaway slaves that tried to escape via land. The surviving Igbo were put on another slaving ship and brought to the intended destination plantations at Cannon's Point and Sapelo Island.

The "Spalding Era" on Sapelo Island lasted from 1802 until landowner Spalding's death in 1851 and was the only time in which the plantations on Sapelo Island were consistently profitable (Sullivan 1997, 2018). During his nearly 50 years on Sapelo, Thomas Spalding became one of the largest slave and land owners on the Georgia coast (Coulter 1940). During his tenure on Sapelo Island, he eventually came to own all but 650 acres of the 16,500-acre island, managing the production of sugar, rice, and long staple Sea Island cotton (Spalding 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1837; Crook 1977). A proximity map of Sapelo Island is presented in Figure 1.

Enslaved people living and working on the plantation were bought from a global market, bringing to the Sea Islands a combination of West African, Caribbean, and colonial British cultures and histories. Such a dynamic cultural blend helped to shape Georgia's antebellum lowcountry landscapes. For example, Morgan (1982, 1983, 2010) and Gomez (1998, 2010) argue that the personal

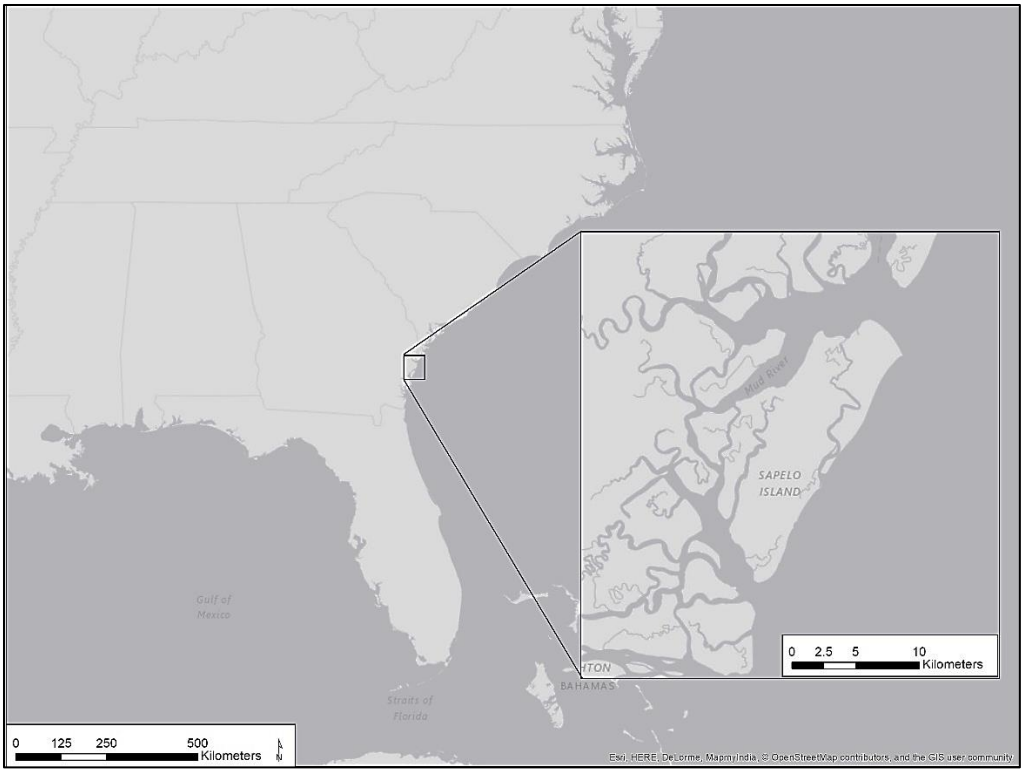



Figure 1. Proximity map of Sapelo Island, Georgia.

flexibility of the task system afforded slaves in some plantation settings the ability to behave as Africans while bound to a Georgian plantation. On the Sapelo Plantation, slave culture and religion was created by a diverse mixture of Igbo, Christian, and Muslim slaves, including people involved with the Igbo Landing Rebellion (Gomez 2010).

The plantation, like many in the lowcountry, had many connections to the Caribbean: Spalding got long-staple Sea Island cotton seed from Anguilla, purple ribbon sugar from Eleuthera, and some enslaved people, such as Bilali Muhammed, a literate Muslim driver, from Middle Plantation on the Caicos

Islands (Crook 2007; Sullivan 2017). Once in production and with help from Spalding's Caribbean connections, the sugar from the Spalding mill was of such a fine quality that it was featured in the *Boston Commercial Gazette* (18 May 1815), which predicted that "The culture of the sugar cane excites attention in Georgia. An advertisement of 95 hogsheads made by Mr. Spalding, on Sapelo Island…Georgia sugar will probably soon be in our market, and still further lessen our dependence on W. India Islands."

According to Sapelo Island's Cornelia Bailey and to Geechee legend, the Igbo people who were on the *York* were bought by Spalding to work at Sapelo and lived at Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements, which are located within one-half mile of Long Tabby sugar mill (Crook and O'Grady 1978; Bailey 2000; Crook et al. 2003; Crook 2008). When asked about the origin of the place name Behavior, Bailey recounts the story of Igbo Landing and how those people's resistance to enslavement continued on the Sapelo Plantation:

> What the old people always said is that it [Behavior] got its name because the last slaves that came in refused to be slaves. One report was they were part of the Ibo tribe, and they refused to be slaves, all of them–you know you had the popular thing was they all went overboard and drowned themselves at Frederica Island, but that's a lie, they didn't do that; some of them did, just a handful, and they said some was offloaded here on Sapelo. Ok. If they were offloaded here on Sapelo, then it's natural to have the same attitudes as the others, that we don't want to be slaves. And so they said that they hid in that woods, and stayed there, and the slave that was already here was

> told to go and offer them food and water on the edge of the woods, and let them stay there until they learned how to behave themselves. And so henceforth the name Behavior came from that. And that's the only exPlantation I ever heard…. And they just stayed there [in the woods], and it became like a village type thing.

In this place, away from the slave owner's eyes, people like Phoebe and Bilali Muhammed read Arabic texts, fished and foraged and found ingeniously creative ways to bring rice back from the fields to supplement their diet, wearing white clothing and sometimes head coverings (Crook 2001, 2007, 2008; Gomez 2004, 2008, 2010; Bell 2010, 2018; Cooper 2017). They built wattle and tabby daub homes that, as of yet, we have seen nowhere else in the lowcountry (Crook 2008; Singleton 2010). They carried the memories of the Igbo Landing Rebellion from Dunbar Creek through space and time back to the Sapelo Plantation.

The architectural and spatial footprints that they left behind at Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements provide insights into the ways that enslaved people of the Sapelo Plantation converted planter-assigned spaces into a unique place. Perhaps the most direct evidence of African-styled structures in the lowcountry is from Sapelo Island's Ben Sullivan. In a WPA narrative, he tells a story of "Old man Okra", a slave on Cannon's Point Plantation on St. Simon's Island located south of Sapelo Island:

> Ole man Okra he say he wahn a place lak he hab in Africa so he buil im a hut. I membuh it well. It wuz bout twelve by foeteen feet an it hab dut flo an he buil

> duh side lak basket weave wid clay plastuh on it. It hab a flat roof wut he make frum bush an palmettuh an it hab one doe an no winduhs. But Massuh make in pull it down. He say he ain wahn no African hut on he place (Georgia Writers Project 1940:179).

James Couper quickly made Old man Okra tear down his hut. Slave quarters on Sapelo Island, however, present a different story of enslaved housing. In 1916, an elderly Charles Spalding Wylly, who had been a frequent visitor to Sapelo Island throughout his life, described the slave settlements he had observed, providing a comparison to the structure described by Sullivan (1940:197). Wylly (1916:12) wrote: "Villages with thatched roofs and walls plastered inside and out had sprung up in favorable spots; these were styled settlements, such as New Barn Creek, Behavior, Hanging Bull." Were the landscapes of the slave settlements physically different where these "African huts" were allowed? How did these landscapes impact the lives of the enslaved people living within the settlements?

*STATEMENT OF PROBLEM*

By the time the colony of Georgia began to permit slavery in 1751, the global slave market was already well developed in colonial America. Relatively few laborers working on lowcountry plantations arrived directly from Africa. Instead, they were often traded in from New Orleans, Charleston, or Savannah, having been sold on from the colonial Chesapeake or the Caribbean (Morgan 2010:13-16). Such a dynamic cultural blend helped to shape Georgia's antebellum lowcountry landscapes in ways that are currently poorly understood. Planters,

overseers, drivers, and enslaved people reacted to a diverse climate in ways that are reflected on the natural landscape, built landscape, and through material culture.

Lowcountry planters often attempted to emulate plantation management styles from the Caribbean while building an elite plantation landscape that symbolized their ability to organize and dominate man and nature. Choices made by the planter manifested in all aspects of plantation operations, leading to a spectrum of management styles, agricultural approaches, and treatment of the enslaved workforce. These choices were often reflected in the planter's consciousness, shaping the cultivation and organization of the built plantation landscape.

Slave quarters on the Georgia coast are typically associated with above-ground tabby duplexes. Tabby is a kind of rudimentary cement made of equal parts of sand, lime, water, and shell that, once cured, persists remarkably well. Because tabby slave quarters are present on many lowcountry landscapes, archaeologists have focused primarily on these above-ground features. However, enslaved people lived in more than just tabby buildings, as illustrated by the two wattle and tabby daub cabins discovered by Ray Crook on Sapelo (Crook 2008) and the framed cabins on Butler Island and the south settlement at Cannon's Point Plantation. Recent research on the coast, led by Honerkamp (2009, 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019), has sought to reduce the bias towards standing slave quarters by

using archaeological survey to identify the location of wood framed slave cabins. By better understanding the totality of a plantation landscape, archaeologists can begin to understand how people reacted to the spaces around them.

*RIVAL GEOGRAPHIES OF ENSLAVED LANDSCAPES*

A plantation is "an agricultural enterprise in which a number of workers of a subordinate class work together to produce a crop for someone else to be sold in a market, usually an international one" (Singleton 1985:1). Plantations developed in capitalist societies, and as a result were dependent upon new processing technology to produce a single or narrow range of raw materials for distribution and consumption in a global market. In a plantation environment, enslaved workers experienced limited economic, social, and physical mobility due to constraints imposed by the plantation owner or overseer. The spatial structure of a plantation influenced how people acted within and reacted to the plantation.

In this dissertation, I focus on the historical landscapes of five Sea Island plantations to quantify the structural similarities and differences of settlement spaces. Because people within a plantation served many different roles and thus interacted with their surroundings differently, plantation landscapes were a center of dialectical tensions. One part of a landscape, for example the plantation main house or a sugar mill, may have accrued significantly different meaning for the plantation owner and his family versus the enslaved people laboring at those locations. All of these spaces were imbued with different layers of meaning that

led to various physical and cognitive reactions, and some of these actions resulted in the creation of a set of cultural materials that persisted over time.

Landscapes are a kind of materiality that plays a significant role in the construction of social identity and relationships by connecting human behavior with places and times (Delle 1999; Anschuetz et al. 2001). Studies of past landscapes link archaeology and geography by seeking to understand social behavior through past uses of space, bridging the gap between humanistic and scientific approaches (Anschuetz 2001; Blake 2004). A landscape is a bounded area in which human activity occurred, different from an environment due to the presence of human activity (Ashmore 2004).

In this research, I adopt definitions of space and place proposed by Heath (2010), in which she defines space as the "physical dimensions or characteristics of architecture and landscape" while place is defined as a culturally significant area, or more specifically, the "constructed meaning of space through individual experiences, memories, and the specificity of landscape" (Heath 2010:159). Rather than a singular archaeological site being the basis of a landscape, here I take a nested approach to defining landscapes, meaning that sites must be considered as a composite rather than as separate entities. Unlike Nicole Branton's (2009) definition of space, many parts of the natural landscape on a plantation were not truly culturally empty, especially on the Sea Islands, for they have been occupied for approximately 4,200 years.

Spatial negotiations were part of a larger conversation between plantation owner and enslaved men and women that influenced rival landscapes, a term coined by literary critic Edward Said (1979) and popularized by historian Stephanie Camp (2004). The concept of rival landscapes describes how the landscapes of enslaved living and working spaces were "alternative ways of knowing and using plantation and southern space that conflicted with planters' ideals and demands" (Camp 2004:7). These delineations of Plantation spaces and places are apropos to landscape studies at a settlement scale; spaces being essentially culturally "empty" areas not used or manipulated by people under study, and places being the meaningful, culturally charged areas of a landscape (Tuan 1977; Ashmore 2004; Branton 2009; Ellis and Ginsburg 2010).

*PURPOSE*

The purpose of this research is to explore the lowcountry in the context of the broader Atlantic World; examine if there is a spatial connection between planter management styles and plantation settlement landscapes, and if so to what degree; critically examine the assumption that extant tabby architecture defined slave housing in the lowcountry; and finally, to investigate whether there is a connection between type of slave housing and settlement organization. I do this by taking a contextual approach to the documented history of the Georgia lowcountry, drawing connections to Caribbean plantations and West Africa with a focus on the Bight of Biafra. I then use historical maps and archaeologically

researched lowcountry plantation landscapes to classify various geometries of settlement spaces to examine the connection between persons and the places they create and manage. I also challenge the current bias towards characterizing the domestic architecture and landscapes of slavery based on standing tabby slave quarters through archaeological survey at Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements on Sapelo Island, where there is no standing architecture. Crook (2008) identified one wattle and tabby daub slave cabin at each settlement. Finally, I determine if wattle and tabby daub structures—one of which, excavated by Crook, was of a style and dimension similar to what Old man Okra tried to build at the Altama Plantation—were ubiquitous within the Sapelo settlement landscapes. If wattle and tabby daub slave cabins were not omnipresent within the settlements, in what other kind of housing did enslaved people reside? Did housing within the settlements change over time, or were they the same for the relatively short duration of the Sapelo Plantation?

At a most fundamental level, people react to the spaces around them and change their surroundings to better suit their needs. These actions lead to recursive adaptations and reactions that continually shape and re-shape the cultural landscape. I seek to quantify the spaces of coastal plantations around the Sapelo Plantation to determine the fundamental similarities and differences between the historical and spatial structure of lowcountry plantations. I anticipate that the structure of spaces within plantation boundaries coupled with a planter's

documented ethos towards management of people and place influences the organization and style of slave settlement architecture.

*RESEARCH QUESTIONS*

The themes of global interconnectedness and choice run through my dissertation, as I approach this project from multiple scales, beginning with the Atlantic World landscapes and ending with specific slave cabins within the Sapelo Plantation. Enslaved people in Georgia were connected through space and time to their ancestors in Africa, the Caribbean, and other plantations in the Americas. Though few materials were transmitted through these voyages, traditions and memories served as the foundation of both new and changing traditions in the lowcountry. The second theme in this dissertation is choice. What choices did plantation owners make to design and control their plantation landscape? Similarly, what choices could enslaved people make to react to planter-designed landscapes and how were those choices manifest on the landscape? What spatial scenarios led to different place-making decisions within enslaved settlements and what were the material results of those choices? More specifically, where were the spaces and the places on the Sapelo Plantation?

Did settlements for the enslaved on the Sapelo Plantation differ from nearby coastal Georgia plantation landscapes in spatial organization and architecture? If so, how did those differences impact place-making of the enslaved and thus change how enslaved people engaged in their own place-making

practices at Sapelo? Though this question is perhaps at this time unanswerable, I use this document to explore the recursive and global influences that landscapes had on enslaved populations in the Georgia lowcountry.

My site-specific research questions are as follows:

1. Was the geometry of plantation settlement spaces variable on Georgia lowcountry island plantations?
2. Did planter management styles correlate to the landscapes that they constructed and maintained?
3. Who maintained and controlled settlement landscapes within these coastal plantations?
4. Were the two wattle and tabby daub slave cabins found within Sapelo Plantation slave settlements by Ray Crook evidence of a broader pattern of housing related to Thomas Spalding's management style, or were they anomalous?
5. What was the relationship between slave cabins made of wattle and tabby daub and frame cabins?

To answer these questions, I draw on 19$^{th}$-century plantation maps, geospatial data, and archaeological data from previous excavations and from work conducted specifically for this study. Previous research in the Georgia lowcountry has sought to excavate a slave cabin, or a corner of a cabin, then extrapolate results to make interpretations about that culture. Instead, I argue that mapping the entire settlement, or a portion of it, with archaeological, geophysical, and geospatial data, can provide a more complete body of knowledge upon which archaeologists can interpret how enslaved people used a physical landscape to create a culturally unique place during their enslavement.

In response to these research questions, I hypothesize that:

1. Plantation spaces were variable based on the naturally available living spaces on the plantation, the proximity of plantation settlements to agricultural fields or other work spaces, and the levels of control and surveillance dictated by the planter.
2. Lowcountry planters always defined the spaces of slave settlements; however, maintenance and control of settlement places were dependent upon the actions of individual plantation owners and managers. Types of maintenance and control can be predicted using spatial statistics to quantify plantation settlement geometry.
3. Rigid plantation management correlated to geometrically rigid and similarly sized settlement spaces.
4. Wattle and tabby daub slave cabins were ubiquitous within the Bush Camp Field and Behavior slave settlements at the start of the Sapelo Plantation.
5. Wattle and tabby daub slave cabins were replaced by wood-framed cabins around 1830 on an as-needed basis.

This research compared landscape dynamics at a settlement scale using minimally invasive geospatial and archaeological methods. Knowing the spatial relationship between areas of domestic activity in the settlements with work areas on the Sapelo Plantation and the culturally neutral natural environment allowed for accurate settlement-scale and plantation-scale comparisons with other plantation landscapes to better understand the boundaries of enslaved spaces and how enslaved people created, used, and changed their places in settlements.

*DISSERTATION ORGANIZATION*

The following discussion is divided into seven additional chapters. In Chapter 2, I introduce the history of anthropological landscape theory, how I use the concept of rival geographies with the landscape of spaces and places, and provide an overview of plantation archaeology on the Georgia coast. In Chapter 3,

I provide historical context for this research within the Atlantic World, beginning with the Bight of Biafra in West Africa, and moving to various plantations in the Caribbean. In this chapter, I also explore wattle and daub architecture, illustrating similarities and differences in this building style as the trans-Atlantic slave trade grew and then slowed with abolition of the trade. Chapter 4 contains summaries of plantations in the Georgia lowcountry that are included in the regional comparison of settlement spaces. Chapter 5 contains summaries of the ethnohistorical, historical, geospatial, geophysical, and archaeological methods used in this work. In Chapter 6, I present results from these tests, including the Thiessen tessellations that measure the geometry of plantation spaces; results of a gradiometry survey at Bush Camp Field; pedestrian survey at Bush Camp Field and Behavior; shovel test surveys at Bush Camp Field and Behavior; and finally results from test unit excavation at the two sites. In Chapter 7, I interpret these results using the theoretical framework of rival geographies to explore the spaces and places of the Sapelo Plantation settlements. Finally, in Chapter 8, I present conclusions drawn from this research and recommendations for future research of wattle and tabby daub slave housing on the Georgia coast.

# CHAPTER 2: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PLANTATION LANDSCAPES

Landscape archaeology allows archaeologists to engage with the past by acknowledging the landscapes that past peoples used as a type of materiality (Soja 1989; Ashmore 2004; Branton 2008; Heath 2010). In this chapter, I define how I use landscape theory to analyze Georgia's antebellum plantations, summarize the theoretical history of landscape studies in archaeology, provide a literature review of primarily southeastern plantation archaeology, including previous research on the Sapelo Plantation, and outline the theoretical perspective that I will employ in this dissertation. This chapter serves to establish the archaeological context for my study and to lay the theoretical groundwork for the following discussions of methods, findings, and interpretations.

## *LANDSCAPES DEFINED*

Plantation landscapes were designed by the rich and powerful to show their economic power, taste in designed landscapes, familiarity with superior agricultural methods, a display of natural superiority, and as a method of memorializing through materials (Leone et al. 2005; Heath and Lee 2010). Enslaved people on the Sapelo Plantation were not only given marginal lands on plantation landscapes, they also lived in houses that leave little material trace. Nevertheless, enslaved people actively shaped the agricultural and domestic landscapes where they lived and labored. By acknowledging the multivocality of a

plantation landscape, archaeologists are able to use these landscapes as a source of information that lets us move beyond the grandiose architecture, gardens, and planter-constructed grounds engineered to display power. Landscape archaeology provides a framework for archaeologists to consider the ways in which people conceptualized and adapted to the natural environment, and organized themselves and their materials within it, in the process creating a cultural landscape (Ashmore 2004:255-256).

A landscape is a bounded area in which human activity occurred, considered by Koshiba and Bauer (2013:63) as a "mélange of places, practices, and concepts through which people experience and perceive their environment." Infinite landscapes exist and can overlap through both space and time depending on the user and the observer (Ashmore 2004). There are two types of landscapes: natural and cultural. The natural landscape is a physical, non-cultural setting in which place-making, the human process of inscribing meaning to a given space, does not occur. A cultural landscape includes material and ideational components of individual or group association within a location, habitation, or place. Hereafter, built, or cultural landscapes are simply referred to as a landscape. A landscape can be marked by cultural materials, although some researchers of phenomenological anthropology and archaeology consider a landscape to be any place experienced or even conceptualized by people (Tilley 1994; Hamilton 2006; Barrett 2009; Johnson 2012).

In contrast to landscape history, which focuses entirely on past people's creation and use of the designed landscapes and how those landscapes change over time, landscape archaeology is the study of the spatial relationship between past people and the space they occupied, or more specifically, past interactions between people and the bounded spaces in which cultural activities occurred (Branton 2009:51-52). A landscape is divided between places and spaces. Most broadly, places are created through human practices or are the outcome of the social processes of space; both are influenced by the daily activities of people, their activities, and cultural context (Ashmore 2004). Spaces, or the culturally empty dimensions of a landscape are the "physical dimensions or characteristics of architecture and landscape" (Heath 2010:159). Areas of cultural significance, or places, are the focus of landscape archaeology. Heath (2010:159) defines place as the "constructed meaning of space through individual experiences, memories, and the specificity of landscape." Because of the innumerable meanings a place may have to a person or group, a place can be difficult to delineate from a space, which is why defining spatial, cultural, and temporal boundaries is an important aspect of landscape archaeology.

Concepts of space and place help archaeologists to consider a landscape as a whole–moving beyond the site to incorporate broader environmental and cultural areas of place-making. While a landscape is a combination of both spaces and places, landscape archaeologists focus their attention on place, using the

surrounding spaces to contextualize that place (Anscheutz et al. 2001:159). Archaeological, textual, spatial, and historical narratives can help to uncover knowable pieces of the places embedded within those plantation landscapes. At a fundamental level, each landscape has different "meaning[s] to a discrete group of people at a defined time and place" (Branton 2009:53). Landscapes do not belong to one person or population; rather they are a diachronic compilation of human activity, in which individuals or groups react to those who preceded them, either implicitly or explicitly.

*LANDSCAPE STUDIES IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY*

Landscapes are a widely studied phenomenon across many disciplines. Understanding how people move across and use the world around them is a major focal point in the disciplines of geography, sociology, architectural history, anthropology, and history (Hegemon 2003). The widespread applicability of landscape theory and its many permutations makes it capable of framing diverse, interdisciplinary questions. Studies of past landscapes encourage exploration of the many links between archaeology and geography by analyzing social behavior through past uses of space. These types of analyses bridge the gap between humanistic and scientific approaches (Anschuetz 2001; Blake 2004; Du Cunzo and Ernstein 2006:255-256).

Historical archaeologists are increasingly employing new geospatial and geophysical scientific technologies to identify past peoples' use of the landscape

(Wheatley 1996; Kvamme 2003; Lenik 2009; McKoy and Ladgeford 2009; Verhagen and Whitley 2012). The geospatial research method used here to interpret landscapes on Sapelo Plantation draws upon this body of scholarly work. Landscape theory in archaeology is built upon four fundamental concepts: (1) spatial relationships represent the interactions between people and the built or natural landscape; (2) conceptualizing spaces and places as distinct aspects of spatiality provides different information about the past; (3) past human behaviors transcend the boundaries of an archaeological site; and (4) establishing temporal and spatial boundaries is necessary to analyze a discrete group (Branton 2009).

A landscape materializes the relationship between people and the area they occupy. Past peoples interpreted and interacted with the area around them in many ways, and often, these interactions resulted in the use and eventual deposition of material culture. Landscapes are a form of materiality that plays a significant role in the construction of social identity and relationships by connecting human behavior with places and times (Delle 1999; Anschuetz 2001).

When interpreting landscapes, archaeologists typically move beyond traditional boundaries imposed on archaeological sites to interpret the past as a nested landscape. A plantation landscape, for example, often has a plantation owner's residence, formal gardens and roads, housing for one or more overseers, slave quarters, yards, agricultural fields and support buildings. Rather than interpreting each of those areas on their own, landscape studies seek to interpret

the site as a cohesive unit (Rapoport 1990; Winberry 1997). Because landscapes are so dynamic and carry such a multiplicity of physical and social meaning, defining temporal and spatial scope and scale of analysis is a critical aspect of landscape archaeology.

While places and spaces within a landscape are tethered to one physical location, the meanings within those places are shaped by global influences, and those global tethers lead to unique landscapes. No one plantation is exactly like any other. Plantation owners defined a plantation landscape, but so too did the enslaved. Each plantation represented a mix of cultures and ideas from across the Atlantic World. Generally, plantation owners, managers and overseers were from a European lineage while enslaved people were of African descent; some were brought directly from Africa while others were purchased in North America or the Caribbean. Plantation landscapes on the Georgia Sea Islands vary significantly, but archaeologists have yet to explain which cultural or environmental factors impacted the formation of these spaces and places.

## *THE RISE OF LANDSCAPE THEORY IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY*

Landscape theory has followed an interesting theoretical trajectory over the last sixty years, generally trailing the theoretical pendulum swings in historical archaeology. Aligning with processualist thought in the 1960s and 1970s, landscape theory shifted with the popularity of geography's social theory in the early 1980s and into the 1990s (Tuan 1977; Soja 1989). Integration of spatial

thought with practice theory and critical theory in the late 1980s and early 1990s shifted the focus of landscapes from environmental determinism to postmodern analyses of landscapes framed around embedded symbolism in gardens and formal site structures (Ashmore 2004; Kanter 2008).

The abstract concept of a landscape was first posited by Alfred Kroeber in his 1931 examination of organic and superorganic organization of people on a landscape (Kroeber 1931; Anschetuz 2001). Although Krober did not explicitly define what a landscape was, he did theorize about how a large population interacts with the natural environment to create a built landscape. Both anthropologists and geographers agree, however, that the first official definition of a landscape was introduced by Carl Sauer in 1925. His definition, which remains widely accepted, truly incorporates the interaction between humans, space, and the environment. In *The Morphology of Landscape*, Sauer (1925) connected land with human-based phenomena to inspire the field of cultural geography. Sauer observed that, "within each landscape there are phenomena that are not simply there but are either associated or independent of each other;" therefore, "the task of geography is conceived as the establishment of a critical system which embraces the phenomenology of landscape, in order to grasp in all of its meaning and color the varied terrestrial scene" (Sauer 1925:25). In this work, he rejected environmentally deterministic approaches, thereby launching landscape studies

into its first phase, one which argued that culture was the agent that changed the environment.

Archaeological landscape studies were influenced mid-century by research conducted at the regional scale that interpreted the "human/environment dialectic" (Fisher and Thurston 1999:630). Landscape approaches in the United States, according to Knapp (1997) and Anscheutz et al. (2001) were inspired by the settlement patterning studies and cultural ecology theory of Julian Steward (1955), Gordon Willey (1953), and Bruce Trigger (1978). The processualist and positivist regional-scale cultural ecology modeling of mid-twentieth century archaeology guided theoretical trends in southeastern historical archaeology in the mid-to-late twentieth century.

Although archaeology is inherently a spatial discipline, intentional study of historic landscapes was not a priority during the developmental stages of the field of historical archaeology. Instead, practitioners were asking fundamental questions about the objective of data acquisition. Was the purpose of excavations to interpret historic sites to visitors, write the culture history of a site or group of people, or was archaeological excavation simply a landscape-scaled "handmaiden to history," used to extend the boundaries of other fields of research, such as early American history (Noël Hume 1964; Deagan 1982)? Eventually, this crisis was resolved when the purpose of archaeological excavations was deemed to be more anthropological than historical (South 1978; Deagan 1982, 1988). Although

historical archaeologists were accessing unique data by combining documentary with archaeological information, the "questions that count" were soon under debate (Honerkamp 1988).

During this early developmental phase in historical archaeology (circa 1930 to 1970), historic sites were often the unit of analysis in landscape studies. Site preservation was a major goal, with the dual purposes of gaining knowledge of the past and enhancing the tourism industry (Heath 2012). This stage of landscape archaeology is the foundation for modern archaeological study of vernacular landscapes.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the crisis of academic lineage of historical archaeology was largely resolved, although tendrils of insecurity remained visible within historical archaeologists' research designs and theoretical positions. Landscapes again became the focus of anthropological and geographical attention, although the scale of analysis needed to observe cultural interactions with the environment was under question: should archaeologists focus on the household, entire site (however defined), or predict cultural behavior in an entire region (Deagan 1988)? Processualism, or the "New Archaeology" of the 1960s and 1970s, approached exPlantations of culture with adherence to the scientific method in a quest to identify fundamental, universal laws of culture through objective, data- driven questions and quantitative methods.

Pattern recognition approaches of the 1970s, such as Stanley South's (1977) Brunswick, Carolina, and Frontier patterns of refuse disposal and Michael Schiffer's (1972) site formation process studies through archaeological and systemic contexts, represent early landscape approaches within historical archaeology. The questions that counted to them revolved around human-environment interaction, and subsequently, how archaeologists on a modern landscape interpret deposition of material culture on past landscapes. Similarly, processual archaeologists separated the cultural landscape from the natural landscape. The scale of landscapes that was to be analyzed during the "New Archaeology" phase was consistently under question. At what scale can one determine universal laws of culture?

Post-processual and postmodernist approaches rejected a core processualist notion: research guided by the scientific method leads to observable phenomena, and with enough data, patterns of the past become observable, and therefore knowable (Hicks and Beaudry 2006). The goal of early post-processualist archaeology was to systematically break apart assumed dichotomous relationships that were taken for granted or ignored in processualist archaeology (Shackel and Little 1992:6).

Postmodern interpretations of past human culture seek to understand how people experienced the past, in groups and individually, especially through analyses of symbolic interpretations with space. In the 1980s and 1990s, landscape

theory was increasingly and powerfully applied within historical archaeology, often focusing on gardens. Landscape approaches in postmodern archaeology acknowledged that landscapes were social and spatial accumulations of human interactions in the past. Researchers sought to understand how people negotiated past landscapes through historical ethnographies, material culture, and documentary data (Glassie 1975; Deetz 1977; Epperson 2001; DeCunzo 2002; Holtorf and Williams 2006).

Dell Upton (1988) conducted a landmark phenomenological study in which he compared ideological differences between how white and black people viewed the same spaces in colonial Virginia. He argued that white elites created and experienced their landscapes in a highly structured way–what he characterized as a processional landscape–in churches, judicial areas, and during elite social gatherings. Black landscapes, on the other hand, were segmented and experienced differently than enslaved people. For example, black landscapes were experienced on foot rather than horseback or carriage, from below rather than raised up. His study is significant because he displayed the mutivocality of landscapes while showing how different groups experience the same spaces as different places. How people interacted with space was a major research theme in studies of capitalism, colonialism, and identity, which later became ingrained in landscape theories.

## *CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE THEORY*

Common contemporary themes were identified by Nicole Branton (2009) in her review of landscape approaches in historical archaeology. She suggests five themes that have, historically, been major focal points of landscape archaeologists. These are: (1) gardens as formal landscapes; (2) spatiality of power relations; (3) place and identity; (4) archaeology and oral history; and (5) power and privacy.

In contrast to earlier approaches to spatial analyses of past peoples, garden archaeology studies how people physically manipulated the natural environment to create an entirely different landscape (Leone 1984; Gleason 1994, Kelso 1995; McKee 1996; Yentsch 1996; Leone et al. 2005; Heath 2010; Heath 2013; Heath 2016). Wendy Ashmore (2004) argues through a critical archaeological perspective that a physical location changes from an environment to a landscape once a person uses it. Furthermore, as illustrated by Delle (1999), certain aspects of plantation landscapes hold different meanings for different occupants.

Historical archaeological theory today often takes a critical theory approach to interpret past actions and reactions of agents in the development of the modern world. Critical archaeology, according to De Cunzo and Ernstein (2006) is a contextual critique in which the archaeologist is uniquely positioned to view systems of domination and surveillance that were expressed through garden and urban landscapes. Ideologies, expressed through these landscapes, are ways to legitimize the elite. Elite landowners manipulate the landscape to physically create

symbols of their power over man and nature to establish and maintain sociocultural and socioeconomic control (Leone 1984, 2010; Little 1994; DeCunzo and Ernstein 2006; McGuire 2008). Critical theorists such as Mark Leone and Paul Shackel, for example, study gardens and the built landscape to analyze how past landowners created forced perspectives to highlight elite status. For example, at Paca's Garden, a late 18th-century plantation in Annapolis, Maryland, owner William Paca used geometric principles to manipulate how visitors viewed the estate. Similarly, at Paca's Wye Island plantation, his slaves terraced the gardens and planted large plants on both sides of the garden perpendicular to the big house. The hedges converged at the edges of the house to create the perception of distance, which was more "trick than truth" (Leone et al. 2005:138). The study of controlled perspective and symbolism in historical gardens is often called upon in critical theorists' studies of how built landscapes created visual and symbolic messages of power and naturalize inequality (Leone 1977, 1984, 1986, 1988, 2010). Just as masking ideologies were materialized in colonial gardens, historic landscapes were sometimes also created for surveillance of enslaved peoples or lower classes. The panopticon model, for example, shows how planters built systems of power and towers of surveillance into the architecture of a plantation to reinforce subordination of the enslaved (Randle 2011:105). Studies such as these are strongly rooted in critical theory, seeking to unveil the masked ideologies that keep people locked in capitalist systems of

inequality. Studies based on the spatiality of power also seek to show how non-elites reacted to these systems of inequality both within and outside of designed landscapes.

The spatiality of power inherent in landscapes is focused on "social fault lines" posited by Koshiba and Bauer (2013) in which a geography of different social equalities is reflected spatially. Plantation and landowners are on high elevations, while people of lower status are physically lower than the elites, located on the fringes and less desirable areas. James A. Delle (1999) also created a model based on archaeological and historical data to argue that as time went on in coffee plantations in Jamaica, slaves and former slaves became more able to negotiate their landscape. During the earlier period, there were three types of gangs: the very young and very elderly, who trimmed hedges and did light landscaping tasks; domestic slaves, a larger proportion of which were women; and field workers. The settlements of each gang were located in different areas within the coffee plantation. Delle (1999) also determined that workers were allotted different provisions based on the kind of work performed. Over time, the enslaved people were able to negotiate with the planters what jobs they were to complete using spaces as a bargaining chip. In Caribbean models of slavery, planters were often absentee and gave slaves hilly, unworkable areas unsuitable for agriculture. Slaves, however, were able to plant crops for sustenance and also as a mechanism to change their assigned space into their own place. Delle (1999) argues that the

origins of an African Jamaican identity are in these class negotiations during slavery and emancipation, where enslaved people could barter with planters over their assigned job and space within the plantation.

More modern approaches to spatial systems of inequality take advantage of geospatial imaging and GIS processes such as viewshed analyses and predictive modeling. In a study of grand and petit marronage on a Caribbean island, Bo Ejstrud (2008) creates a predictive model to determine how slaves escaped plantations within an essentially closed plantation system. Ejstrud (2008) georeferenced a historical map of St. Croix and created GIS shapefiles of the location of each plantation, comparing the location and viewsheds between cultural landscapes and the environment. Digital Elevation Models (DEM) of the island's topography allowed the author to calculate essential environmental properties, such as slope and aspect that impact potential routes of travel, calculating the location of steep valleys and mountains that impede travel. The author also used a viewshed analyses to identify line-of-sight between the plantation owner and enslaved settlements. Finally, Ejstrud used a Bayesian-inspired regression formula, the Dempster-Schafer model, to determine possible locations that maroons would have escaped to, and the probability that they could be discovered by plantation operators. From these methods, Ejstrud (2008) was able to empirically show how runaway slaves could resist power.

Landscapes are usually defined by space and place, based on the definition by Tuan (1977) and expanded upon by Branton (2009). Space and place, in modern historical archaeology, are the guiding principles of landscape approaches. Heath and Bennett (2000) argue that a house should not be considered independent of its yardscape, as although they were used differently, they were both part of the same whole–people were not only acting within a yard or within a home, a focus of Fairbanks' "backyard archaeology" approach. Studies of space and place have helped to move historical archaeologists beyond the structure and into areas like yards where much historical activity took place (Agbe-Davies 2007; Fesler 2010; Heath 2010; Wilkins 2017).

The fourth modern theoretical approach to historical landscapes ties place to memory–landscapes have the power to guide present and future populations in their remembrance of a certain place or event (Heath and Lee 2008). Often, landscapes of monumentality come at an expense to others. These physical statements about some part of the past are created for ideological purposes. However, by focusing on the memorialization of people and events through monuments, a small section of that past is remembered. Michael Blakey in New York City, for example, was involved with the creation of the African Burial Ground National Monument, calling upon everyone who sees such a monument to remember past injustices and work for a better, more unified future (Blakey 1998).

The final perspective of landscapes focuses on the cognitive aspects of a place. Studies within this perspective typically focus on phenomenology, experience, identity, and gendered landscapes (DeCunzo et al. 2006; Holtorf and Williams 2006). Similarly, Tim Ingold (2010) regards the physical landscape as conceptually boundless, capable of going as far as the mind of the agent–or the mind of the interpreter–allows. Ingold (2010) adopts concepts of practice theory from Bourdieu to define landscapes, stating that the habitual repetition of action and thought creates the world that we are living in. To Ingold (2010), the culture landscape is not, nor has it ever been, stagnant; rather, a landscape is a vista of past and present interaction, thought, and action that is representative of a built set of endless and repeating subjective experiences. The antithesis of the abstract concept of space is found in the knot of places, the lattice of entanglements that are created by the known, observed, and experienced. These places are defined by the act of movement rather than the interface of spaces and places (Ingold 2010:34).

A postmodern landscape could then be defined as the intersection of space and place in which agents interact socially and culturally with an environment that has been manipulated by humans. Permanent manipulation and change, however, are abstract concepts, and also a point of conflict within postmodern approaches to understanding landscapes. According to Muir (1999), who links the diversity of postmodern approaches to cultural landscapes, landscapes are the external world

mediated through human experience in which experimental, creative, and practical aspects of human and environmental relations are emphasized rather than simply the objectified and mechanical. Above all, landscapes viewed through critical theory are a subjective social product.

Landscape theory in historical archaeology is growing in ubiquity within the field. This set of approaches can seamlessly combine documentary, archaeological, and geospatial information to play to the strengths of both landscape studies and archaeology. This approach also encourages, and perhaps even requires, multidisciplinary perspectives and methods, enhancing collaborative efforts between disciplines like archaeology, sociology, geography, and architectural history. Finally, technological advances are growing at an incredibly rapid rate, and in ways that will change the nature of archaeological thought and practice.

## *PLANTATION ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE GEORGIA COAST*

Anthropological plantation archaeology began on the Georgia coast in 1968 with Charles Fairbanks' (1974) study of the tabby slave cabins of the Kingsley Plantation, Fort Georgia Island, Florida. Fairbanks shifted academic attention away from the Big House and onto the slave cabins (Fairbanks 1974). Almost simultaneous with the rise of the New Archaeology, Charles Fairbanks applied hard scientific methods steeped in processualist approaches to a different kind of research question. Instead of using empirical logic to define laws of cultures,

Fairbanks sought answers to humanistic questions about the life of the enslaved, asking the readers of Ascher and Fairbanks (1971) to imagine the sights and smells of an enslaved settlement. Although plantations had previously been the center of academic attention, Fairbanks shifted the trajectory of historical archaeology into one that honored the disenfranchised. According to Theresa Singleton, one of his students, Charles Fairbanks provided the catalyst for the development of "African American archaeology [as] more than a moral mission or the study of ethnicity. It is a study of the historical and cultural processes that made the African experience unique in the Americas" (Singleton 1999:17).

The activism in the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s combined with new federal and state regulation of cultural resources was the genesis of much of the foundational work in plantation archaeology (Ferguson 1992:xxxv-xxxix; Singleton 1995:120-121; Agbe-Davies 2007; Honerkamp 2009; Heath 2012). At this point in plantation archaeology, Singleton (1999:1) argues that the first studies of African American archaeology were spurred on by a moral mission to use material culture to tell the story of those forgotten in history–the poor and powerless, left on the periphery of most histories (Asher 1974:11; Deetz 1977:138; Fairbanks 1974:62; Singleton 1999:1; Honerkamp 2009:1).

Otto, a student of Fairbanks, again shifted the trajectory of plantation archaeology with his study at Cannon's Point Plantation, St. Simon's Island, Georgia (Otto 1975, 1977, 1980, 1984). Otto was heavily influenced by the pattern

recognition approaches of South and by Eugene Genovese's (1974) Marxist-inspired interpretations of plantation life. Following an explicit research design, Otto (1975, 1977) examined class, including race as a variable, within plantations by holding status (planter, overseer, slave) constant while comparing the material culture of each status group, focusing on ceramic and faunal assemblages. Questions were based on pattern recognition strategies to understand life on a plantation through a Southian deducto-interpretive model. Otto used a pattern recognition approach to investigate how cultural differences between the rich Euro-American planter, mid- or lower-class Euro-American overseer, and poor enslaved African populations used material culture differently.

In a study following the pattern recognition approach championed by Otto, Sue Moore examined social structure within plantations. Focusing on three nineteenth-century plantations on St. Simon's Island—Pike's Bluff, Sinclair, and Hampton Point—Moore (1985) examined the effect that the economic status of the plantation owner had on the enslaved population. She considered three sizes of plantations, categorized by number of slaves: fewer than 20 enslaved people, 20 to 100 enslaved people, and a plantation with more than 100 enslaved people, finding that there were significant differences in the quality of life of enslaved people based on the economy of the planter. Using functional artifact categories based on South's methodology compared with regional samples from Cannon's Point Plantation, Butler Island Plantation, and Kingsley Plantation, Moore determined

that enslaved people at large plantations had fewer material goods but higher quality of life, as measured from the quality and price of ceramics. Conversely, enslaved people at smaller plantations had smaller quantities of the more expensive flatware and instead more annular and transfer-printed hollowwares were identified from middens excavated at smaller plantations. Her conclusions were correctly identified as problematic by Adams and Boling (1989) however, who pointed out that the quality or expense of ceramics do not correlate to quality of life for an individual. Enslaved people may have had access to external markets and used ceramics as a way to signal their self-identified status to a community, for example (Galle 2010).

Similar to Moore's (1985) study of the relationship between status and material goods, William Adams and Sarah Boling (1989) examined slave status, measured by categorizing status of a plantation by the number of enslaved people at that plantation, at three Georgia coastal plantations via ceramic quality as measured with Miller's (1980) CC Index of values of economic scaling and classification for English ceramics dating from 1787 to 1880.They examined ceramic assemblages from enslaved contexts from King's Bay Plantation, Cherry Point Plantation, and Harmony Hall Plantation to determine that slave status can be inferred from ceramics, provided that a large comparative dataset is available. At some plantations, enslaved people had more expensive ceramics than even the

plantation owners, indicating that enslaved people on coastal plantations had access to external markets and an income (Adams and Boling 1989:94).

The plantations studied in Fairbanks's (1971, 1974, 1984), Otto's (1975, 1978, 1980, 1984), Moore's (1985), and Adams' and Boling's (1989) research were primarily cotton plantations. In her dissertation research on Butler Island, Theresa Singleton (1980) compared the lifeways of people living at rice and cotton plantations on Georgia coastal plantations, specifically those owned by Pierce Butler. Singleton (1980:xiii) observed differences between rice and cotton plantations in "community organization, the natural resources exploited, and slave crafts," suggesting that differences in the lifeways of the enslaved are due to different environments in which Sea Island cotton and rice were produced, or perhaps were a result of different management practices necessary for the two cash crops. Gang labor was generally used for the production of rice, whereas task labor systems were more common at coastal cotton plantations.

Processualist pattern-oriented studies proliferated throughout historical and plantation archaeology, especially on the Georgia coast, but by the late 1980s few of the proposed patterns had actually been reproduced. Furthermore, artifacts that were used to build middle range theory were from a single site, but the patterns were to be applied to a range of comparable sites with cultural similarities. As more archaeological sites were excavated with the purpose of large-scale pattern recognition, breaks in the pattern-recognition chain became visible. While the tests

used to identify patterns and create models of past cultures were reproducible and statistically and scientifically sound, results identified from the New Archaeology approach were rarely reproducible (South 1977; Moore 1980; Otto 1984; Orser 1989).

In a landmark paper in reaction to the pattern-based inquiry on the Georgia coast by Otto (1984) and Moore (1985), Charles Orser (1989) argued that the time had passed for a pattern recognition approach because so few of the patterns that had been proposed were reproducible. Orser shifted the trajectory of plantation archaeology to the analysis of power and economics instead of status and class as Otto (1984) and Moore (1985) had done (Orser 1988, 1989). In contrast to Otto (1984), Orser (1989) argued that plantations are not microcosms of the larger regional and global systems and cannot be treated as such. Instead, a more critical reading of the historical record and acknowledgement of the power imbalances in plantations were more important research avenues. Orser further argued that Otto and Moore had poor temporal control in their plantation patterns because they took a diachronic methodological approach to analyze synchronic data. Orser also critiqued Moore and Otto for following South's pattern recognition approach, sending a word of caution to plantation archaeologists. He argued that if scholars follow the methods of another archaeologist, they are also following his or her theoretical perspective, as methods are always informed by theory. Orser critiqued South's pick-and-choose approach to facets of outdated anthropological theories

like culture history and structuralism. Orser showed the reductionist and largely atheoretical logic behind South's pattern recognition approach.

Archaeology of the African diaspora is one of the major emphases that grew from plantation research, emerging from Merrick Posnansky's call for a diasporic approach to understanding the lives of the enslaved (Posnansky 1984). As early as the mid to late 1970s, archaeologists like South (1974) were making connections between pottery identified in enslaved contexts in South Carolina and pottery in Nigeria and Ghana. Similar connections were being drawn by archaeologists working on Caribbean plantation sites on Antigua, Jamaica, and St. Croix, for example, seeing certain styles of Caribbean pottery as African "survivals" or "retentions" (Handler 1964; Mathewson 1972; Gartley 1979; Ebanks 1984). Since then, the study of the African diaspora has become increasingly global, responding to Orser's (1989) critiques that American history did not occur in a vacuum, and that globalism and capitalism must be prominent themes in literature of the African diaspora.

Ogundiran and Falola (2007) emphasize the need for studies of the diaspora to be truly global in perspective and interpretation. Common themes and interpretative frameworks since the 1990s that are still prominent center on understanding maroon and emancipated communities; globalization of capitalism as a catalyst for the slave trade; daily plantation life including housing and foodways; African cultural retentions; questions of domination and resistance

(usually from a critical theory perspective) that include themes of power and surveillance; the process and result of culture change; and cultural and ethnic identity (Bell 2010; Gijianto and Horlings 2012).

Beginning in 2006, James Davidson has followed research started by Fairbanks, Otto, Moore, and McFarlaine at the Kingsley Plantation and Cannon's Point Plantation. After a lag in scholarship on the coast, Davidson (2014, 2015; Davidson and McIlvoy 2012) reviewed Fairbanks' research at Kingsley Plantation and Suzanne McFarlaine's (1975) and John Otto's (1975, 1977, 1980, 1984) research at Cannon's Point Plantation to reanalyze cultural materials that might have religious or cultural significance related to a person's or group's past in Africa. Unlike plantation archaeologists of the 1970s and 1980s, Davidson argues that enslaved people brought few materials with them from Africa, so archaeologists should instead take a more symbolic and contextual approach to search for African cultural retentions. Davidson (2014, 2015; Davidson and McIlvoy 2012) takes a global perspective to contextualize artifacts he argues are inherently symbolic of certain African traditions rather than Otto's (1975, 1977, 1980, 1984), Moore's (1985), and McFarlaine's (1975) pattern recognition approach to understanding daily lives of the enslaved.

Since the 1990s, concepts of spirituality and symbolism have proliferated in historical archaeology. Researchers along the east coast have increasingly identified spirit bundles, and Bakongo cosmograms that are interpreted as

materials embodying and conveying certain aspects of cultural identity and spirituality of the enslaved (Ferguson 1978, 1992; Leone and Fry 1999; Fennell 2003, 2007; Leone 2014). Even mundane objects with no modifications have been assigned spiritual status based simply on their proximity to or within a slave cabin (Davidson 2014). Materials commonly associated with African strategies for coping with enslavement include objects such as blue beads, pierced coins, spoon handles, raccoon baccula, and iron concretions (Singleton 1990, 1991, 1995; Samford 1996; Leone and Fry 1999; Galloway 2006; Heath and Breen 2009).

Although a less prominent feature of more recent plantation archaeology on the Georgia coast, studies of architecture and housing on plantations have perhaps received the most scholarly attention of all the material culture associated with slavery (Wheaton and Garrow 1983; Vlach 1993; Ellis and Ginsburg 2010; Singleton 2010). Archaeologists, architectural historians, geographers, historians, and folklorists combine above- and below-ground spatial, artistic, material, ethnographic, and documentary evidence to understand the physical makeup of domestic structures and the social implications of their layout and use (Asher and Fairbanks 1971; Wheaton and Garrow 1983; Adams 1990; Vlach 1993; Singleton 2010). Despite such a long-term research focus of slave housing among these disciplines, little is known about perishable organic materials used in the Georgia lowcountry such as thatched roofing or wooden walls, floors, and supports, creating a bias towards easy-to-identify above ground tabby architecture. Slave

housing in the colonial and antebellum lowcountry varied extensively because of variables such as time of construction, location of the plantation, and placement of the quarters in plantation space, but this variation remains poorly understood from an archaeological perspective.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, themes of acculturation and creolization were used on the Georgia and South Carolina coast to examine and explain architectural and material results of interaction between African and Euro-Americans. Wheaton and Garrow (1985) recovered evidence of African-styled houses in South Carolina, one of which was a cob walled structure with a porch, at Yaughan and Curiboo Plantations in South Carolina.[1] The structure was identified on the plantation in one of the earliest occupation areas at the plantation. The authors hypothesize that as life on the plantation evolved to become more rigid, the housing and material assemblages of the enslaved populations became more European (Joseph 1989, 1993). In addition, the makeup of the material refuse shifted from a high percentage of handmade African colonoware to lower percentages of low-fired colonoware but high frequencies of refined earthenwares.

[1] Other researchers, such as Carl Steen (1999) have argued that the housing is based on French, not African architecture.

Wheaton and Garrow (1985) interpreted this shift as a material product of acculturation of slaves into Euro-American culture.

Even though their study was groundbreaking because of the archaeological identification of an African styled cob wall, since their study, acculturation has come under fire for being Eurocentric and reductionist. Penningroth (2003) when analyzing kinship systems, convincingly addresses inherent issues with acculturation. Namely, studies of acculturation are synchronic, unidirectional, and complete, when the processes of change are inherently diachronic and ongoing systems of multi-directional change. Further, studies of acculturation assume uniformity within slave communities as well as assuming collaborative and community-based economies rather than individualism. Acculturation models do not acknowledge the role that all parties have on affecting change while assuming homogeneity of causes and results of agent's actions. Instead, historians and archaeologists must cease to assume shared relationships and perspectives within enslaved communities.

According to Lightfoot (1995:206), the nature of these multiethnic and multidimensional plantation societies led to complex changes in social environments. Instead of explaining social change via acculturation, plantation archaeologists began to examine creolization as a method of change. According to Singleton (1995:5), who references Ferguson (1992:xlii), creolization is, "a process involving multicultural interaction and exchange that produces new

cultural forms." In contrast to acculturation, creolization allowed for African American agency in adapting to and producing new dynamic cultural environments. Modern research on the Georgia coast has sought to follow up on Wheaton and Garrow (1983) and will be discussed in the next section.

*THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: POWER TO RESIST ENSLAVEMENT*

Drawing on landscape and diaspora archaeology broadly and building on previous archaeological work in Georgia, specifically the work of Crook and Honerkamp on Sapelo Island, in this dissertation, I define the geometric and geographical properties of enslaved spaces on a variety of plantations to explore how and why lowcountry plantations were so different from one another, even when they existed for the same purpose, grew the same products, in the same environment, by planters who had similar political and economic connections. Three central questions of my research are: how the experiences of plantation owners differed due to such divergent spaces; did the experiences of enslaved people differ; and to what degree was that difference caused by constraints imposed by the plantation owner?

To interpret the enslaved settlements of the Georgia coast, I rely on themes of power as defined by Foucault (1976) as a "multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate" and resistance therefore being dependent upon multiple acts, points, or concepts in the discourse of defiance. This concept of a resistance as a multiplicity of thoughts, actions, and materials

was further developed by Camp (2004), who argued against previous notions of dualistic relationships, actions, and events on plantations. Instead, while seeking to explain the many roles that enslaved women employed to resist their enslavement, Camp also unpacks the overt and more often very covert ways that enslaved women played a key role in systems of resistance to plantations owners' displays of power.

Although I do not interpret the materiality of resistance, I do argue for the empowerment of enslaved people via resistance. While enslaved people were, by definition, constrained, they were the most essential component of any plantation, significant and critical to its success. Therefore, small acts, such as moving slowly, "misunderstanding" planter or overseer instructions, breaking tools, forgetting necessary items at the house—those forms of resistance that did not disrupt the institution of slavery—were simultaneously ways in which enslaved people navigated their confinement and acted symbolically in displays of empowerment.

Such acts of resistance did not often produce material affects. Because the covert nature of everyday resistance was nearly or completely undetectable by plantation owners and managers who were living and working in concert with these actions, these small but significant forms of resistance are often indirect and therefore undetectable archaeologically. I argue instead that, for now, these actions and their material products (if there were any) are not easily observed with the archaeological datasets with which I engage—a subset of the people enslaved at

the Sapelo Plantation during the early years of the plantation. Their participation in the Igbo Landing Rebellion indicates that there was certainly resistance to enslavement.

Power relations inform the use and construction of spaces and places, which is especially informative in plantation contexts: boundaries and access to certain kinds of places within a plantation landscape are critical variables in defining neighborhoods and communities. Communities defined by individual and group identities are necessarily fluid, dynamic, and ever-changing (Kaye 2007). The fluidity of a group identity is reflective of the daily life of an enslaved person.

### *MATERIALITY AND MALLEABILITY OF PLANTATION SPACES*

Said, who aligned his theoretical position with Foucault, argued in his 1978 work *Orientalism* that "ideas, cultures, and histories cannot be seriously understood or studied without their force, or more precisely, their configurations of power" (Said 1978:1-2). In a plantation setting, the landscapes that people occupied were a physical manifestation of inherent power imbalances. Landscapes, though made with intention by one group of people, were observed by many people in an infinite number of ways. Each activity undertaken by a person changed their perception of their personal cultural landscape—a change that does not necessarily result in a changed landscape or the production of a material.

Plantation landscapes are nested into a whole; observed by no two people as the same, though materially enabling similar activities, products, and alterations. Rapoport (1990:9-20), for example, views these nested landscapes from tangible points, organized by fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed features, such as buildings and walkways. This distinction is useful for the present research, because I argue that landscapes are malleable in reality and in an abstract sense. The abstract cultural landscape, to Rappaport (1990) is characterized by non-fixed features, or behaviors. The real landscape, with what were fixed points that connected the multiple layers of a landscape, georeferenced by the researcher, in a sense, through time and space, is approached through the archaeological data presented in later chapters.

In this dissertation, I adapt the language presented by Rappaport (1990:9-20) and integrate that terminology into terms of spaces and places. As discussed by Ingold (2010), the language of space and place appears quite dualistic, when in reality, perceptions of and actions to landscapes were really quite a continuum. By integrating a nested and overlapping view of the multiple modalities of spaces and places on plantation landscapes—a situation of very many overlapping, evolving, and of course, moving cogs of landscape styles, archaeologists can acknowledge the broad and powerful influence of perception. Table 1 presents a summary of the language that I have adapted here.

The purpose of the present research is to accept the multiplicity of experiences that enslaved people may have had within the cultural space of a landscape and to archaeologically identify the location of Rapoport's "fixed features" (for example buildings, floors, walls) in which these experiences

Table 1. Landscape Terms

| | |
|---|---|
| Space | Insignificant or culturally "empty" area to the participant/observer |
| Non-Fixed Feature | Abstract cultural landscape that is the focal point of thoughts, feelings, and reactions that may evolve into action. Associated with "neutral" landscape features like roads and paths that call for movement and transition from one landscape to another. |
| Semi-Fixed Feature | A temporary structure or feature meant to be observed and used by a select group, such as an impermanent landscape feature like clay-based housing or praise-houses. |
| Fixed Feature | A permanent landscape fixture meant to be observed by all actors on the landscape and communicate the agenda of another. |
| Place | "constructed meaning of space through individual experiences, memories, and the specificity of landscape" Heath 2010:159. |

occurred. This then allows a fuller concept of the places that enslaved people may have experienced and negotiated on the Sapelo Plantation. Furthermore, Soja's (1989) concept of Thirdspace, or the epistemological conception of the materiality of human existence in Lefebvre's (1991) "lived space," guide my interpretations of enslaved negotiations that were the catalyst for different place-making activities within pre-defined spaces at the Sapelo Plantation. He argues that "the spatio-temporal structuring of social life defines how social action and relationship

(including class relations) are materially constituted, made concrete" (Soja 1989:129). Furthermore, Soja (1989) uses these concepts to also interpret how social actions and consistent practices recursively define meanings to those cultural spaces.

The theoretical paradigm employed in this research focuses on the spatial relationships of past peoples and the areas they occupy. Cultural landscapes are divided between spaces and places (Branton 2008; Heath 2010). Following Soja's (1989) thesis in *Postmodern Geographies*, I argue that the construction of spaces and negotiations of places shaped geography, and likewise, cultural geographies were a powerful shaper of spaces and places. History has often given primacy to the social rather than spatial, and landscape theory in archaeology relies on the concepts of spaces and places alongside past material culture to shift the focus of interpretation to the spatial.

How, then, did the rival geographies differ at plantations within the Georgia lowcountry, for we know that "American slavery was, above all, a system of economic exploitation, racial formation, and racial domination that, when studied in a broad geographic range, reveals strong continuities as well as differences" (Camp 2004:8)? What landscape did the planter see when the slave was in a field working? What landscape did an enslaved person see of the planter's garden or home? How did these divergent conditions, specifically the architecture of enslaved settlements, influence how enslaved people negotiated and

communicated rival places, namely quarters, to planters and overseers? How did these groups view the same spaces on a plantation landscape so very differently, and what was the material result of those observations? To interpret divergent plantation landscapes and enslaved settlements on the Georgia coast, I focus on two themes that intersect at Behavior and Bush Camp Field settlements: the power of the enslaved people to covertly resist enslavement; and the materiality of plantation space.

## *RIVAL GEOGRAPHIES OF GEORGIA'S ENSLAVED PLANTATION LANDSCAPES*

My interpretation of enslaved landscapes is grounded in the concept of rival geographies, a term coined by Edward Said and popularized by historian Stephanie Camp. A rival geography is "an alternative way of knowing and using plantation and southern space that conflicted with planters' ideals and demands" (Camp 2004:7). While Said (1993) used rival geographies to describe resistance to colonial occupation in the Eastern world, Camp (2004:7) adapted the phrase for the antebellum south of the United States, "where the challenge for enslaved people was not one of dispossession but of mobility in the face of constraint." Rival geographies are characterized by the mobility that certain spaces—such as woods and swamps that were rarely patrolled by overseers and planters, and buildings like quarters and outbuildings, where enslaved people could create a sort of temporary place. Although rival geographies provided enslaved people with a

form of resistance and a space of privacy, they did not provide them with fully autonomous spaces; rather, these geographies gave enslaved people a degree of control over their bodies and spaces they occupied.

New scholarship in history, anthropology, and archaeology has disproven scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s that often claimed that slave owners controlled all spaces and places within plantation boundaries; enslaved people were able to reshape the spaces they were assigned in both implicit and explicit ways (Fesler 2010:29). Often, the reshaping of spaces by the enslaved was not a physical change to the landscape, but rather a change in the meaning of a certain space. Questions shaped by geospatial landscape theory allow archaeologists to integrate large scale geodata, such as LiDAR and environmental shapefiles, with information obtained through historical maps and archaeological excavation within the context of a Geographical Information System (GIS). The integration of historical and modern multi-disciplinary information allows for comparative analyses between historical enslaved landscapes from different time periods, locations, and cultural contexts to address the variation of landscape uses in plantation contexts. Analyses of settlement and micro-regional scales within the Georgia barrier islands makes it possible to provide insights on such topics as enslaved identity, the intersection of resistance and autonomy, group formation and maintenance, and the material culture of enslaved communities (Yaeger and Canuto 2000:1-2).

Historical archaeology of the Georgia lowcountry can contribute most strongly to a broader understanding of the African diaspora by readdressing fundamental questions about daily life in a plantation settlement. With the ever-increasing global perspective, plantation archaeology of the lowcountry can build more dynamic interpretations to help counter known inaccuracies in the documentary record and to contribute new types of data about living conditions and negotiations between planters and the enslaved such as are demonstrated by the discovery of non-tabby architecture.

Plantation archaeology of the Georgia lowcountry can also help historians and archaeologists to interpret the global nature of the Atlantic slave trade while simultaneously contributing to larger theoretical discussions in historical archaeology. For example, the research that has been conducted to date on African-inspired structures on American plantations (Wheaton and Garrow 1983; Crook 2008) has attributed these architectural styles to acculturation and creolization. By studying the broader historical context and nuanced cultural factors that formed these antebellum plantation landscapes, archaeologists can better address biases in plantation archaeology to build a more holistic explanation for both the mundane and the unique aspects of the material record.

# CHAPTER 3: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE ANTEBELLUM DEVELOPMENT OF GEORGIA'S LOWCOUNTRY BARRIER ISLANDS

Colonial and antebellum Georgia were unique. Different from the other twelve colonies in place and purpose, the "runt of the mainland American colonies" was envisioned as a utopia for its British colonial inhabitants and simultaneously as a buffer zone between colonial forces in Spanish Florida and the British Carolinas (Wood 1995:7). Georgia's unusual development, however, led to a unique combination of influences that impacted the culture of post-Revolution Georgia. Lowcountry plantation owners were located in an isolated frontier. Nonetheless, these planters maintained strong global connections through Caribbean trade networks and British merchants. Enslaved people especially had global ties: they or their ancestors had been forcibly removed from their homelands in Africa, sold at African ports to Portuguese, Danish, French, or British slave traders, then shipped across the Atlantic Ocean to plantations and other places of forced labor in the New World. This chapter focuses on Biafrans and Igbo, who were themselves or their descendants often sent to the Georgia lowcountry, in the area that is now the southern half of the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor.

Many of the enslaved people that eventually worked in the lowcountry began either as slaves in the Caribbean or, like Silah and Bilali Mohammed of St. Simon's and Sapelo Islands, and experienced life in Africa, the Caribbean, and the

Georgia lowcountry. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight some of those inter-continental Atlantic World connections. Although many enslaved people did not come to the New World with things, they carried instead memories and traditions of places they or their ancestors experienced first hand. Here, I select examples from the Bight of Biafra and Caribbean that were reminiscent of the African wattle and tabby daub housing found on Sapelo Island.

Examples were chosen based on their connection to both the enslaved people and slave owners of Sapelo Island primarily, and to a lesser degree of nearby islands. Though not always direct comparisons, I attempt to find correlations between people and place, for example, connections between the plantation owners who sold Thomas Spalding the cotton seeds that catalyzed the burgeoning American market for Long Staple Sea-Island cotton. However, the further back in time and the more spatially displaced from the lowcountry, the looser the correlation. Therefore, while discussions of connections between lowcountry Georgia plantations and Caribbean sugar plantations may be relatively direct, discussions of Igbo architecture, for example, are quite broad both spatially and temporally. In this discussion, I am as transparent as possible when I make broad conclusions and comparisons between the Bight of Biafra and Georgia, USA. Likewise, though wattle and plastered slave quarters have been archaeologically defined on many Caribbean islands, I focus on those places that

may have had direct correspondence, slave trades, or business dealings with the lowcountry plantations I study here.

Biafran and Igbo peoples in Africa and in colonies and plantations overseas have interconnected histories, identities, and ethnicities. African memories and practices of traditions, materials, languages, religions, ethnicities, and cultures crossed the Atlantic with captive diasporic peoples on their way to chattel slavery in the Americas. These global ties created a vibrant and curious tapestry of antebellum life on the Georgia Sea Islands, woven from threads of multiple histories that appear, on the surface, quite disconnected.

This chapter will explore three narratives, each taking place at increasingly narrow spatial scales and later temporal slices. By beginning with a very broad focus on the Atlantic World, starting in West Africa, then narrowing to the Caribbean, this chapter explores antebellum lowcountry plantation landscapes with a focus on wattle and daub architectural styles. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the movement of people and their ideas across the Atlantic Ocean, from the Caribbean islands, and to the Georgia lowcountry. As the scale of analysis decreases the resolution of data increases.

## *THE ATLANTIC WORLD*

Historical archaeologists in the Americas are working to better understand the global ties that were created because of the slave trade (Farnsworth 2001; Orser 2010; Ogundiran and Falola 2010:5-9; Heath 2017). Multi-scalar changes

that occurred during and as a result of the trans-Atlantic slave trade are best understood contextually by examining cultural, linguistic, racial and ethnic experiences on both sides of the Atlantic—Africa and the Americas (Lovejoy and Trotman 2003:1; Ogundiran and Falola 2010).

In 1524, the first people were brought from Africa to Brazil under Portuguese sail, beginning the trans-Atlantic slave trade. During this period of diaspora and movement of goods, Africans were captured or traded in their homelands to be sold into slavery in return for money, spices, rum, cloth, or other material goods. In a time span of four hundred years, approximately 13 million enslaved diasporic Africans arrived in the Americas as a result of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Lovejoy and Trotman 2003:9). European- and American-sponsored human trafficking of Africans across the Atlantic Ocean began in the sixteenth century and lasted through the 1860s, although the majority of kidnapped and enslaved peoples migrated between 1680 and 1840 (Lovejoy and Trotman 2003:9). Europeans acquired vast regions of the Americas for production of raw goods, namely sugar, cotton, and tobacco. These crops were planted, grown, and processed by imported African slaves. As demand for these materials grew in Europe, so too did the demand for enslaved laborers. The exponential growth of the demand for African slaves in the Americas is illustrated through the growing ratio of enslaved Africans to free Europeans in the Caribbean at the height of the trans-Atlantic slave trade: in the 1790s, five Africans were being shipped to the

Americas for every European colonist—90% of the population in the Caribbean was enslaved (Davis 2006:1).

The trans-Atlantic slave trade was a catalyst for world-wide exchange of goods, ideas, and people. During the 364 years of its legal existence, global political, economic, and cultural systems were forming and solidifying into a far-flung system of global exchange. Industrialization was simultaneously arising, further changing the ways that people of a multiplicity of ethnicities, nationalities, and classes used and traded material goods. Furthermore, the inhuman trans-Atlantic slave trade tore apart communities and families, predominately across West and Central Africa, and scattered them worldwide. By using archaeological data, written documents, oral histories, and ethnographic accounts, archaeologists seek to more adequately untangle questions of the impact of African participation in the Atlantic economy, understand how merchants and leaders in Africa shaped the global market, and trace the consequences of African enslavement on the cultures, peoples, and places in the Atlantic world. The following discussion focuses on the area of eastern Nigeria, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, western Gabon and the offshore islands historically known as the Bight of Biafra to examine African Igbo history. This foundation will facilitate discussion and interpretation of modern-day oral histories of people on Sapelo Island and the surrounding areas of the Georgia lowcountry.

The caveat for the next section, heeding the warnings of Northrup (2000), is that the observations of Igbo practice that follow are very general. Igbo ethnic and linguistic groups are vast and cannot be simply averaged into a single cluster of cultural attributes. Despite the fact that 17th to 19th-century histories and archaeologies of the Igbo and other groups in the Bight of Biafra are still emerging, the risk of over-simplifying is less than the risk of not including this information at all. The following section also spans a wide time period—from the 16th century before the trans-Atlantic slave trade through British colonialism of Nigeria in the early 20th century. While this is certainly not an ideal temporal range of analysis, it affords the opportunity to take advantage of travel diaries, journals, and letters that discuss Igbo architectural styles, including those that are stylistically and materially comparable to antebellum slave quarters in Georgia.

As Dike (1956:45-46) so eloquently states, "Perhaps the overriding genius of the Ibos, Ibibios, Ijaws, Ekoi, and Efiks and their political institutions lay in their extraordinary powers of adaptability–powers which they displayed time and time again in the nineteenth century and throughout the period of the Atlantic slave trade in the face of the constantly changing economic needs of Europe." The remainder of the present chapter will trace the historical adaptability of these groups, focusing on those who maintain an Igbo ethnic identity in the New World, but beginning with a discussion of the roots of Igbo religion, architecture, and landscapes in West Africa.

Even though the overall population size of the Bight of Biafra region was large, there was never a state-level society there as there was with the Ashanti Empire or the Kingdom of Congo. Rather, there were many small-scale village-based economies which included about 150 ethnic groups, and the same number of linguistic groups. Igbo forged and displayed their identities on materials in the village, especially through art on the walls of buildings and clay walls that enclosed a village enclave.

Just prior to the first European arrival to West Africa in the early 16th century, Africans in the Bight of Biafra were undergoing major cultural changes. These cultures included the Igbo, Ijo, and Ibibio, although there were many factions within each major ethnicity and culture (Isichei 1973,1976; Chambers 2002, 2006, 2014). Early colonial African traders in the Bight of Biafra took advantage of hard-to-navigate mangrove swamps and creeks. These internal trade routes prevented more large-scale European settlements in the Niger Delta region. Because the Portuguese were primarily traders, not enslavers at this early point in European contact in Africa, many pre-colonial Igbo cultural traits persisted despite internal social upheaval (Morgan 2016:82; Njoku 2016:124).

## *IGBO LANDSCAPES OF SPATIAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION (c. AD 1500-1800)*

Igbo people lived in dispersed compounds within large villages of up to 5,000 people (Chukwu 2011). Villages were ruled by a council composed of elder

age grades, patrilineal heads of compounds, and especially wealthy and influential men (Green 1947; Aniakor 1978:49-51). Igbo communities were communal and often bore the names of their gods, a practice called theophany, depending on deities for favors and protection (Chukwu 2011:7-8). Chukwu (2011) identified two major themes of Igbo society: religion and community. These primary aspects of Igbo culture were expressed architecturally in *ama*, or public quarters, and *ezi*, or kindred villages. Villages were composed of many walled compounds dispersed throughout the forest. Compounds were clusters of huts belonging to the same patrilineage. Each compound belonged to and was managed by a patriarch; men were polygamous in Igbo society, so each man was responsible for building multiple huts within his compound for his wives and children (Chukwu 2011:7). In contrast to Western emphases on controlling nature through closed architecture, compounds in Igbo architecture emphasized a balance of the *pronaos* and *naos*, or open and closed elements (Hall 2016).

Although the physical layout of structures within compounds varied between villages, domestic architecture was similar. Wilson (1904:44) described the houses as built of "thatched roofs and clay walls–the latter acquired by dint of daily polishing, the gloss and hardness of marble. The houses are kept beautifully rubbed with mud till they shine like stone, patterns being painted in bright red, yellow, and black." Equiano Olaudah, an Igbo man captured and sold as a slave, described Igbo community settlements as "small, self-contained villages…ruled

by elders or chiefs" (Equiano 2003:70-71). Equiano noted the landholdings of a rich family that owned slaves. The large, square property was surrounded by a moat. Inside the moat was a two-roomed building made of "red earth tempered…as hard as a brick" (Equiano 2003:74).

Because of the omnipresence of Igbo deities, the process of building and the form of structures were often more important than the built architecture itself (Ikebude 2009:27). Chukwu (2011:7-9) argues that Igbo architecture was created to reflect components of a cave environment as homage to Igbo ancestors. Like caves, most villages were organized as branches from a circular center. Compounds were also circular, oval, or semi-circular, enclosed within a hardened red clay or mud wall with a single entry and exit point. The structures themselves were made of locally available mud or clay, both a mixture of clay and sand or clay and sandy loam (Chukwu 2011:8). Materials were usually obtained during the rainy season because it was easier to collect the softer source material. Once enough clay or mud was collected from nearby stream beds the material was left to "puddle," or be stored, until some of the water evaporated from the source clay (Chukwu 2011:8). Chukwu (2011:9) estimates that during the dry season, which was a more common time to actually build, it would take only a single week for the total construction of two rooms and a parlor–a common building layout. Walls were usually from 40 to 60 centimeters thick, but of variable wall lengths. Women decorated the walls of the compound and huts with icons and symbols made of

red, black, and white clay slip, often drawing circular decorations and also planetary, musical, and animal motifs (Ikebude 2009:33-34).

Roofs of the common "thatch house" were usually pitched. The roof supports were made of woven bamboo poles, then woven again with palm fronds. Upon completion, the roof was literally hooked to the dried mud house. After the skeleton structure of the conical roof was attached to the house, thatching took place. Most commonly palm leaves or pill-grasses were woven into the roof framing then tied down with palm or raffia (Chukwu 2011:9-10).

As the Igbo gradually transitioned from a pre-colonial society to a colonial society, generally marked by the British massacre on the Calabar River in 1767, so too did their architecture (Sparks 2004; Chukwu 2011). The prevailing hypothesis is that traditional vernacular Igbo domestic architecture was a conical mud or clay single-story dwelling with earthen architecture and slip-decorated walls. The roof was pitched and made out of bamboo and palm thatch. After the Western occupation in the Port of Bonny and slow infiltration into interior Bight of Biafra throughout the 1860s, Igbo architectural styles began to mimic aspects of British colonists' building styles. Igbo huts became rectangular with more regular dimensions and were built from a wattle foundation and frame. Hut roofs were no longer pitched, instead taking a gabled shape with bamboo and palms nailed together rather than tied with fiber rope. Rather than stacking heaps of mud and clay on top of each other to form walls, wooden poles about 6 meters long and 2

centimeters thick were driven into the ground to form wattles, or a vertical outline of the structure. Smaller poles were then woven horizontally among the vertical supports and knotted together. The small gaps between vertical and horizontal poles (about 2.5 cm) were filled in with puddled mud (Chukwu 2011:11). Chukwu (2011:11) argues that during this transitional period, architectural styles gradually changed from conical to rectangular structural layouts and roofs from pitch to gabled designs.

Nwokeji (2010:xv-xvi) posits that "Igboness," in Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States, was/is based on a combination of two deities–the earth deity (*Ala/Anil/Ana*) and a personal god, *Chi*, and spiritual reverence for two crops–the yam and the kolanut. Yams were the central subsistence crop of the Igbo, forming a core element of the Igbo identity (Chambers 2006:39). Other crops included cocoyams, guinea corn, plantains, black-eyed peas, watermelon, and especially the palm oil tree (Chambers 2006:39). By the mid-18th century, crops central to Igbo identity expanded to include cotton, tobacco, and cassava (Chambers 2006:39-40). A visitor to Arochuku, located in the extreme southeast of Igboland, notes during his visit in the late 19th century that, "The absence of the forest was compensated for by the numbers of palm trees extending in all directions round the villages…The fields seemed to be almost entirely devoted to yam cultivation, although maize was scattered in patches between some of the yams; and in the

small gardens around each house and compound in the villages themselves cocos and eddo yams were grown, as well as pumpkins" (Isichei 1973:206).

As a result of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, approximately 1.6 million people were forcibly transported from the Lower Guinea region of the Bight of Biafra—the third highest number of humans exported from Africa during the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Morgan 2016:82). Igbo captives were usually sold for the trans-Atlantic slave trade for their labor on British colonial Caribbean plantations or tidewater Virginia tobacco plantations (Morgan 2016:82).

Modern-day Gullah-Geechee people in the United States maintain a strong sense of Igbo heritage. Even though "Igbo" is different today than "Igbo" was to Biafran villagers in the 17th century, many enslaved people in the Caribbean and Georgia lowcountry identified, at least somewhat, with Igbo ethnicity. Many still do. According to some, Gullah-Geechee culture has strong roots in Barbados, which had a large Igbo/Biafran enslaved population (Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission 2012). Furthermore, Sapelo Island matriarch Cornelia Bailey (personal communication) refers to the Sapelo Geechee as of Igbo descent.

As portrayed in Cornelia Walker Bailey's (2000) *God, Mr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man*, spirits are omnipresent in Gullah-Geechee culture. Many of the traditions discussed by Bailey are reminiscent of African Igbo spirituality. In Igbo religion, many gods were functional and active rather than passive and were thus

manifest in materials and activities alike. People had their own deity to guide them in their daily activities. In the past and present, Igbo economies, politics, and years all have deities, as did each day of the week. People, materials, and land all had an individual essence, like a spirit that interacted with its surroundings (Aniakor 1978:39-48). For example, productivity of land for yam cultivation was dependent on the interactions of the spirits and gods of the trees, hoes for digging, and the economic, familial, and spiritual status of the women working on the land. Therefore, if someone working on yam cultivation offended the land, then a decline in the productivity of the earth eventually occurred. Purification rituals may undo the dissonance caused by whatever offense or social taboo caused offense to the spirits. Because of the interconnectedness of the gods, people, land, and things, every member of an Igbo village had an obligation to be conscious of the meaningful link between people and place to maintain the dynamic equilibrium between the tangible and intangible (Aniakor 1978:49).

The gods were manifest in pre-colonial Igbo industry, especially in the production and processing of major trade items: metallurgy, especially iron

working, and palm oil wine[2] (Isichei 1976). Animate and inanimate gods were omnipresent and ranked, though there was, and remains, only one creator, *Chukwu*. Onwejogwu (1975) summarizes four divisions of the Igbo belief system. First is *Okike* (God the Creator) who is in relation to *Uwa* (earth), *Mmuo* (ancestors), and *Alusi* (being forces). Worshippers can call upon many of these forces to reach the supreme deity in the Igbo pantheon–*Chukwu*–God who creates (Aniakor 1978:39). One of *Chukwu's* eyes is on heaven and another on earth since animals, humans, and gods report to him. According to Igbo spirituality, everything depends on *Chukwu*, and he provides strength to the group no matter if they are a family, village, or community. The gods were always listening to and observing actions of their worshipers, functioning through their worldly material surrogates. The omnipresence of the gods and spirits affected the architecture and spatial organization of structures in Igbo villages.

As discussed by Olmos et al. (2011:3), Caribbean creolized religions were a result of the "complex dynamics of encounters, adaptations, assimilation, and syncretism…are emblematic of the vibrant nature of Diaspora cultures." Like

[2] Palm oil wine is derived from the African oil palm *Elaeis guineensis*, native to west and southwest Africa. Evidence of human use of oil palms reaches back to 5000 BC in West Africa. The plant grows long leaves (3-5m) around a single stem, reaching up to 20m in height (Obahiagbon 2012*).*

these many diverse religions, African-inspired architectural styles also were introduced by African peoples displaced to Caribbean during the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The following section builds upon this discussion of West African and Igbo people's diaspora to the West Indies to compare architectural styles with potentially West African influences in the British West Indies. Labor for early agricultural pursuits in the New World was provided by indentured servants from Scotland, England, and Ireland. The transition from European indentured servitude to African enslavement in the Caribbean marked the beginnings of sugar and slavery that would change the trajectory of the Western Hemisphere.

*SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES*

Chattel slavery, beginning on English plantations in the Caribbean around 1636, was written into Barbadian law in 1661 (Wood 1997:40). In contrast to earlier models of slavery in which descendants of slaves were not immediately destined to a life of enslavement, the Barbados Act of 1661 classified African and African-descended slaves as property of European and European-descended plantation owners (Dunn 1972:239). After the installment of this law, slavery in the British West Indies became one of the most brutal systems in the world. To emphasize the European disregard for the humanity of the enslaved, slaves were regarded in plantation inventories as animals, listed by number next to cattle inventories. The Barbados Act of 1661, also called "An Act for Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes," later became the foundation of similar slave codes in

Jamaica, Antigua, South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland (Wood 1997:7-8; Harpham 2017). Despite these later laws, however, Handler (2016) argues that the result of the initial clash of Africans and Europeans on Barbados was an extension of previous customs that were reinforced on the island prior to the passing of these laws. Handler (2016:1), in contrast to earlier analyses of developing Barbadian systems of enslavement (e.g. Dunn 1972; Wood 1997), contends that systems of chattel slavery, lifetimes of servitude or enslavement, and enslavement as a heritable "condition" were "implicit in any Barbados law that mentioned slaves."

As Ira Berlin (1998:8) points out, there is a vast difference between societies with slaves and slave societies, the latter of which is completely formed and shaped by slavery. The most critical aspect of slave societies was that slaveholders and those profiting from the slave trade limited "their slaves' access to freedom expressly because they desired to set themselves apart from their slaves" (Berlin 1998:8). The desire to clarify the difference between slave and master, where travel for both categories was relatively limited, built the system of enslavement in the Caribbean that was so brutal, and so set the standard of what other systems of enslavement were built upon. As Davis (2006:104) states of Caribbean plantation landscapes, "the sugar mill and surrounding plantation land came to epitomize New World slavery and "inhuman bondage" in its most extreme form." He also argues, like Berlin (1998), that slavery in the Caribbean marked the onset of a cultural battle, one that maintained constant tension between

the "problem of reconciling traditional European and African cultures with a highly modern, systematized, and profitable form of labor exploitation" (Davis 2006:104).

Chattel slavery, where an enslaved person had literally no legal or personal rights, was based on English interpretations of ancient systems of enslavement, the history of economics, and mostly guided by religion, especially the Old Testament. These concepts, according to early 19th-century British lawyer and abolitionist James Stephen, were based on "the authority of custom alone" (Stephen 1824:14). These customs, unwritten laws in the mother country, were the foundation of early ideologies that eventually defined chattel slavery in the New World. Cornerstones of these concepts include the "widely accepted ideologies" that enslaved people were private property, which significantly influenced the similarities with laws surrounding both livestock and enslaved people (Handler 2016:325).

As revenue from international markets increased, slaveholders at large plantations became more powerful, pushing small plantations to the margins, as shown by Doug Armstrong, Doug Hauser, and David Knight for example, in their GIS study of Cinnamon Bay, St. John's, USVI. As enslavement became more of a business in the Caribbean, laws were put into place to solidify the legalities of slavery, all the while removing the few protections and human rights Africans in the Americas briefly had experienced (Berlin 1998:9). Furthermore, as slavery in

the Americas became associated with slave labor from Africa and therefore interjected judgements based on perceived race, state-sponsored slave codes developed that extended the slaveowners' rights to control everything in a slave's life (Wood 1997:8; Berlin 1998:9). Slaveholders continued to restrict slaves' access to freedom–through restricting travel between properties, trade at markets, rights to congregate in groups, or even give birth to a non-slave.

Whereas slavery in a society with slaves was a marginal part of that culture, in a sense, slavery was a sort of byproduct of economic steps taken for international agricultural profit (Berlin 1998:9). However, in a slave society, slavery was at the absolute core of the culture, the group's identity, and an individual's state of being. As the number of slaves in the Caribbean increased, planters in societies with slaves justified ownership of other people by removing their humanity, "generally finding the sources of their own domination in some rule of nature of law of God" (Berlin 1998:9). The number of slaves in the Caribbean increased sharply after the profits from agricultural commodities were realized on an international scale, as indentured servants were replaced by slaves.

The Sugar Revolution, beginning in the 1640s on British Caribbean plantations, was marked with the harsh realities of enslavement: a short lifespan, cruel treatment from overseers who wanted to upgrade their status, and displacement from home, family, and tradition. The majority of Biafran and Igbo people displaced from their West African communities were traded to work on

British sugar plantations in the Caribbean. Island landscapes were covered with sugar cane and dotted with wind-, water-, or animal-powered mills used to refine the sugar for sale back to the motherland.

*ENSLAVED LANDSCAPES ON BRITISH WEST INDIES PLANTATIONS*

Enslaved Igbo were sent from Africa to many islands in the Caribbean. The physical landscape was created to both actually and symbolically isolate them. This discussion will focus on the housing settlements and architecture of enslaved people in the Caribbean, who were commonly assigned marginal spaces on the periphery of the plantation with minimal provisions for clothing, food, and building. The people sent to these plantations were not exclusively Igbo. Many people were from the Gold Coast, Senegambia, and West-Central Africa. Sites are drawn from archaeological excavations in the British Virgin Islands (BVI), United States Virgin Islands (USVI), Barbados, and in the Bahamas that contain slave settlements in which the laborers lived in wattle and daub or fiber-based structures. I focus on these island plantations because of their connections to plantations on Georgia's lowcountry islands; however, much has been written of Caribbean slave housing styles (Chapman 1991; Farnsworth 2001; Kellar 2004, 2017).

Wattle and plaster slave quarters were common in the Caribbean, appearing in other places such as St. Eustatius, Jamaica, and Nevis, for example, alongside later masonry and stone foundations (see Kellar 2017 for an analysis of enslaved

identities reflected in housing). Like the shift from wattle and daub slave cabins to more permanent stone masonry housing that Kellar (2017:252) observed at the Adrian village on St. John, USVI, similar housing changes have been documented for other islands. According to Kellar (2017:252), interpretations of the causes of these changes, however, vary, from British reform (Farnsworth 2001:270) to relocation of enslaved villages (Armstrong 1999:183), to a material reflection and expression of a shifting identity (Kellar 2004, 2017).

Many archaeologists and historians studying vernacular architecture have observed an architectural shift in slave villages (Chapman 1991; Farnsworth 2001). In a transitional period lasting from about the 1780s until the 1820s, archaeologists on USVI, BVI, and Barbados see slave housing changing from wattle and daub to more substantial masonry-based buildings. The following section will discuss archaeologically identified wattle and daub slave quarters in these three locations.

### *UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS*

The USVI, formerly the Danish Virgin Islands, are a group of small islands about 40 miles east of Puerto Rico, including St. Croix, St. John, and St. Thomas. The plantations were often originally established for the cultivation of sugar, although some planters briefly experimented with cotton, but the Caribbean soils quickly became exhausted. By the 1760s, the three major islands in the USVI were dominated by the production of sugar. Even though the islands were part of the

Danish West Indies, planters were Dutch, English, and Irish people selling to Dutch merchants, French Huguenots, and Sephardic Jews (Chapman 1991:109). The enslaved people on these islands were from the Gold Coast, or modern-day Ghana. As time went on, the Danish islands became increasingly influenced by British planters, who maintained strong ties with England.

In 1754, there were over 300 plantations on St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, which were typically 150-acre plots with about 9,000 enslaved people between them (Chapman 1991:109). By 1803, those plots combined into 181 operating sugar plantations holding 35,235 enslaved laborers (Chapman 1991:109). Before the last twenty years of the 18th century on St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix islands in the USVI, Chapman (1991:109) argues that "early slave housing on all the islands consisted almost universally of wattle-and-daub cottages, roofed with grass or sugarcane leaves." Although these structures are wattle and daub with sugar cane roofing, they were highly organized on the plantation landscape (Chapman 1991:109-110). Slave cabins in groups of 50 to 60 were organized in rows, each with a nearby garden plot (Chapman 1991:110). A traveler who visited St. Thomas and other nearby islands in 1777, German C. G. A. Oldendorp, observed that each of these huts contained a living room and sleeping quarters to be shared between a family or small group. The buildings themselves were grounded by four rectangular corner posts with forks at the top, upon which boards to hold rafters were built. Each cabin had a gabled roof

covered with grasses and sugar cane. The exterior walls were wattled with mud and cow dung, then finished with a layer of lime plaster (Chapman 1991:110).

The 1790s, Chapman (1991) hypothesizes, brought a major architectural shift from wattle and daub housing to slave houses with masonry-based architecture. The dimensions and architectural styles of the early transitional masonry houses were almost identical to the earlier wattle and daub cottages and were still under a grass or sugar cane roof. Likewise, the interior of the masonry cottages were also two rooms. Examples of these slave cabins were found on St. Croix at Estate Hogansburg, Estate Slob, Estate Diamond Ruby, and Estate Grand Princess, although many more examples exist (Chapman 1991:113).

Later slave villages came under increased surveillance and control of the planter. By the early to mid-19th century, some plantations "improved" their plantations by erecting row houses with from two to sixteen units in one building. These plantations had more people in each structure and were often located closer to the planter's house or the sugar mill than earlier slave villages. The slave village at Estate The Williams provides an excellent example of these row houses. The slave houses were built between 1794 and 1812. The nine remaining row houses were built to the same specifications: 60 x 90 x 15 feet. The floors were raised and made of wood and the roofs were raised masonry gables (Chapman 1991:114). Exterior walls, like former slave dwellings, were whitewashed with lime plaster. The village itself was near to the sugar processing area of the site, and in a low-

lying flood-prone area, leaving the housing "wet and damp…in low dreary spots" (Wood 1806:4; Chapman 1991:114).

In 1792, John Wood, an abolitionist and British architect, decided to supply a list of recommendations to improve slave quarters. He succinctly captured the effect that British abolitionism was having on Caribbean plantations when he stated, "No architect, had, as yet, thought it worth his while to offer the publik (sic) any well constructed plans for cottages" (Wood 1806:3). Wood's (1806:4-7) treatise on improving living conditions of enslaved and poor people listed seven other recommendations to improve the condition of housing. Apropos to slave quarters archaeologically identified the USVI, he suggested that "Housing should always be built of masonry, with lime mortar and plaster," adding that "a space be set aside for a garden." Wood's book, meant to improve the quality of living quarters for enslaved and poor people at minimal cost, also captured the complicated attitudes of people towards slavery. Chapman (1991:117) concludes that the shift from wattle and daub to masonry row houses was, in part, a reaction of West Indian planters to abolitionist sentiments coming from Europe by providing slaves with improved housing–sentiments that are echoed at other regions of the Caribbean in which wattle and tabby daub architecture has been archaeologically identified.

On St. John at Adrian Estate, Elizabeth Kellar (2004, 2017) similarly observes a shift from wattle and daub slave housing to stone masonry. In contrast

to Chapman's (1991) conclusions that planters were responsible for directing a housing change, Kellar (2017:253), instead attributes agency to the enslaved people. She argues that owners did not dictate slave housing, rather, "wattle and daub housing can be interpreted as a matter of choice, especially given that other materials were available" (Kellar 2017:251). Furthermore, the enslaved choice of housing served to contradict and contrast the masonry of the planters' houses. However, as Chapman (1991) and others observe, post-1800 slave villages reflect changing times and identities through a shift in housing. Kellar (2017:252) argues that during this time "in the re-formulation of identity, housing is just one form of the outward manifestation of a groups' social and cultural evolution." These changes to a more substantial and permanently rooted home also reflect the "change in self-view and relative importance in the plantation system" (Kellar 2017:252).

## *BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS*

The British Virgin Islands consist of 4 larger and 32 smaller islands, located northeast of the United States Virgin Islands. Major islands in the BVI include Tortola, Virgin Gorda, Anegada, and Jost Van Dyke. This discussion focuses on recent archaeological research on Guana Island and Little Jost van Dyke, two islands that are peripheral to these larger BVI.

Small Caribbean islands, such as Little Jost van Dyke, according to Chenoweth (2018:18), allow enslaved people to have certain freedoms, but he

emphasizes that slavery on these small islands was in no sense kinder than on larger islands and inland plantations. On these peripheral islands, enslaved people lived and worked under less direct oversight than at larger plantations and were able to adapt and react to the geography of these islands to their advantage. Chenoweth (2018), in a shovel testing and test unit survey on Little Jost van Dyke, recovered ecofacts, primarily shellfish, that suggest that food stress was minimal on certain Caribbean sites. Increased access to shorelines allowed enslaved people to negotiate their landscapes, in a sense, by reducing their reliance on provisions supplied by the planter-even on a small island with limited hunting and trapping opportunities (Chenoweth 2018).

Enslaved laborers at Little Jost van Dyke lived about 90m west southwest from the planter's house, but not all of their living spaces have been conclusively identified. Remains of one wattle and mortar wall have been identified in the "African Village" (Chenoweth 2018:6). Chenoweth (2018:6) based his interpretation on evidence in historical documents from a merchant on the nearby Tortola Island, who states, "their houses are small square huts, built with poles and thatched at the top and sides with a kind of bamboo, which the negroes build for themselves" (Great Britain, Parliament 1790:268). Chenoweth (2018) identified other wattled housing, similar to that on the larger USVI. In contrast to the large Dutch West Indies islands, the enslaved people on Little Jost van Dyke lived a

harsher sort of Caribbean slavery, but with certain "freedoms," like the ability to procure maritime food resources to supplement their diet (Chenoweth 2018:18).

At nearby Guana Island, Kostro (2018) identified two intermediate architectural phases. The foundation of a wattled and mud daub dwelling house GN2, built in approximately 1730, was composed of stones without mortar, upon which an earthfast or post-in-ground structure stood. Each post was reinforced with the stones. The structure walls were mud daub with a lime-based plaster coating the exterior surface. Kostro (2018) interprets the GN2 structure as a combination of English and West African vernacular building practices that evolved together in the 100 years prior to the erection of this structure. He also notes the impact of hurricanes on the Caribbean islands, stating the benefits of single-story construction and the more expensive, yet also more stable and permanent, later stone homes on Nevis.

Architectural changes in the BVI have been archaeologically observed on multiple islands where historical documents, such as those that support Chenoweth's (2018) argument, discuss the size and materials used for slave housing. However, architectural changes from wattle and daub to masonry and mortar slave housing are not as clear as on the USVI. Planter housing, however, as observed by Kostro (2018) on Guana Island, did consist of more substantial structures that incorporate stronger and more expensive stone foundations, walls, and verandas.

From the 1640s to 1838, most enslaved Africans on Barbados lived and worked on sugar plantations. Enslaved people lived in small villages located close to the planters' house and plantation yard, which contained the industrial components of the plantation, such as the sugar mill and factory, stables, and various outbuildings (Handler and Wallman 2014). Handler and Bergman (2009:2) estimate that approximately 400 such slave villages existed on the small island of Barbados (21 x 14 miles) during the sugar boom. The number of slaves living in these villages varied accordingly with the size of the plantation. Upwards of 300 enslaved people lived on large plantations, while a village with a smaller plantation would hold about 50 people. The number of people within each house varied, but on average held four people (Handler and Wallman 2014). Houses within these settlements were spaced irregularly because of the topography of the island and the hands-off approach of the planter to slave spaces (Handler and Wallman 2014).

Barbadian slave codes contained no provisions for housing, but plantation owners generally allowed slaves to build cottages and huts in dedicated "Negro Yards" (Handler and Bergman 2009:2-3). Little, if any financial assistance was afforded to slaves for construction or maintenance of housing and furnishings. According to J. Harry Bennett, the historian of the two Codrington plantations owned by the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "shelter was regarded as the slave's own problem…[and he] was

left to build, repair, and furnish his hut with such materials as he could find for himself"…. "according to their own fancy both in size and shape" because "to furnish proper houses to a whole set of slaves is certainly a very expensive & tedious work" (Bennett 1958:32-33, 43 *in* Handler and Bergman 2009:3). Some enslaved drivers, who were generally of higher status than field slaves, were given minor financial assistance to obtain materials to repair their houses and furnishings after storms, but this was hardly the rule. Enslaved people on Barbadian plantations were largely in charge of building and maintaining their own places within planter-defined spaces.

Specific architectural styles of enslaved housing were mostly defined by the slaves and were peripheral to management of the plantation. They were therefore rarely described in historical documents about plantation landscapes on Barbados. Handler and Bergman (2009:26) describe the paucity of slave structures presented on historical maps, especially when compared to apparently abundant slave housing on nearby Jamaica. When symbols of slave houses are present on historical maps, they were small and non-descript, preventing the authors from determining the dimensions and exact placement of the slave domicile within slave villages. Symbols on a map of Staple Grove plantation, however, depict rectangular huts with pitched roofs. Further, Handler and Bergman (2009:3-4, 26) have not found any reference to circular, oval, or oblong huts that were nearly ubiquitous in traditional Igbo architecture.

According to Handler and Bergman (2009:4-7), the most widespread type of slave house on Barbados and throughout the Caribbean was rooted in West African architecture. Houses were one story and rectangular with wattle and daub walls, a thatched pitched roof and a packed earth floor. Wood for wattles was either gathered from woodlands within plantation bounds or purchased at markets. If wood was scarce or funds were unavailable for external purchase of wattling materials, then reeds or Guinea corn cane was substituted for traditional materials. Wattles were plastered on the inside and outside of the structure with clay or mud, whatever was available. Mud was occasionally tempered with lime to increase the strength and durability of the sandy and loamy substitute for clay. In the later plantation periods in the Caribbean, wattle and daubed walls were coated with a layer of lime plaster, but were left undecorated, unlike in West Africa.

Roofs of wattle and daub huts were thatched in a style nearly identical to early vernacular houses in West Africa. Thatching materials were ideally plantain leaves, palm leaves and branches, and spent sugar cane reeds and leaves (Handler and Bergman 2009:4-5). Roofs were pitched and thatch hung over the structure walls to protect against unnecessary wear on the fragile daub. Roof thatching was also popular on Barbados on the few slave houses made of materials other than wattle and daub, such as stone and wood rectangular huts.

In contrast to West African traditional colonial wattle and daub houses, evidence on Barbados has not yet been recovered of exterior designs or

decoration, including structural modifications like porches or verandas. However, since wattle and daub huts are made of highly perishable materials, their remains quickly decayed. Handler and Bergman (2009:4) report that no traces of wattle and daub huts were identified during archaeological investigations of plantations on Barbados during the 1970s and 1980s. The Barbadian sequence of house types began with wattle and daub and then stone or wooden walled structures were slowly adopted at the turn of the 18th century.

An architectural shift began around the late-18th and early-19th centuries, when enslaved people on the USVI, BVI, and Barbados began to use more substantial materials to construct their homes. These changes are best documented in these three regions, although very likely exist elsewhere, and will be archaeologically identified with our improving geophysical and geospatial research methods. Rather than using wattle and daub walls, Barbadians during this time used wooden planks and stone or cobbles to construct walls (Handler and Bergman 2009:5). Stone dwellings were often a combination of cobble, rubble, or coral limestone with a pitched fiber thatched roof (Handler and Bergman 2009:7-10). Wattle and daub, historically also referred to as "watl'd + plaistred", as well as stone houses, were typically partitioned into two rooms, no larger than six square feet, divided by a wooden barrier (Farnsworth 2001:244, 263). John Vlach (1978) suggests the partitions are quite reminiscent of divisions within West African compounds (Vlach 1978:124-125).

Likewise, Chenoweth (2018:6) includes historical documentation from Thomas Woolrich, a merchant on Tortola, an island in the BVI, who describes more substantial housing erected fifty years after the period when thatched housing was described. Woolrich (Chenoweth 2018:6) describes this more substantial housing as having a "frame-work of wood, planked at the sides and ends, and in some instances of stone walls of similar dimensions; the area being sufficiently large to admit of a division into two rooms of about eight or ten ft. square; and a span roof thatched with the dried leaves of sugarcane." Handler and Bergman (2009) argue that this architectural shift was a reflection of planter reactions to debates over British abolition of the slave trade. By improving living conditions of the slaves, West Indian planters could show material support for their arguments of paternalistic benevolence that more easily support their pro-slavery positions.

Caribbean landscapes were varied based on colonial power, time period, environment, and birthplace of enslaved people. As demonstrated by many, especially Handler and Farnsworth, much research remains to be done to decode patterns of housing and subsequent landscape patterns of enslaved settlements. While there is much to learn, archaeologists emphasize changes in housing style over time as a result of negotiations of space that enslaved people had with plantation owners and overseers in addition to global discussions of abolition

(Armstrong and Kelley 2000; Farnsworth 2001; Kellar 2004; Handler and Bergman 2009).

*WATTLE AND DAUB THROUGHOUT THE ATLANTIC WORLD*

Wattle and daub buildings are one of the most common and significant architectural styles, appearing on every continent for at least the last 6,000 years through the present day. Wattle and daub structures are made from a woven wooden lattice that is then plastered over with a combination of silt, sand, or clay. Oftentimes, additional materials such as straw or cow dung were added into the mix (Chapman 1991:110). Wattle and daub construction was popular because of its relatively simple and fast construction, nearly universally available materials, and ease of repair (Ferguson 1993). Many wattle and daub buildings were covered with a lime-based whitewash plaster as both decoration and a sealant to protect the interior daubing (Aniakor 1978; Chapman 1991:110; Crook 2008). In the lowcountry, this whitewash was made of crushed eggshells mixed with lime from burnt oyster shells (Bailey personal communication 2010).

Because of the ubiquity of wattle and daub housing, it is impossible at this point to trace such common housing directly from the New World to certain regions in West Africa (Prunty 1955; DeCorse 1999; Farnsworth 2001). Another challenge in learning of those trans-Atlantic connections is due to the way that people who were captured in West Africa were incorrectly categorized by ethnicity based on stereotyped attributes of temperament and physiology. While

not precise, however, the documentary record and oral histories, especially from the Works Progress Administration, allow archaeologists to estimate from which regions of the Atlantic World the enslaved people on the Georgia coast came, based on their ancestors' recollections of housing types. This information helps to draw parallels between the housing that enslaved Africans and African Americans used during enslavement in the Caribbean and North American coast.

In WPA interviews, Shad Hall and Ben Sullivan, neighbors on the Sapelo Plantation, spoke about stories their grandmothers told them about their houses in West Africa. Shad Hall's grandmother spoke about the materials of the wattle and daub house, stating that, "it was covered with palmetto and grass for the roof, and the walls were made of mud. They made the walls by taking up handfuls of mud and putting it on something firm, sticks put crossways so" (WPA 1940:166). Hettie, Ben Sullivan's grandmother also spoke of an earth-based living quarters, calling it a "ground house," nomenclature that Leland Ferguson (1993:75) suspects was a synonym for clay.

These clay structures were also frequently used as housing in the Caribbean, wattle and daub being nearly ubiquitous before the architectural shift in the Caribbean in the 1800s (e.g. Handler and Lange 1978; Chapman 1991; Farnsworth 2001:243; Kellar 2017). Archaeologists often find tabby impressed with lathe marks or impressions of wattling during excavations of "Old Villages" (Farnsworth 2001; Kellar 2017:247-249). Though much research of early slave

housing on Caribbean plantations remains to be done, the impermanent wattle and daub housing, or semi-fixed points, were often present in these slave villages that were located away from the central part of the plantation. Furthermore, many of these cabins are of a similar size and style, but not built in a way that would have necessarily been proscribed by the planter (Farnsworth 2001; Kellar 2017:251).

Like in the Caribbean, a shift in slave housing has been noted in South Carolina from clay houses built of wattle and daub or cob-walled houses to houses of masonry foundations (Ferguson 1992). In a set of CRM projects in Berkeley County, South Carolina, Yaughan and Curiboo Plantations were excavated as part of the Cooper River Rediversion Canal project (Wheaton et al. 1983:5-7). Both rice plantations were established in the 1740s; the Curiboo Plantation continued until about 1800 whereas the Yaughan Plantation was operational until the 1820s (Wheaton and Garrow 1985:242). Archaeological excavations of the slave quarters at both plantations revealed an architectural shift from earlier cob-walled trench construction to later post construction (Wheaton and Garrow 1985:244).

Because the slave quarters at the two plantations were so completely excavated, Wheaton et al. (1983:325-326) determined that the data were well suited to study cultural change over time to interpret the "non-material aspect of culture within a reasonably controlled situation." The authors use Redfield et al. (1936:149) to frame their views of acculturation, which was defined as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures

come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups."[3] The presence of colonoware and shift in slave housing was interpreted to be material reflections of acculturation.

Similarly, Ray Crook (2008) observed wattle and tabby daub slave housing on Sapelo Island. Rather than interpreting the housing on the basis of change over time, Crook viewed the hybrid material components of the housing to be representative of "creole cultures spawned by the African diaspora" (Crook 2008:1). In a synthesis of plantation settlement organization and domestic slave architecture, Crook presents results of two excavations at Bush Camp Field and Behavior, the place of wattle and tabby daub slave cabins. According to Crook, following Morgan (1982), the task system afforded enslaved people on Sapelo more time to develop the Geechee culture (Crook 2008:24). In contrast to the formal organization of Chocolate Plantation and around Spalding's main house, Bush Camp Field and Behavior were, according to Crook, outside the purview of planter control and surveillance, places where enslaved people could have an "economic and social life out of sight and away from their labors as slaves"

[3] Interpretations of acculturation are not as common today as they were in the 1980s, as acculturation is generally viewed as a reductionist and ethnocentric viewpoint while denying agency of the people within acculturating and enculturated groups (Penningroth 2003).

(Crook 2008:24). The use of tabby in the place of clay daub was interpreted by Crook (2008:25) to be representative of a creolization of "African and Euro American techniques."

*CONCLUSION*

This contextualization of the Atlantic World has set the stage for the next scale of analysis: the Sapelo Plantation of the Georgia lowcountry. Beginning with pre-colonial West Africa, this chapter has traced the development of the Atlantic World from Portuguese arrival to the West African coast through the trans-Atlantic slave trade of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean. As examined here, any history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade must tie together a complex narrative of divergent people, time periods, and places. This broad discussion of African and Caribbean people has covered over 400 years of global, multi-cultural history, focusing on shifting architectural, landscape, and plantation design and management patterns. This chapter was broad in scope and scale to lay the foundation for an increasingly narrow discussion of lowcountry Georgia plantation landscapes in Chapter 4.

# CHAPTER 4: PLANTATION ARCHAEOLOGY ON THE GEORGIA COAST

Throughout the early and middle years of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the Caribbean, we see the beginnings and growth of chattel slavery from previous indentured servitude. As more people were captured and traded in West Africa and as the rate of shipments of people from Africa to the Caribbean increased at an exponential rate, the harsh treatment and dehumanizing cruelty towards enslaved people also increased at an exponential rate. Considered as livestock to many, enslaved people were pushed to marginal spaces of the plantation landscape.

Until the practices of plantation owners became more heavily scrutinized as global discussions of abolition took hold, enslaved landscapes had little oversight. However, as the voice of abolition became louder, enslaved housing improved (Farnsworth 2001:270-271). Wattled structures with fiber roofs located in liminal plantation spaces became fortified with stone foundations and sometimes limestone walls. Enslaved people also had more leverage in ongoing negotiations with plantation managers, affecting their landscapes and living conditions (Delle 1999; Farnsworth 2001; Kellar 2004; Handler and Bergman 2009).

The last chapter discussed, in broad strokes, the development of enslavement in the British West Indies and how it relates to enslaved landscapes. The focus has been on locations, specifically Barbados, that had a high percentage of enslaved people with possibly Igbo heritage. As discussed in Northrup's (2000) rejoinder to research conducted by Chambers and Gomez, the nature of Igbo

culture in the New World is still unclear. Africans and Europeans identified and defined African-based ethnic groups differently; the cause and mechanism of the retention of those designations varied based on time period, place, scale of interaction, and colonial politics. Northrup (2000:1) describes the identification of African-based ethnicities as an intentional act by European traders, missionary educators, and plantation owners to "create simpler units of administration." A further confounding variable in identifying pre-colonial African tribal and ethnic affiliations in the Americas was the "forced solidarity among the millions of Yoruba- and Igbo-speaking peoples" (Northrup 2000:1). Many of these ethnicities as we understand them today, according to Northrup (2000), were created during the 20th century.

I begin this chapter with a discussion of ethnohistorical and documentary sources used in this study. While they have formed an important part of my dataset, it is important to understand the nature of their biases so that they can be used critically. In my spatial analysis of the enslaved landscape of the Sapelo Plantation, I first present historical documents that I use, such as historical United States Coastal and Geological Survey (US&CGS) maps, the journal of Fanny Kemble that was published after the Civil War, letters written between an absentee plantation owner Pierce Butler and plantation overseer Roswell King, and scientific journals from the 1800s. The limitations of some of these resources are presented, followed by my discussion of two ethnohistorical interviews used to

frame my analysis—first with Sapelo Island matriarch Cornelia Bailey, a Saltwater Geechee woman, and then with the Georgia Works Progress Administration (WPA) interviews. I take time to analyze the quality of the WPA interviews and discuss how I use the information within this significant work.

## *ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA SOURCES*

I drew upon two major sources for ethnohistorical data relating to the enslaved occupations of the Georgia lowcountry—the Works Progress Administration Slave Narratives and a previously recorded interview with Sapelo Island's former matriarch Cornelia Walker Bailey. Both ethnohistorical forms of information are used to interpret stories like how the Behavior Settlement got its name. I rely mostly on the architectural discussions in the narratives to help interpret the enslaved landscape of the Sapelo Plantation. Many of the interviewees discussed their living conditions during enslavement, including, at times, the dimensions and physical make-up of the slave quarters. Other interviewees chose to also pass down family histories, relaying what housing their grandparents experienced in Africa.

### *BAILEY INTERVIEW*

The interview with Mrs. Bailey was especially powerful, as not only was she the voice of so many Saltwater Geechee, she was also a direct descendent of Bilali Muhammed. Previous conversations with Mrs. Bailey and other residents of

Hog Hammock were part of the original impetus for the project. Some of the Geechee of Sapelo do not especially care to have the uncomfortable story of past enslavement brought up again in the present. Mrs. Bailey, however, expressed her interest in learning more about Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements, mostly because of Crook's interpretations of the wattle and tabby daub structures as a method of enslaved resistance to the eradication of some material aspects of African heritage. Further interest of these settlements to Sapelo's Geechee residents is based in the oral history of the Igbo Landing Rebellion, and their belief that many of the enslaved people involved in the event later came to Sapelo.

For this interview, Nicholas Honerkamp and I generated questions for Mrs. Bailey, presented in Appendix A. The interview was originally conducted for a *Society of Historical Archaeology* conference paper co-authored by Nicholas Honerkamp, Cornelia Bailey, and me in 2016.[4] On October 22, 2016, Norma Harris and Myrna Crook met with Cornelia Bailey at her residence in Hog

[4] Cochran and Honerkamp were in communication with the Institutional Review Board offices at both the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga and the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Because Bailey was a co-author for the 2016 SHA paper, IRB approval was deemed unnecessary. Bailey passed in 2017. Cochran and Honerkamp have communicated with the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga's IRB office, Sapelo Island's Department of Natural Resources manager, the Sapelo Island National Estuarine Research Reserve, and Michelle Johnson of the Sapelo Island Cultural and Revitalization Society. All have approved the continuing use of the interview post-mortem. Correspondence with these offices can be provided upon request.

Hammock, recording the 45-minute conversation, which was later transcribed verbatim. The conversation was free-flowing, guided by the proposed questions. Bailey's vast knowledge of the oral history of Sapelo Island was an invaluable resource, as she touched upon many subjects that are inaccessible archaeologically, such as variable religions practiced among the enslaved community, sometimes simultaneously, the presence of Bilali and Pheobe Muhammed on Sapelo Island, the location of antebellum Geechee cemeteries, and interpreting certain historical falsehoods relating to the participation of Sapelo's enslaved men in the War of 1812. The full transcript of this interview is presented in Appendix A, and many segments of the interview are presented throughout this manuscript.

### *WORKS PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION SLAVE NARRATIVES*

The second type of ethnohistorical evidence can also be considered a form of documentary evidence. The WPA Slave Narratives are a collection of interviews with formerly enslaved people conducted by employees of the Works Projects Administration during the 1930s (then referred to as the Works Progress Administration). These first-person accounts of life in bondage consist of over 2,000 interviews that took place in seventeen states (Yetman 1984:181). These interviews are collectively referred to as the Slave Narrative Collection.

The purpose of the project was to "afford aged ex-slaves an unparalleled opportunity to give their account of life under the "peculiar institution," to

describe in their own words what it felt like to be a slave" (Yetman 1984:181). The formerly enslaved participants represent a wide range of people with broad experiences from many types of plantations and backgrounds. Informants were both men and women between the ages of one and thirty at the time of emancipation in 1863. During their enslavement, interviewees lived on a range of plantations in terms of size, treatment of the enslaved, and in agricultural products grown. Some participants lived on plantations with over 1,000 other enslaved people while others were the sole enslaved person at a farmstead (Yetman 1984:182). Despite the interview pool representing only 2% of people who were formerly enslaved that were still living at the time the pool of interviewees was quite diverse. Such a diverse pool of thousands of informants created a robust collection of memories of enslavement, personal and group identities, and information that is difficult to access archaeologically (Escott 2000).

While these documents are a resource that provides insight into formerly enslaved people's lives, there are issues with this data source that need to be addressed. First, as with any memory-based piece of information, these are recollections of events after seventy years had elapsed and the majority of informants were enslaved during childhood and adolescence (Yetman 1984:187). People may misremember what happened in the past, or as Yetman (1984:187) proposes, the fact that people were interviewed during the Great Depression "made them look upon the past through rose-colored glasses; they fondly

described events and situations that had not been, in reality, as positive as they recalled them to be." Another impact on the information given to informants, according to Yetman (1984), is that participants often thought that the government employee that was conducting the interviews, who often belonged to a higher economic bracket, could financially assist the interviewee or their families during such economic hardship. In response, some participants tried to tell the interviewers what they thought they wanted to hear to elicit a better monetary reward.

A systematic analysis of the narratives conducted by Paul D. Escott quantified the impact that the race of the interviewers had on responses from formerly enslaved people during interviews, which was especially important since of the 2,358 interviewers, 1,239 were white, 406 were black, and 709 did not report their race (Escott 2000:10). The fact that the majority of the interviewers were white was especially problematic when asking formerly enslaved people about their experiences living under white control. Reverend Ishrael Massie, for example, stated to a black WPA interviewer that "I kin tell ya a mess 'bout reb times, but I ain't tellin' white folks nuthin' 'cause I'm skeer'd to make enemies" (Perdue et al. 1976:206). Likewise, Martin Jackson succinctly states, "Lots of old slaves closes the door before they tell the truth about their days of slavery. When the door is open, they tell you how their masters was and how rosy it all was" (Perdue et al. 1976:129). Although the appearance of the interviewer influenced a

large number of responses, some topics were discussed more openly than others. For example, when asked about the quality of food during their time at a plantation, 72% of informants deemed the quality of their food good when interviewed by a white person; however, when asked the same question by a black person, a significantly smaller number (42%) of informants rated their food as good (Escott 2000:10-11). In contrast, when asked about their families, for example, no difference in response was found based on the appearance of the interviewer (Lantz 1980:670)

Another problem with the narratives, aside from the racism often embedded in the interviews themselves, was how they were transcribed. Not all of the 2,358 interviewers asked the same questions or recorded informants' answers the same way, even though the subject matter of every interview was designed to follow a pattern (Lantz 1980:668). Advising folklorist John A. Lomax emphasized the need to directly account for formerly enslaved peoples' version of their experiences, saying, "It should be remembered that the Federal Writers' Project is not interesting in taking sides on any question. The worker should not censor any materials collected regardless of its nature" (Records of the Library of Congress Project, Writers' Unit, NA 1937). Directly contradicting those guidelines, however, some WPA employees, who by profession were writers, not linguists, changed the narrative of the participants, choosing to "clean up" anything they deemed unfit to include in the narrative collection rather than recording the

interview verbatim. Escott (2000:14) describes the problem: "Unfortunately, some of the "writers" employed by the Federal Writers' Project took their vocational responsibilities too seriously and used each visit to a former slave as an excuse to demonstrate their literary and creative skills. Prose portraits of sharecroppers' cabins or flowery descriptions of trees and surroundings resulted from such interviews, which yielded little useful information." Because of these problems with the narratives—the differences in economies of interviewers and interviewees, Jim Crow era racism, varying degrees of information given to WPA interviewers, and inaccurately recorded interviews, even using the narratives comes into question. Of course, much of the information deemed superfluous by Escott (2000:14) is exactly what archaeologists want to know!

These narratives were not often used prior to the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. David Henige (1982:117-118) summarized many scholars' opinions on the context in which the narratives were obtained and the product itself, stating that, "the combination of weaknesses that characterizes the ex-slave narratives restricts their reliable data to such matters as childhood under slavery, some aspects of family life, some details on slave genealogies, and some unintended insights into the nature of memory." Nevertheless, todays scholars seem to agree that although these narratives cannot be used without an uncritical eye, they "remain an important source for understanding the everyday experience of slavery and its aftermath" (Hartman 1997:11).

In the present research, these interviews are a critical source of information about the living conditions of past enslaved people, especially in descriptions of slave housing. Also of use is the corroboration of information from the Bailey interview and WPA narratives about such topics as the Muslim presence on the islands, religion of enslaved people over time, and how enslaved people used the entire landscape, not just planter-specified work and living areas.

## *MAPPING METHODOLOGY*

My study is grounded in the use of historical maps to contextualize landscapes on lowcountry Georgia plantations. However, not all maps are created equal, nor were all plantations, much less all parts of a plantation, considered important enough to map. The following section introduces the positive and negative aspects of using historical documentary sources, specifically historical maps.

One of the primary documents used in the present research was a product of the historical United States Coastal and Geological Survey (US&CGS) "topographical reconnaissance" maps of the Eastern seaboard. The US&CGS was a precursor to the mid-19$^{th}$century United States Coast Survey (USSC) and to today's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). The National Geodetic Survey, renamed USCS in 1837, was established by President Thomas Jefferson as the first civilian scientific agency in the United States (National Geodetic Survey 2017). These surveys were created with the purpose of measuring

the Nation's shorelines, estuaries, and riverways of United States coasts to create nautical charts. In addition to the maps these surveys produced, each year an in-depth annual report was completed by the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, with contributions by lieutenants and cartographers from each of the nine regions of the survey.

The survey of Doboy Sound, which covers much of the South End of Sapelo Island, is detailed in Appendix No. 39 of the 1857 Annual Report (Evans 1857). Mr. H. S. DuVal was the cartographer for the project. He used a theodolite to survey five lines across Sapelo at a scale of 1/10000 (Evans 1857:374) producing a usable but imperfect product (Evans 1858:375). Sapelo Plantation owner Thomas Spalding hosted DuVal and crew during the survey, and even went so far as to recommend certain sites on Sapelo that would provide surveyors with the greatest line of sight for the theodolite survey.

One survey line, called "Site No. 4," was a location suggested by Spalding (Evans 1857:375). Evans, noting DuVal's survey report, writes that the survey line "would pass among some negro houses, cross the road and a small corner of wood" (Evans 1857:376). The specific slave settlement that DuVal passed through for his survey is unknown: they were simply encountered by chance, and certainly were not a priority of the survey nor mapped to be precisely accurate. That the location of cultural features on these historical maps was simply an afterthought served as a reminder that maps are made for specific purposes, and whether other

features of the landscape are included in them beyond what they were meant to record can be highly variable. Therefore, to evaluate the merits of certain maps, one must understand the goals and biases of the mapmaker before interpreting additional purposes and information within the document. The first stage of archaeological investigations of the South End plantation settlements of Bush Camp Field and Behavior was designed to essentially georeference and ground truth DuVal and others' USCS maps through intensive pedestrian survey.

The second major way in which historical maps are used in this research is in the Thiessen tessellations, discussed in more detail later in this chapter. In this geospatial analysis, I use GIS and R to statistically measure the geometric space of plantation settlements. To obtain a basemap upon which to analyze these landscapes when today the majority of slave cabins have been erased from the landscape, I turn again to the US&CGS maps. These documents provide a preliminary picture of what the plantation landscape looked like to the cartographer in the mid-19$^{th}$ century.

Although historical maps are by their nature imperfect, they nevertheless provide a starting point against which to archaeologically test the location of past structures. That is not to say, however, that an "X marks the spot" approach is especially useful; rather, it is of the most use to the modern researcher to attempt to understand how and why past cartographers chose to portray the landscape in

the way that they did. Furthermore, a starting point, however inaccurate, is often more useful than no starting point at all.

That said, the historical maps used in this research have all been archaeologically ground-truthed to some degree. Of the most importance to the present study were past archaeological efforts to locate archaeological sites based on historical maps of the Butler Estates, Cannon's Point Plantation, and the Chocolate Plantation (Crook 1974; Singleton 1980; Otto 1980, 1984; Moore 1981, 1985; Honerkamp et al. 2007; Honerkamp and Cochran 2018). By only using historical maps that were tested against the archaeological record, the accuracy of textual historical documents and cartographic historical documents were referenced against a reality seen in the field. The size of structures, materials, and distance to neighbors, for example, were all critical variables that needed to be as accurate as possible for the plantation landscape comparison tested in the Thiessen tessellations. Therefore, it is really the combination of historical maps and archaeological evidence that make the implementation of the US&CGS maps a viable application of documentary resources. The present research uses work by Crook (2008) as a starting point to groundtruth structures shown on historical maps and seeks to fill in the gaps by working to archaeologically define the landscape of the Sapelo Plantation settlements. Although these maps are far from perfect, having a general reference point to locate possible areas of interest

improved the efficiency of this large-scale survey of the Sapelo Plantation slave settlement landscapes.

### *ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTARY RESOURCES*

In addition to a reliance on historical maps, I use previously reviewed and interpreted documentary evidence from Fanny Kemble's diary, interpreted by John A. Scott (1984), letters written between Pierce Butler and overseer Roswell King, interpreted by Theresa Singleton (1980), Sue Moore (1981) and Norma J. Harris (1994); and local documents such as newspapers and the *Southern Agriculturalist.* Each of these sources come with their own sets of both strengths and biases, which I summarize here.

Fanny Kemble was a British Shakespearean actress who married Pierce Mease Butler, Pierce Butler's grandson, in the 1830s. Pierce Mease Butler had inherited the Butler Estates—both people and land—in 1836. Against her husband's wishes, Kemble was an abolitionist. To rid her of her opposition to slavery, Butler took Kemble and their two young children to the Butler Estates on St. Simon's Island and Butler Island in the winter of 1838-1839. As could be expected, Kemble, a dedicated writer, only deepened her abolitionist views upon witnessing the daily operations of the plantation.

While Kemble wrote of the environment around the plantation to a degree, the focal point of her work was her interactions with enslaved people, who were oftentimes women. Though her language was quite racist, the book communicated

to her peers the horrors of slavery which was timely, as global tensions over the morality of slavery were rising.

The book, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation (1838-1839)* was published some twenty years later in England in 1863. Though her work was not a fundamental piece used by diplomats in debates of the morality of slavery, it was a popular work among the general population and influenced public opinion, especially in England. After the war, others, such as Margaret Davis Cate, for example, continued attempts to discredit Kemble's work (Cate 1960). However, the work was and continues to be a useful document for historical and archaeological investigations, providing insight into not only the lives of the enslaved workers on the plantation, but the environment in which they lived. Kemble uses Victorian-era language to describe, in great detail, the roadways on the plantation, the slave hospital and the enslaved women working as nurses, and the status of the slave settlements.

Preceding the Kemble diary are the near daily letters written between Pierce Butler and Roswell King. Although I did not visit archives personally, I did rely on transcriptions in coastal studies where researchers did visit archives (e.g. Singleton 1980; Moore 1981; Harris 1994; Bell 2004; Cooper 2017). These letters detail ways that King ran the Butler Estates according to Butler's wishes, including ways that the planter and overseer cut costs of feeding and clothing enslaved people on the plantation. Additional documentary research was

conducted through a desktop study using online repositories of historical newspapers and journals such as the *Southern Agriculturalist*.

## *DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOWCOUNTRY GEORGIA PLANTATION SYSTEM (1733-1861)*

Plantation culture in Georgia borrowed from earlier plantation cultures in the Caribbean and Carolinas (Morgan 2010:26). Lowcountry plantations simultaneously embraced and rejected links to the Caribbean. Early colonial Georgia, of course, rejected both slavery and rum–two major exports from the Caribbean. Once Georgia's politicians recognized their economy could not compete on regional and global scales without slave labor, Georgia lowcountry planters began to more explicitly embrace their links to the Caribbean.

What makes slavery different in different places? Berlin (1998:10) argues that "the driving force behind the evolution of slavery remained the ever-changing nature of production." Georgia lowcountry plantations turned to the Caribbean in the mid-18$^{th}$ century for agricultural advice, seedlings for indigo, cotton and sugar, and architectural designs for mills to process the plants. When considering slave codes in Georgia, then Governor James Wright suggested Jamaica as a source for modeling the new laws. Seeds for the famous lowcountry long-staple Sea Island cotton came from Exuma, Barbados, and Anguilla in the 1780s, while sugar cane and milling plans were sourced from Jamaica (Morgan 2010:26). James Spalding, father of Thomas Spalding of the Sapelo Plantation, obtained Sea-Island cotton

from Anguilla to begin the cotton revolution in lowcountry Georgia (Spalding 1831). Although the size of colonial Georgia was large, the size of the Sea Islands was reminiscent of Caribbean islands, leading to communication between regions about plantation design and management during the early, pre-Revolution years of plantation culture in lowcountry Georgia. As the plantation system of post-colonial lowcountry Georgia matured, plantations maintained influences from the Caribbean but emphasized their independence culturally and materially.

Antebellum Georgia is an interesting place to study slavery because of the reactionary stances taken by Georgia planters to establish patterns of agricultural management, economic trading, and attempts to politically balance for-profit agricultural enterprises within an increasingly anti-slavery world. Ironically, colonial Georgia, while under the supervision of General James Oglethorpe, was the only place in the western hemisphere where slavery was not allowed, yet after the dissolution of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, planters in antebellum Georgia were among the staunchest supporters of the institution of slavery (Morgan 2010:14). The British colony of Georgia began in 1733 as a series of fortress towns in the hinterlands between the Carolinas and Spanish Florida. General James Oglethorpe quickly allied with Creek Chief Tomochichi, who signed a treaty that gave the British colonists access to Sapelo, Ossabaw, and St. Catherine's Islands (Coulter 1940:38, Sullivan 1997:80). The treaty also worked to prevent the Spanish from reentering the coastal territory.

The colony was founded with utopian ideals that included banning certain trade with American Indian groups and prohibiting slavery, on the premise that those groups might revolt from the British and join the Spanish. Colonists were most dismayed at the outlawing of rum. However, the mother country allowed "strong beer from England, Mollasses for Brewing Beer, and … Madeira Wines, which the People might purchase at reasonable Rates, and which might be more refreshing and wholesome for them" (Scott 1984:16). The purpose of the newly formed colony was to serve as a buffer between hostile Spanish colonists and English port cities like Savannah and Charleston (Force 1947:I). The colony of Georgia became home to people of many religious and cultural backgrounds. Indentured servants, often from Ireland and Scotland, provided the labor force for the colony's agricultural pursuits as a replacement for slavery. John A. Scott argues that slavery was banned in Georgia to promote the economy for freed people, referencing "the fatal tendency for the slave economy to swallow up the free" (Scott 1984:xxxvii). In 1751, however, slavery became legal in the colony, contradicting the early utopian ideals under which the colony was founded. At this point in Georgia's history, agrarian economic pursuits expanded at an exponential rate because of the availability of slave labor.

The environment of the barrier islands of Georgia provided planters with the opportunity to experiment with cash crops like rice, cotton, indigo, and sugar as the plantation system continued to develop in the late 18$^{th}$ century. The

freshwater swamps adjacent to briny estuaries on the mainland were well-situated for rice production. During the 1790s, the Altamaha region of the Georgia lowcountry became populated with planters who sought to take advantage of the fertile fields, low cost of production, and the experience that the enslaved people had with rice agriculture (Bonner 2009:1-12). Many of the large plantation estates were built during this early agricultural boom. Descendants who were deeded the plantation estates reused structures and fields originally designed for indigo and rice agriculture for other agricultural endeavors, such as Sea Island cotton and sugar. However, the high prices of Sea Island cotton acted as the agricultural foundation for exponential growth of the plantation industry in Georgia. The rapid rate of expansion of the cotton market also acted as proof of the benefits of slave labor to those who had previously resisted abandoning the utopian ideals of the early Georgia colony (Kovacik and Mason 1985:77-104).

Long-staple cotton was the most profitable crop in the region from 1795 to 1825, despite the tumultuous market and an environment prone to hurricanes and other natural disasters. This strain of cotton (*Gossypium barbadense*) was a long-staple black seed cotton, known for its staple length, fineness, and yield. The South Atlantic coast experienced a rapid decline in the prices of cotton in 1825 (Bonner 2009). The decline was in part due to overproduction that eventually led to increased competition between planters who lowered prices to stay competitive in the market (Lawkwete 2003). However, by 1830, mono-crop agriculture had

exhausted the soils and competition from cheaper inland short-staple cotton took a toll on profits (Porcher and Fick 2010). The depressed cotton prices caused the temporary downfall of the Sea Island cotton industry on the Georgia lowcountry islands, but the industry eventually rebounded in 1837. Despite such a volatile market and fickle growing patterns, Sea Island cotton dominated the lowcountry economy until its complete demise at the outbreak of the Civil War (Kovacik and Mason 1985:77-78).

To prevent the economic collapse of the plantations, owners diversified their crops, many quickly turning to experimentation with sugar production (House 1943:98-100). The first Georgia planter to test the possibility of sugar production in the lowcountry was Sapelo Island's Thomas Spalding. His sugar mill was erected on the Sapelo Plantation in 1809 (Sullivan 2010:1-2). Nearby planters like Pierce Butler quickly followed suit, planting their own strains of sugar cane and building tabby sugar mills (Sullivan 2010:1-2).

The success of a plantation was dependent upon the yield of its crops, which explained the balance planters sought to maintain between changing agricultural production mechanisms and approaches to labor. In addition to reacting to changes in market demand for different crops, planters experimented with different labor strategies to optimize labor output from the enslaved workforce. Many lowcountry planters have been presented as "disciplinarian[s], with great practical tack, and also some benevolence in the treatment of the negroes" (Bremer 1853:488-489).

While many planters were seen by their peers as paternalistic towards enslaved people, the motivation for planter control was to promote their own economic endeavors to create the largest profit margin. The labor output of the enslaved was the most basic way that planters attempted to control the daily operations of the plantation. Planters employed varying agricultural strategies to optimize their place in the market economy. Philip D. Morgan (1982, 1983) and Joe W. Joseph (1993) have argued that the domestic economy of plantations evolved alongside the development of varying labor systems from the colonial to postbellum periods, generally divided between gang and task labor. Gang labor was based around a consistent work schedule with reprieve only to eat and sleep, whereas in the task system of labor an enslaved person had one task to finish each day. Once that person was done with that task, the rest of the day was theirs. Enslaved people were provisioned by the plantation owner in the gang system, but in the task system were responsible with providing much of their own food, clothing, and shelter.

Gang labor, which was more commonly used in the Caribbean than the lowcountry, was a very efficient system which Metzer (1975:123-124) likens to a modern business organization. He further suggests that the use of the gang labor system was a method of resource allocation, arguing, “This difference was reflected in the composition of the plow and hoe gangs, the former being composed of the strongest slaves, mainly males, and the latter of the weaker ones,

primarily females" (Metzer 1975:135). His description of labor organization captures the class system within some plantations. The first class of gangs was comprised of the strongest and best workers, the second was more inefficient, and the third class, the hoers, was least efficient. He goes on to provide the following example: "The first class had to go ahead and create small holes with about 7 to 10 inches distance to each other. The second class then dropped cotton seeds in these holes and the 3rd class covered the holes with dirt" (Metzer 1975:135, quoting De Bow's Review 1836:2).

Other historians, such as Smith and Smith (1999:64) argue that the gang system of labor, though businesslike, was less precise than the task system, which was the more common labor system in the lowcountry. Smith and Smith (1999:64) continue to state, "Where the task system provided an inappropriate monitor of slave work, masters, again like industrial capitalists, stifled imminent resistance and rebellion by giving workers a vested stake in the plantation enterprise, primarily by granting them small compensations and garden plots of their own." Morgan (1982), for example, argues that slaves working under the task system experienced more autonomy than those working under the gang labor system; however, Aufhauser (1973) also states that the task system gave the planter more power over the enslaved, because the planter or overseer could give one particular enslaved person an exceptionally easy or unwieldy task.

Plantations in the Georgia lowcountry varied in their environment, crop choice, labor management, plantation management, and landscape. A comparison between the spatial landscapes of plantations on St. Simon's Island and Sapelo Island illustrates the spectrum of plantation management strategies and their effect on spaces and places within each lowcountry landscape (Figure 2). The following section sets the historical context for the later comparison of the geometry of various plantation settlement landscapes (Figure 3).

## *THE BUTLER ESTATES*

The Butler Estates, started in 1767 by Major Pierce Butler, were a set of four different plantations located on the northwest neck of St. Simon's Island, Little St. Simon's Island, and Butler Island, located on the mouth of the Altamaha River just south of Darien, Georgia. [5]

[5] Experiment Plantation, located near Five Pound on Little St. Simon's, was destroyed by the 1824 hurricane. Those that survived the hurricane were moved to St. Anne's settlement on St. Simon's Island, south of Hampton Point.




Figure 2. 30km micro-region around the Sapelo Plantation.

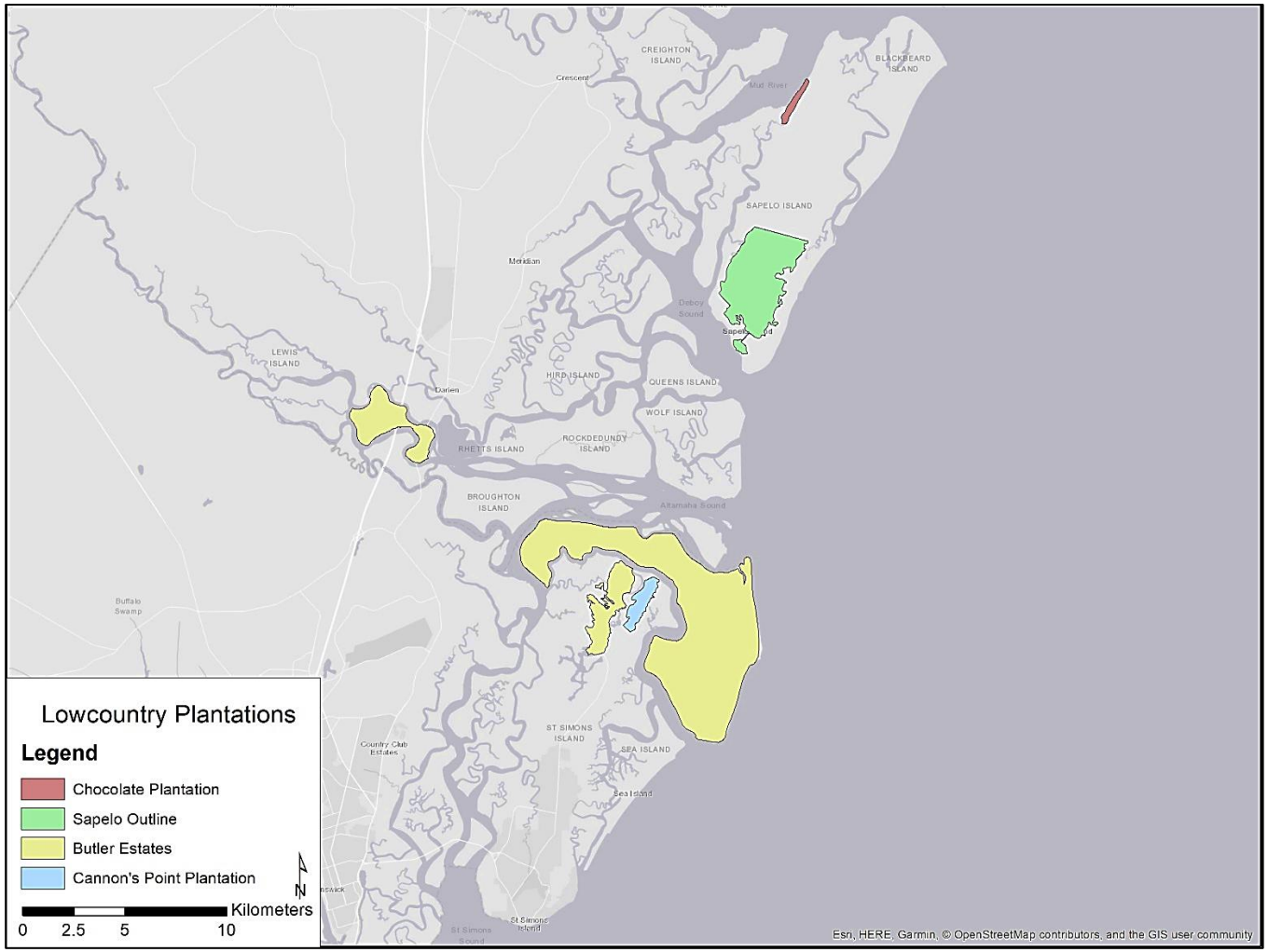



Figure 3. Proximity map of lowcountry plantations included in the Thiessen tessellation study.

Rice and cotton were the primary agricultural products grown and processed on these plantations.

Pierce Butler was an absentee plantation owner who lived in Philadelphia. On the Georgia coast, absenteeism was uncommon, but on Carolina rice plantations – where Butler had earlier lived – it was common (Singleton 1980:58; Bell 2004). While he was away, Butler required his overseer Roswell King, and later his son, Roswell King, Jr., to send weekly letters to his home in Philadelphia (Harris 1994). Butler Estates had a tremendously large enslaved labor force. During the early days of the estate, when it was under the ownership of Major Butler, 500 to 700 enslaved people lived and labored there. By 1859, a total of 919 enslaved people were included in the estate. According to Singleton (1980:69), less than 1% of all planters in the south owned more than 500 people, making the Butler Estates extraordinary.

This section uses documentary, historical, and archaeological information to examine the correlation between the management of the Butler Estates and the physical landscape and spaces on the plantations. Historical maps created by the United States and Coastal Geological Survey (US&CGS) in the mid-19$^{th}$ century are used here to create the historical base map for tessellations. Interpretation of the landscape is based primarily on the diaries of Shakespearean actress Fanny Kemble, who married, and later divorced, the grandson of original plantation owner Major Pierce Butler, who was also named Pierce Butler. Kemble was an abolitionist–she was unaware of her husband's business (slavery) at the time of their marriage. Kemble visited the Butler Estates in the winter of 1838 and

spring of 1839, writing of her interactions with enslaved people and her impressions of the beauty and wildness of the Georgia coast. She stayed on Butler Island from December 30, 1838 to February 16, 1839 and then on St. Simon's Island from February 16, 1839 to April 19, 1839 (Kemble 1863).

Letters between overseer Roswell King (and later his son, Roswell King, Jr.) and Major Pierce Butler comprise the second type of documentary evidence informing this discussion of the Butler Estates. Many of these letters were used in Harris' (1994) documentary and archaeological investigation of the Butler Estates with a focus on Little St. Simon's. From these documents, much information about the lifestyles of the enslaved people and the harsh management practices of King come to light. Archaeological data generated primarily in the 1970s and 1980s were paired with historical information about the location and condition of slave settlements. Theresa Singleton (1980) and Sue Moore (1979, 1980) conducted archaeological investigations of Butler Island and Hampton Point, respectively. Their research was invaluable in determining the real dimensions and makeup of fifty slave cabins within the five slave settlements used in the present research.

Major Pierce Butler began his agricultural pursuits in 1793, after the removal of British troops from the military outpost on Butler Point (Moore 1979:41). Like many planters from colonial Carolina in the late 18$^{th}$ century, Butler moved to coastal Georgia to begin his plantation operation, as productivity of the soils in the Carolinas diminished (Moore 1979:42). Butler brought many of the slaves from his Carolina plantation with

him to the coast. He was known for running his plantations with the discipline and order of a military garrison. The property was to be self-sufficient, with enslaved people performing all construction, agricultural operations, and gardening, and tending to the needs of the white plantation owners and their guests.

In 1825, three years after the death of Major Butler, William Hazzard, a neighboring plantation owner on St. Simon's Island, listed the Butler Estates as the largest estate in terms of both crops produced and number of enslaved people (Moore 1979:43). At that time, the primarily crop grown and processed at the Butler Estates shifted from long staple Sea Island cotton to rice. This shift in crops occurred because of the drop in cotton prices in the 1820s and as a result of environmental disasters like the grasshopper plague and the hurricane of 1824. As a result, most of the activity of the Butler Estates moved from Hampton Point to Butler Island.

Regardless of place or crop, both Butler and King engineered the plantation landscape and operations to be as efficient and effective as possible. Everything–foodways, clothing, travel on and off the plantation, labor, and religious practices–was inspected and controlled by the powerful overseer and enslaved head drivers. A popular planter's journal, *The Southern Agriculturalist*, features many letters from King and King, Jr. about ways to save money while feeding and housing enslaved people.

King Jr.'s submissions to the *Southern Agriculturalist* emphasize methods of minimizing the cost of food, clothing, and housing for the enslaved labor force as a primary way to reduce operational costs (Harris 1994:20-22). Occasionally, on Butler

Island, cattle, pigs, or sheep were butchered and fed to the enslaved to celebrate a special occasion or holiday (Roswell King, Sr. 16 May 1813). Most often, however, planter provided protein came from "barreled pork and salted fish" (Roswell King, Sr. 7 April 1816; Roswell King, Jr., 18 March 1821). Unlike at other plantations, enslaved people "of course are not allowed the use of firearms, and their very simply constructed traps do not do much havoc among the feathered hordes that haunt their rice fields. Their case is rather a hard one, as partridges, snipes, and the most delicious wild ducks abound here, and their allowance of rice and Indian meal would not be the worse for such additions" (Kemble 1863:58). King, Jr., in *The Southern Agriculturalist* reflects further on the diet of the enslaved, "it costs less than two cents each per week, in giving them a feed of Ocra soup, with Pork, or a little Molasses or Hommony, or Small Rice. The great advantage is, that there is not a dirt-eater among them–an incurable propensity produced from a morbid state of the stomach, arising from the want of a proper quantity of wholesome food, and at a proper time" (King, Jr. 1828). Geophagia, or the practice of eating soil, also had West African roots–the iron content in rich red soil in West Africa worked as a method to improve fertility (Woywodt and Kiss 2002:143-146). Historical physicians assert that dirt seasoned with salt and vinegar helped to alleviate hunger during periods of famine and restore mineral imbalances from poor diets (Young et al. 2011:99).

At the Butler Estates, as on most plantations in North America, Sundays were often given to the enslaved people as a day of rest (Harris 1999:20-22; Bell 2004). During this time, many would rest or attend religious services. Preaching and unsupervised

congregations, even on rest days, were forbidden on Butler's estates. In 1804, King suggested to Butler the purchase of "a full dozen fiddles that will cost from one to two dollars cash" (King to Butler 1804; King to Butler 1809). Dancing was preferred to preaching because of the fear of an insurrection. Some slaves were allowed to row to the mainland town of Darien on Sundays "to purchase such things as they may require and can afford, and to dispose, to the best advantage, of their poultry, moss, and eggs" (Kemble 1863:90). Kemble went on to describe their method of transportation: "I met many of them paddling themselves singly in their slight canoes, scooped out of the trunk of a tree, and parties of three or four rowing boats of their own building" (Kemble 1863:90).

As was standard at plantations in the Georgia and South Carolina lowcountry, the task system was employed on the Butler Estates. In the task system, each person was graded on their work ability by a number of hands. Able bodied men were classified as two hands, women and older children were given 1.5 hands, older men and women and young children were given one hand, and a few adult and very young children given one half hand. The more hands someone was assigned, the more tasks they were to complete in a day (Morgan 1982). Long-staple cotton and some rice plantations used the task system. Each person was allotted a series of tasks, usually a number of acres to maintain.

Tasks were usually separated by sex, with women planting, harvesting, and hulling and men digging rice ditches. However, Fanny Kemble (1863:65-66) reported that this was not always the case at the Butler Estates:

> Well, this task system is pursued on this estate; and thus it is that the two carpenters were enabled to make the boat they sold for sixty dollars. These tasks, of course, profess to be graduated according to the sex, age, and strength of the laborer; but in many instances this is not the case, as I think you will agree when I tell you that on Mr. Butler's first visit to his estates he found that the men and the women who labored in the fields had the same task to perform. This was a noble admission of female equity, was it not?–and thus it had been on the estate for many years past.

Some tasks were based on special labor, like fixing machinery, fishing, or working full-time as a domestic slave in the big house. Once that person finished their individual set of tasks, they were done with their work for the day. Slaves were often able to finish their allotted tasks before early afternoon, allowing a significant amount of time away from the plantation fields. For example, when discussing gang versus task labor, Roswell King, Jr. (1828) in *The Southern Agriculturalist*, stated that "[m]any may think that they lose time, when Negroes can work for themselves; it is the reverse on all plantations under good regulations–time is absolutely gained to the master." He elaborated further, stating: "Surely, if industrious for themselves, they will be so for their masters" (King 1828). To King, Jr., time equaled labor, and labor brought profits to the plantation.

At all plantation slave settlements, enslaved people were under constant surveillance; any hint of an infraction was punished. Overseers at the Butler Estates were required to note when and why they hurt any enslaved person because the reputation of extreme punishments, and even deaths of enslaved people, became known across the lowcountry (Bell 2018). Singleton (1980:61) writes, however, that due to the

management of the Kings, "runaways were few, and slaves received treatment comparable to other slaves in the area." The Kings' supervision responsibilities were shared by enslaved drivers, including Sambo brought from Butler's plantation in South Carolina, along with 433 other enslaved people (Moore 1981:71). Later head drivers included men such as Morris, Frank, and Bram, who were responsible for tasks that ranged from distributing food rations to overseeing enslaved engineers and coopers (Dusinberre 1996:274).

## *BUTLER ISLAND*

Butler Island is located north of Hampton Point on a marshy island that was perfectly suited for tidal rice agriculture, although sugar and cotton were produced for short periods of time. DOQ (digital orthophoto quadrangle) imagery of the island still shows marks from drainages gridded across the 1,500-acre plantation (Figure 4). Butler Island is now bisected by I-95 and managed by the Altamaha Waterfowl Management Area. Of all of the plantations in the Butler Estate, Butler Island produced the most, was the largest, and held the most enslaved people. Major Butler considered, "turning the island into a sugar plantation," bringing sugar processing machinery to Butler Island between 1812 and 1816 and consulting with sugar planters located in the British West Indies (Roswell King, Sr., 1 November 1812; Butler Estate Papers, 1815a; Roswell King,

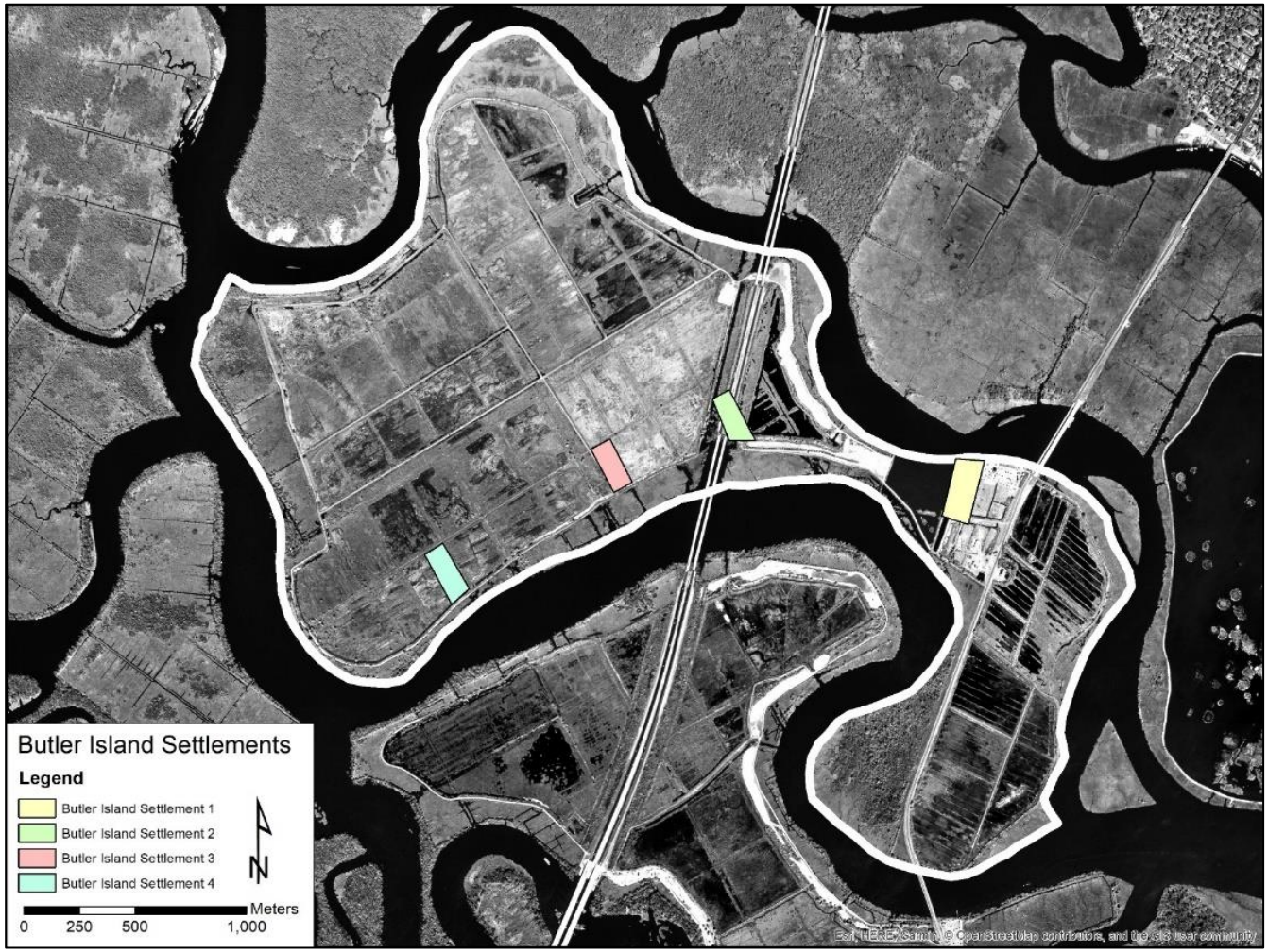



Figure 4. Location of the four slave settlements on Butler Island on DOQ imagery to accentuate extant shadows of rice fields.

Sr. 12 August 1815). Sugar never took off on Butler Island and was probably a side experiment; according to Singleton (1980:65), sugar was never allotted the same acreage for production as for rice and cotton.

Of the three main crops on Butler Island, rice was by far the most profitable. Fields were measured in 1802 and generally drainage ditches and fields were prepared by hand (Singleton 1980:63). According to Georgia historian E. Merton Coulter (1940:104), rice and cotton were cultivated every other year to avoid growth of weeds and to help replenish some nutrients in the soil. By 1835, Butler Island had four mills for processing rice: an animal-powered mill, two tidal mills, and a $20,000 steam mill (Roswell King, Jr., 25 March 1832, 22 April 1832, 22 February 1833; Singleton 1980:65). Even with all this processing power, the mills were insufficient for the threshing necessary to keep up with rice harvested from the plantation–some of the rice was threshed by hand (Kemble 1863:109-110).

Like all the plantations of the Butler Estates, Butler Island was meant to be wholly self-sufficient to save overall operational costs. Construction materials, clothing and food for the enslaved were made on-site by highly skilled enslaved people. At times the manufacture of certain products was outsourced, such as the case for shoes for the enslaved. King, Sr. stated, "As for tanning and shoemaking, I recommend you give it up. Hides have gotten extravagant. Our shoes cost $4.00 a pair, you can get better shoes out of the state prison for $1.00" (Roswell King, Sr., to Pierce Butler, 15 November 1818). Other kinds of contact with the outside world existed in some forms. For example,

enslaved people were, at times, allowed gardens. They could consume what they grew and sell the surplus, sometimes to King. Other times, King would sell their goods at the market in Darien on their behalf (Harris 1994).

### *HAMPTON POINT*

Hampton Point, also referred to as Butler Point, is located on the northern tip of the northwest neck of St. Simon's Island (Figure 5). It is bordered to the north by Hampton River, Jones Creek, and Little St. Simon's. The plantation was owned by Pierce Butler and managed by Roswell King. In contrast to Butler Island, Hampton Point, also referred to as Butler Point, was frequently visited by outside guests, such as Fanny Kemble and Aaron Burr while on the run from his infamous duel with Alexander Hamilton. Neighboring on the northeast neck of the island is Cannon's Point Plantation, owned by John Couper. Hampton Point is currently a residential sub-division. Though surrounded, and sometimes covered by condominiums, four of the six northern slave cabins, the overseer's house, a warehouse, and other tabby ruins have been carefully preserved by landowners.

Although subjected to environmental disasters and fluctuating national and international markets, cotton was consistently grown in the antebellum period at Hampton Point. Over time, cotton fields became less fertile. As a solution, many coastal planters, including Thomas Spalding and John Couper, ordered slaves to cover fields with marsh mud and crushed oyster shell, usually taken from prehistoric shell rings and mounds (Moore 1981:54). Yards and gardens at Hampton Point still yield evidence of

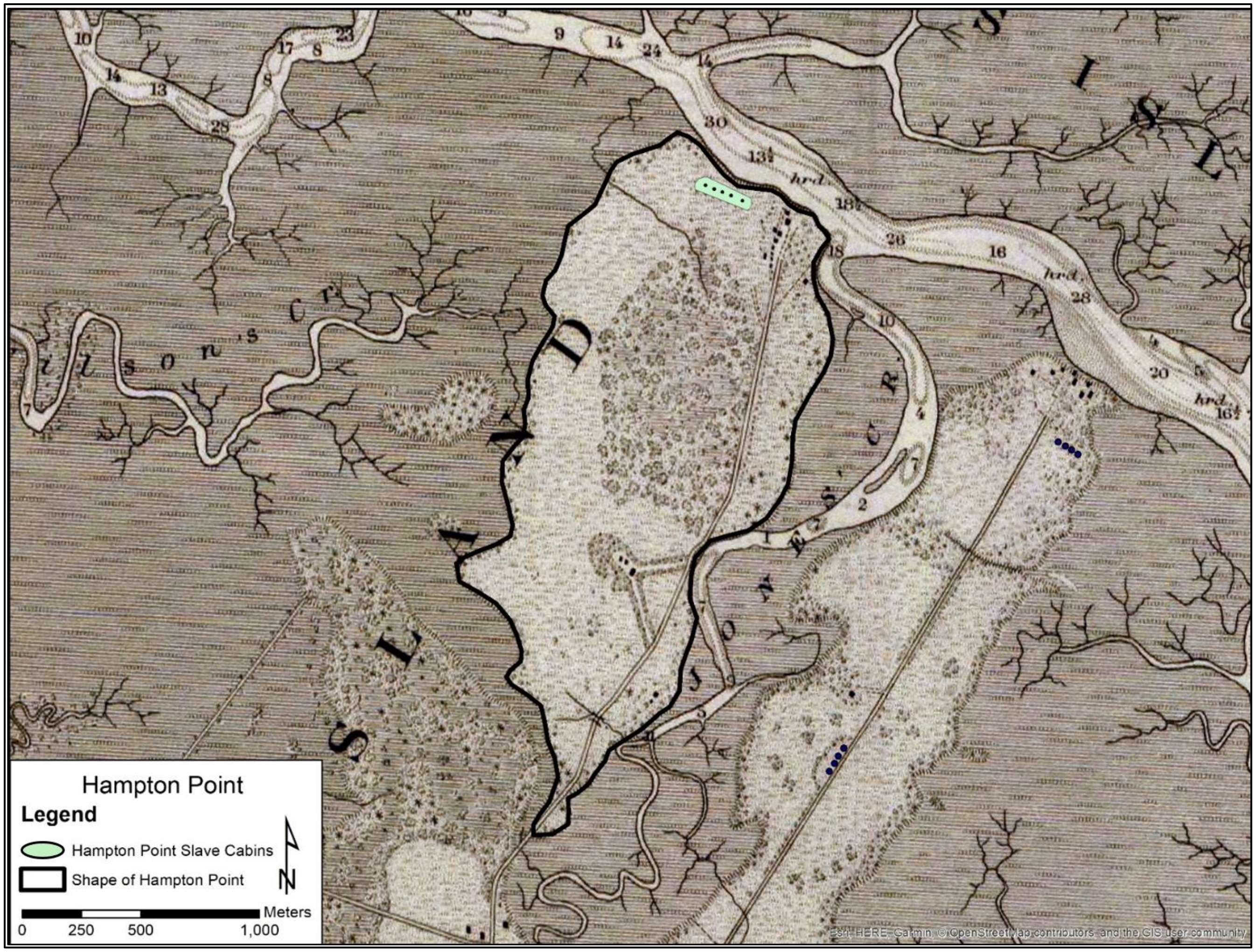



Figure 5. Hampton Point proximity map on US&CGS 1868 map. Base image from *NOAA's Office of Coast Survey Historical Map & Chart Collection.*

this system of rejuvenating the depleted soils. Long staple Sea Island cotton was sold to make planters like Pierce Butler a much larger profit per pound of cotton than most inland planters (Moore 1981:57).

## *CANNON'S POINT PLANTATION*

Cannon's Point Plantation, a long staple Sea Island cotton plantation located on the northeast neck of St. Simon's Island, lies adjacent to Hampton Plantation of the Butler Estates. John Couper was the owner of Cannon's Point Plantation from 1794 until 1850, formerly co-owning a long staple Sea Island cotton plantation called Hopeton on the Altama (Bagwell 2000). Cannon's Point Plantation is now managed by the St. Simons Land Trust and is protected from commercial development.

The majority of the data used in this analysis comes from archaeological site reports. Under the direction of Charles Fairbanks, John S. Otto conducted fieldwork at the main house, north slave cabins, and overseer's house in the late 1970s (Otto 1975, 1980, 1984). Suzanne McFarlane (1975) similarly compared material assemblages between the four south slave cabins in her Master's thesis. More recently, Nicholas Honerkamp, Norma Harris, and I have begun work to archaeologically bound historical materials at Cannon's Point, specifically around the Taylor Fish Camp site on the south end of Cannon's Point Plantation and with extensive focus on the north end around Couper Field, Indian Field, and the big house. James Davidson and Karen McIlvoy (2012) have reinterpreted material culture from Otto and McFarlane's excavations in the

search for artifacts relating to African or Afro-Caribbean cultures (Davidson and McIlvoy 2012:109-110).

Cannon's Point Plantation differed spatially from the previously discussed settings in that living spaces were separated based on the economic status of the group living there. As with the other planters in the present micro-regional analysis, Couper came across many financial difficulties because of faltering crop production and falling prices. In the 1820s, the prices of cotton fell, and Couper was able to recover (Otto 1984). In addition, natural disasters greatly affected the cotton crops at the plantation. A hurricane in 1804 destroyed the entire crop, which was valued at $100,000. In 1824, a second disastrous hurricane destroyed another cotton crop valued slightly less at $90,000 (John Couper to James Couper 1828).

Unlike other planters who diversified in the face of failing crops, John Couper declared bankruptcy in 1827. In a letter to his brother he explained his actions, "Cotton then sunk in price without any hope of improvement. Lands were reduced to 1/3 their value to 250 or 200…You know I commenced planting without capital. Of course I got into debt and 8 percent compound interest to be the real perpetual motion. In short I saw no hopes of paying my debts. And retaining my property" (John Couper to James Couper 1828). He then sold his share of the Hopeton properties to his son, James Hamilton Couper, and James Hamilton, then turned his attention to Cannon's Point Plantation (Bagwell 2000).

There are three known sets of slave cabins at Cannon's Point Plantation (Figure 6). John S. Otto hypothesized that the location and size of the domiciles is indicative of the status of the enslaved people that lived there. Further, in addition to the physical size of the structure, the closer a slave cabin was to the main house, the higher the status of that person (Otto 1984:42-43).

Cannon's Point visitor William Howard Russell described a typical slave quarter site in the lowcountry, saying, "The huts stand in a row, like a street, each detached, with a poultry-house of rude planks behind it….No attempt at any drainage or any convenience existed near them, and the same remark applies to very good houses of white people in the South. Heaps of oyster shells, broken crockery, old shoes, rags, and feathers were found near each hut" (Russell 1863:77). Fanny Kimble echoed some of the journalists' observations about the state of cleanliness within quartering sites, however noting that many of the enslaved women at Butler Island's rice plantation dug trenches behind their huts to take advantage of the incoming and outgoing tides as a method of trash disposal (Kemble 1984).

*SAPELO ISLAND HISTORY*

Archaeological research on Sapelo Island has covered all time periods represented on the coast. A total of 55 archaeological sites have been identified on the island. The

landscape of Sapelo Island has been under the care of people since the late Archaic period (c. 4200 B.P.) and occupied by various cultural groups since then, including the Guale Indians, Spanish Franciscan missionaries (Mission San Joseph de Sapala), French

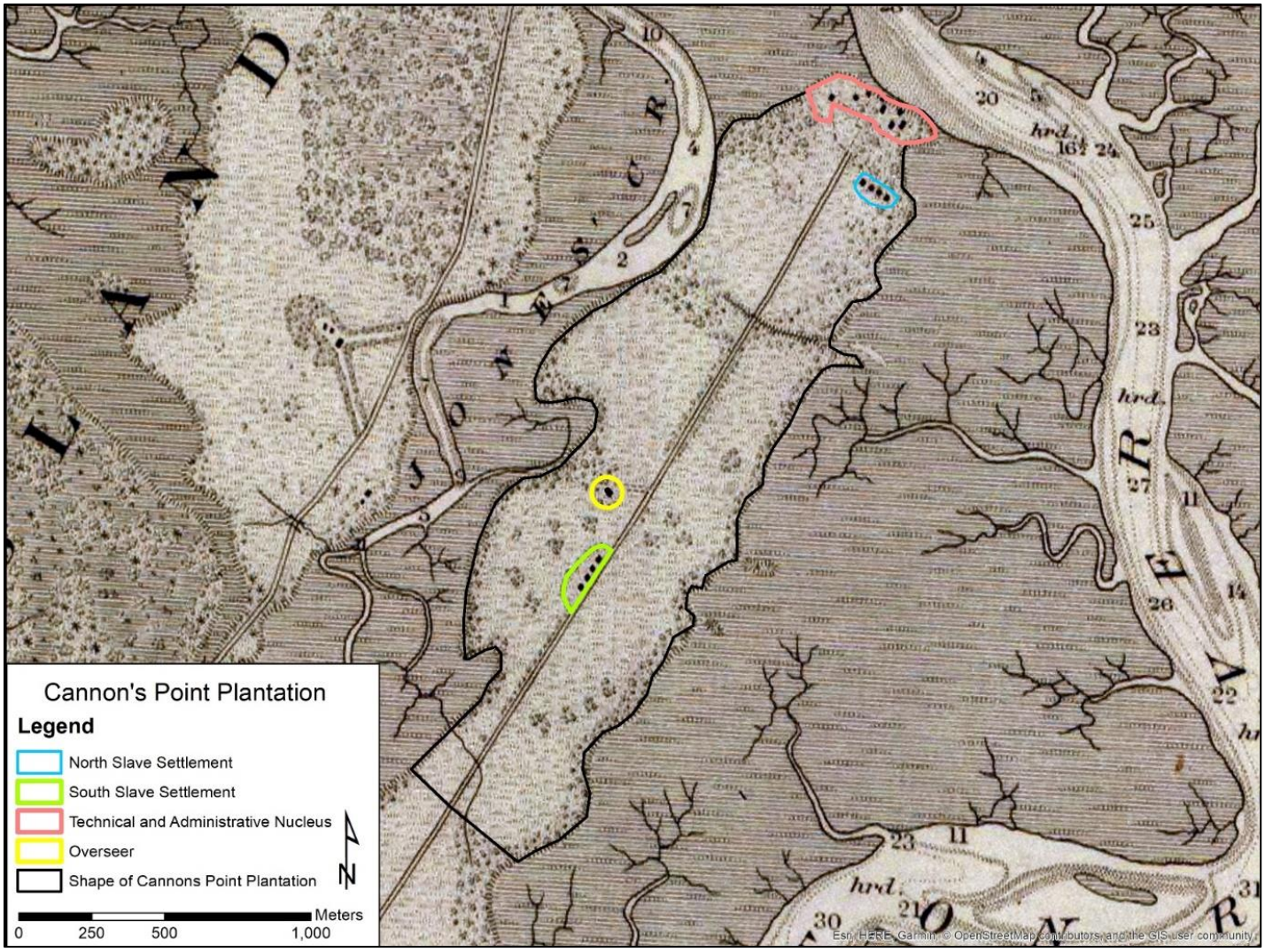



Figure 6. Proximity map of Cannon's Point Plantation on US&CGS 1868 map. Base image from *NOAA's Office of Coast Survey Historical Map & Chart Collection.*

colonists (Sapelo Company), small contingents of British and Danish colonists (Chocolate Plantation), and post-Revolution antebellum planters with British influences (Crook 1984:259; Worth 1995; Sullivan 1997; Keber 2002; Anderson et al. 2007:475; Honerkamp et al. 2007:4-6; Thompson 2007; Thompson and Worth 2011:54-55; Perrine 2013).

While Sapelo Island has been occupied and altered by humans for over 4,200 years, the present research begins with the British colonial presence there. This presence marks the beginning of the potential for places created and used by enslaved Africans on the island. However, the present historical narrative focuses on the South End of Sapelo Island, specifically the area around Long Tabby sugar mill and historical events that resulted in the trade of enslaved people that may have been on the island at the start of the Sapelo Plantation in 1802. This study ends at the start of the Civil War; however, more research is certainly necessary concerning the transition between places of enslavement and freedom. Future consideration of ever-changing coastal landscapes is warranted especially in areas affected by Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15, which temporarily stripped property from the Union and gave new freedmen "abandoned" coastal lands in 40-acre plots.

The first formal British occupation on Sapelo Island was the result of a disputed land claim. Following the exchange between Chief Tomochichi and General James Oglethorpe in the 1730s, Creek Chief Malatchi gave St. Catherines, Ossabaw, and Sapelo Islands to Creek Mary Musgrove (Coosaponakeesa) and her husband, Thomas

Bosomworth in 1747. The grant was not recognized by the British government, despite Musgrove and Bosomworth's multiple attempts to convince the crown of their claims. Regardless, the pair sold half of their title to an oblivious Issac Levy on October 14, 1754 for 300£ and other considerations, including an additional 200£ from the "first rents produced or profits which should be received" by Levy from his ventures on the islands (Levy 1760). Levy then settled his affairs in England and moved to America "and hath been at great Expences in improving his aforesaid Acquisition" (Levy 1760) "to settle & cultivate the said lands" (Levy 1767).

Sapelo would-be owner Issac Levy was unaware of the Musgrove-Bosomworth-Ellis deal and left without the title to the land and additional property In response to the upcoming public auction of the islands, Levy published an advertisement in the South Carolina Gazette to lay claim to his rights on the islands and to warn potential participants in the upcoming auction that their title would be encumbered by his moiety title (Levy 1760; Honerkamp et al. 2007:4). On October 31, 1760, Grey Elliott "purchased from the Crown…the total of 9,520 acres on Sapelo Island being all those islands called Sapelo [including Sapelo, Blackbeard and Cabretta]" (Sullivan 1997:41).

Elliott, a land speculator and member of the King's Council, hired cartographers Younge and DeBraham to complete a survey of Sapelo, entitled *A Plan of the Islands of Sappola*. The mapping project was completed September 30, 1760. This map, the first of Sapelo with referenceable features, contains detailed cartographic representations of the historical, ecological, and environmental context of Sapelo Island in 1760. The entire

island, hammocks included, is divided into parcels; the mainland island contains fifteen-acre tracts. The cartographers also drew environmental features like oak and pine groves, freshwater savannahs, and rice swamps. While the map may have been "embellished" with several "improvements"–something that would have increased the value of Elliott's Sapelo investment–it also suggests the possibility that Sapelo's earliest British colonial settlements consisted of buildings scattered all over the island, including two houses where Long Tabby is currently located. Although the buildings are stylistically varied (some include a chimney), the map lacks additional descriptions to explain the purpose of the structures. Despite such cartographic ambiguity, images on the Younge and DeBraham (1760) map represents what may be the first British presence within the modern project area.

### *THE CHOCOLATE PLANTATION*

The Younge and DeBrahm map also shows structures at the Chocolate Plantation, likely belonging to trader Patrick McKay. Grey Elliott, who acquired property around much of St. Andrew's Parish, sold Sapelo Island in 1762 to Patrick Mackay, a Scotsman who traded goods with Creek Indians (Sullivan 1997:80).

Mackay was the first landowner on Sapelo who actively worked to cultivate the island for large-scale agricultural production. He built his house on the north end of the island around High Point. Honerkamp et al. (2007:5-6) state that Mackay "would have taken advantage of existing structures and other improvements on the island…he also

built a residence, slave quarters, and support structures at High Point and elsewhere on the North End." Mackay's plantation operations extended as far south as Chocolate with the purpose of raising cattle and growing corn and cotton. After Mackay's death in 1776, the management of the plantation fell to British merchants Lachlon and William McIntosh until they sold it to land speculator John McQueen in 1784, who also owned parts of Cumberland and Jekyll Islands (Honerkamp et al. 2007:6).

Soon after, the property of the Chocolate Plantation changed hands from the British to a contingent of French planters escaping the French Revolution. The five Frenchmen, led by John de Berard Mocquet Montalet, established the ill-fated French Company that was established in 1790. Although their operations were based at High Point on the North End, Lovell (1932) suggests "Le Chatlet," a place name derived from the Guale town Chuculate, was instead home to the company. However, an archaeological survey by the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga found only one French gunflint and five fragments of faience in the hypothesized area of the settlement.

While these artifacts are certainly attributed to a French occupation, they are not indicative of an intensive occupation at the site. The French company owned at least fifteen slaves, and at the company's dissolution in 1793 sold those people and their other assets, including, "land, livestock, slaves, furniture, houses, a boat, and other items" to Lewis Harrington (Thomas 1989:42). In 1801, Lewis sold the Chocolate parcel and other nearby parcels of Sapelo to Richard Leake and Edward Swarbreck.

At his death in 1801, Richard Leake deeded his land on Sapelo to his son-in law, Thomas Spalding. Spalding and Swarbreck, a Danish sea merchant, were business partners. Swarbreck traded in slaves and cotton and had business ties to the Caribbean. While Spalding focused his attention on the South End of the island in the early 19th century, Swarbreck focused on developing the Chocolate Plantation. From 1815 to 1819, he ordered that the wood-framed slave quarters be upgraded to tabby, reasoning: "It makes my negroes more comfortable, and I desire to leave my estate as valuable as possible to those who may inherit it" (Hopkins 1821:156).

## *THE SAPELO PLANTATION*

In 1802, Thomas Spalding began to acquire extensive agricultural tracts, including Sapelo Island. The "Spalding Era" on Sapelo Island lasted from 1802 until his death in 1851, and was the only time in which the plantations on Sapelo Island were fairly profitable. During his nearly 50 years on Sapelo, Spalding became one of the largest slave holders on the Georgia coast. In both 1825 and 1837, Spalding reportedly owned 421 slaves, including 111 on Black Island. From 1840 to 1851, the enslaved workforce on Sapelo increased from 310 to about 400 people. Spalding procured slaves in several ways. Often, they were included in the sale of a particular estate, like Chocolate and areas on the North End. Spalding also bought slaves from Charleston, Savannah, and the West Indies, although exact dates and details about the enslaved people are mostly unknown.

Also in 1802, Spalding bought 4,000 acres on the South End from Harrington that was previously owned by members of the Sapelo Company. This meant that for the first

time in the history of Sapelo Island, the economic activity of the island was concentrated on the South End rather than at Chocolate Plantation or the North End. However, while improvements were underway at Chocolate, Swarbreck's Caribbean connections helped to promote the sale of Sea Island cotton grown on the Sapelo Plantation with the labor of 70 to 100 enslaved people.

### *THOMAS SPALDING*

Thomas Spading was born at Frederica on St. Simon's Island in 1774, living with his family at the former home of General James Oglethorpe. James Spalding, Thomas Spalding's father, bought Retreat Plantation in the 1790s. Retreat is located about 5 miles south of Fort Frederica. It was here that Thomas Spalding learned the business of agriculture and trade, for his father was a partner in the Creek fur trade with fellow Scotsman Roger Kelsall (Braund 1996:56). James Spalding was one of the first planters to experiment with Sea Island cotton—a crop that his son later became famous for cultivating on Sapelo Island.

After finishing his primary education in Georgia and Florida, Thomas Spalding studied law in Massachusetts, being admitted to the bar in 1795. He was dedicated to public service to his state and country. He simultaneously served a term in the Georgia House of Representatives from 1794 to 1795, the Georgia Constitutional Convention in 1798, the Georgia Senate from 1803 to 1804, and a two-year term in U.S. Congress from 1805 to 1806.

In 1795, Spalding married Sarah Leake. Their marriage led to Spalding's acquisition of 4,000 acres on Sapelo Island. Sarah Leake's father, Richard Leake, was a cotton planter on nearby Jekyll Island. In 1801, Leake entered into a business deal with Danish sea captain Edward Swarbreck to buy the Chocolate tract. In 1802, Leake died, leaving his only child's husband to complete the transaction. Thomas Spalding acquired 4,000 acres on the South End of Sapelo Island, financed via a British bank and the sale of his late father's Retreat Plantation on St. Simon's Island.

## *AGRICULTURE ON THE SAPELO PLANTATION*

During his tenure on Sapelo Island, Spalding eventually came to own all but 650 acres of the island, managing the production of sugar, rice, long staple Sea Island cotton, and a variety of other subsistence crops. Spalding was known as a scientific farmer, conducting experiments with plantation management and agricultural techniques. He often published in the *Southern Agriculturalist*, leaving an excellent historical record of his thoughts on the construction of tabby, the merits of sugar production in the lowcountry, and tips to producing the largest yield of long staple Sea Island cotton.

Of these various industries, Spalding's Long Tabby Sugar Works was perhaps the most innovative, directly challenging the sugar industry in the Caribbean. Prices for cotton were depressed from about 1805 until after the War of 1812, prompting Spalding to begin sugar production on Sapelo. The first crop of sugar cane was planted in 1806, and the sugar works were completed and operational by 1813. Spalding wrote of the expenses of establishing the mill: "My progress to successfulness was obstructed by the

non-importation act, by the embargo act, and finally by the war up to the year 1814. My Sugar works, in consequence of these obstructing causes, were very costly…" (Spalding 1829:55). Because of international sugar competition, domestic market demands, and uncertain rice and cotton markets, sugar prices were, for a short time, stable. This near decade of relatively even prices for sugar provided Spalding with a predictable income (Crook and O'Grady 1980:13). Once in production, the sugar from the Spalding mill was of such a fine quality, it was featured as far north as Boston. On May 18, 1815, the *Boston Gazette* wrote of the emerging sugar industries:

> The culture of the sugar cane excites attention in Georgia. An advertisement of 95 hogsheads made by Mr. Spalding, on Sapelo Island, near Sanbury, of prime quality, is in the papers. And the facility of raising it, as proved by Mr. S, has encouraged others to undertake the business. Georgia sugar will probably soon be in our market, and still further lessen our dependence on W. India Islands, for that material article.

Excavations by Crook and O'Grady (1977) of the Spalding Sugar Mill provided material evidence for their interpretation that the mill was in operation for at least 19 years. The sugar market declined in 1832 because of the lowering of import duties, deflated international sugar markets that were tied to the abolition of the slave trade, and a rise in prices of rice and cotton (O'Grady 1980:33). Crook and O'Grady assume that Spalding suspended sugar production on Sapelo for these reasons. Although sugar was profitable for a time—in 1814 Spalding made a $14,000 profit—he cycled crop production and necessary labor with the seasons and in reaction to demand in domestic

and international markets. After the downturn of the sugar market in the early 1830s, prices for Sea Island cotton rebounded. His approach seems to have been successful: Spalding was one of the region's largest and most profitable cotton planters.

Simultaneous with the erection of the sugar mill was the construction of Spalding's mansion on the South End of Sapelo. Roswell King, overseer of Pierce Butler's plantation operations, also oversaw the construction of Thomas Spalding's house. Construction of the mansion lasted from 1807 to 1810 with the gang labor of "six Men, two Boys, and two mules" (Sullivan 1997:99). Like the sugar mill, Spalding's mansion was made of poured tabby, an equal mixture of sand, lime, water, and shell obtained from prehistoric mounds and middens on the island.

In several ways, Thomas Spalding was certainly different from other plantation owners in the region, including his innovative tabby building style, his diverse agricultural pursuits, and his treatment of his enslaved workforce. According to local historian Buddy Sullivan, Spalding backed up his reputation as a "liberal and humane master" based on his use of the task system and use of enslaved drivers rather than white overseers (Sullivan 2018). Spalding's "humane" approach to enslavement is often compared to that of Pierce Butler and others associated with the notably brutal Butler Estate (Honerkamp 2010). Though Spalding is often portrayed as someone sympathetic to the pains and injustice of slavery, he participated in the Georgia Convention of 1850, during which Georgia's legislative delegates condemned the Compromise of 1850 and responded with the Georgia Platform. One of the major resolutions of the Georgia

Platform was the written threat that the State of Georgia would resist any measures towards abolition taken by United States Congress (Coulter 1940; Sullivan 2017).

Spalding varied from his contemporaries in another way: he used Irish labor for tidal rice production rather than enslaved labor (Crook et al. 2003:17). These differences are what made his plantations profitable, while others were going bankrupt. Upon his death in 1851, Spalding deeded his plantations to his son Randolph to keep for his grandson Thomas II (Crook et al. 2003:16).

### *DIVERSITY OF ENSLAVED PEOPLE ON THE SAPELO PLANTATION*

As introduced in Chapter 3, enslaved people in the Georgia lowcountry were not a homogenous group. They could be from many places in the Atlantic World, bringing with them to the lowcountry different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, experience with different forms of enslavement, different foodways, and certainly experience with different kinds of plantation management. Because slavery developed in the Georgia lowcountry later than other places in the Atlantic World, a larger proportion of the enslaved labor force in Georgia came from previous plantation experiences; few people were traded to Sea Island plantations directly from Africa.

One such example is the famous Bilali Muhammed. According to a descendent of Bilali, Sapelo Island's Cornelia Walker Bailey, he was born in Sierra Leone (Bailey 2000:2-4). From there, Bilali was captured as a teenager and taken to the Caribbean to work on a Sea Island cotton plantation in the Middle Caicos. Dr. John Bell, a British Loyalist who left his East Florida residence after the Revolution, owned 1,080 acres on

the south end of the Middle Caicos at a plantation called “Increase.” A second plantation, “Industry” was located across the Windward cut on East Caicos. At Industry, approximately 300 acres was for the cultivation of Sea Island cotton. After Bell’s death, an appraisal from 1801 listed the names and ages of 90 slaves and 13 large houses made of stone, wattled and plastered (Kozy 1991). In 1802, around the time when cotton ceased to grow on the Caicos, Bilali was sold to a trader who transported him to Georgia.

Archaeologist Ray Crook and historian Charlene Kozy worked with documents relating to Bilali. Kozy (1991) recovered an 1801 inventory from the Bell estate that lists 15 households of slaves, with each household member’s name, relationship to head of household, age, and value in Bahamian currency. Bilali, also spelled as Belley, his wife Pheobe, and their five children, Margaret, Sarate, Isata, Mamodic, and Abagado were listed. Most notably, Bilali was a driver on the Caribbean Sea Island cotton plantation– the same position he held on the Sapelo Plantation.

Despite an increasingly rigid plantation system in the late 18th and 19th century, enslaved people on the Georgia coast sometimes had freedom of religion, and on Sapelo, the freedom to outwardly express that religion. In the lowcountry, Morgan (2010) and Gomez (2010) argue that the personal flexibility of the task system afforded slaves in some plantation settings the freedom to behave as Africans rather than as slaves bound to a Georgian plantation. Support for this assertion can be found on Sapelo, where oral tradition indicates that slave religion was multifaceted. According to Cornelia Bailey (personal communication, 2016):

> There were three sets of African Americans here. There was Muslim, and the one that became Christian, and there was the one that was just pure African, that practiced their traditions as well. So you had like this mixture: one, two, three. So. Yeah. Cause if you look at it very carefully there's the Islamic influence, there's the Christian influence, and there's the African influence. So you know that mixture was here, so you had a group over here, because common sense would tell you when we read the church history, go through the church history of 1866, the traveling minister that came through to convert people was coming through and he converted only like a dozen people that first year. We had hundreds of people here…. And the Islamic religion, I remember grandma used to say that her parents and grandparents used to listen to the traveling minister in the daytime and then at night they had a whole different service. Yeah. They go into the woods and have a whole different service, away from the prying eyes of the ones who didn't believe it, there were several, so they worshiped both ways.

African Muslims in the Carolina and Georgia lowcountry were the foundation of much of modern day Gullah and Geechee culture (Gomez 2010). Although archaeological survey cannot directly access Muslim culture at the Sapelo Plantation, historical documents and ethnohistorical accounts, such as that from Bailey, can help archaeologists to better understand the heterogeneity of African and African American enslaved peoples. For example, historical newspaper advertisements of runaway slaves provide evidence that three Muslim men escaped from Sapelo Island (Gomez 2010:105-106). In May 1802, Alik and Abdalli escaped the island's boundaries, and in March 1807, Toney, Jacob, and Musa also escaped (Gomez 2010:105).

As highlighted most recently by Gomez (2010), the Georgia Sea Islands were a nexus of sorts for enslaved Islamic communities. Records of enslaved people on Sapelo

Island and Hopeton on the Altama, in particular, contain evidence of many Islamic names, such as Fatimah, Bilali, and Mahomet (Gomez 2010:106). Salih Bilali, an enslaved Muslim man, was called "Old Tom" by the Coupers, perhaps as a way to hide the Islamic community at the plantation (Ferguson 1996; Gomez 2010). Salih Bilali was traded from the Gold Coast to the Bahamas and later sold to James Hamilton Couper's Hopeton Plantation on St. Simon's Island. By 1816, Salih Bilali was head driver on John Couper's Cannon's Point Plantation. While he was there, Salih spoke the Foulah language, wore a fez and kaftan, prayed three times daily, and engaged in other Islamic religious practices (Gomez 1994, 2010; Curtis 2014).

Like Salih Bilali and other Islamic people on St. Simon's Island, Muslims were enslaved on Sapelo Island. According to Ben Sullivan, the great grandson of Salih Bilali, there were two other Muslim people, Ole Israel and Daphene, who both outwardly expressed their belief system on Sapelo Island. In the WPA interviews, Ben Sullivan talked about Ole Israel, who prayed at least three times a day on a mat with his prayer book. He wore a white cloth on his head, as did Daphene.

Islamic practices were also in effect on Sapelo Island, especially for Bilali Muhammed, Pheobe, their twelve children, and their descendants. People would pray at sunup and sundown. Katie Brown, granddaughter of Bilali, also participated in the WPA interviews, recalling:

> Magret an uh daughtuh Cotto use tuh say dat Belali an he wife Phoebe pray on duh bead. Dey wuz bery puhticluh bout duh time dey pray an dey bery regluh bout duh hour. Wen

> duh sun come up, wen it straight obuh head an wen it set, das duh time dey pray. Dey bow tuh duh sun an hab lill mat tuh kneel on. Duh beads is on a long string. Belali he pull bead an he say, 'Belambi, Hakabara, Mahamadu.' Phoebe she say, 'Ameen, Ameen.' (Georgia Writers Project 1940:154).

Hog Hammock resident Shad Hall, nephew of Bilali Muhammed and grandson to Bilali's daughter Hester, remembered stories of Islamic prayers similar to Katie Brown. He told the WPA interviewers that, "Hestuh an all ub um sho pray on duh bead. Dey weah duh string uh beads on duh wais. Sometime duh string on duh neck. Dey pray at sun-up and face duh sun on duh knees an bow tuh it tree times, kneelin on a lill mat" (Georgia Writers Project 1940:158). In the WPA interviews of people on Sapelo Island, no one presents themselves as a Muslim. Instead, many stories of African ancestors and ancestors "praying on the bead" persist through the oral history. While this does not directly indicate that there were no Islamic people on Sapelo Island in the 1940s, this absence of a personal Islamic identity reinforces some of the cultural changes that took place between 1802 and the 1940s when the interviews took place. In the oral histories captured in the WPA interviews, people also discuss their Igbo heritage, often while discussing material culture in Africa, especially fiber-based and earthen living places.

*RECENT RESEARCH ON SAPELO ISLAND*

The research that is the focus of this dissertation builds on archaeological excavations on Sapelo Island by Ray Crook of the University of West Georgia in the 1990s and a survey in Behavior Cemetery in 2010 directed by Nicholas Honerkamp at the

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. During two seasons of excavation, Crook identified two wattle and tabby daub structures—the only two known slave cabins that had been made of that material as of yet. Crook (2008) interpreted these materials to be a creolized African and European architectural style, stating that "the result was a creole culture that satisfied not only the imposed demands of slavery, but also their own social, religious, and economic needs" (Crook 2008:1). In 2009, a University of Tennessee at Chattanooga archaeological field school was asked by the Gullah-Geechee community to bound sensitive archaeological materials and human remains in a quite full cemetery that is still in use. The cemetery research followed the research foundation set by Crook who sought to find where and how enslaved people on the Sapelo Plantation lived.

I worked to determine if the slave cabins identified by Crook were part of a broader pattern of wattle and tabby daub housing or if they were anomalous in the Sapelo Plantation landscape. The following sections first outlines research methods and recovered materials at Cabin No. 1 and Cabin No. 2 at Behavior and Bush Camp Field, respectively, by Crook (2008); and research methods of an archaeological survey in Behavior Cemetery that took place in 2009. Research methods for the most recent excavations (2016-2017) are outlined in Chapter 5. Finally, I present recovered cultural materials and architectural features from Bush Camp Field and Behavior Settlement identified during excavations that predated the 2016 to 2017 field work.

## *CROOK EXCAVATIONS*

*Gullah-Geechee Archaeology: The Living Space of Enslaved Geechee on Sapelo Island* (Crook 2008) is one of two available sources of information about Crook's excavations of Bush Camp Field (then called New Barn Creek) on Sapelo Island. The second source is field notes of students from the University of West Georgia. However, each student's notes were nearly identical to one another and summarized excavations only at Behavior Settlement. No notes were recovered pertaining to the Bush Camp Field excavations. Neither previous excavation photos, artifacts, relevant maps nor paperwork were found in personal collections or state repositories. I hope and expect that in the future, these extremely significant collections will be found and available for reanalysis by researchers.

Another complicating factor for my study is that Crook used an arbitrary grid in his 2008 report, although a permanent datum was used for his excavations but were later knocked down by the installation of power lines, meaning that relocating his excavation blocks was a priority for this most recent research. Geophysics and unmanned aerial systems (UAS) were called upon in attempts to find signatures of his previous excavations. UTC archaeologists were successful in relocating the area of Crook's block at Bush Camp Field, acting as a Rosetta Stone, of sorts, to tighten the georeference between historical US&CGS maps, his work from the 1990s, geophysical signatures, 2016 to 2017 excavations, and modern imagery.

Crook (2008) compared settlement landscapes on Sapelo Island. He noted a distinct difference between the purpose and management style of Chocolate Plantation and Thomas Spalding's Sapelo Plantation settlements, the former of which is located on the west-central estuary side of the island. Crook then compared the landscapes of Chocolate Plantation to three enslaved settlements at the nearly contemporaneous Sapelo Plantation. Crook conducted excavations at the Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements and completed a pedestrian survey at Hanging Bull, another plantation quarter.

Basing his analysis of the 1857 C.H. DuVal map (Figure 7), Crook noted the presence of thirteen slave cabins at Behavior, four slave cabins at Bush Camp Field, and sixteen slave cabins at Hanging Bull (Crook 2008:6-7). Crook estimated that 50 to 80 people lived at Behavior, proposed a community of between 15 and 25 enslaved Geechee at Bush Camp Field, and between 65 and 95 enslaved people at Hanging Bull.[6] Each community, a term used by Crook, was organized in a "dispersed, but non-random pattern" with an average of from 56 to 90 meters between each cabin (Crook 2008:6-7). Some cabins were quite close to each other, while others were located away from others

[6] Crook refers to the enslaved people living within the Sapelo settlements as Geechee; however, no consensus has been reached on an exact "start" of Geechee identity on Sapelo.

in the settlement neighborhood. Although not discussed by Crook, the 1857 DuVal map shows that select few slave quarters had fenced yard spaces.

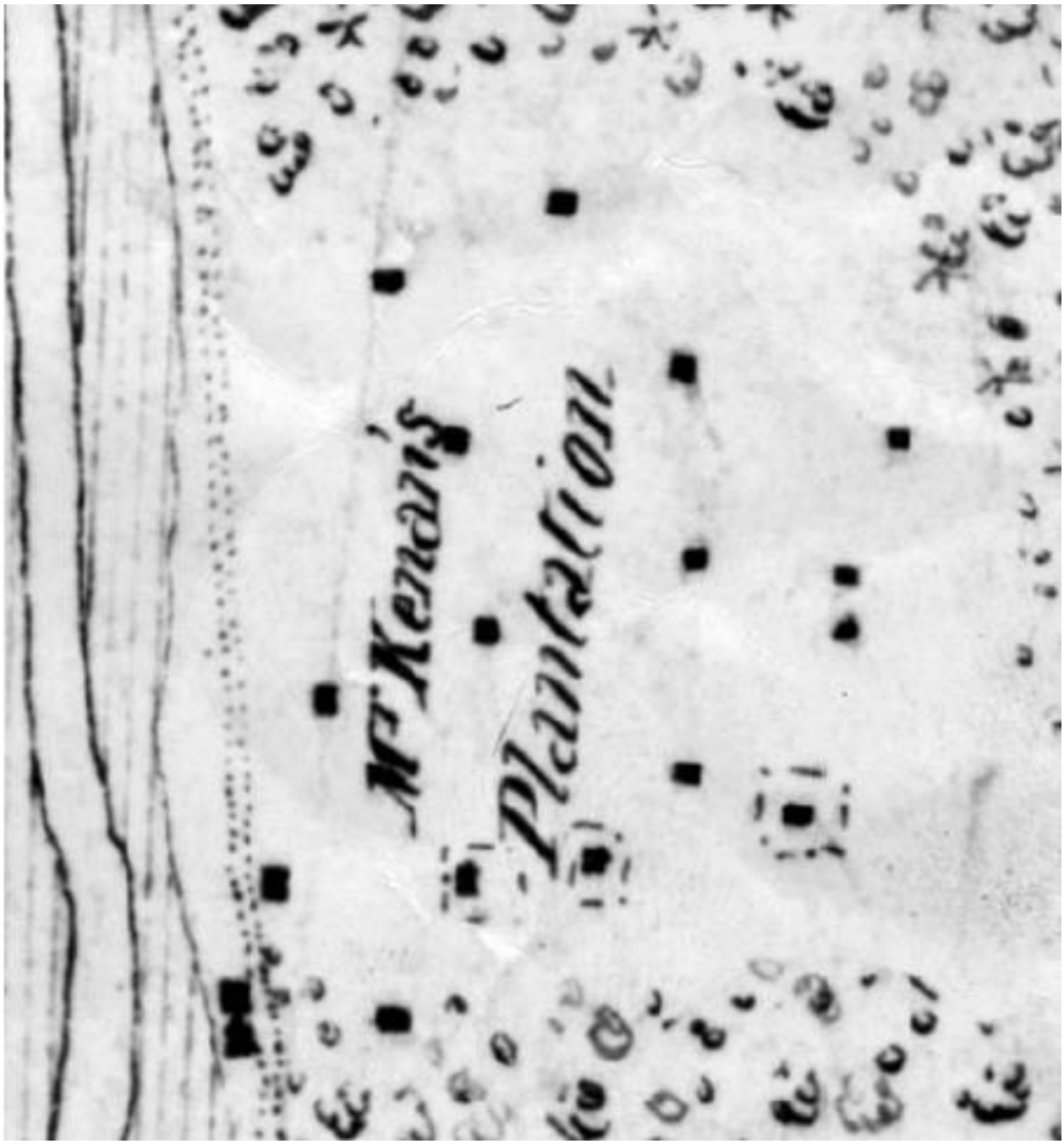



Figure 7. Slave quarters at Hanging Bull are shown on the east (right) side of the road. Two large tabby warehouses are displayed to the west of High Point Road and to the east of Mud Creek, shown on the far left of the image (US&CGS 1857).

The present study focuses only on Bush Camp Field and Behavior, although there is significant research potential at Hanging Bull. I chose to limit this study to the two southern settlements because, first, unlike Hanging Bull, the areas were not used prior to the antebellum period by past peoples, nor was the area owned by anyone other than Thomas Spalding during the antebellum era. In contrast to Bush Camp Field and Behavior, Hanging Bull, located south of Kenan Field, was deeded from Spalding to his daughter Catherine when she wedded Michael J. Kenan in 1842. The 86 enslaved people associated with the plantation were included in the land transfer.

The area, then referred to as Kenan Plantation, also located on a significant transitional Woodland-Mississippian period mound site that was originally excavated by Ray Crook and recently reanalyzed by Brandon Ritchinson (2018). Secondly, Crook only conducted a pedestrian survey at Hanging Bull, and conducted excavations at the other two sites, making his datasets difficult to compare. Finally, Crook (2008:9-11) suggested that the 1857 DuVal map did not closely match surface concentrations of artifacts at Hanging Bull, unlike his findings at Bush Camp Field and Behavior, which did correspond with the map evidence. Table 2 presents materials from Crook's surface collection at Hanging Bull. Tabby and oyster shells were noted on a presence/absence basis while other materials were counted. In this section, I use Crook's naming convention for Cabin No. 1 and Cabin No. 2, but refer to Bush Camp Field instead of New Barn Creek.

Table 2. Materials from Crook's 1993 Surface Collection of Hanging Bull (2008:8).

| Material | Roadbed | Surface | F-1 | F-2 | F-3 | F-4 | F-5 | F-6 | F-6 | F-7 | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oyster Shell | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| Tabby Mortar | | + | + | | | | | | | | |
| Whiteware | 4 | 8 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 14 |
| Porcelain | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Stoneware | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Yellow Ware | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Kaolin Pipe Bowl | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Iron Spike | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Flat Glass | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Bottle Glass | 2 | 2 | | | 4 | | | | | | 8 |
| Brick Fragment | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| V Cents Coin (1897) | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Sherd (Irene) | 2 | 4 | | | | | | | | | 6 |
| Chert Flake | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |

## *PREVIOUS RESEARCH AT BEHAVIOR*

The slave cabin at Behavior identified by Crook was excavated over a seven-day period in 1994 and 1997 (Crook 2008:10). The cabin was originally detected through a systematic pedestrian survey of the entire Behavior area, the boundaries of which Crook determined based on the 1857 DuVal map of Sapelo Island. Ground surface visibility at Behavior was favorable due to recent logging and controlled burns by Georgia Department of Natural Resources, which led the crew to finding a "low pile of oyster shells containing tabby mortar fragments and a few bricks" (Crook 2008:10). This pile of shells was, according to Crook, "at or very near the location of a structure in the south-central section of Behavior" (Crook 2008:10).

The purpose of Crook's excavations at Behavior was to expose foundations of a small structure and also an area to the northwest of that structure. Figure 8 presents an image produced by Crook (2008:11) that shows his assessment of which cabin on the DuVal map relates to the structure that he excavated. Also seen in this figure are the spatial relationships of the Long Tabby Sugar Mill, plantation buildings of unknown function, and Bush Camp Field. The cabin, shown in Figure 9, measures 2.3 meters wide by 1.7 meters long, with the long axis oriented from northwest to southeast. Two potential narrow doorways were identified archaeologically—one in the western corner, and a second doorway that could have also been in a poorly defined northeastern wall. The four corners of the structure were rounded rather than squared. The floor of the cabin was a dense layer of oyster shell in an organic sandy and humic matrix.

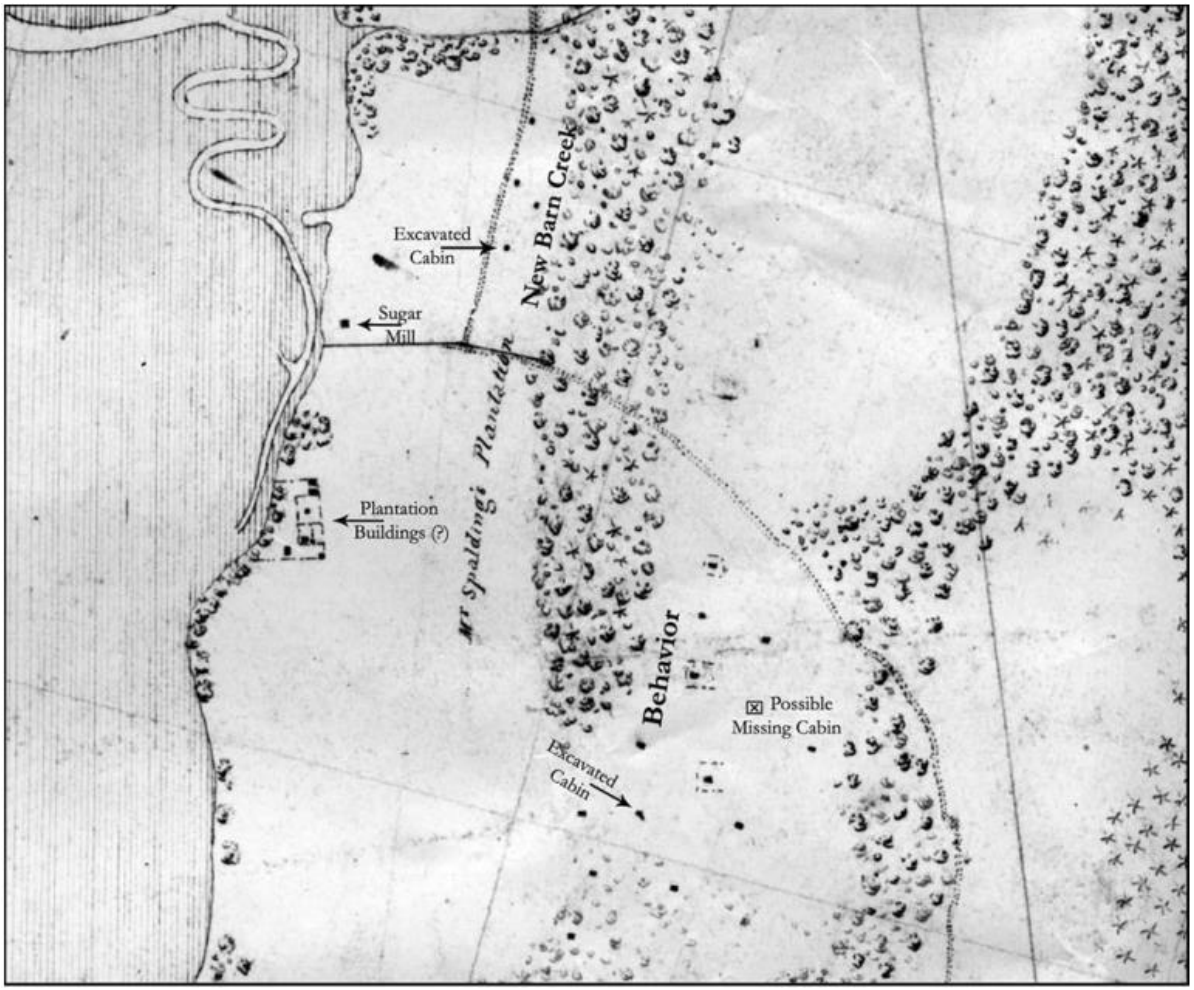



Figure 8. Annotated 1857 DuVal map (Crook 2008:11).



Figure 9. Cabin No. 1 at Behavior (adapted from Crook 2008:12).

Fragments of carbonized and charred wood were scattered across the interior of the structure, concentrated especially in the western corner near the doorway. Though he admitted the lack of evidence, Crook (2008:12) hypothesized that the roof of Cabin No. 1 was made of palmetto thatch which would correlate closely to the West African palm leaves that were used for roofing on many fiber and mud-based structures.

The most distinctive feature of the structure was the wall rubble, which was made of crumbled tabby mortar, bricks, and some ballast stones. The foundations of this structure contrast with the less intact foundations at Bush Camp Field. Many of the tabby mortar fragments had deep, 2cm wide internal depressions from grape vines. The exterior of the tabby mortar was smoothed with a lime-based finish, possibly from a mixture of egg shells and shell-based lime. Walls measured approximately 15cm around the structure (Crook 2008:12). Figure 10 presents Crook's (2008:13) plan view excavation map of Cabin No. 1.

Crook (2008:12) interpreted the grapevine impressions in the tabby, presented in Figure 11, as evidence that the walls of Cabin No. 1 were "constructed using a wattle and daub technique." No postholes were identified underneath the tabby rubble; however some depressions in the soils directly below the walls were identified. Crook (2008:12) identified a 10cm layer of tabby mortar that covered a thin interface of oyster shells and "occasional bricks" placed between the sandy sediments below the structure and the first wall layers. He hypothesized that wall posts for the grapevine wattles were placed into the observed thin oyster shell, brick, and tabby foundation.

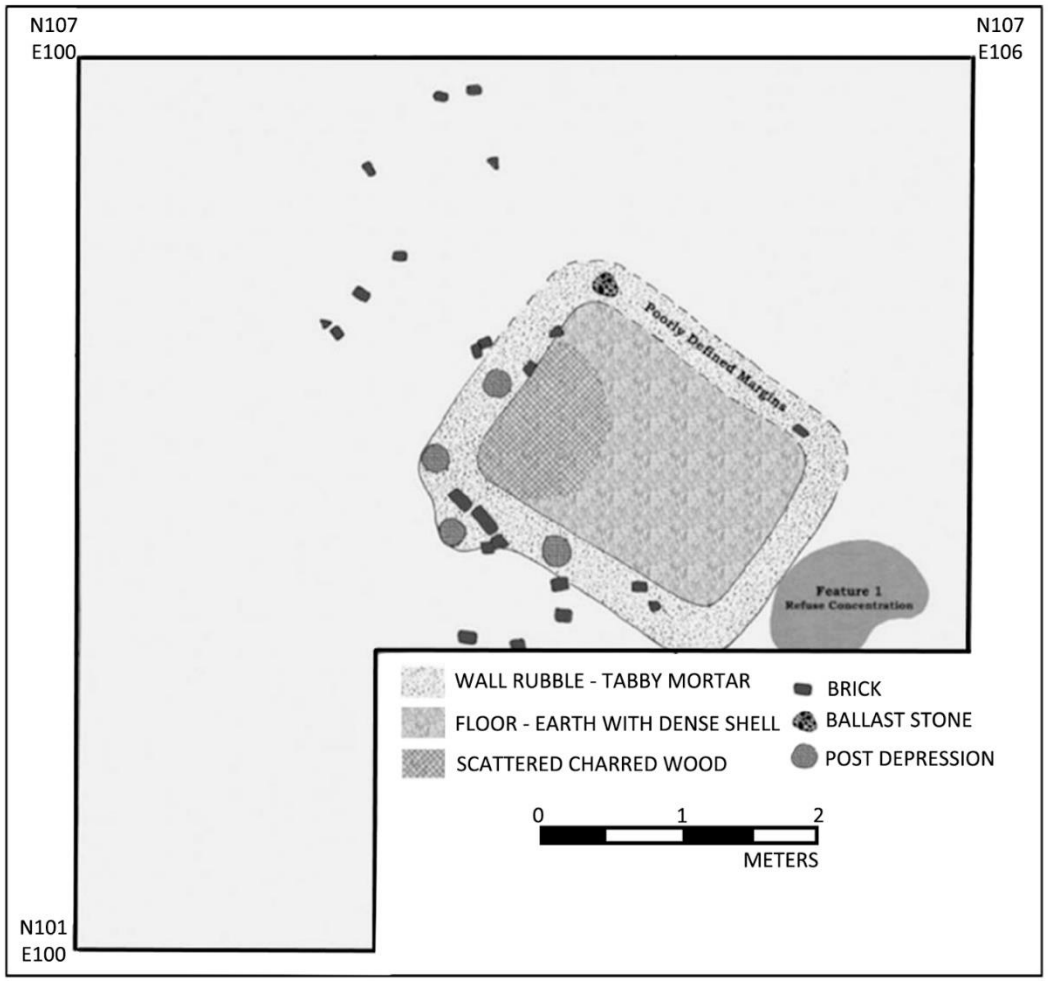



Figure 10. Plan View Excavations, Cabin No. 1 (adapted from Crook 2008:13).



Figure 11. Grapevine impressed tabby daub from Cabin No. 1. Image from Crook 2008:14.

Based on recovered artifacts from the block over Cabin No. 1 and surrounding areas, Crook estimated that the mean ceramic date of Cabin No. 1 is 1851.58. However, he (2008:13) also stated that "much of the whiteware was associated with the excavation units to the north of the cabin and that, along with numerous cut nails and sheet metal fragments, indicates that a later frame structure was located in the immediate vicinity." Crook went on to list other artifacts from the 1994 and 1997 Behavior excavations, stating that the recovered materials from "within and around Cabin No. 1" included:

> Kaolin (white ball clay) pipe stems and bowl fragments, gun flints and lead shot, an axe, a hoe, a hammer head, a two prong fork, buttons of shell, wood, glass, and a small hair brooch (glass with a painted eight-point star), bottle glass fragments, small blue faceted glass beads, and two Indian head pennies (dated 1861 and 1872).

## *PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS AT BUSH CAMP FIELD*

Bush Camp Field, referred to by Crook (2008) as New Barn Creek, is the site of Cabin No. 2, a second wattle and tabby daub slave cabin associated with the Sapelo Plantation. Excavations of Cabin No. 2 took place during the summer of 1999 over a 14-day period (Crook 2008:15). Like excavations at Behavior, Bush Camp Field was also oriented and excavated according to an arbitrary grid aligned with the orientation of the field, 40 degrees east of north. Archaeological investigations began with a pedestrian survey of the recently cleared and tilled southern end of Bush Camp Field.

Based on surface distribution maps produced in the program Surfer, Crook located a concentration of tabby mortar fragments as the location for an 11m x 10m block. Cabin

No. 2, shown in Figure 12, was 4.7m long and 2.5m wide. The structure was oriented approximately 40 degrees east of north—the same orientation as Bush Camp Field. Crook excavated the 20cm plowzone to expose the structure walls. Screen size and collection policy were not noted.

A doorway was identified in the grid north wall. A dark sandy humic stain can be viewed on the bottom portion of the excavation photo that extends across the boundary between the interior and exterior of the structure. Unlike Cabin No. 1 at Behavior, which was not plowed, the walls of Cabin No. 2 at Bush Camp Field were less structurally intact. Regardless of the post-depositional impact of plows, tabby fragments with grapevine impressions were recovered on and near the tabby walls and immediately outside of the structure, indicating that like Cabin No. 1, Cabin No. 2 was also made of wattle and tabby daub. Some fragments of tabby mortar recovered from Bush Camp Field still had a lime-based white-wash adhered to the tabby. Additionally, at least sixteen postholes and four post molds were noted by Crook. The stratigraphic relationships between the postholes and the tabby walls were not discussed. Figure 13 presents an excavated plan map of Cabin No. 2 that includes postholes, the doorway, a large segment of grapevine impressed tabby, and a shallow depression identified on the south, or back yard, of the cabin.

In addition to Cabin No. 2, a second and later wattle and tabby daub building, which here I refer to as Cabin No. 2b, was identified in the same excavation block (Figure 14). The building measured 4.7m by 9.5m and was oriented parallel to High Point



Figure 12. Outline of Cabin No. 2 tabby walls at Bush Camp Field, facing south. Image from Crook 2008:19.

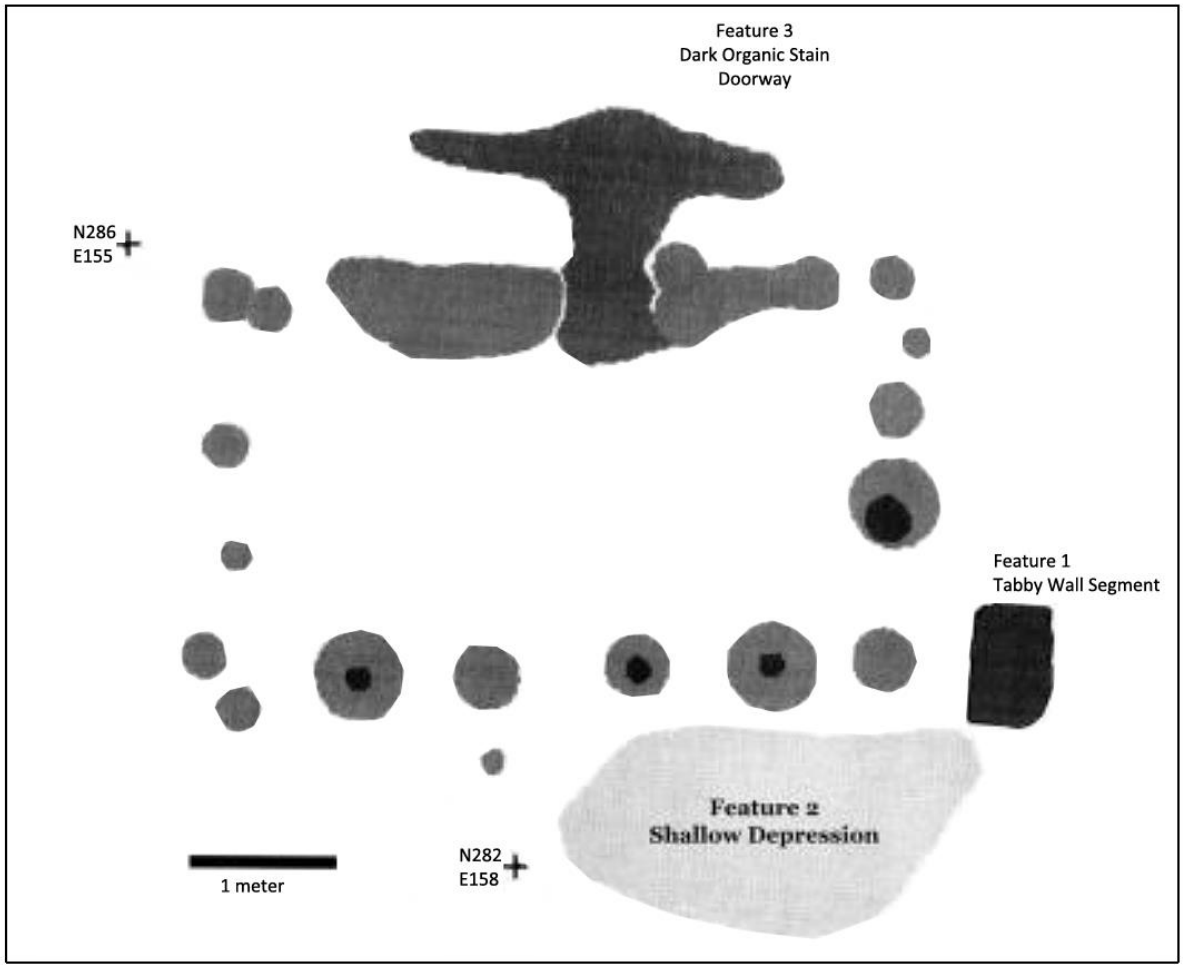



Figure 13. End of excavation plan view of Cabin No. 2. Image from Crook 2008:19. (Note that the orientation of the map does not match the orientation of the photo in Figure 16).

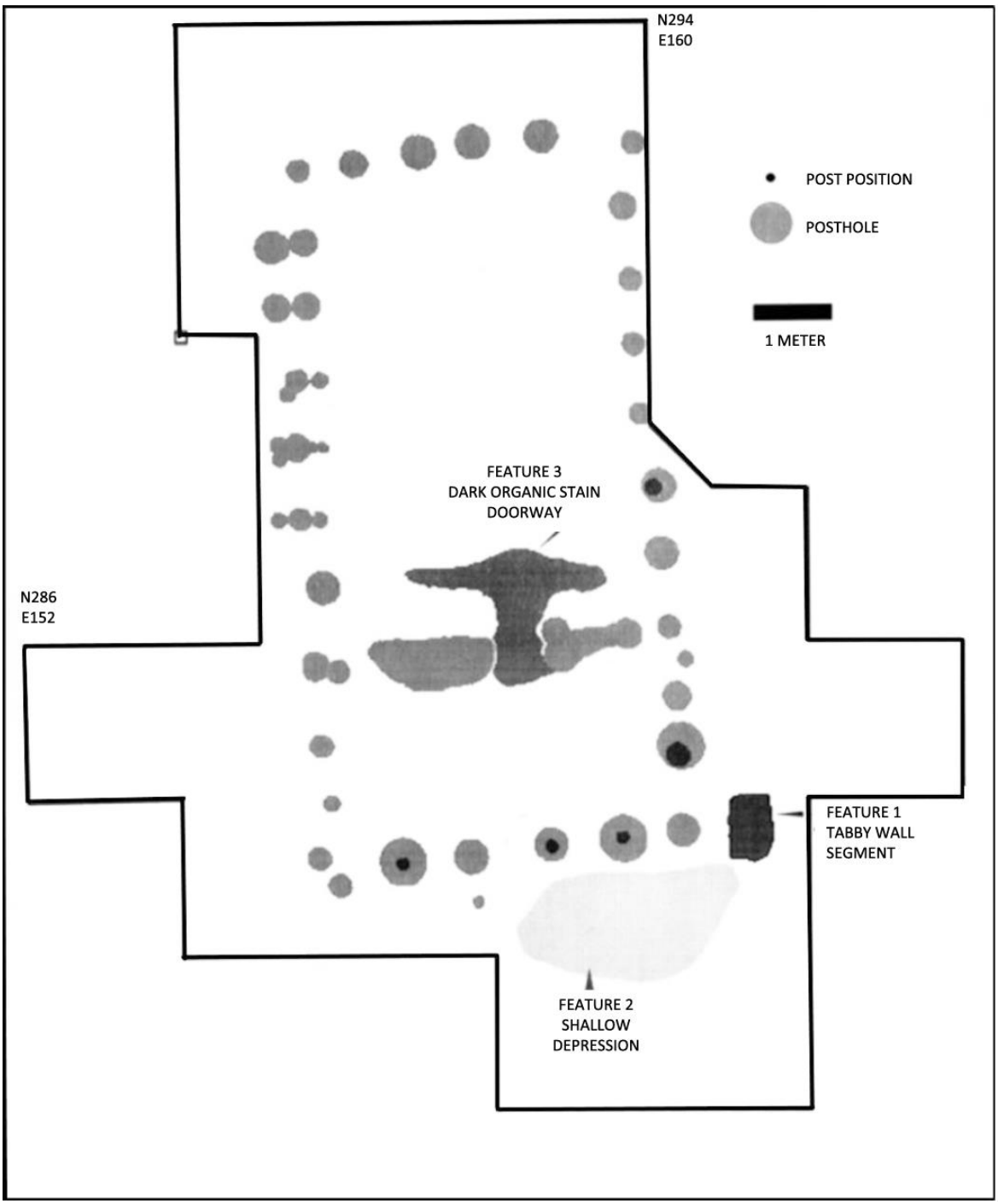



Figure 14. Cabin No. 2b on Cabin No. 2 at Bush Camp Field. The double posts on the northwest side of the building was interpreted as a small set of stairs or a stoop. Image from Crook 2008:21.

Road (also called West Autobahn Road). In contrast to the architectural footprint of Cabins No. 1 and No. 2, Cabin No. 2b's footprint was marked by regularly spaced postholes that extended 25-50cm into the subsoil (Crook 2008:20). The southern wall of Cabin No. 2b, characterized by Crook as a "frame structure erected on pilings," was constructed within the footprint of the earlier Cabin No. 2 (Crook 2008:20-21). The postholes of Cabin No. 2b contained many fragments of tabby daub, which, according to Crook (2008:20) indicate that "the walls of the earlier cabin had deteriorated or were razed prior to the construction of the new building." He did not specify the construction dimensions used for the more recent frame structure.

The mean ceramic date obtained from the Bush Camp Field excavation block was 1832.75. Other artifacts that were recovered from Crook's Bush Camp Field excavation block include, "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, slate and chert flakes, and a few ballast stones" (Crook 2008:23).

Crook (2008:23-24) interpreted these wattle and tabby daub structures to be a clear and "an appropriate metaphor for the creolization process that would have been occurring in language and all other aspects of a developing Geechee culture." He goes on the argue that the layout of the settlement and the social communities of Hanging Bull and Behavior settlements were self-organized Geechee villages, in which enslaved people

had, “a very considerable, but by no means absolute, degree of autonomy” (Crook 2008:23).

## *PREVIOUS RESEARCH AT BEHAVIOR CEMETERY*

Behavior Cemetery is located to the south of Bush Camp Field and to the west of Behavior settlement. The site has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1996 and previously featured in *The National Geographic Magazine* in 1934 (Moore 1934; Thomas 1996). The National Register nomination form emphasizes the Gullah-Geechee traditions practiced within the cemetery and linked those to the postbellum on-island communities, such as Shell Hammock, Hog Hammock, and Raccoon Bluff, stating that the Cemetery has the

> potential to yield an enormous amount of historical information about the burial customs of the African American communities on a coastal barrier island. The African American burial customs include the laying of objects on the graves, as evidenced by recent burials. This practice has continued for some time. The cemetery’s bearing the same name as the c. 1865 and thus antebellum slave community also links it to the antebellum slave quarters of the Thomas Spalding Plantation which were in the same area (Thomas 1996:6-7).

The National Register nomination form stated the significance of the cemetery to past Geechee occupations. Cornelia Bailey and other members of the Hog Hammock community approached Nicholas Honerkamp UTC for assistance in determining where human remains are located within the cemetery. As the National Register nomination alludes to, Geechee burials are not always marked with a headstone. Instead, the deceased

person's favorite possessions are oftentimes placed over the remains as something to take with them into the afterlife. Common items include glassware, conch shells, and cookware. Clocks are often placed over the grave to "awake the person on Judgement Day" (Moore 1936:248). Other graves may be marked by only a piece of wood with their name carved onto it, nailed into a tree near the deceased person's resting place as discussed in this 1882 manuscript regarding Behavior Cemetery: "the epitaphs which everywhere meet your eye...are written on boards and nailed up about as high as a man's head on the trees, the others are written on ordinary headboards and driven in the ground" (Thomas 1996:23). Many of the organic markers were for children, for oftentimes children's graves are not marked or have less elaborate burial markers because they have not yet "Caught Sense," or shown their maturity and potential to contribute to the Gullah-Geechee community network.

In Gullah-Geechee culture, the spirit remains very active after death, and this greatly impacts how people are buried and how cemeteries are viewed. Like in Igbo culture, spirits are omnipresent and deserve the greatest respect. However, spirits can still be good or evil, involved in people's lives or active in other ways. Spirits can be mischievous or guardians of the living—sometimes even both. Because of the tether that connects ancestors' spirits to this earth, once someone is buried in a Geechee cemetery, they are celebrated and then left alone. Efforts to keep spirits happy included not walking on the Cemetery Road, but sometimes it was necessary for Geechee to take this shortcut road between Long Tabby and Hog Hammock. In some of these rare instances, especially

at sunset and after dark, people have reported shadows and large black hounds with red eyes following them past the cemetery. Graves are not regularly visited as they are in many of today's Christian-based cultures, and only one Hog Hammock community member tends to the cemetery grounds.

Behavior Cemetery is not the only cemetery on the island; New Orleans Cemetery, which has not yet been located, is where enslaved people were buried during the antebellum years. Because spirits are so active, burial ground are often far away from occupied areas, typically in fairly remote wooded areas. The remote location of these cemeteries—especially New Orleans—is good for another reason. Unwelcome outsiders to the island have been known to break into the cemetery and explore, ignoring advice of the on-island Geechee to ask permission of the spirits before entering and exiting the cemetery. Even more egregiously, some of the outsiders have gone so far as to steal offerings to the spirits, keeping items like clocks, pitchers, and dishes as souvenirs of their visit to the Island.

In efforts to record the location of graves before all above-ground offerings have been stolen or moved by more natural causes and to learn of the location of unmarked graves in Behavior Cemetery, a UTC field school was held there in 2010. At the request of the Hog Hammock community a ground penetrating radar and archaeological survey took place to identify the location of unmarked graves to minimize disturbances in the cemetery that is nearing capacity. A saltwater Geechee woman said, "we can't swing a

shovel without waking somebody up," referring to the human remains that were often being uncovered during preparations of a newer grave shaft.

In addition to the bioarchaeological aspect of this project, a secondary focus of this project was to explore a 2 x 3 meter block tabby fall that extended about 20 cm above ground surface. This architectural feature was initially identified by Cornelia Bailey and Ray Crook. A total of 53 50 x 50 cm square shovel tests were excavated on an arbitrary magnetic grid at 5 m, 10 m, and 20 m intervals to determine the extent of cultural materials related to a possible antebellum component that predates the cemetery. The testing interval was shortened the closer the survey was to cultural materials. All fill was screened through ¼" mesh and excavated to sterile sediment, typically 50cm below surface. In total, 45% of the shovel tests were positive for cultural materials.

A secondary impetus for the 2010 archaeological research at Behavior Cemetery was to better define the tabby wall fall initially identified by Ray Crook and Cornelia Bailey. The "tabby pile," or Feature 3, introduced above, was excavated in a 1 m x 50 cm unit oriented east-west to obtain a profile of the foundation (Cochran, Honerkamp, and Crook 2011:6-7). While few diagnostic materials were identified, large quantities of whitewashed tabby plaster were found alongside a dark green olive glass bottle that dates to the 1790s (Noël Hume 1974:68). Researchers propose that the structure was likely less than four meters square in size, belonged to a short and perhaps specialized occupation. In contrast to other excavated plantation sites on the island, such as Chocolate, High

Point, and the South End, the midden density at Behavior Cemetery is significantly lower (Cochran, Honerkamp, and Crook 2011:7).

A second structural feature, a square posthole, was identified approximately 20m south of Feature 3. This feature was tentatively identified as a slave cabin that was supported by piers made of stone ballast. However, only seven cut nails were found in association with the feature—quite a low number for a wood-framed building (Cochran, Honerkamp, and Crook 2011:7-8). Other artifacts from this and nearby shovel tests include "refined ceramics, container glass—including a recycled wine bottle fragment used as a scraper—a small amount of faunal remains, pipe stems, a brass button, a red bead, a flint strike-a-light, and evidence for the manufacture of lead shot" (Cochran, Honerkamp, and Crook 2011:7). A MCD based on the few ceramics recovered from the site is 1847.2 ($n$=23). The temporal association between the tabby and wood-framed structure was not estimated in the 2011 paper (Cochran, Honerkamp, and Crook 2011).

Structures with fiber supports, sometimes made with grape vines, are rare in antebellum architecture, and are thus poorly understood and seldom recognized in archaeological contexts. Crook (2008) hypothesized that the cabins represent creolized architecture that is a material manifestation of the transition between the West-African Igbo culture and the lowcountry Gullah-Geechee culture. Bush Camp Field and especially the Behavior settlements were located in areas away from overt planter surveillance, allowing slaves significant amounts of unmonitored time. Time away from planter and overseer surveillance combined with responsibility over actions away from

work spaces led to the creation and maintenance of a Gullah-Geechee community, which persists to this day on Sapelo in the Hog Hammock Community (Crook et al. 2003).

*CONCLUSION*

In a summation of the field, Theresa Singleton (2010:164-165) states that the African-styled slave cabins on Sapelo and Yaughan and Curiboo are the only known archaeological examples of non-traditional slave housing in the Eastern US. These cabins are more reminiscent of Caribbean and African-styled houses rather than the strictly organized tabby duplexes scattered along the Georgia coast. However, the majority of research of Georgia coastal plantations is limited to above ground single or double bay tabby cabins. According to Orser (1998), Joseph (1989, 1993), and Morgan (2010), tabby duplexes are not representative of slave housing.

Not all slaves in the lowcountry lived in houses made of this expensive material, and therefore the existing sample is biased temporally, spatially, and economically. Previous research at Bush Camp Field, Behavior, and Behavior Cemetery have alluded to the possibility of additional wattle and tabby daub slave cabins on Sapelo Island. The next chapter discusses methods I used for this study to test the ubiquity of this housing style on the plantation landscape.

# CHAPTER 5: METHODS

In this chapter, I discuss geophysical, geospatial, and archaeological methods to examine spaces within the landscape of the Sapelo Plantation and to analyze the geometry of spaces at contemporaneous lowcountry plantations. Because of the homogenous environment of Sapelo Island, reconstructing the landscape of the Sapelo Plantation slave settlements was a perfect place to use geostatistical and geospatial methods, such as LiDAR to identify the location of below- ground features and Thiessen tessellations to predict the extent of surface scatter around slave cabins. Finally, I introduce archaeological methods used during the present study at Bush Camp Field and Behavior, beginning with the pedestrian surveys that took place over >2km$^2$ to identify the most probable locations for enslaved spaces that corresponded with areas on LiDAR and historical maps.

## *GEOSPATIAL METHODOLOGY TO ANALYZE THE GEOMETRY OF LOWCOUNTRY PLANTATIONS*

Geospatial analyses are statistical techniques that are applied to topographic, geometric, or geographic properties. While both geography and statistics have long had a place in archaeological research, software like GIS and R have propelled geospatial sciences into a new phase. On the cusp of archaeological research is the implementation of pattern-building and pattern-manipulating algorithms that involve fundamental practices of predictive modeling that have been used since the processualist-era of 1970s

archaeological inquiry. Today, by taking a more humanistic approach to analyzing past human landscapes and behavior, anthropologists are commonly involving geospatial methods and analyses into basic research methodology. The following section introduces different types of data often used in a GIS, how they are incorporated into archaeological research, and how the current research takes advantage of new technology and statistical approaches to better understand historical landscapes.

Geospatial approaches to spaces and places within historical landscapes analyze geographic datasets to observe modern terrestrial landscapes, estimate past environments, or model how past people used the landscape. These analyses often incorporate statistical and remote sensing techniques, sometimes involving such procedures as geovisualization, surface analysis and network analysis. Developments in remote sensing and predictive modeling technologies are quickly becoming more integrated in anthropological research of landscapes.

Remote aerial imagery such as UAS (Unmanned Aerial Systems), LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging), DEM (Digital Elevation Models), and TIN (Triangulated Irregular Networks) allows archaeologists to obtain hyper-accurate views of the ground surface, even in areas of dense vegetation. Thiessen tessellations are a geostatistical technique here used to measure the geometry of plantation landscapes. These techniques are often combined with predictive modeling and spatial analyses to estimate how past peoples moved across landscapes or for site prospection (Devereux et al. 2008; Doneus et al. 2008; Bennett et al. 2011).

These tools hold the potential to create a symbiotic relationship between humanistic and scientific perspectives. Broadly speaking, the goals of using geospatial and geophysical methods fits within the minimal archaeological footprint ethos of this project. By first relying on non-invasive techniques, archaeologists were able to obtain a "first pass" look at the landscape of the plantation.

Aerial geospatial data are often used in conjunction with archaeological research that incorporates ground based geophysics. Government websites post non-sensitive geospatial data on internet sources like earthexplorer.gov. These data include remotely sensed data for integration into a geographic information system (GIS) through open sourced or ESRI software. Archaeologists usually employ a toolset with particular dependency on data obtained from aerial laserscanning like thermalspectral imagery, DEM/TIN, LiDAR, and increasingly AUS to obtain fine-grained imagery at a small scale. Oftentimes, these tools are used in conjunction with predictive modeling techniques.

LiDAR proved to be a valuable tool in a desktop survey of the Sapelo Plantation landscape, especially when discerning historical from more recent landscape alterations. In addition, viewing low-lying and swampy areas of the project area helped archaeologists to limit potential areas of past human occupation. Figure 15 presents a LiDAR image of the settlement areas of the area of interest. Long, thin linear features often represent historical roads whereas the thicker linear feature going west to southeast

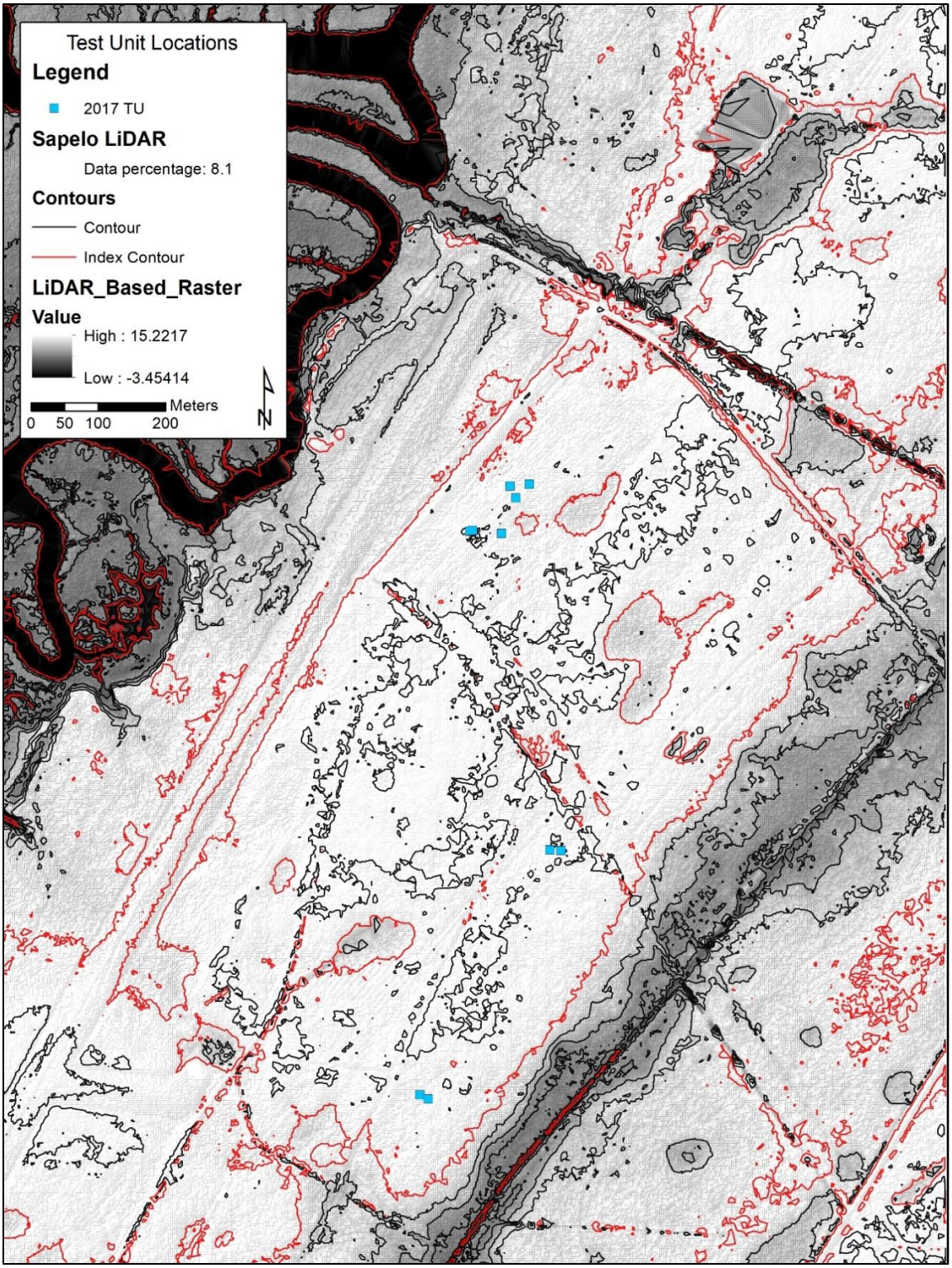



Figure 15. LiDAR based raster of the project area showing relative lack of elevation and proximity of tested areas to marshy areas and roadways.

at the top of the image relates to a modern paved road. Sunken areas are low-lying swampy areas that were often man-made. Teal square icons indicate the location of archaeological test units.

### *UNMANNED AERIAL SYSTEMS (AUS) SURVEY*

An AUS survey was undertaken to reconstruct Ray Crook's survey grid at Bush Camp Field and to better understand the dynamic natural environment within and around the Sapelo Plantation. Although archaeologists were unable to precisely reconstruct either of Crook's grids, imagery captured with an AUS proved to be an invaluable resource in determining the location of Cabin #2. Because Crook used an arbitrary grid in his 2008 report and the permanent datum that he used has since been destroyed, there was only a single picture to tie together the two excavations.

Imagery captured with a DJI Phantom III AUS replicated the image captured by an unknown photographer in a helicopter. Referencing these two images in Gimp and GIS led to Figure 16, which successfully superimposed the locations of both excavation blocks. Geospatial imagery and AUS surveys helped archaeologists to determine what areas of the modern landscape had the highest probability of also being the site of slave housing. Points were georectified by using corners of the roofs of Long Tabby Sugar Works located in the background of both images. The base of the two palm trees in the center of Bush Camp Field also served as useful reference points to align the two test areas.



Figure 16. AUS captured image of 2017 excavations with georeferenced image taken from a helicopter in the 1990s, the slightly darker rectangular area in the center of the photograph.

## *THIESSEN TESSELLATION DIAGRAMS*

The major geospatial outcomes within this project are Thiessen tessellations, also known as Voroni diagrams, which are visual tools for representing statistically significant differences in the use of space. This method, used to quantify certain shapes, is often used in facial and spatial recognition software (Xiao and Yan 2001); however, here I use tessellation diagrams to measure spaces within slave settlements on antebellum Georgia Sea Island plantations. This method of diagramming space is conducted by computationally dividing a spatial plane into regions based on pre-determined points, in this case slave cabins projected on historical US&CGS maps. For each point, also called a cell, seed, site, or generator, there is a single corresponding region, here limited by the

boundaries of a slave settlement drawn on a historical map. Bounding features may be roads, waterways, or features such as changes in vegetation (Figure 17).

Vector shapefiles based on features depicted on georeferenced historical maps were made based on the shape of a plantation or slave settlement(s). Structures such as slave cabins, agricultural buildings like ginneries or warehouses, overseers' houses, and the planter's house were identified on historic maps and at least two point shapefiles were created for each plantation; one included all structures on the plantation and the other contained all structures in slave settlements. The initial vector shapefile was converted to a raster image. Then a cost distance analysis (also known as an accumulated cost surface analysis), is based on the GIS points that were generated for each slave structure, was run against the raster outline of the slave settlement The cost distance analysis provided intermediate measurements between total activity area and activity areas around each point, in this case the structures shown on historic maps. A cost distance tool is often used by ecologists for niche modeling applications. The purpose of this tool, found in the GIS Spatial Analyst package, is to analyze movement over continuous space.

Based on results from the cost distance analysis, a cost allocation based on the cost distance model essentially created tessellations between points. The cost allocation tool, also found in the Spatial Analyst package in GIS, is a raster-based package that is used to calculate the least accumulated cost over a surface based on results from the cost distance tool, in this study essentially functioning as a clipped-to-shape Voroni diagram. The cost



Figure 17. South slave settlement of Cannon's Point Plantation (in red) on St. Simon's Island is depicted in this historical map as bounded to the east by a road and to the west by a line of trees, outlined in blue. The overseer's house is the single structure above, outlined in green. Base image from *NOAA's Office of Coast Survey Historical Map & Chart Collection* (U.S. Coast Survey 1857).

allocation tool, combined with the cost distance analysis, uses georeferenced locations of slave cabins to find the largest region or space around each slave cabin within a given settlement area. Once the region around each slave cabin is generated, the raster cells obtained from the cost allocation are transformed to a vector format to allow for geometric calculations. Then, the geometry tool is used to calculate the area and perimeter of each of the generated regions within the settlement tessellation. In this study, the results were converted from raster to vector format and a geometric measurement tool was used to obtain the area of each region in the settlement tessellation. Figure 18 graphically represents the methods described above and Figure 19 presents a workflow chart for the tessellation study.

Many of the plantations within the micro-region were excluded from the present comparison because historical maps depicting slave cabins were unavailable. Some plantation maps, such as the depiction of Retreat on St. Simon's Island, only show the location of four unmarked structures organized in no particular pattern. Since over 100 slaves lived and worked at Retreat Plantation, the maps were considered insufficient for the present study. Similarly, historical maps of Pierce Butler's Hampton Point Plantation do not depict St. Anne's slave settlement, Experiment, or Five Pound (Moore 1981:79-80). In cases such as these, tessellations were conducted only on the settlements clearly shown on historical maps that have had archaeological excavations conducted on-site rather than relying on local knowledge of these resources. Results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 7.

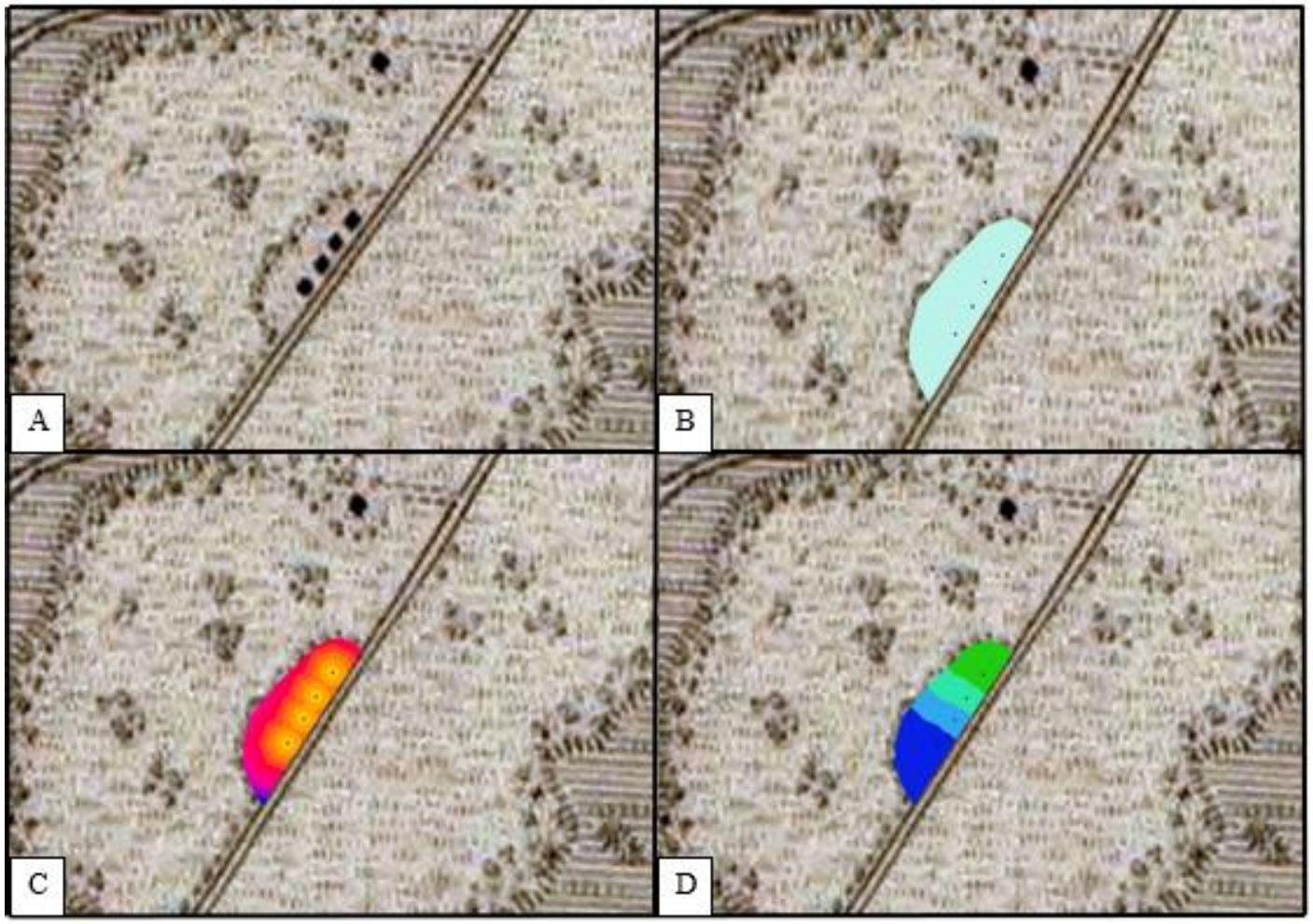



Figure 18. Process of creating Thiessen tessellations. The base image is shown in A; the point shapefile of slave cabins and polygon shapefile of the slave settlement area is shown in B. Slide C shows the result of the least cost path analysis, and the final Thiessen tessellation output is in Slide D. Base image from *NOAA's Office of Coast Survey Historical Map & Chart Collection* (U.S. Coast Survey 1857)

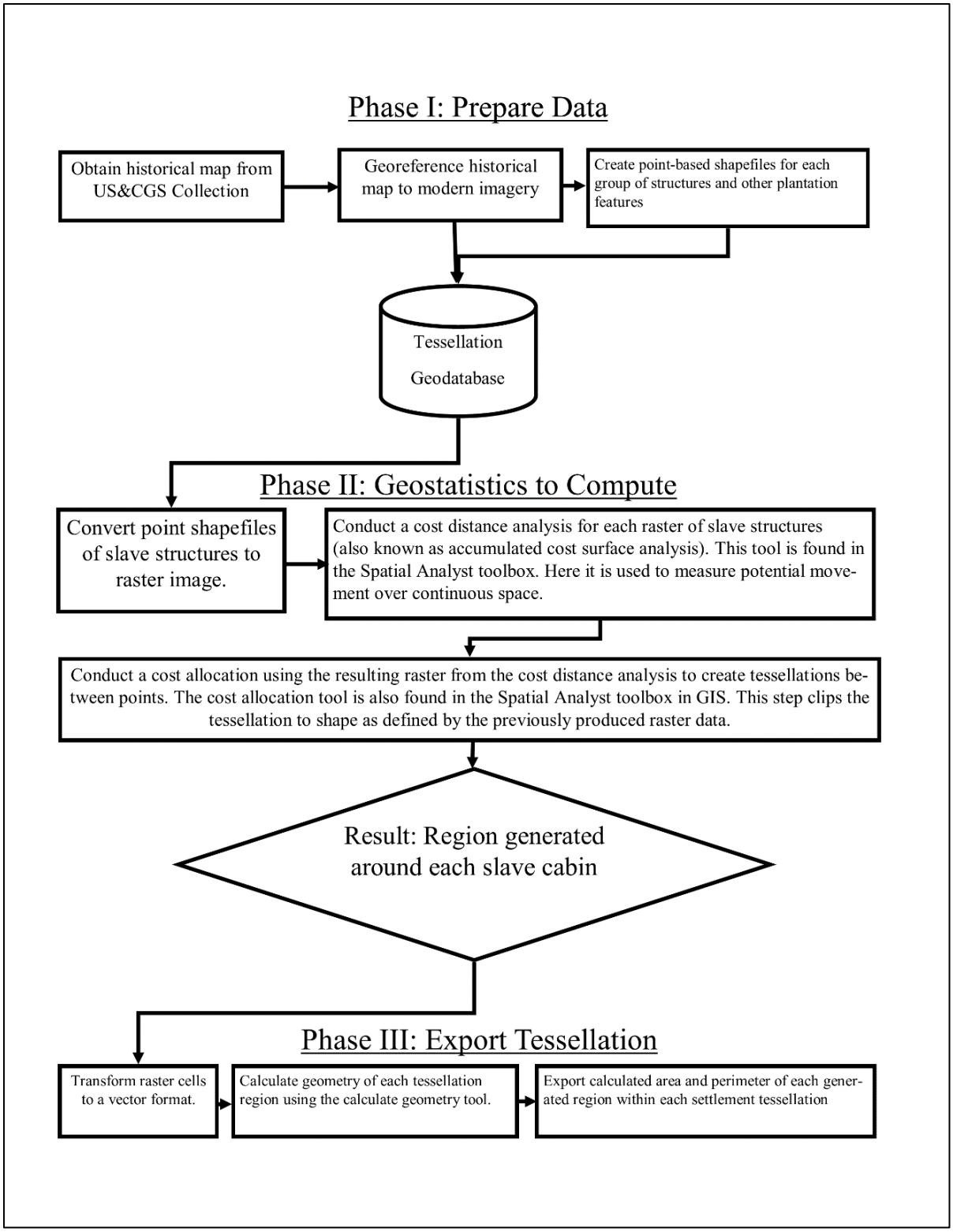



Figure 19. Process of computing tessellations in a GIS.

*ARCHAEOLOGICAL METHODS*

The field research methodology used in this study was survey level, with the purpose of simply identifying if more than the two previously identified wattle and tabby daub structures existed on the Sapelo Plantation. Rather than obtaining a large sample of artifacts relating to the occupants of a single cabin, instead, I take a broad approach to archaeologically "map" the entire slave settlement. I feel that this approach–finding and defining these seven previously unknown slave cabins–builds the foundation for future research that can later ask more in-depth questions about the lifestyle of the enslaved people of the Sapelo Plantation.

The first challenge presented by slave settlements on Sapelo Island is simply finding them. The two slave settlements at the Sapelo Plantation do not contain standing structures, topographical features, landscape modifications, waterways cutting through them or extant fence lines to aid in site location. Commonly used methods that interpret results using landscape theory are often rooted in modern landscape features, such as standing structures, modified yardscapes, mounds, or remnant roadbeds. However, at the Sapelo Plantation settlements, none of these modern features exist. The methods presented below were designed to be minimally archaeologically invasive; instead of relying on large-scale excavations, I used large-scale remote sensing surveys and close-interval pedestrian surveys.

In the summers of 2016 and 2017, archaeological field schools through the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga undertook a Phase I shovel testing survey of

Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements guided by historical maps and LiDAR imagery that were initially groundtruthed by pedestrian surveys. Credence was given especially to the 1867 DuVal and 1868 NOAA mapping projects when making initial hypotheses about the location of slave cabins because those sources were the foundation of previous excavations on both sites undertaken by Crook (2008). Initial research goals of the surveys were to relocate Crook's excavation blocks at Bush Camp Field and Behavior, and to determine if wattle and tabby daub structures excavated by Crook (2008) were representative of an architectural pattern or if they were anomalies in the plantation settlements.

A total of 457 shovel tests were excavated in 2016-17, 318 of which were positive for antebellum cultural materials. Shovel tests were excavated at a 10 m interval; positive shovel tests were bounded in cardinal directions at a 5 m interval. Based on density analysis processed in a GIS and results from a geophysics survey, areas of both sites with high frequencies of antebellum architectural artifacts were further investigated with targeted 1 x 1 m test units ($n$=9 at Bush Camp Field, $n$=4 at Behavior). The following section will first provide an overview of the modern landscape of each area, then discuss methods of pedestrian survey, shovel test excavation, test unit excavation, and laboratory processing methods.

The exact locations of agricultural fields, enslaved settlements, or even the environment of the island that Thomas Spalding owned is unknown. The island, which is naturally "U" shaped vertically, held water in the middle, presumably preventing much

agricultural production or human settlement. In the 1910s, Sapelo Island owner Howard Coffin ordered drainage ditches to be hand-dug all around the island. This made the water in the middle of the island drain to the estuary while effectively reshaping the topography of the entire island. These ditches, which are about two meters wide and laid across the entire island, have thus far prevented accurate environmental reconstructions of the island. Researchers from the University of Maryland and the University of Georgia are using LiDAR to map all 1910-era drainage ditches to then create predictive models of the island's plantation-era environment. The following discussion is therefore limited to the known locations of agricultural fields and slave settlements within the area of interest: Long Tabby Field, Bush Camp Field, and Behavior. Other locations like Hanging Bull and the Reynolds Mansion were also areas of antebellum activity but are outside of the scope of the present research.

### *GEOPHYSICAL METHODOLOGY TO SURVEY BUSH CAMP FIELD*

American archaeologists have, since the early 2000s, embraced the call of geophysics with increasing enthusiasm. Remote sensing is a routine method in CRM and academic archaeology, especially as prices for machines and software have gone down and as the market for used machines has improved. Geophysics have not only helped to inform archaeologists of the best places to excavate, they have contributed significantly to our understanding of landscapes, thus being a catalyst for archaeologists to interpret landscapes on a broader scale.

In this project, a gradiometer survey was used to follow a shovel testing survey undertaken in Summer 2016, the methods of which are described below. During the initial archaeological survey, a single, tantalizing, wattle and tabby daub feature was uncovered. The purpose of the geophysical survey was to further explore this feature while also working to identify the location of previous excavation units and other slave cabins. The following section presents results from the gradiometer survey with a brief discussion of data management and processing procedures.

In the winter of 2016, two geophysical tests were carried out at Bush Camp Field with the dual purpose of confirming the location of Crook's grid and to better define potential areas of occupation that were identified through an archaeological survey the previous summer. A Bartington 601 Gradiometer (Grad-601) was used to survey 29 20 x 20 meter grids (11,600$m^2$) around the anticipated location of Crook's grid and around Test Unit 2, a unit that contained an historic building feature with chunks of wattle and tabby daub. An electric resistivity survey was also conducted over the same area, however only covering 6,400$m^2$. Unfortunately, the data were corrupted due to a loose electrical jack on the machine. A summary of the resistivity survey methodology is presented in Cochran and Honerkamp (2017a).

The Grad-601 is a high-resolution fluxgate machine that can measure minute variations of magnetism in the ground that are caused by materials such as historic nails and other metals, fired clay, certain archaeological features, and modern buried anomalies like cables or pipes. Measurements are taken in units of nanoteslas (nT). The machine is

made of two Grad-01-1000L sensors mounted on a carrying bar which is attached to a data logger and battery cassette. Before surveying, the sensors are calibrated to the surrounding area's ambient magnetic profile, which may include above-ground features like electrical wires or metal buildings. Bush Camp Field was an ideal location for a magnetometry survey due to the lack of above-ground features, low grasses, and the absence of passing cars or planes.

Unlike the 2016 archaeological survey grid that was aligned 42º east of north, the geophysical grid was oriented to magnetic north because gradiometer readings are taken in accordance with the ambient magnetism of the earth. The overall grid was laid out with a total station and was tied to the shovel testing grid.[7] A total of seven large blocks (four 20 x 20 meter grids) were surveyed (Figure 20). The sensors were four inches above the bar. The pace was set at 1.3 meters/second, surveyed in a zig-zag pattern from the northeast block corner moving south. There was 1 line/meter with 8 samples taken per meter. The range was 100nT and the threshold 10,000 nT. Dummied values were recorded internally as 2076.5 nT.

[7] The geophysics grids were tied to the shovel testing grid by the 16C 700N 500E datum, marked with a wooden stake. The distance from the 16C datum to the 1000N1000E is 61.675 meters at a bearing of 303 14'00"..




Figure 20. Block locations used for geophysics survey.

Gradiometer data, measured in nanoteslas, are based on anomalies derived from the mean and range returns within the dataset, meaning that each survey result is interpreted within the "background" magnetic setting at each site. Results are on a spectrum of low-contrast and high-contrast anomalies, summarized in Figure 21. Likewise, boundaries around each result can be diffuse or abrupt, indicating a discrete or gradual rate of change in the cells around the anomaly (Yerka 2010:81).

### *PEDESTRIAN SURVEY*

To reduce the number of shovel tests necessary to identify potential locations of slave cabins at Bush Camp Field and Behavior, archaeologists conducted pedestrian surveys over Long Tabby Field, Bush Camp Field, and Behavior to locate artifacts and other signs of habitation on the ground surface. Figure 22 presents pedestrian survey locations. Archaeologists walked approximately one meter apart from each other, stopping to place a flag on above-ground artifacts, surface scatter, or any surface features that may warrant future investigation, such as a rise or furrow in the topography. Much of the 2016 field season was dedicated to pedestrian surveys; they were conducted after any storm event, before archaeological surveys moved to a different section of the site, or to further explore an area of the site with a concentration of positive shovel tests. At the end of each survey, flag locations were collected with a Trimble Geo X7 and input into a GIS. Locations to conduct pedestrian survey were chosen based on three factors: (1) projections of slave cabins locations from LiDAR and historical map georeferences; (2)

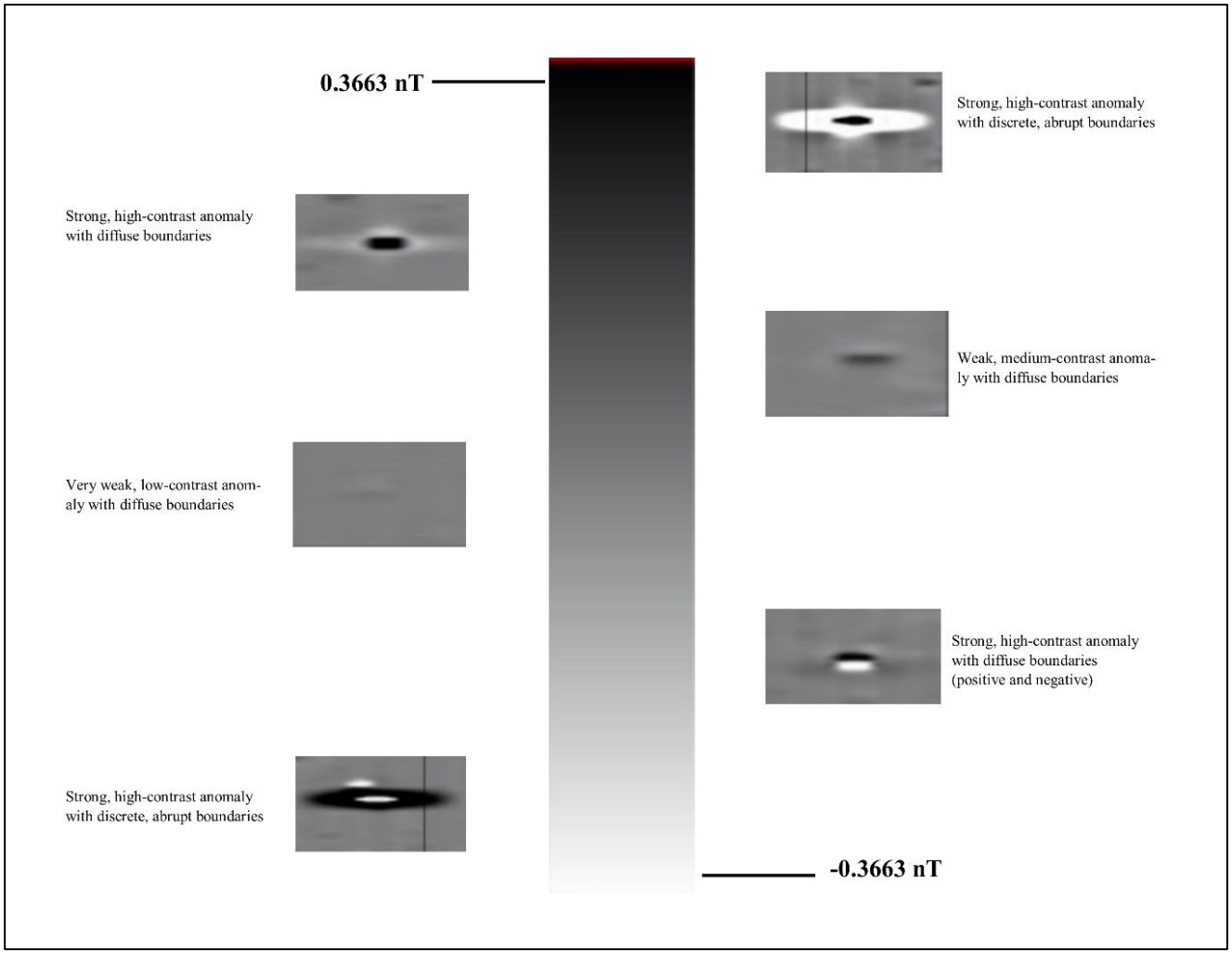



Figure 21. Summary of nT anomaly types at Bush Camp Field.

memories of the location of previous excavations; (3) unnatural topographic changes observed by archaeologists in-field or via aerial imagery.

Archaeologists identified no surface artifacts during surveys in December 2015 and March 2017, and only two concentrations of surface scatter in May 2017. Historical maps of the Sapelo Plantation show no evidence of structures on the southwestern edge of Long Tabby Field; however tabby fragments were identified in an uprooted tree during a pedestrian survey of the area in May 2017. The concentration was documented but no further excavations occurred.

Surface scatters were identified most frequently at Bush Camp Field, thanks to work conducted by staff of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources (DNR), who mowed the field in 2016 and conducted a controlled burn in 2017. Without controlled burns conducted by Georgia DNR, any surface scatter at Bush Camp Field would be invisible to archaeologists during pedestrian survey, as the grasses stand from thigh to chest high. Artifacts that were identified on the surface were exclusively from the plantation era, including materials that were architectural or domestic in nature such as bricks, wine bottle glass, and refined earthenwares. If an artifact was not diagnostic, then the artifact was photographed, GPS coordinates were collected, and the artifact was left in situ. If the artifact was extremely diagnostic, including attributes such as a maker's mark, then it was collected as part of a surface scatter FS (field specimen) provenience by site, with locational information collected for each artifact, and further processed in the

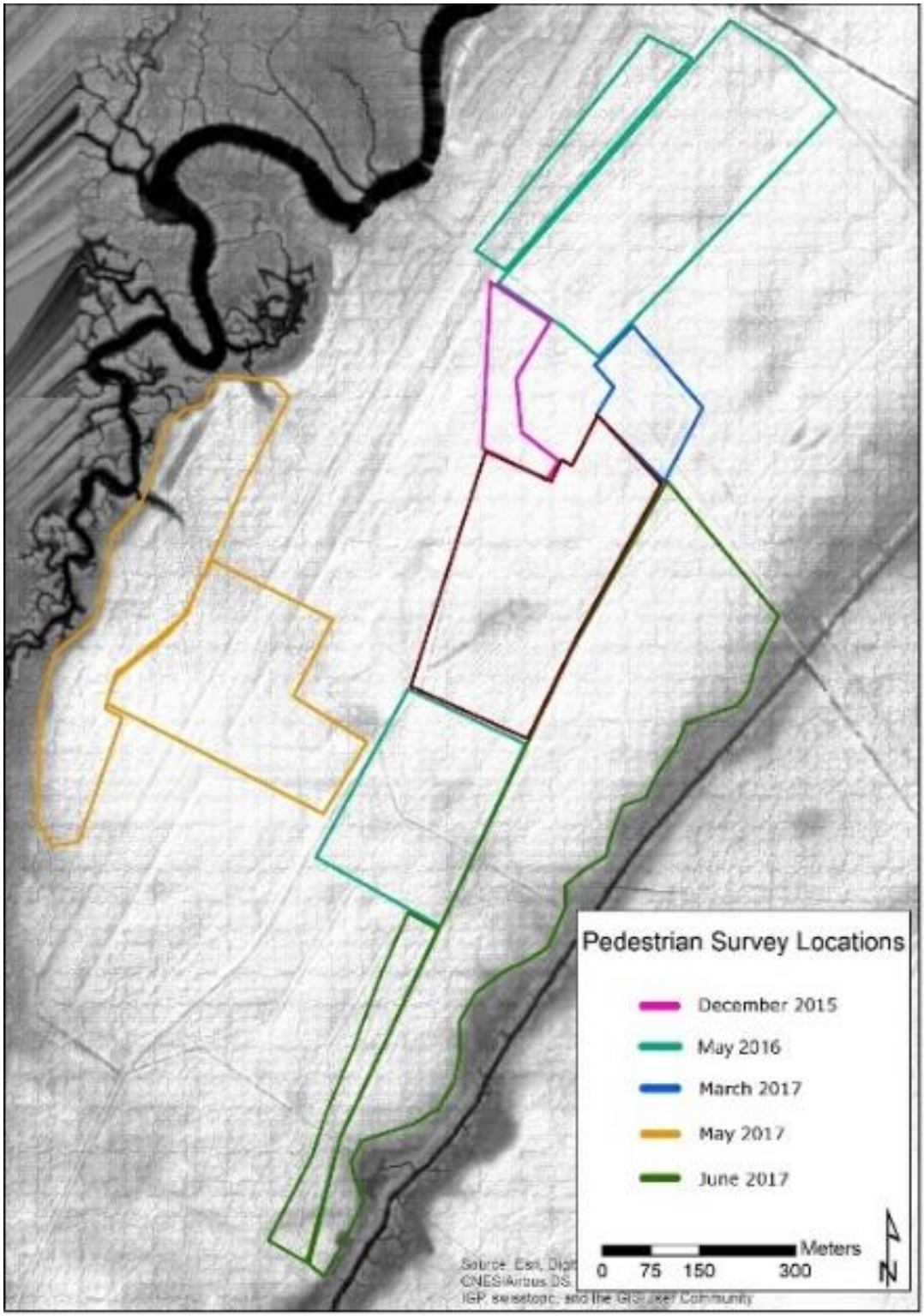



Figure 22. Pedestrian Survey Locations. Within each area, 1m transects were employed.

laboratory. The entirety of Bush Camp Field was surveyed via pedestrian survey. Results of the pedestrian survey, the topographic profile of the site, areas of dry land versus swamp, and the results of the LiDAR and documentary-based georeferencing project influenced the locations of shovel testing, described in more detail in the next section.

In contrast to excellent ground visibility at Bush Camp Field due to mowing and burns, Behavior is a maritime forest with at least four micro-ecosystems. Due to the thick undergrowth, saw and Spanish palmetto fronds, and understory of pine groves, only a single artifact scatter was identified in the woods of Behavior. During the last week of survey in 2017, I found oyster shells and small tabby fragments on the ground surface where pigs had moved away leaf litter and other organic detritus near Target 1 of the 2016 survey of South Behavior. Two test units were subsequently excavated in this location.

In addition to the cluster of oyster shells and tabby at South Behavior, four concentrations of antebellum-era artifacts were found in roadbeds during pedestrian surveys. An additional two clusters of oyster shells were identified on the surface in three areas of the Behavior landscape. Although there were no artifacts within these shells, based on the age of the shells and pattern of deposition, I hypothesize that the oyster shells were deposited by people, not raccoons These clusters of shells became a marker for cultural activity at Behavior and were thus flagged and treated as artifact scatters in the Behavior woods.

*ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS*

The project team excavated shovel tests and test units at Bush Camp Field and Behavior in 2016 and 2017. The placement of the shovel tests were based on georeferenced historical maps and pedestrian surveys, while the excavation of test units were based on gradiometry anomalies and/or areas defined by shovel test results to contain a high density of historical artifacts. The following sections summarize methods and results for these excavations, organized by shovel test protocol and maps of excavations by site, then test unit methodology and maps.

Shovel tests at Bush Camp Field and Behavior were excavated to Georgia state standards: round shovel tests at 30 cm wide were excavated to sterile soil. A shovel test was considered positive if a diagnostic artifact was identified within it, or if more than three artifacts were identified. Shovel tests were excavated in nine "Target Areas." These locations were chosen based on the geospatial survey with LiDAR and historical maps, concentrations of antebellum domestic refuse identified on the ground surface, and the vegetation and soils within the field. The eastern third of the field, divided on a north-south axis, was especially swampy, holding water at times and with vegetation indicating very wet soils. A series of auger tests, conducted with a ¼" Oakfield Auger, confirmed the sedimentary profiles of the site.

One or more shovel tests were excavated around the center of the target area. Shovel tests were excavated at a 10 meter interval until two consecutive test units yielded no artifacts. Positive shovel tests were delineated in cardinal directions based on grid

north at a five-meter interval. All sediments were screened through ¼ in. mesh and all cultural materials were collected for further analysis. Each shovel test profile was mapped in-field, and a representative sample of shovel tests from each target area were photographed. All soil strata were keyed to a Munsell color chart along with descriptions of the physical properties of the sediments such as particulate size and shape. All shovel tests and test units were assigned arbitrary coordinates in the field which were later converted into UTM coordinates (WGS1984_Z17N). A center point for each target area was chosen based either on historical map projections of structure locations or around surface scatter.

### *BUSH CAMP FIELD SHOVEL TESTING*

In 2016 and 2017 field seasons, 213 shovel tests and nine 1 x 1 meter test units were excavated at Bush Camp Field to determine the distribution of historic material culture across the site. A total 1,456 artifacts were recovered from the site. Bush Camp Field lies within an open, flat, plowed field, which contains three trees standing in its center. Live oaks line West Perimeter Road–the boundary between Bush Camp Field and Long Tabby Field to its west. The Autobahn, one of the only paved roads on the island, lies to the north of Bush Camp Field and its eastern edge is marked by thick pine growth, which is likely the place of a controlled burn approximately 40 years ago. To the south is a line of pine and oak trees interspersed with scrub. Beyond this patch of scrub is a deep drainage ditch, over two meters deep in places, that dates to the Coffin era of the 1910s. An old road, currently blocked by pine trees that were uprooted during recent Hurricanes

Matthew (2016), Irma (2017), and Maria (2017), lies just south of the ditch. This serves as the modern northern boundary for Behavior Cemetery, the only active cemetery on the island.

### *BEHAVIOR SHOVEL TESTING*

Behavior (9MC498) is composed of three major areas: Behavior Cemetery, North Behavior, and South Behavior. The entire area of Behavior is approximately 63 hectares. Discrete areas of live oak hammocks, pine forests, saw palmetto and Spanish Bayonet palmetto frond thickets, and open canopies with scrub understories make up the majority of the ecological profile of the area. Very few areas Behavior have low enough levels of ground cover to conduct productive pedestrian surveys; archaeologists nonetheless surveyed the entire 63 hectares in hopes of finding above-ground bricks or tabby.

Behavior is bounded to the north by the combined paved/sand Behavior Cemetery Road, oriented west-east, which continues across a Coffin-era drainage ditch, serving as the eastern boundary of Behavior. Behavior Cemetery Road is blocked to vehicle traffic due to downed yellow pines that came down during Hurricane Matthew. Root masses of these trees have been surveyed for cultural materials, but none were present. Behavior is bounded to the west by the paved West Autobahn, alternatively referred to as High Point Road, which runs from the island's dock to the northern point of the island, and to the south by and Marsh Landing Road that connects the East and West Autobahns. Figure 23 presents various roadways that are inside the Behavior area, the most prominent and frequently used being Middle Road, also called Georgia Power Road.

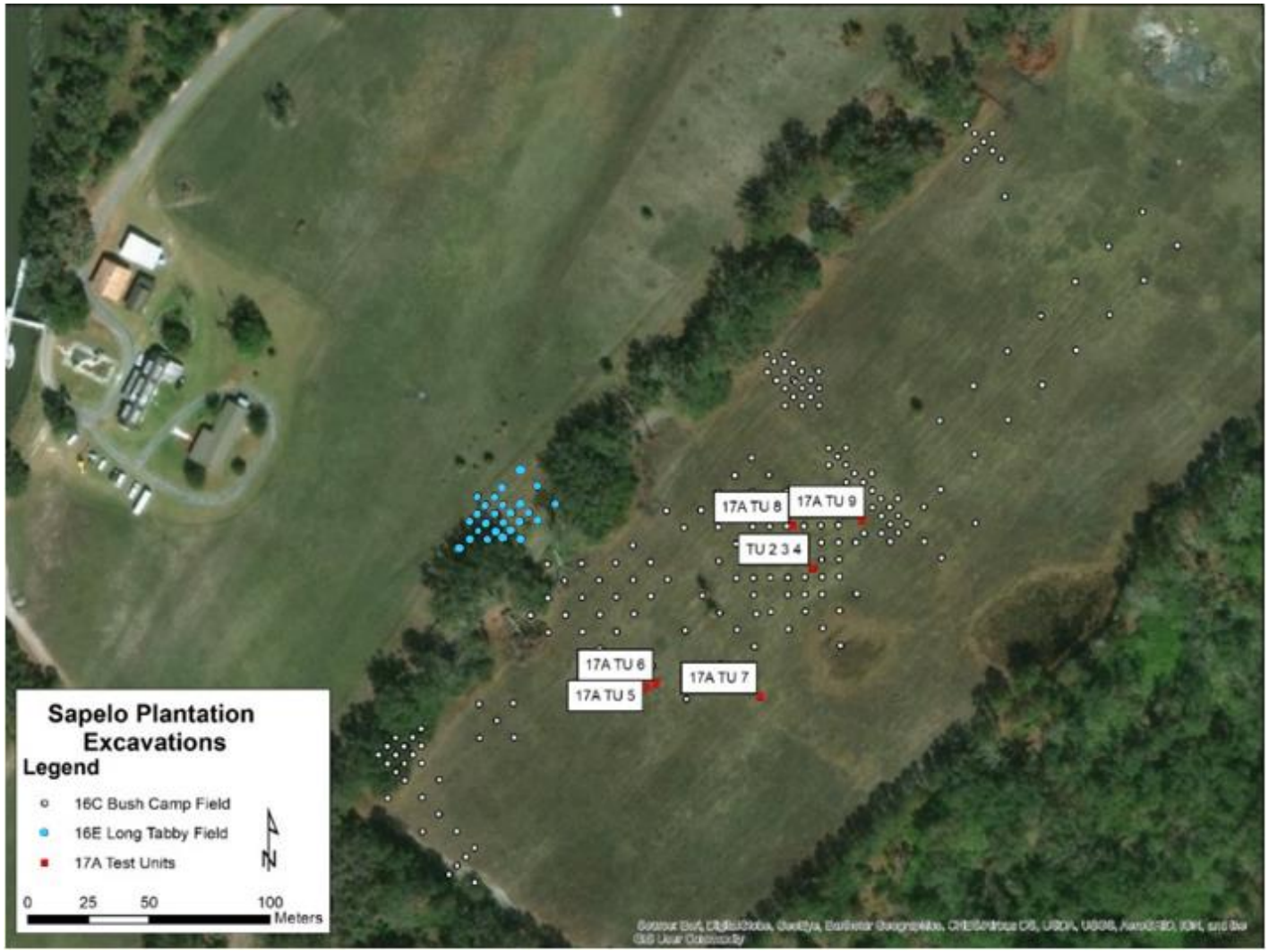



Figure 29. Shovel Test and Test Unit excavation locations at Bush Camp Field.

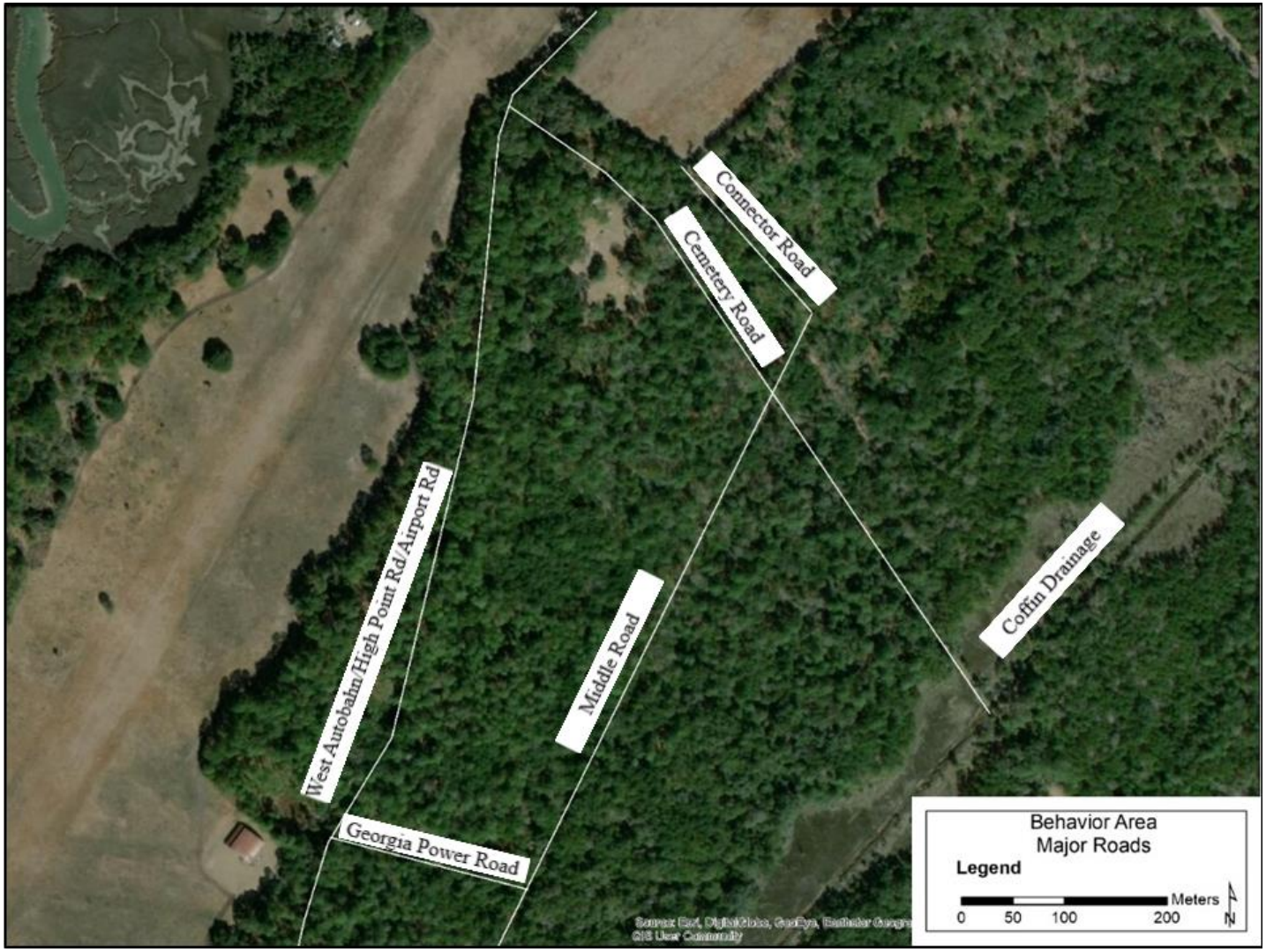



Figure 23. Major roads at Behavior.

Behavior was the focus of three separate surveys that built on previous research by Crook (2008) and tangentially of Honerkamp and Crook's research in Behavior Cemetery. The first survey was undertaken by the summer 2016 UTC archaeological field school with the purpose of finding the location of Crook's excavation area and to identify the location of additional slave cabins. Pedestrian surveys, while fruitless in Behavior's woods, were useful in locating cultural materials in roadbeds.

Pedestrian survey results provided foundational information for shovel testing target areas. Presented in Figure 24 are the locations of these target areas. Due to the sheer size of Behavior and lack of materials on the surface, archaeologists could not feasibly excavate transects across the entirety of the Behavior landscape, instead attempting to use the target based approach that was fairly successful at Bush Camp Field. A total of 39 shovel test pits were excavated using the same methods outlined in the previous section. Of those shovel tests, 14 were sterile and those that were positive contained little diagnostic material.

The inconsistent results from the target approach in the summer of 2016 prompted a methodological shift to standard transect-based testing. Before transect-based testing commenced, Myrna Crook, wife of the late Ray Crook, flagged where she recalled the Behavior excavation block to have taken place some 25 years prior. Transects began in this location and were bounded to the east by Middle Road and to the north by Behavior Cemetery Road. During a week-long project, a total of 94 shovel tests were completed on 13 transects west of Middle Road, 41 of which were positive for antebellum domestic

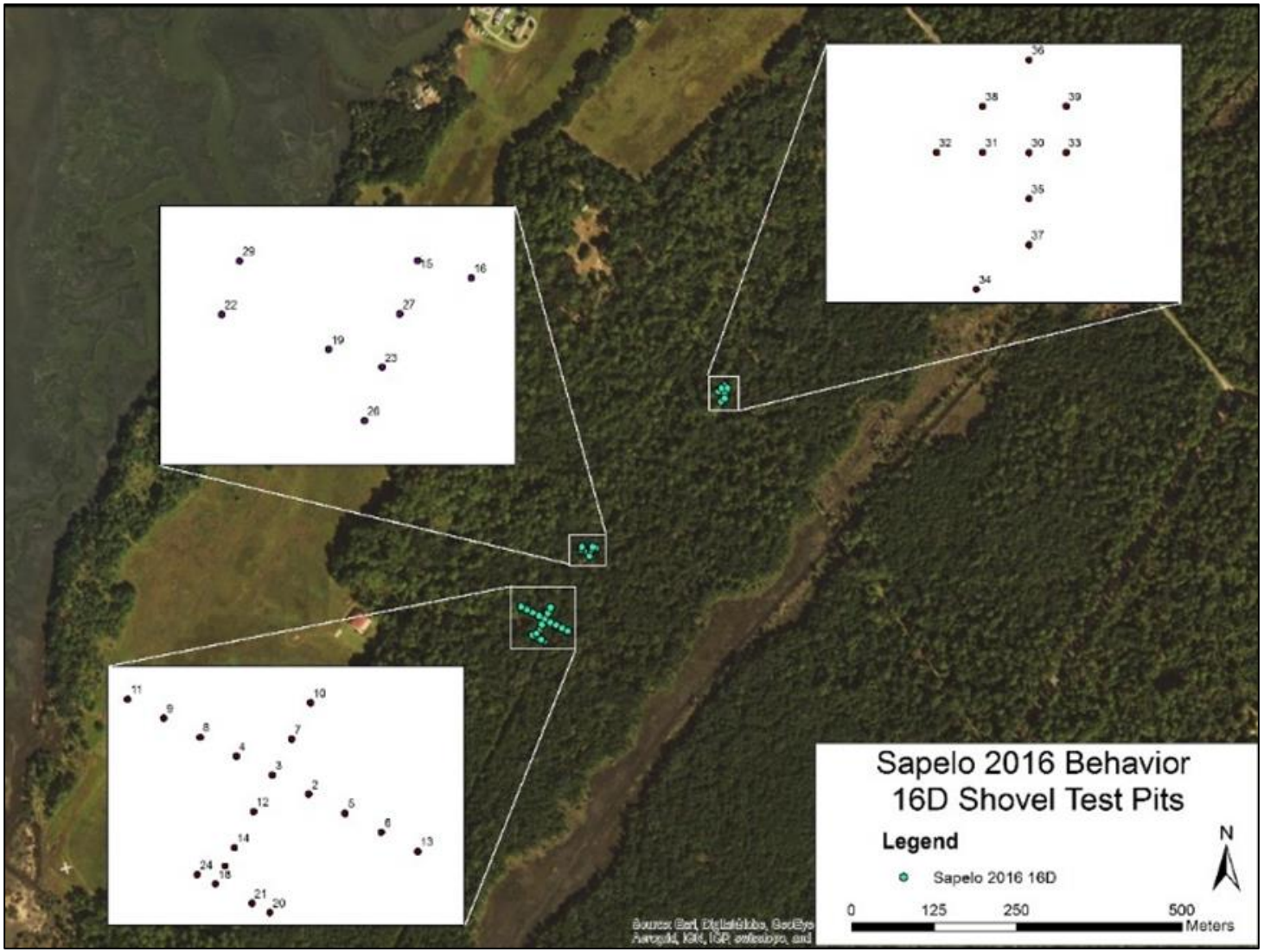



Figure 24. Target Areas for Shovel Tests at North and South Behavior. Shovel tests are at 10m intervals.

material. The 2017 UTC field school returned for a second week of transect surveys where the corresponding east side of Middle Road was examined using the same methods as previous surveys. During this second survey, a total of 135 shovel tests were excavated, 60 of which were positive.

Transects began ten meters west or east of Middle Road to avoid unintentionally examining a modern roadside deposition pattern. Transects were spaced ten meters from each other along the north-south axis of Middle Road. On each transect five shovel tests were excavated ten meters apart from each other. Positive shovel tests were delineated by two negative test units in a row at a 5 meter interval. If a series of shovel tests held a relatively significant quantity of antebellum materials that indicated a sheet midden, then shovel test intervals were sometimes reduced to a mere 2.5 meters. Due to time constraints and the dense forest, shovel tests were input with a pocket transit and pacing. I flagged all shovel tests to keep any errors with pacing intervals consistent. In terms of field methodology, the differential success of a systematic small-interval shovel testing approach compared to an emphasis on a cartographic targeting strategy is striking.

### *TEST UNIT EXCAVATION*

Test units were excavated in areas of relatively dense domestic refuse or in areas where shovel tests contained tabby. Unit locations were shot in using a total station from 500N500E and UTM coordinates were later obtained with a sub-meter GPS unit. Units were excavated in 10 centimeter levels to sterile soils, typically around 60 centimeters below surface. Matrix sediments were screened through ¼ in. mesh; feature fill was

screened through 1/8 in. mesh. All cultural materials were collected for later analysis. Photographs were taken at the end of each level; each profile was mapped and photographed at the end of excavation of each test unit. Materials from the shovel test survey and test unit excavation were processed at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga's Jeffery L. Brown Institute of Archaeology and will be permanently curated at Georgia Southern University's facility.

At Bush Camp Field, archaeologists excavated a single 0.5 x 2 meter slot trench, a 1 x 3 meter test unit, and five 1 x 1 meter test units. Locations for these excavations were based on in-field distribution maps of antebellum-era domestic artifacts in 2016 and GIS produced artifact distribution maps with magnetometry surveys to guide excavation locations for research in 2017. Methods were consistent between seasons.

Archaeologists excavated four test units at Behavior—two at North Behavior, the location of the shovel test survey, and two at South Behavior, where oyster shell and tabby were found on the ground surface. Based on an in-field calculation of the distribution of shovel test pit results, two 1 x 1 m test pits were then excavated in the northeast area of the Behavior site in attempts to identify structural antebellum features; two additional 1 x 1 m test pits were also excavated in the southern portion of Behavior due to the presence of surface material that was identified while laying out additional transects (Figure 25). Methods used to excavate test units remained consistent between Bush Camp Field and Behavior.




Figure 25. Test unit locations at Behavior.

*LABORATORY METHODS SUMMARIZED*

Artifacts recovered from the Sapelo Plantation settlement excavations were cleaned and dried at the UTC Jeffery L. Brown Institute of Archaeology Laboratory, rough sorted by material, and then classified by type. Large shell samples were weighed only. I analyzed the 16F artifacts separately at the UTK Faulkner Archaeological Laboratory. Samples from selected proveniences were subject to 2.8 mm flotation and examined macroscopically for small beads, seeds, and other small finds. Hand-coded analysis sheets were generated for each field specimen that documented artifact type, characteristics, frequency, and weight in grams. The coded sheets were then entered into Excel spreadsheets, an Access database, and a GIS geodatabase.

Following the documentation and curation standards of the Antonio J. Waring Jr. Archaeological Laboratory, each artifact was placed in a labeled plastic bag with an accompanying acid-free tag containing essential information: site name and excavation date, Georgia State File designation, project code, grid location, field specimen number, a unique catalog number, and frequency. Artifact bags for each field specimen were then placed in larger single bags that were also labeled; the field bags were then cut up and the information on each was also included in the large bags for future reference. Delicate artifacts were placed in curation boxes with acid-free packaging and tags. Arrangements will be made to transfer the entire artifact assemblage and accompanying notes, digital photographs, field and laboratory forms and digital databases to the Georgia Southern University curation facility.

*SPATIAL ANALYSIS*

To locate cabins occupied by enslaved residents of the island, I relied on artifact distribution maps generated in a GIS to make inferences about the location and type of structure in a given location. Not only do these maps create visual representations of data that allow for objective analysis of the location and likewise the absence of domestic materials, they are the foundation for statistical summaries and analyses of the data.

The area of interest at the Sapelo Plantation is divided generally into two locations: Bush Camp Field and Behavior. The shape of the areas of interest provided challenges in producing statistically sound cartographic representations of the site for two major reasons. First, the areas of excavation were inconsistent in size. The three target areas at Behavior best illustrate this issue—all three areas have different shapes of excavations and tested different sized areas. Because archaeologists excavated five shovel tests in some targets and thirty shovel tests in other areas, the target area methodological approach is hard to map. The initial, target-based approach was experimental, used because of the large size of the areas of interest, limited time, and only historical map projections upon which to base potential cabins locations. Because this approach was only mildly successful, later approaches adopted a more traditional survey methodology that was based on positive test results from the initial target-based survey. Secondly, the size of excavations differed, thus the quantity of artifacts recovered in a given area are vastly different, impacting the inputted counts or weights of artifacts in an interpolation-based statistic such as kriging or inverse distance weights. The

following discussion relays methods to adopt geostatistical methods to reduce statistical bias due to the shape of the sites and sizes of excavation units.

The first way that I countered imbalances in the inputted data was to use z-scores for distribution analyses rather than counts or weights of artifacts. This basic statistical measure relies on relative values to determine the number of standard deviations from the mean a data point is and can be calculated by the difference of the sample and the mean, divided by the standard deviation. The benefit of using a z-score to produce data to project onto a map is the ability to compare different z-scores that are from different normal distributions of artifact occurrences to determine the location of relatively high, average, and low concentrations of certain types of artifacts. I calculated z-scores based on weight for rough material types: brick, tabby, nails, refined earthenwares, and glass. These tables were exported from an Excel .csv file into a GIS geodatabase.

Information from the raw tables was used to create distribution analyses in a GIS to determine the locations of either concentrations or absences of certain artifact types. In this study, I was particularly interested in the different locations and abundance levels of tabby and brick. To create these maps, I input point-based vector information into the inverse distance weight (IDW) function found within the ArcGIS Spatial Analyst package. The benefit of using these statistical methods to create a continuous surface of predicted values within the site is that that the tests are probabilistic and deterministic, meaning that predicted values are assigned even in areas where no excavations took place. However, interpolated values are exactly as the inputted values at each data point.

The combination of real and predicted z-score values as calculated through interpolated spatial statistics was used to identify potential clusters of cultural materials even in areas in between archaeological investigations.

*CONCLUSION*

The geophysical, geospatial, and archaeological methodology outlined above build upon each other and upon past research at the Sapelo Plantation settlements to address three fundamental research questions at a plantation-level analytical scale: (1) where were enslaved domestic spaces and quarters within the Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements; (2) were there one or multiple architectural styles of slave quarters? If there were multiple types of quarters; (3) were they on the landscape at the same time or was there an evolution of architecture within the settlements; and (4) what catalyzed that architectural change?

# CHAPTER 6: FINDING BUSH CAMP FIELD AND BEHAVIOR SETTLEMENTS

In the last chapter, I described four methods used to examine the spaces of Georgia lowcountry plantations. The present chapter will present results obtained using these approaches. I describe the landscapes of the Sapelo Plantation at increasingly smaller scales, combining results from archaeological and statistical tests. Most apropos to this study, the methods and results presented here confirm that wattle and tabby daub slave cabins were not the only building style used in the 47 year tenure of the Sapelo Plantation. Archaeological results are reported below by site. I focus on data that support the hypothesis that multiple building styles were located within the Sapelo Plantation settlements.

## *GEOPHYSICS RESULTS*

Geophysical features detected through gradiometer survey within the Bush Camp Field survey area include post holes, shadows of previous excavations, and historic and modern disturbances. Figure 26 presents a composite image of all surveyed grids and Figure presents a summary of shovel test and test unit locations at Bush Camp Field. The following section will further explore concentrations of geophysical anomalies according to sets of four 20m survey grids. I present information from the survey that may be related to the antebellum occupation of Bush Camp Field; a fuller discussion of geophysical results can be found in Cochran and Honerkamp 2017.




Figure 26. Gradiometry Results, face north. Each square is $20m^2$.

*GRID BLOCK 2*

Grid Block 2 is the northwest set of four 20 x 20 m grids surveyed with a gradiometer. As presented in Figure 27, three clusters of anomalies were identified during the survey. Anomaly A is a set of five linear anomalies represented by at least sixteen weak diffuse anomalies with discrete boundaries and at least eight very weak, low-contrast anomalies with diffuse boundaries.

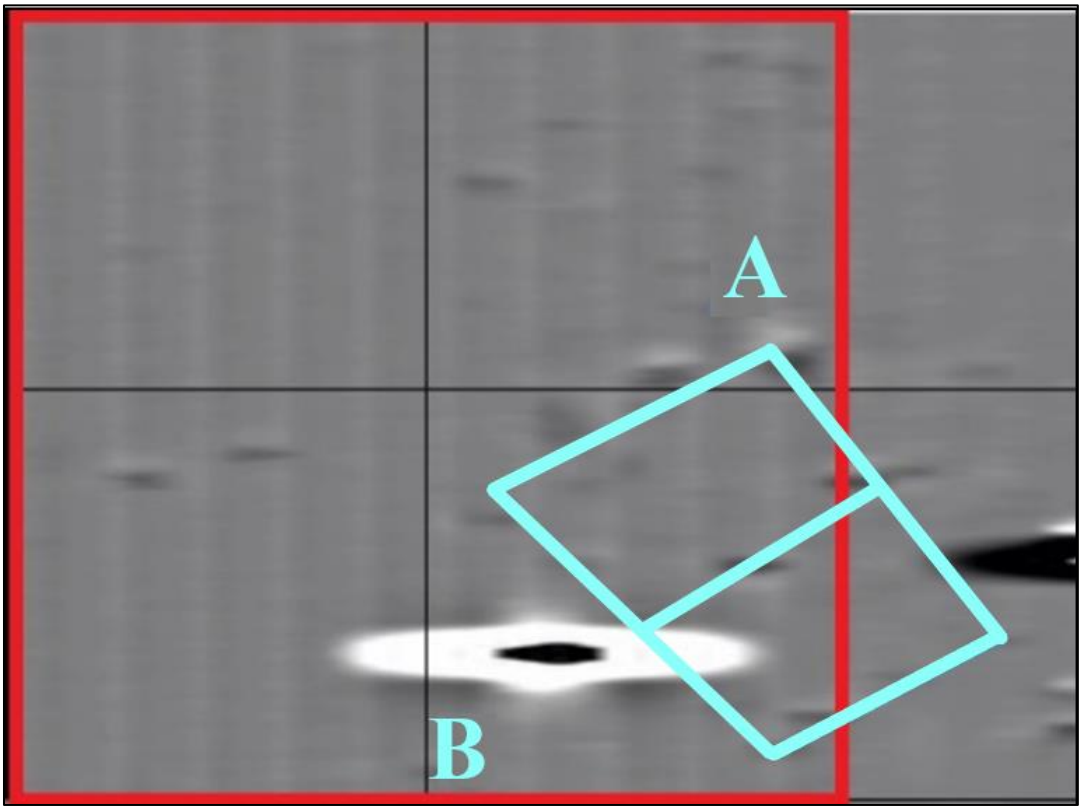



Figure 27. Grid Block 2, Anomalies A and B.

While these features together are most likely too large to represent a single historic slave cabin, they may represent the location of multiple rebuilding episodes of a structure that was made of permeable, organic materials, or perhaps a fenced yard. In contrast,

Anomaly B is a strong, very high-contrast anomaly with strongly defined boundaries. This feature is most likely an historic iron object, such as an axe head or iron hoe. Anomaly B may also be a medium size modern object, perhaps associated with more recent agricultural operations, modern dumping, or plowing of Bush Camp Field.

Archaeologists ground-truthed the middle-western portion of Anomaly A and Anomaly B via Test Unit 8 in 2017. Although the test unit had little antebellum cultural material, a large unidentifiable iron object was discovered on the ground surface at the beginning of excavations, explaining Anomaly B. The many discrete linear features of Anomaly A warrant additional testing to confirm whether a structure or structures are present.

### *GRID BLOCK 3*

Grid Block 3 is composed of the four 20 x 20 m grids east of Grid Block 3 at the north of the total survey area. Although more anomalies are present within this grid block, I focus on three areas (Figure 28). Anomaly set A is composed of two weak, medium contrast anomalies with discrete boundaries, a strong dipole anomaly to the south of the medium contrast anomalies, and two very weak anomalies with discrete boundaries.

While these anomalies may not be related to one another, they are located in a particularly busy area of the site. Anomaly B is a very strong anomaly with high contrast and sharp boundaries. Like Anomaly B in Grid Block 2, this feature likely relates to modern metal that was left on the ground surface or near-ground surface of the site.

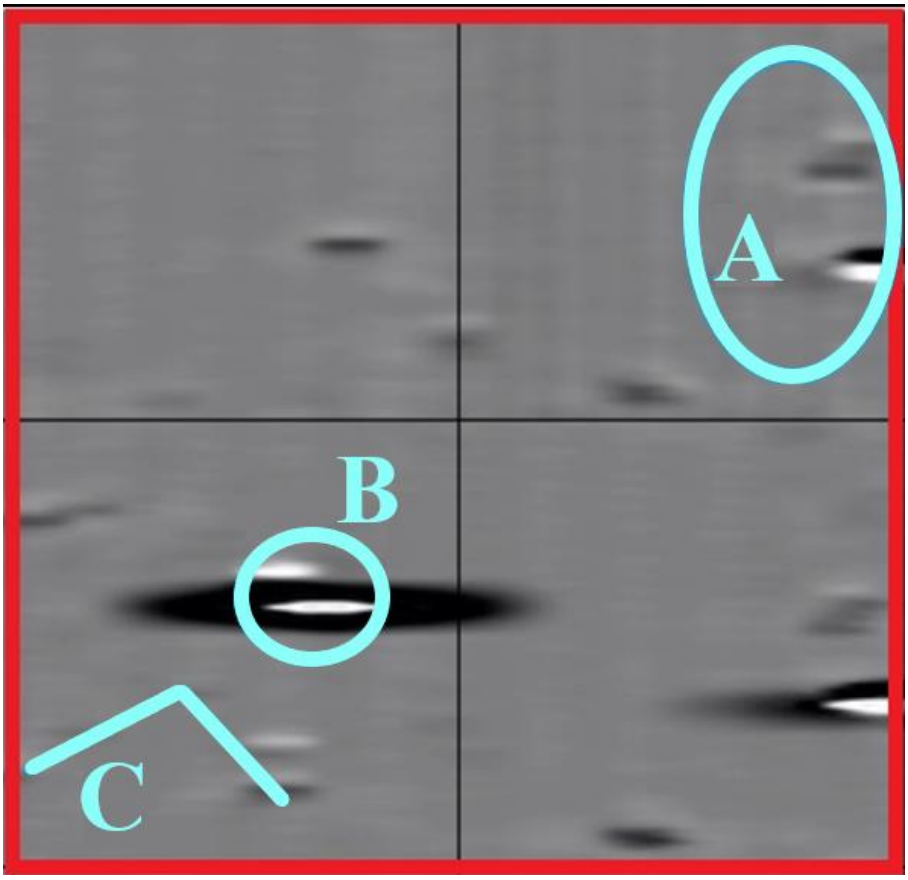



Figure 28. Grid B anomalies.

Anomaly C, in contrast, is a series of weak features with discrete boundaries. However, these features (*n*=~7) are commonly in pairs, perhaps indicating the location of a post hole. Based on the similarities of the anomaly size, structure, and strength, I hypothesize that Anomalies A from Grid A and Anomaly C from Grid Block 3 are related.

Test Unit 9, a 1 x 1 m test unit excavated in 2017 served as a groundtruthing unit for these geophysical features. Little cultural material was recovered in the test unit, however a single potential posthole measuring 8 cm in diameter was identified 15 cmbs

and went 12 cm deep. A dark, non-cultural, highly organic soil was uncovered 35 cmbs, ending test unit excavations (Figure 29).




Figure 29. Test Unit 9, End of Excavation, Grid North Wall. This test unit was used to groundtruth Anomaly B.

Even though diagnostic materials were lacking in this area, geophysical survey results alluded to the potential for prehistoric, or more likely, historical activity in this section of Bush Camp Field. Test Unit excavations (Test Unit 8 and 9) were not particularly illustrative of antebellum slave life on the Sapelo Plantation but did provide valuable information about the ecological and sedimentary profile of the sites. The swampy subsoil indicates that the area, though not especially low, has a high propensity

for flooding. In a coastal environment such as Sapelo Island, all floodwaters are noticeable, especially as they impact the level of the water table, meaning that soils are saturated from the top and bottom of the ground surface, multiplying the deleterious effects of overly wet environments in occupation areas.

### *GRID BLOCK 1*

Grid Block 1 is located in the center of Bush Camp Field, around shovel test target areas 4, 5, and 6. Probing in the field and referenced maps indicate that previous excavations most likely were within Grid Block 1 (Crook 2008; Cochran and Honerkamp 2017). The gradiometry survey in this area served many purposes: (1) locate Crook's excavation block; (2) determine the extent of structural features identified in Test Unit 2 during excavations in 2016; and (3) continue testing projections of the DuVal historical map onto the modern landscape. The result of the geophysical survey in Grid Block 1 revealed a number of overlapping features that I separate into five groups (Figure 30). Within this 80 x 80 m block are five sets of superimposed clusters of at least 54 magnetic anomalies.

Group A anomalies consist of, at minimum, eight very weak magnetic signatures with discrete boundaries. According to projections in GIS and estimates of the location of Crook's central datum at Bush Camp Field, this cluster of anomalies corresponds with Crook's excavation block of Cabin 2a and Cabin 2b.

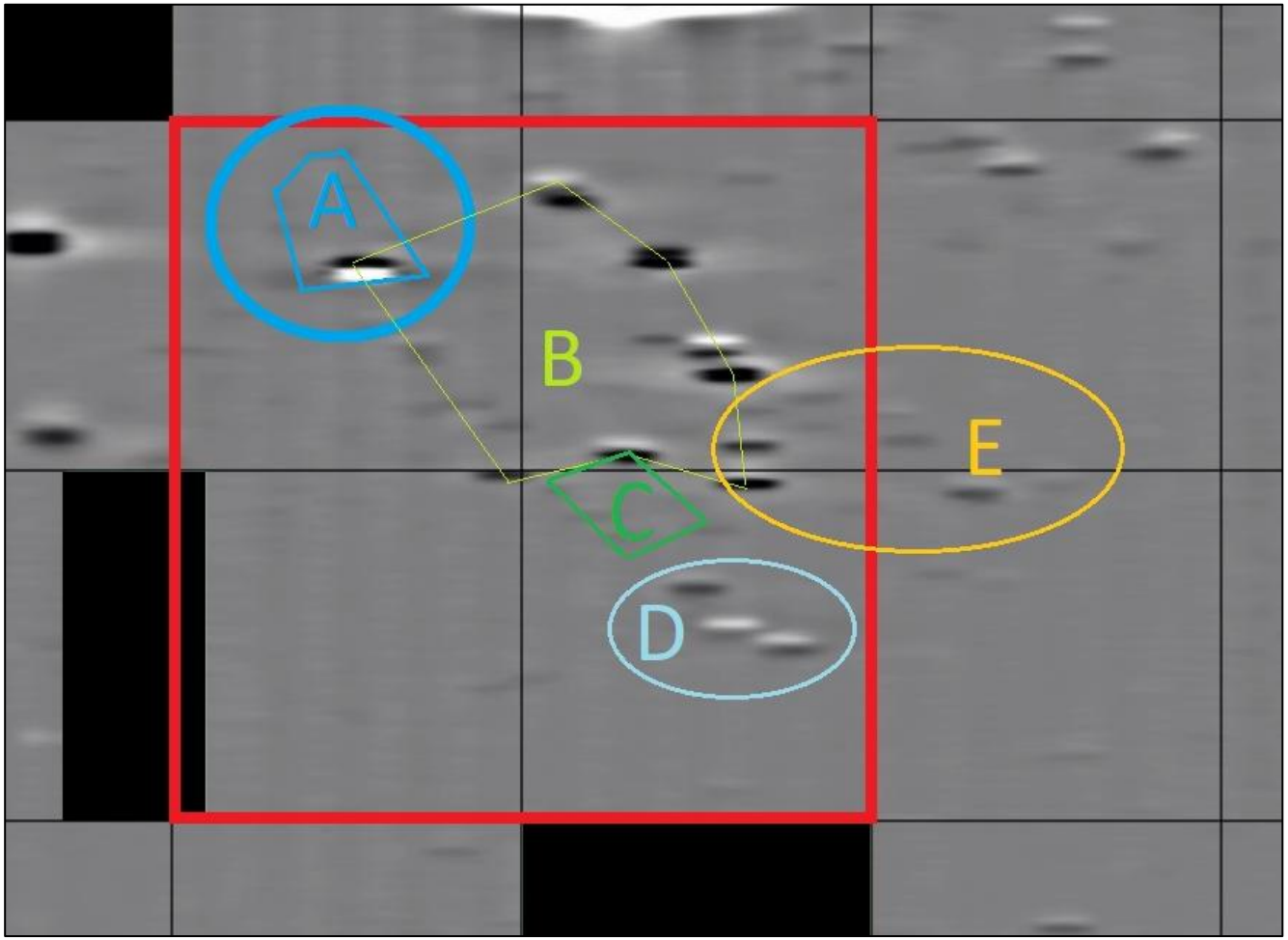



Figure 30. Grid Block 1 anomaly groups.

As presented in Figure 31, the dimensions and orientation of Anomaly Group A correspond well with Crook's excavations.

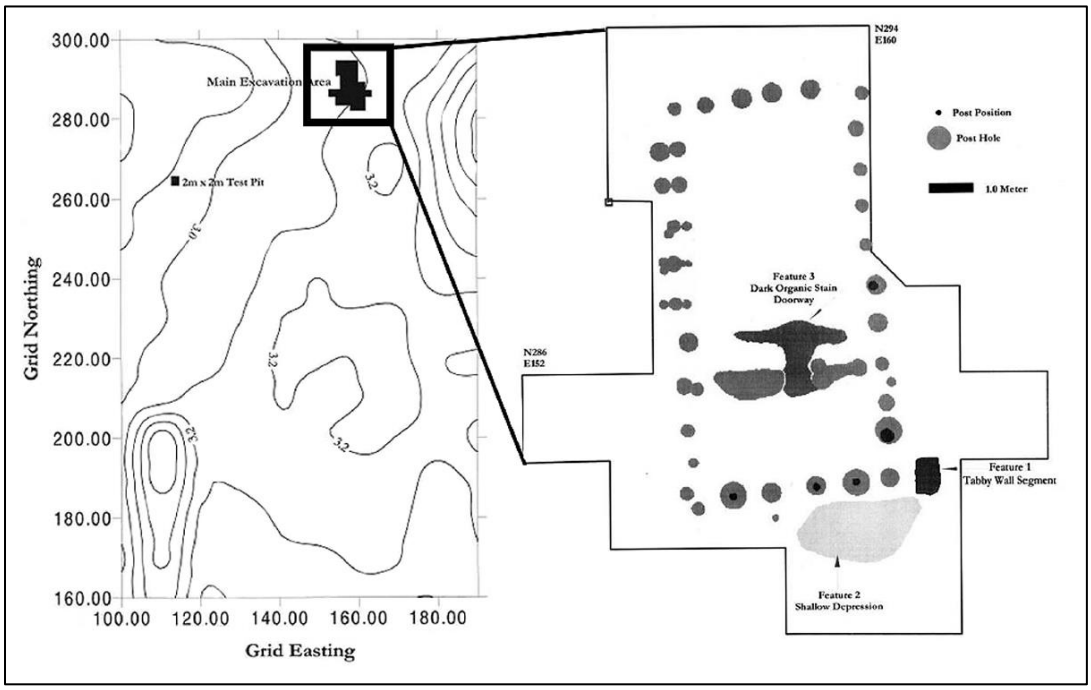



Figure 31. Crook's Grid (adapted from Crook 2008).

Anomaly Group B is a large linear set of strong dipolar anomalies oriented roughly 40 degrees west of north, creating a rectangle approximately 25 x 30 m. While many of the other features verified archaeologically are also on this bearing, these anomalies create a feature significantly larger than any other documented structure. These strong, magnetically polar features, then, may correlate with the later agricultural operations at the field, perhaps as fencing that involved metals such as staples in wooden posts, or an antebellum enclosure associated with Cabin 2a and Cabin 2b.

While no test units were excavated on or within Anomaly Group B, approximately 20 shovel tests indicated an antebellum presence in the area. Materials such as cut nails, bottle glass, and some ceramics were recovered from the area. Some structural materials were also recovered, such as small fragments of handmade bricks and tabby fragments.

Group C anomalies in Grid Block 1 are directly south of Group B anomalies. Like Group A, these six features are very weak, low contrast anomalies with discrete boundaries. Although these features are magnetically weak, they are loosely arranged in a rectangle similar to Group A anomalies. If these magnetic features are the same as those shown in Group A that belonged to Cabin 2a and Cabin 2b, then Group C anomalies may also be wooden postholes surrounded with tabby. The signatures between Group A and Group C are of similar strength, time, and appear "below" Group B. Although no excavations took place on a segment of Group C, this area would be a good location for future excavations.

Anomaly Group D consists of three strong dipolar features with strong boundaries. Each feature displayed positive and negative characteristics, according to the gradiometer. The features present within this group are somewhat linear but spatially separated from the similarly strong dipolar features found in Group B and thus this cluster of features may be of a similar nature to those in Group B.

Finally, Anomaly Group E is located in Grid Block 1 and Grid Block 4, consisting of a series of linear weak, medium, and strong magnetic features that are oriented approximately 40 degrees west of north. Test Unit 2, excavated in 2016 and located

within this anomaly group, was the catalyst for this gradiometer survey, serving also as the cornerstone of the geophysics grid. Based on results of Test Unit 2 and the anomalies in Group E, an additional two 1 x 1 meter test units were excavated to the grid north and grid east of Test Unit 2. The assemblage of material culture provides evidence of an antebellum occupation in this location. Results are interpreted in more detail in the following section.

### *GRID BLOCK 6*

Grid Block 6 is to the southwest of the geophysics survey area. Unlike many of the other areas within the survey area, Grid Block 6 was not heavily tested with shovel tests because projections of antebellum cabins showed this as an empty area. However, as shown in Figure 32, Grid Block 6 is a relatively busy area with three major groups of magnetic anomalies.

Group A consists of three anomalies—one is a strong dipolar anomaly with clear boundaries, the second is a weak anomaly with moderately discrete boundaries, and the third is a very weak low-contrast anomaly with discrete boundaries. While these features may not be related, they do indicate past activities at the site in an area previously considered to be void of occupation or activity areas. Group C is also a set of mixed-strength anomalies in a generally linear configuration, although this may simply be coincidence. Group B, however, presents a large (>25m) area of many ambiguous features. The majority of these anomalies are weak or very weak low-contrast anomalies with discrete boundaries. These features are not arranged in a discernable pattern but do

indicate heavy use of the area. Test Unit 7 was excavated in the middle of Group B; results from these excavations are discussed in the next section.

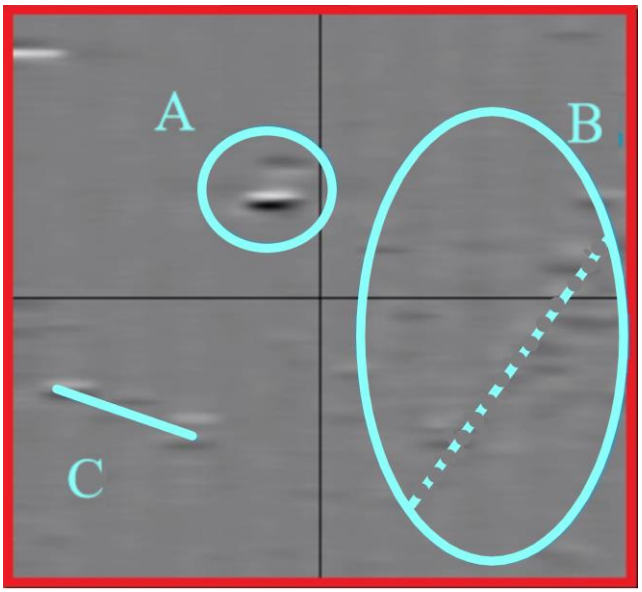



Figure 32. Grid F results.

*SUMMARY OF GRADIOMETRY RESULTS*

The gradiometry survey served as an investigative test to correspond to the previous shovel test survey at Bush Camp Field. Grids were put in locations of relatively high artifact density with the purpose of finding features that were not visible in the small shovel tests. Despite hundreds of years of plowing, gradiometric results presented a vivid, yet busy, picture of what lay beneath the surface of the site. Much more groundtruthing of these results can be done in the future, especially around Grid Block 1 and Grid Block 6, though small linear features that appear to correspond somewhat with post holes are present in nearly every grid. The following section presents results from all

archaeological research at Bush Camp Field, including a summary of the shovel test survey that helped determine the placement of the gradiometry survey.

*BUSH CAMP FIELD*

Bush Camp Field was the location of a slave settlement related to the Sapelo Plantation from 1802 to 1851. The site is directly across from Long Tabby Sugar Mill, the first sugar mill in Georgia. The mill, an octagon of poured tabby with machinery powered by donkeys, processed sugar cane genetically similar to Caribbean sugar. Crook and O'Grady (1980) proposed that the enslaved people working at Long Tabby Sugar Mill lived at Bush Camp Field. In 1999, Crook returned to Bush Camp Field to test that proposal as part of an archaeological field school through the University of West Georgia. These excavations located a wattle and tabby daub slave cabin measuring 4.7 x 2.5 meters. The cabin, oriented towards Bush Camp Field, had a northeasterly facing doorway. This cabin, called Cabin No. 2, was later expanded to measure 4.7 x 9.5 meters. The mean ceramic date for both iterations of Cabin No. 2 is 1832.75 (Crook 2008:20).

In 2016 and 2017, the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga archaeological field school conducted further investigations of the site. Excavations included 216 shovel test pits measuring 30 cm around and approximately 60 cm deep, a 0.5 x 2 meter slot trench, and eight 1 x 1 meter test units. These surveys located seven concentrations of antebellum artifacts, including evidence of two wattle and tabby daub and one wood-framed structure. Figure 33 presents a plan view map of excavation locations at Bush Camp Field.

## *SHOVEL TEST PITS*

As discussed in Chapter 4, shovel test excavations at Bush Camp Field were excavated using a targeted approach around georeferenced historical maps. Figure 33 presents the location of shovel tests organized by color according to target number. Each target correlates to a hypothetical structure location. Of the 216 shovel tests excavated at Bush Camp Field, 156 were positive, containing a total 1,456 artifacts (Figure 34). Overall, surprisingly few prehistoric and modern artifacts were recovered from the site given the intensive prehistoric occupation of the island and the northern part of the field's status as a dumping ground for gravel and cement. The following results summarize a 2016 report by Cochran and Honerkamp that presents detailed findings from the shovel test survey.

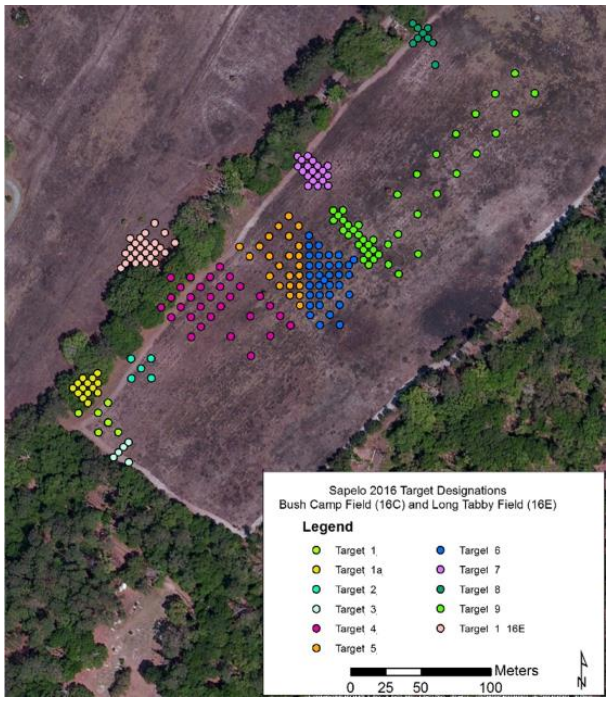



Figure 33. Shovel Tests Presented by Target Area.

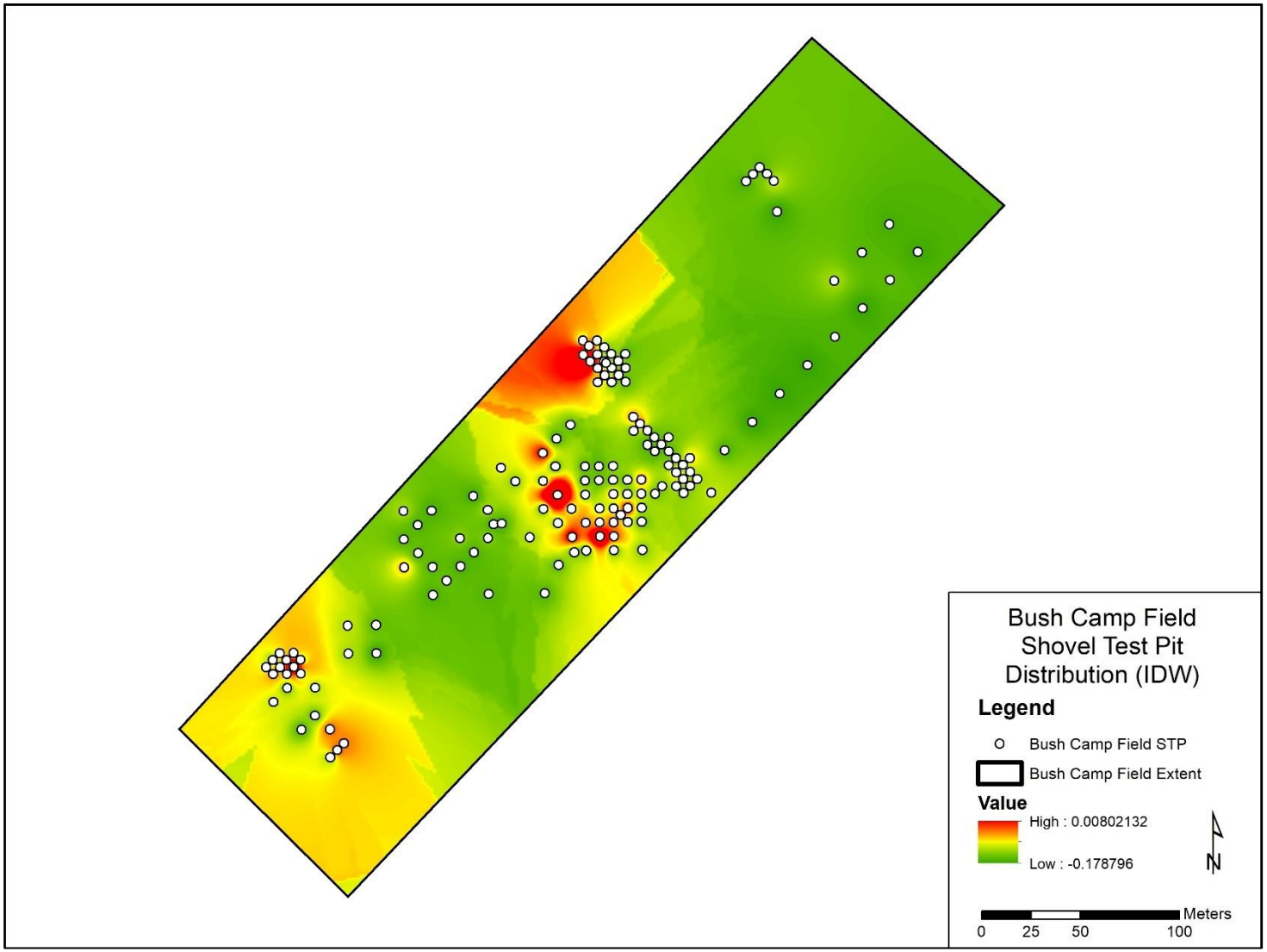



Figure 34. Distribution analysis of all artifacts from shovel tests at Bush Camp Field analyzed by z-score.

Architectural materials were the most common artifact recovered from shovel tests at Bush Camp Field. Archaeologists were especially interested in variations of tabby that were similar to Crook's identification of a "soft tabby" found at Cabin #2. Although no hard, poured tabby fragments were found, a total of ten fragments of soft tabby plaster were present; however, none of these fragments reflected diagnostic grapevine impressions (Crook 2008:20). Crook likewise notes fragments of hand-made brick associated with Cabin #2 at Bush Camp Field. A total of 56 fragments of hand-made brick were recovered from the 2016 shovel test survey, and five machine made brick fragments were also identified. The sturdier machine-made bricks likely belong to a later postbellum occupation. As presented in Table 3, few cut nails were found at the site, indicating either reuse of the materials or that other binding agents, such as fibers, were used rather than expensive metal nails.

Table 3. Architectural Materials Recovered from Shovel Testing at Bush Camp Field

| **Artifact** | **Count** | **Weight (g)** |
|---|---|---|
| Ballast Stone | 4 | 45.45 |
| Handmade Brick | 56 | 1012.48 |
| Machine Made Brick | 5 | 543.86 |
| Clay Daub | 8 | 40.85 |
| Fired Clay | 122 | 139.53 |
| Mortar | 1 | 0.27 |
| Cut Nail | 86 | 80.97 |
| Wire Nail | 1 | 4.55 |
| Plaster | 1 | 0.58 |
| Slate | 58 | 52.37 |
| Tabby Mortar | 23 | 58.17 |
| Tabby Plaster | 1 | 4.06 |
| **Total** | **704** | **2506.23** |

As Otto (1984) observed at the North Slave Cabins at Cannon's Point Plantation and Moore (1981) observed at the Jones Settlement of the Butler Estate, no window glass was recovered at Bush Camp Field. Slave cabins in this region, then, likely used wooden shutters or were windowless structures. Despite the lack of architectural glass, a total of 39 fragments of container glass were recovered at the site, including a dark olive green container glass fragment that shows evidence of reworking.

A total of 54 ceramics were recovered from the shovel test survey at Bush Camp Field. Of those, plain whiteware was the most prevalent type of ceramic (n=16) with twenty total sherds of whiteware variants. Of the total 54 ceramics, twelve pieces of creamware (20.6% of the total ceramic assemblage) were recovered, indicating an early antebellum presence on the site. Also recovered were thirteen sherds of plain, blue and green shell edged, and handpainted pearlware (Figure 35). A complete list of ceramics recovered from the shovel test survey, counts, and weights are listed below in

Table 4.




Figure 35. Sample of ceramics recovered from shovel tests, handpainted creamware, transferprinted whiteware, creamware tureen handle, cable and cat's eye creamware (L to R).

Table 4. Ceramics recovered from shovel testing at Bush Camp Field.

| **Artifact** | **Count** | **Weight (g)** |
|---|---|---|
| Creamware, Plain | 11 | 21.52 |
| Creamware, Green Shell Edged | 1 | 38.3 |
| Ginger Beer Bottle, Stoneware | 1 | 2.71 |
| Ironstone with UID spotted cat makers' mark | 1 | 5.76 |
| Lead Glazed Earthenware | 1 | 41.2 |
| Pearlware, Plain | 4 | 21.1 |
| Pearlware, Blue Shell Edged | 5 | 12.03 |
| Pearlware, Green Shell Edged | 2 | 12.08 |
| Pearlware, Blue Handpainted | 1 | 0.88 |
| Pipe Bowl, White Ball Clay | 2 | 0.88 |
| Pipe Stem, 4/64", White Ball Clay | 1 | 3.32 |
| Porcelain, Plain | 1 | 2.24 |
| Lead Glazed Redware | 2 | 2.58 |
| Stoneware, Grey Salt Glazed, American | 2 | 20.11 |
| Whiteware, Plain | 16 | 28.26 |
| Whiteware, Blue Transfer Print | 1 | 0.59 |
| Whiteware, Hand Painted, Polychrome bands | 1 | 2.78 |
| Whiteware, Banded, Blue | 1 | 3.4 |
| Whiteware, Plain, Incised Base | 1 | 0.38 |
| **Total** | 54 | 211.97 |

*BUSH CAMP FIELD SHOVEL TEST SURVEY*

Distribution analysis of the Bush Camp Field shovel test pit results were tested through a Global Moran's I. This test determines whether or not the inputted values, in this case, a z-score based on the relative weight of the artifacts, are randomly situated across a site or are organized in a more patterned way. The null hypothesis for Global Moran's I states that, "the spatial processes promoting the observed pattern of values is random chance" (ArcGIS Spatial Autocorrelation 10.6). Table 5 presents the output values from the Global Moran's I summary. As the *p*-value is 0.085, the null hypothesis that the distribution of z-scores of material culture across the site are randomly distributed is accepted.

Table 5. Statistical summary of Global Moran's I for Bush Camp Field shovel test pits.

| **Statistical Test** | **Statistic** |
|---|---|
| Moran's Index | 0.008720 |
| Expected Index | -0.001789 |
| Variance | 0.000037 |
| *z*-score | 1.719356 |
| *p*-value | 0.085549 |

Although the distribution of material culture across the site is statistically random, further analysis of inverse distribution maps sorted by rough artifact type do show some degree of patterning. Positive shovel tests were in two main areas: on the southern end of the site, near the wooded interface between Bush Camp Field and Behavior Cemetery and in the area around previous investigations. These concentrations of antebellum refuse

generally match the anticipated distribution of material across the site based on interpretation of the DuVal US&CGS map, geophysical anomalies, and pedestrian survey.

Upon closer inspection of the brick and tabby distributions, however, spatial differences are apparent between the two material types. As shown in Figure 36 and Figure 37, bricks and tabby are in localized areas of Bush Camp Field, indicating that of the multiple buildings located within the site, they were built of different building materials. Bricks were found mostly on the northwest portion of the site, whereas tabby fragments (including tabby mortar, tabby plaster, and tabby daub), were found in the southern and central parts of the site. Ceramic distributions overlapped with the distribution of tabby artifacts, especially around the central part of the site where Cabin 2 was discovered (Figure 38).

*BUSH CAMP FIELD TEST UNIT RESULTS*

Based on the distribution maps from the shovel test survey, gradiometry results, and another set of pedestrian surveys, archaeologists excavated a total of nine test units at Bush Camp Field. Test units were excavated with the intent of simply confirming or refuting the presence of features belonging to antebellum slave quarters. While the following presentation of sterile postholes and meager diagnostic assemblages may not be ideal, their significance is supported by the antebellum domestic materials in the surrounding shovel tests. Here, the combination of results is quite important to interpret the site as the landscape of an enslaved settlement.

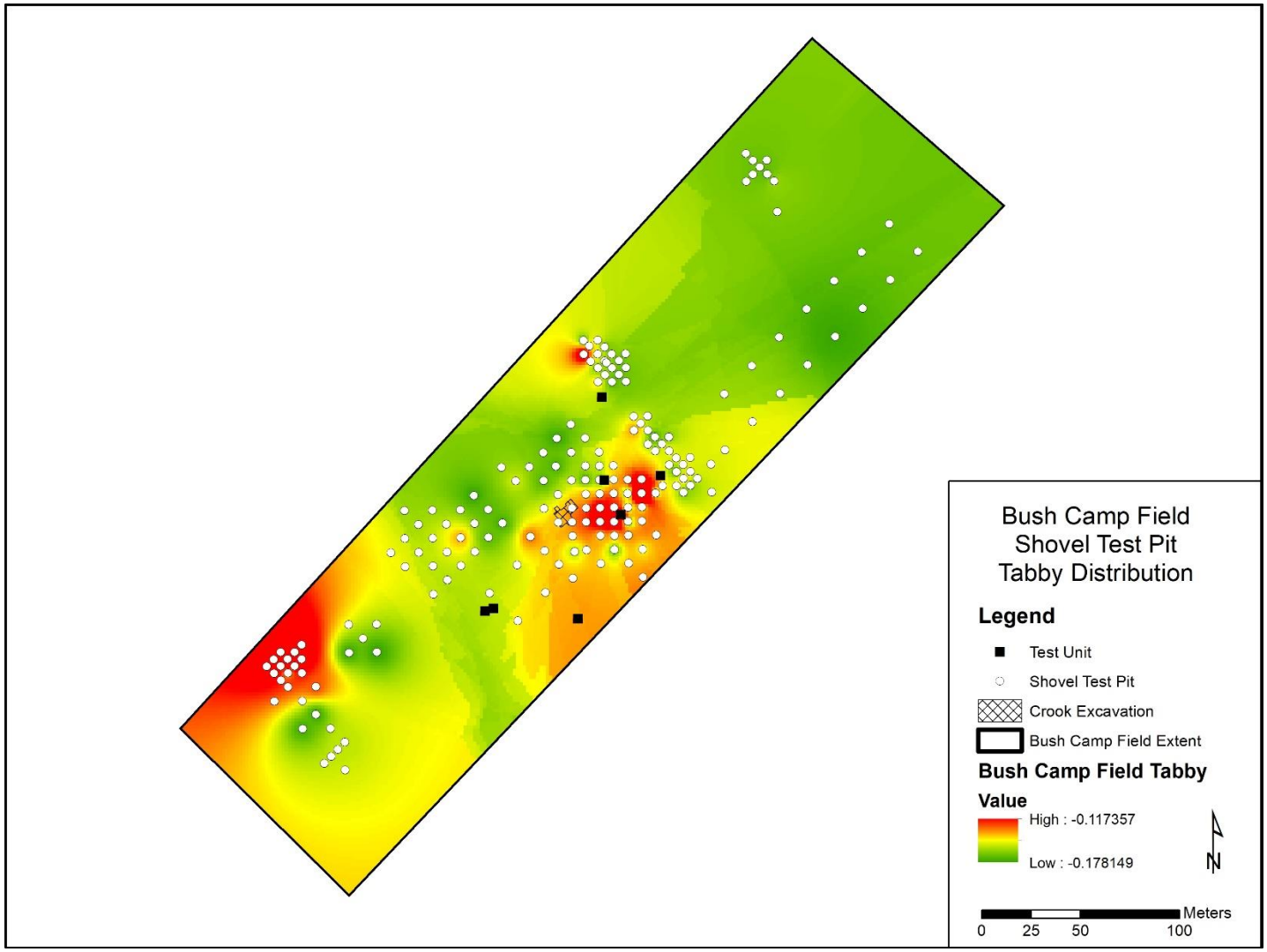



Figure 36. Distribution of Tabby at Bush Camp Field.

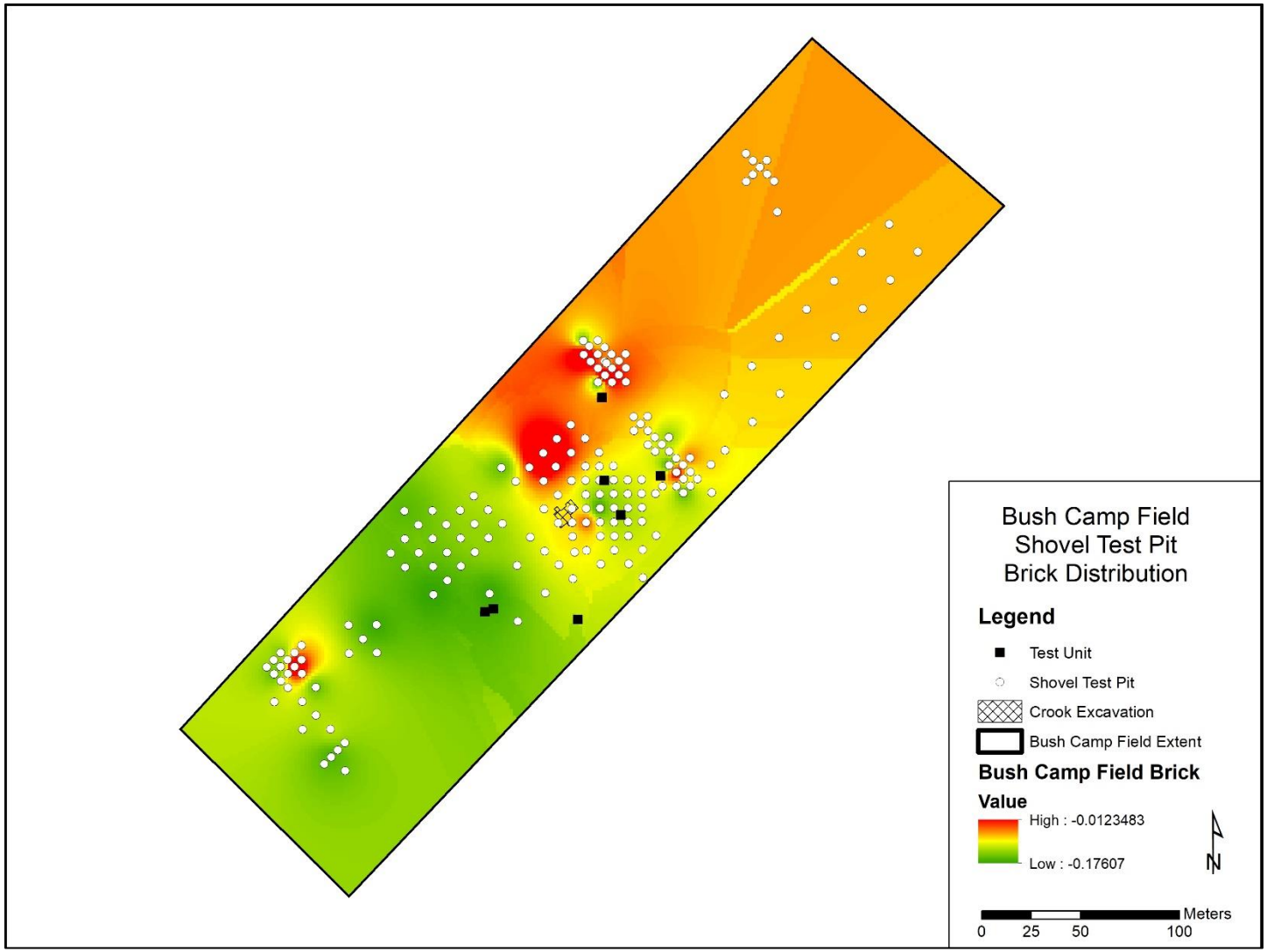



Figure 37. Distribution of Bricks at Bush Camp Field.

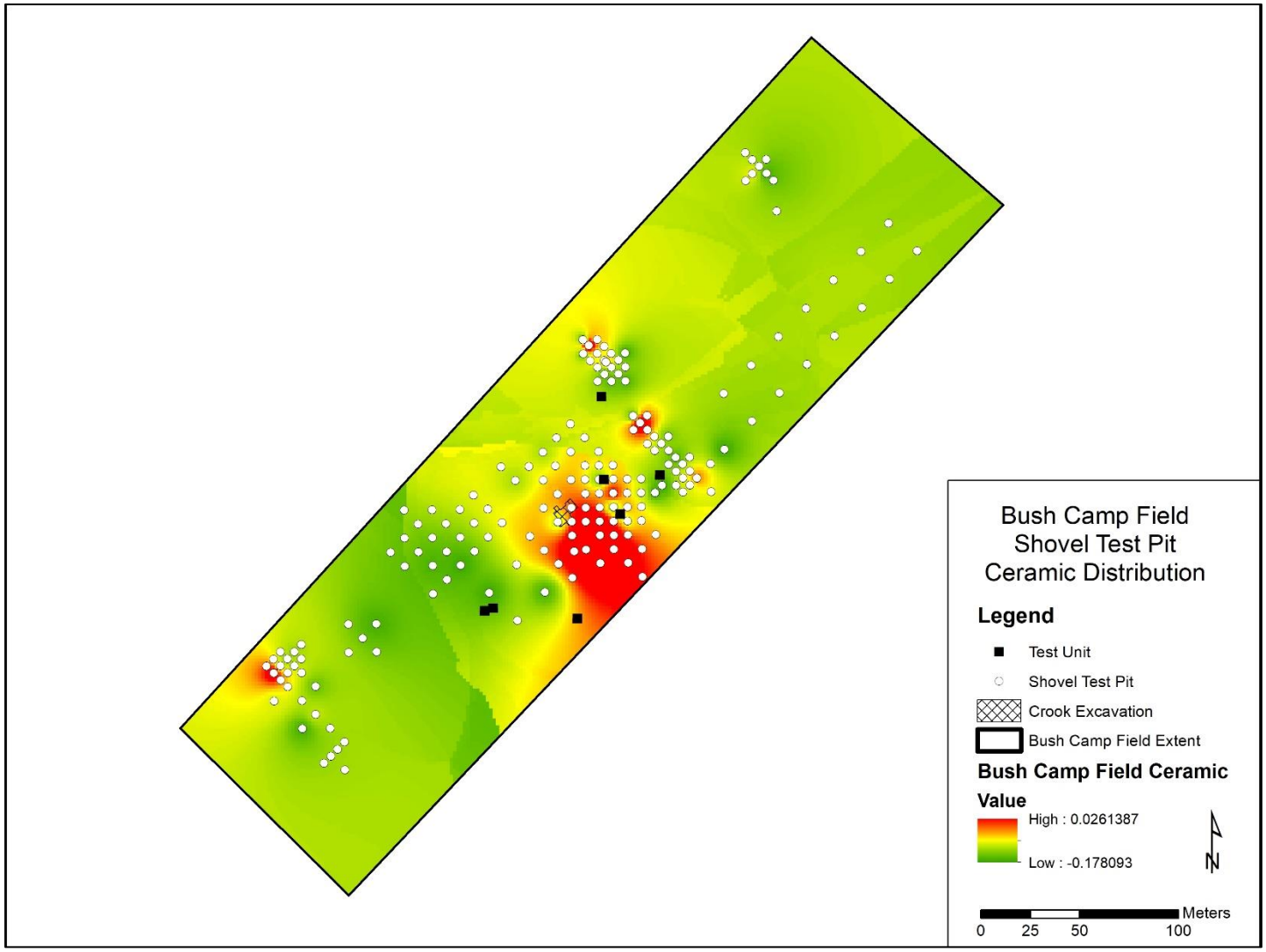



Figure 38. Distribution of Ceramics at Bush Camp Field.

*TEST UNIT 2, 3, 4*

LiDAR imagery and artifacts recovered from shovel test pit survey—including three small fragments of tabby and a relatively high density of diagnostic antebellum artifacts such as plain creamware and handmade brick—guided the placement of excavation units at Bush Camp Field. Test Units 2, 3, and 4, located in the center of Bush Camp Field, contain remnants of a wattle and tabby daub slave cabin (Figure 39). A segment of what I refer to as Structure 3 is approximately 25 meters east of Cabin No. 2. To explore Structure 3, archaeologists excavated three 1 x 1 meter test units (Test Units 2, 3 and 4) uncovering seven round postholes, and a burnt post mold within a pit of tabby plaster and mortar (Feature 1).

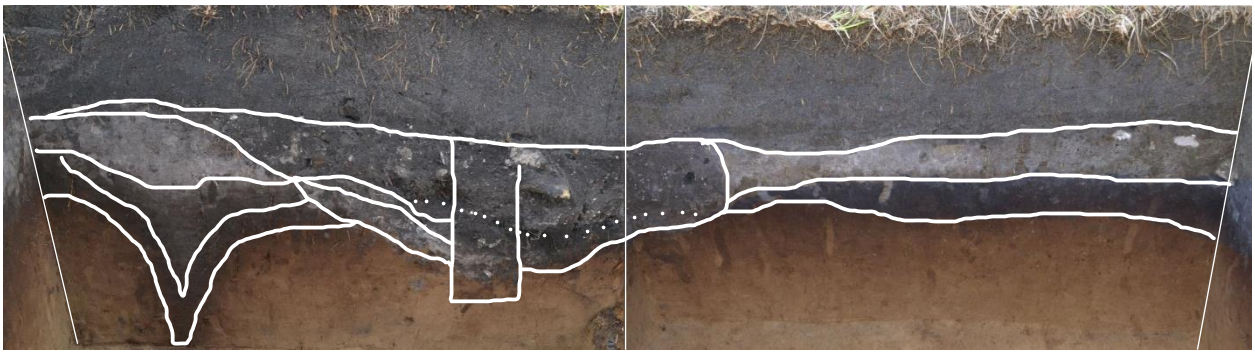


Figure 39. East profiles of Test Unit 2 and 3. The dotted line marks the point at which soils show signs of laminating, and the cross-cutting rectangle indicates a burned rounded posthole with a flat bottom.

The above image is of the eastern profile walls of Test Unit 3 (left) and Test Unit 2 (right). Test Unit 4 was excavated to the east of Test Unit 2 and is therefore not shown in the above image. Excavation of these three test units was prompted by the identification of Feature 1 in Test Unit 2 during 2016 excavations. This pit

feature contained large chunks of tabby with wattle and lathing marks. In 2017, Test Unit 2 was expanded to the north by a meter to more fully expose Feature 1 and to the east (Test Unit 4) to obtain a larger sample of diagnostic material and to investigate the tabby chunks seen in the far right of Figure 54 in Zone 2.

Test Unit 3 contained nearly entirely architectural materials while Test Unit 4 contained mostly domestic materials. The northern third of Test Unit 2 contained architectural materials and the plow zone of the entire unit contained a larger proportion of cut nails than typically found on site. The drastic difference in materials found so closely to each other indicates the likelihood that Feature 1 in Test Units 2 and 3 demarcates the inside and outside of a structure. Additional excavations in this location could help to further identify the dimensions and orientation of the structure, as well as to determine if the structure matched the construction episodes proposed by Crook at Cabin 2a and Cabin 2b.

The size and orientation of the structure were not obtained due to the small sample size; however, the type of post and pit features identified with Structure 3 are identical to those recovered from Cabin No. 2. While the recovery of non-architectural artifacts was low, the materials that were recovered often held signs of re-working and re-use, such as a shard of bottle glass with a reworked edge, a handmade pipe-bowl decorated with an incised design, and a lead sinker made from a spent bullet. A scant ten ceramic artifacts were recovered from the three test units, making a comparison of material recovery incomparable with Crook's recovery.

The majority of materials recovered from this area were architectural. Table 6 presents a breakdown of tabby, handmade brick, and other building materials, such as handmade brick, fired clay, and eight kinds of tabby, including tabby mortar, tabby plaster, tabby with lathing impressions, and tabby with impressions of grapevine. The grapevine-impressed tabby was the most exciting recovery because it implies the presence of a wattle and tabby daub structure.

Table 6. Building materials recovered from Structure 3.

| **Building Material** | **Weight (g)** | **Percent of Weight** |
|---|---|---|
| Brick | 271.72 | 44.34% |
| Daub | 0.6 | 0.10% |
| Brick, Hand-made | 268.98 | 1.32% |
| Plaster | 3.9 | 0.02% |
| Brick, Self-glazed | 0.38 | 0.00% |
| Slate | 23.76 | 3.64% |
| Tabby, structural | 288.8 | 1.42% |
| Tabby | 540.4 | 2.65% |
| Tabby chunk with conglomerate | 1514.3 | 7.42% |
| Mortar, tabby | 3374.7 | 30.45% |
| Plaster, tabby | 123.88 | 2.45% |
| Tabby with lathing | 284 | 1.39% |
| Tabby with oyster shell | 16 | 2.74% |
| Tabby with plaster | 23.01 | 0.11% |
| Tabby with plaster and lathing | 368.6 | 1.81% |
| Tabby, vine impressed | 29.9 | 0.15% |
| **Total** | **7132.93** | **100.00%** |

In addition to the large posthole in Feature 1, Test Unit 3, seven small postholes were identified in the matrix sediments of Test Units 2, 3, and 4, measuring from 4 to 7 cm in diameter. All postholes were below the plowzone but in the same levels as other historic materials. However, with the exception of Feature 1 and its

components, all other postholes were sterile. No prehistoric artifacts were recovered that would indicate that the postholes were associated with a prehistoric occupation.

### *TEST UNITS 5 AND 6*

Test Unit 5 and Test Unit 6 were located in Bush Camp Field approximately 30 meters south of Crook's excavation unit. This area was identified as a probable location for antebellum occupation during pedestrian survey in 2017. A large amount of handmade bricks were on the ground surface alongside historic bottle glass and banded creamware, leading to these further investigations. The majority of artifacts recovered from this vicinity of the site were architectural in nature (Table 7), comprised of hand-made brick (*n*=593g), daub (*n*=0.6g), and tabby (*n*=16.02g).

Table 7. Building materials recovered from TU 5 and TU 6.

| **Artifact** | **Weight (g)** | **Percent of Weight** |
|---|---|---|
| Brick, Hand-made | 592.99 | 90.3 |
| Daub | 0.6 | 0.09 |
| Slate | 46.92 | 7.14 |
| Mortar, Tabby | 16.2 | 2.47 |

Material culture that was recovered from this area, such as the 5/64 in. white ball clay pipe stems recovered alongside creamware and pearlware bowls and flatware suggests that this area was the space of an antebellum enslaved household, perhaps a yard midden, due to the lack of *in situ* architectural features. Compared to the rest of the site, dense concentrations of antebellum domestic artifacts were identified on the surface in a 15 x 20 meter scatter. Test Unit 5 and Test Unit 6 are interpreted to be in the vicinity of an antebellum period wood-framed house

(Structure 5), perhaps lying on top of a combination of live oak and brick piers. Table 8 presents metal artifacts from Test Unit 5 and Test Unit 6. The nails were likely associated with the structure.

Table 8. Metal artifacts recovered from TU 5 and TU 6.

| Artifact | Count | Percent of Count | Weight (g) | Percent of Weight |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brass Nail with Square Washer | 1 | 0.64% | 1.46 | 0.50% |
| Clinker | 1 | 0.64% | 0.7 | 0.24% |
| Cut Brass Nail | 1 | 0.64% | 12.16 | 4.20% |
| Cut Nail | 111 | 71.15% | 194.93 | 67.36% |
| Flat Iron | 11 | 7.05% | 52.68 | 18.21% |
| UID Iron | 6 | 3.85% | 4.4 | 1.52% |
| UID Nail | 22 | 14.10% | 20.28 | 7.01% |
| Wrought Nail | 3 | 1.92% | 2.76 | 0.95% |

Diagnostic ceramics including creamware, pearlware, and stoneware were recovered in this area. Surface treatments included Albany slipglaze, slip-trailed industrial slipware, hand-painted polychrome, and transfer printed designs. Table 9 presents the ceramic assemblage from the two test units. In addition, as illustrated in Figure 40, three white ball clay pipe stems and eleven pipe bowls were recovered from the two test units. Of the total eleven pipe bowls, seven were molded; three of the pipe bowls had a grape motif and two had a linear motif. Pipe stems measured 5/64 in., indicating a date range of 1720-1750 (Harrington 1954:64).

Table 9. Ceramic Assemblage from Test Unit 5 and Test Unit 6.

| **Ceramic Type** | **Production Range** | **Median** | **Count** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Creamware, handpainted polychrome | 1780-1815 | 1797 | 1 |
| Creamware, undecorated | 1762-1820 | 1791 | 6 |
| Stoneware, Ginger beer bottle | 1835-1900 | 1868 | 2 |
| Pearlware, industrial slipware, (slip trailed) | 1790-1820 | 1800 | 1 |
| Pearlware, blue transfer printed | 1795-1840 | 1817.5 | 1 |
| Pearlware, undecorated | 1780-1830 | 1805 | 4 |
| Pearlware, handpainted blue | 1780-1820 | 1800 | 1 |
| Stoneware, Albany slip | 1820-1900 | 1860 | 1 |
| | **MCD: 1810.38** | | **Total: 19** |




Figure 40. A selection of decorated pipe bowls from Test Unit 5 and Test Unit 6. All pipe bowls are white ball clay. The second bowl from the left shows evidence of a reddish slip.

In contrast to low nail assemblages from other areas of the site, a total of 115 nails were recovered from the two test units in the vicinity of Structure #5. Of that total, three nails were wrought and 111 were cut nails. In addition to architectural nails, a cut brass nail and a brass nail with a brass square washer were recovered from Test Unit 5.

Test Units 5 and 6 were in the vicinity of Structure 5, a wood-framed antebellum-era cabin. Dense concentrations of nails and bricks were exposed in both units, but no features were present. The tabby that was recovered from this area was in the plowzone, indicating that perhaps large tabby fragments were displaced from another, earlier structure nearby. The artifacts recovered from this area are generally from the 1800-1830s era. Future excavations in this area of the site may help to determine if there were multiple building styles at the same or at different times in the antebellum period at Bush Camp Field.

*TEST UNIT 7*

Test Unit 7 is located in the southeast portion of Bush Camp Field, approximately 30 meters south of Structure #3. This test unit was excavated to groundtruth strong geophysical anomalies in Grid F (Anomaly Group B) and around a relative abundance of diagnostic antebellum-era surface scatter, such as handmade brick, sponge-painted refined earthenware, banded pearlware, and dark olive green wine bottle glass. Two postholes were identified in Test Unit 7 (Figure 41). Although no tabby was recovered from this unit, fragments (*n*=28) of handmade bricks and four cut nails were present below the plowzone.




Figure 41. Test Unit 7, Bottom of LVL 3, Face North. The top of two postholes are visible in the south/center east and west walls.

The brick fragments contain high quantities of additive tempering agents such as grogs and clays. While only four ceramics were recovered from Test Unit 7, this area

of the site could serve as the foundation for future excavations to further investigate the nature of this southeast area of the site. At the minimum, geophysical anomalies were confirmed to be cultural and associated with the antebellum period. I suggest that this area is in the vicinity of another structure, labeled here as Structure 4.

### *BUSH CAMP FIELD SUMMARY*

The archaeological research at Bush Camp Field helped archaeologists to ground-truth gradiometric anomalies. The gradiometry survey grid was based on results from a shovel testing survey designed to ground-truth georeferenced historical maps. Although few features were identified through these surveys, distinct concentrations of antebellum domestic materials were arranged in clusters that were not statistically significant but that did correlate generally with the pattern of structures on historical maps.

The Bush Camp Field site at the Sapelo Plantation contains remains of at least seven historical structures, according to the DuVal map. While historical maps can certainly be inaccurate, they nevertheless served as a starting point for archaeological survey designed to help in reconstructing the antebellum landscape. In addition to Cabin No. 2 identified by Crook, remains of one other wattle and tabby daub structure (Structure 3), a concentration of antebellum domestic and tabby architectural material (Vicinity of Structure 4), and two other concentrations of antebellum domestic materials were found alongside handmade bricks (Structure 5). Although only one of these concentrations can definitively be called a structure, I

believe that the refuse associated with the other three concentrations belong to spaces associated with wood framed slave cabins on the Sapelo Plantation landscape based on associated wrought and cut nails and bricks, the absence of tabby.

*BEHAVIOR*

Segments of Behavior were excavated during four surveys: the survey of Behavior Cemetery in 2010, a target-based exploratory shovel test survey in 2016, a transect-based shovel test survey of North Behavior on the western margin of Middle Road, and a corresponding survey in 2017 on the eastern side of Middle Road. Figure 42 presents a plan view map of all excavation locations at Behavior. Areas of dense antebellum domestic and architectural materials were explored further with a total of four 1 x 1 m test units. Like at Bush Camp Field, these small test units were excavated with the intent of simply confirming the presence or absence of structural features that relate to an antebellum slave occupation of the area.

The goal of these surveys was to ideally find additional slave cabins within the Behavior settlement to create a comparative collection with Cabin No. 1 exposed by Crook in the 1990s. The structure, interpreted by Crook to be a single-family slave cabin, was oriented northwest to southeast, measuring 2.3 by 1.7 meters. The wattle and tabby daub structure was much better preserved at Behavior than at Bush Camp Field, perhaps as a result of the different postbellum activities at the two sites: Bush

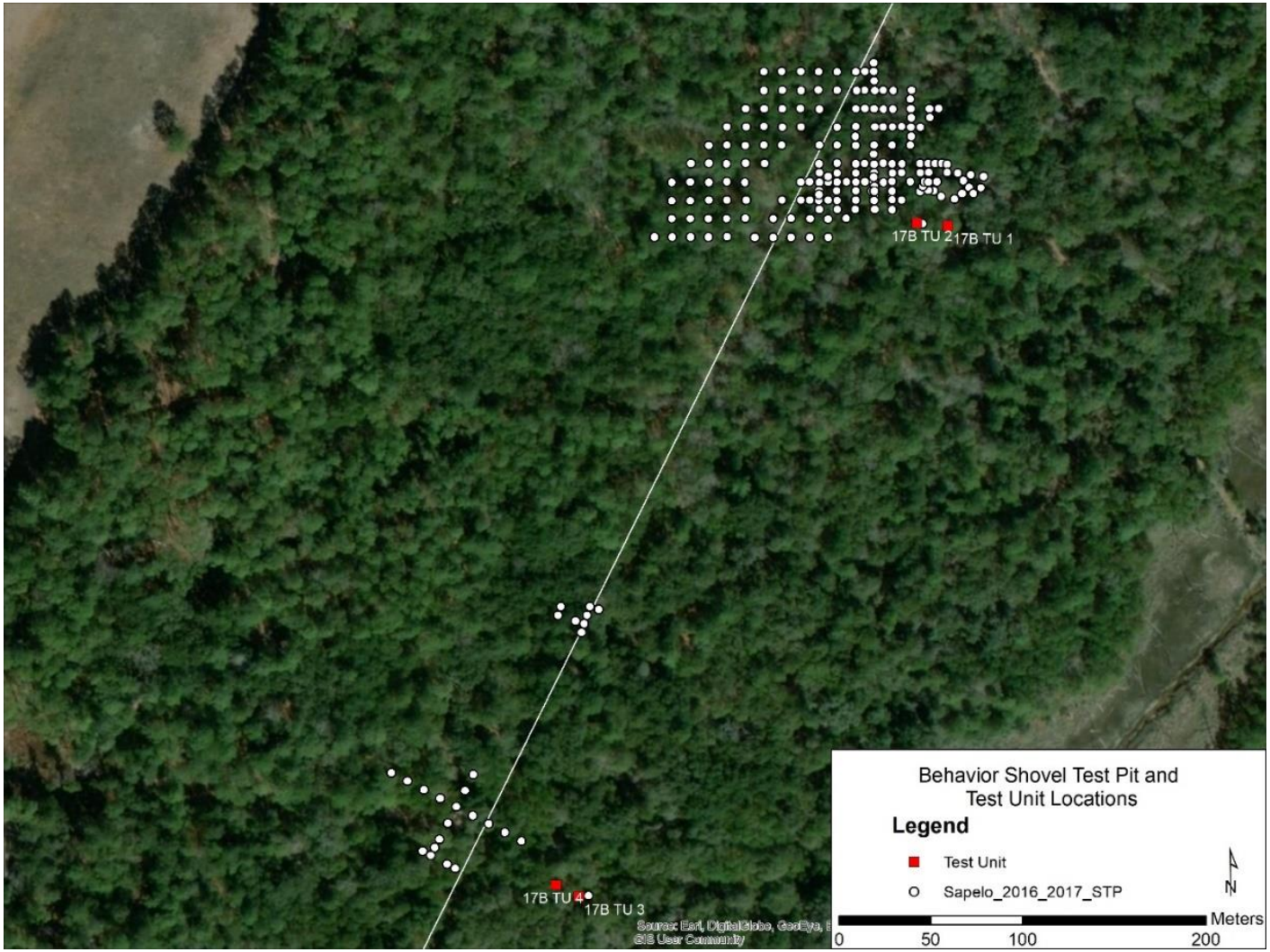



Figure 42. Shovel Test Pit and Test Unit Locations at Behavior

Camp Field was a plowed agricultural field whereas Behavior was used for logging oak and pine.

### *BEHAVIOR SHOVEL TEST RESULTS*

Using similar target-based methods to survey segments of the vast Behavior tract, a University of Tennessee at Chattanooga field school surveyed three target areas—two at South Behavior and one at North Behavior following methods discussed in Chapter 4. Later surveys approached the sites via transect-based surveys, excavating small shovel tests at a ten meter intervals. The project boundary was an arbitrary 70-meter buffer on the east and west sides of Middle Road. The vast majority of artifacts were historic in nature, with only a chert side scraper and chert chunk comprising the prehistoric assemblage.

Figure 43 presents the overall distribution of materials recovered in the North Behavior area. No clusters of antebellum material culture were discernable from the distribution maps, however, as discussed below, materials are spatially patterned when observed via rough material category types. Brick, tabby, and daub were present at all sections of Behavior and are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10. Summary of building materials recovered from shovel test pits at Behavior.

| **Building Material** | **Weight (g)** |
|---|---|
| Brick | 3696 |
| Plaster, Non-tabby | 7.3 |
| Tabby | 150.78 |
| Slate | 13.27 |

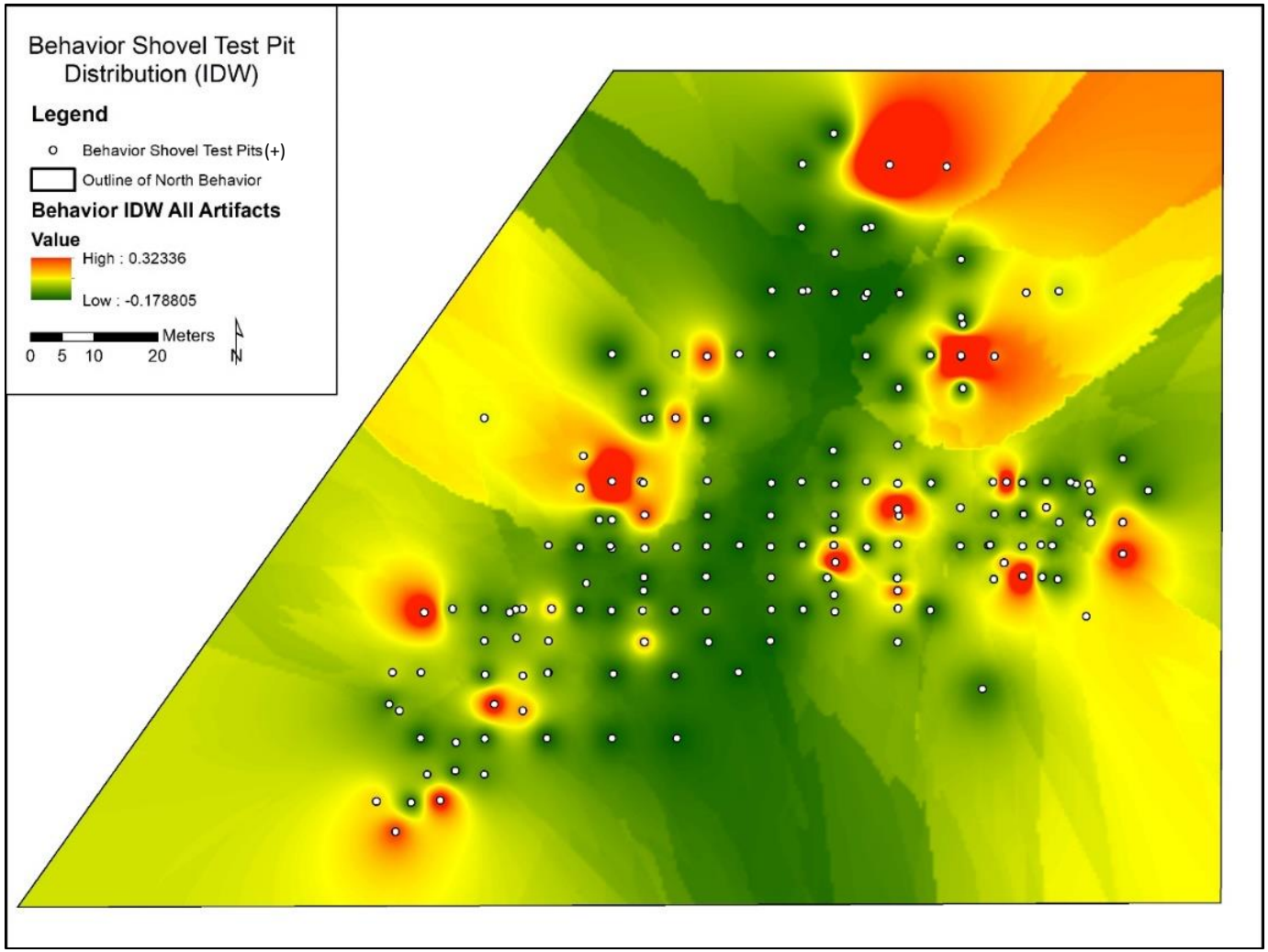



Figure 43. Distribution of artifacts with positive shovel test locations at North Behavior

The majority of building materials, comprising 91% of the building material assemblage and recovered from the shovel test survey were typically hand-made brick. A concentration of bricks were found on Transect #17, around 60-90m east of Middle Road and Transect #18, 40-80m east of Middle Road. As presented in Figure 45 and Figure 46, tabby artifacts were very localized in North Behavior, as compared to brick artifacts that were more dispersed across the Behavior landscape. Brick and tabby were not found in conjunction with each other; rather, they were in separate areas of the site. An example of fire-glazed hand-made brick is presented in Figure 44.




Figure 44. Example of fire glazed handmade brick recovered from Behavior.

Although there was less of it than brick, tabby mortar was found in shovel tests on Transect #16 (60-70m east of Middle Road and 30-60m south-southwest of Cemetery Road). Tabby mortar was also identified in test units on Transect #17 and Transect #18. The distribution of brick is far more ubiquitous across the site than tabby, which is confined to two discrete areas within Behavior settlement, one area in North Behavior,

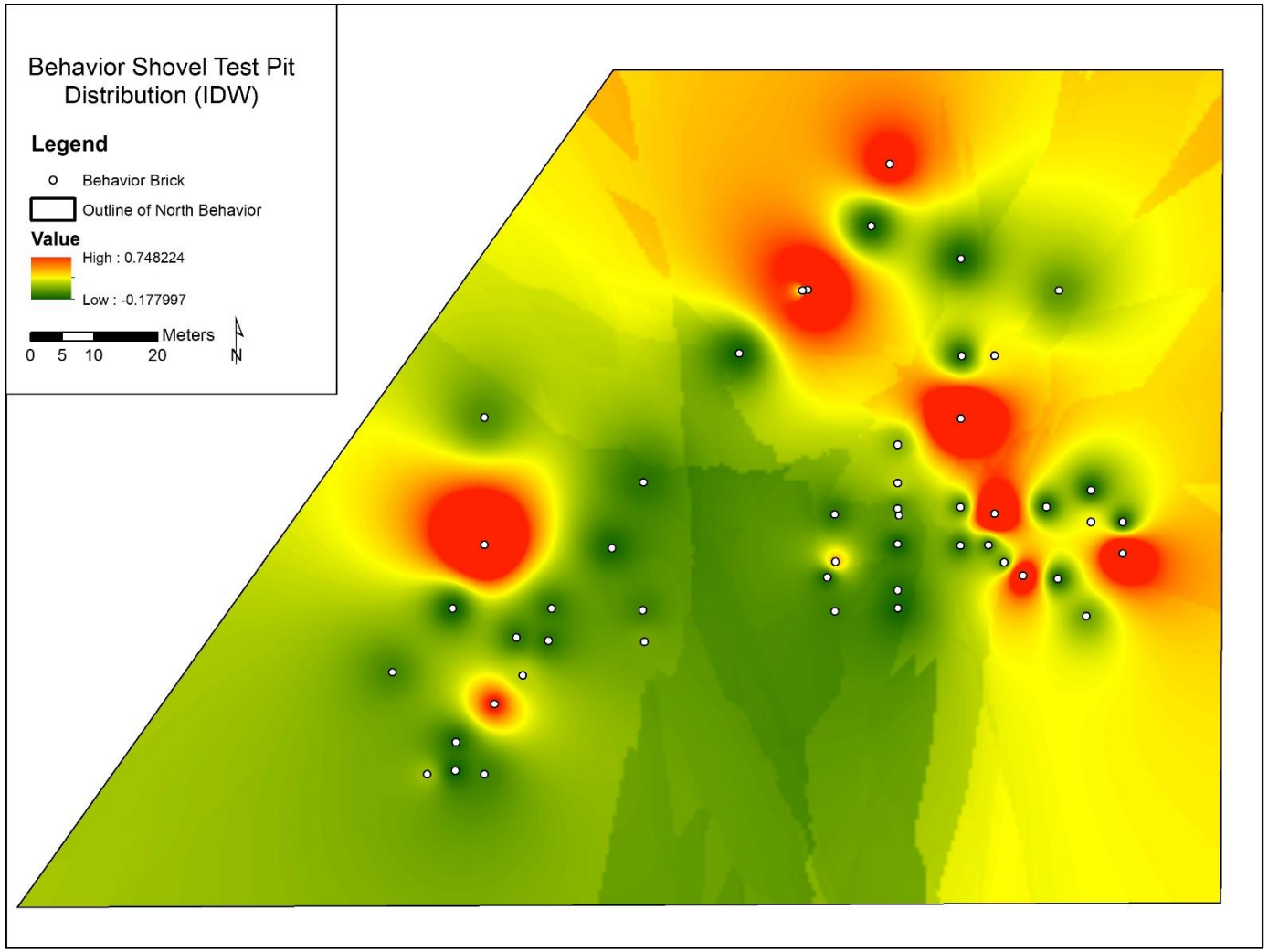



Figure 45. Distribution of brick at North Behavior.

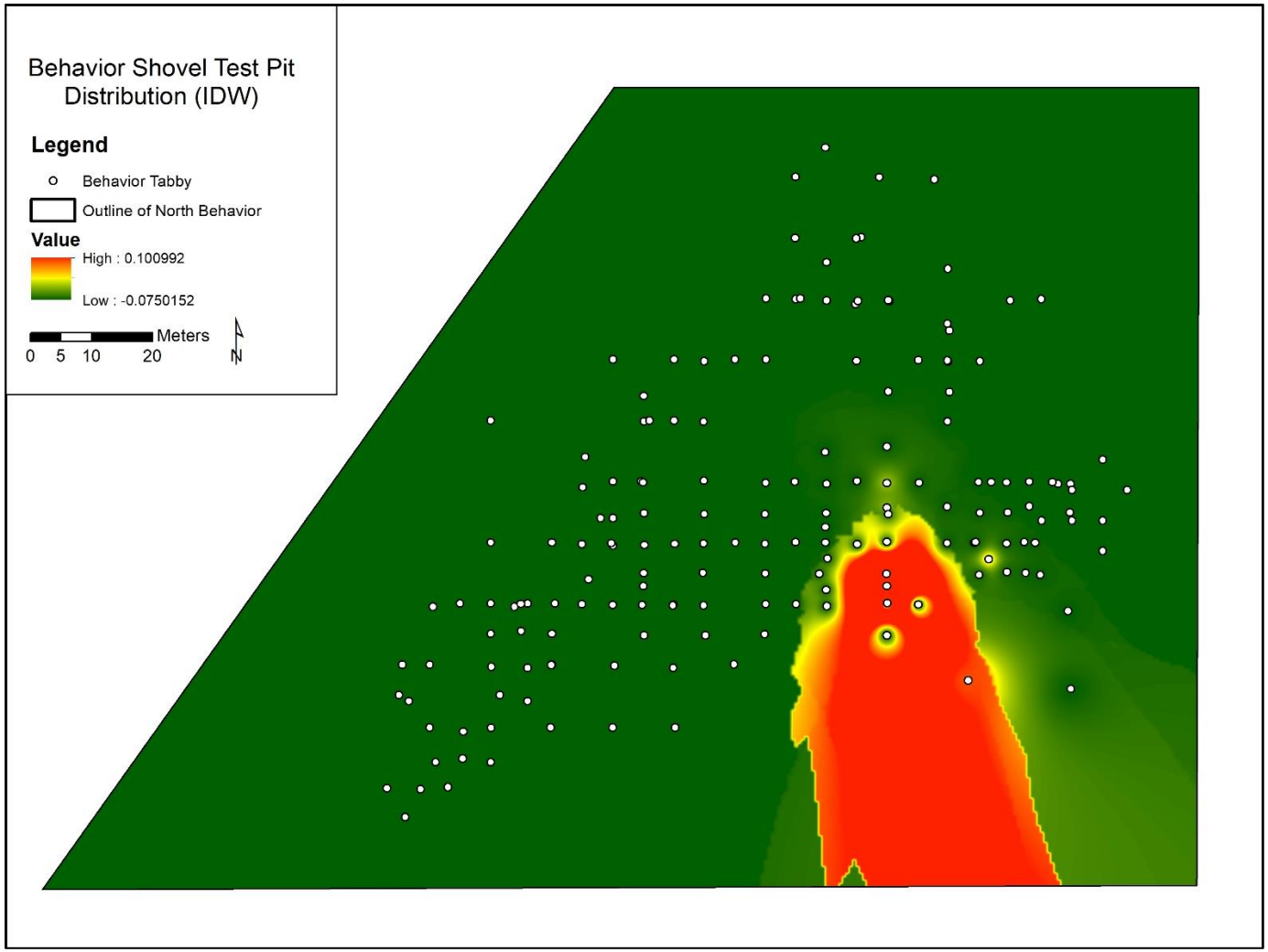



Figure 46. Distribution of tabby at North Behavior.

South Behavior, and Behavior Cemetery. The areas with tabby refuse in North and South Behavior were later investigated further with four 1 x 1 m test units.

A variety of antebellum ceramics were recovered from the shovel tests across the site (Figure 47). Like building materials, these ceramics were clustered in discrete areas within the survey area. Creamware, pearlware, whiteware, stoneware, and porcelain were recovered from shovel tests at Behavior. Creamware was the most common ceramic at the site ($n$=11). Most of the creamware fragments were banded ware, either with polychrome bands or with slip trailed ($n$=6); four were plain, and one was blue transfer-printed creamware.

A total of eight sherds of pearlware were recovered, typically from areas with concentrations of building materials. Of those materials, three were shell edged, one was banded, one was hand-painted polychrome, and three were plain body sherds. A total of four sherds were whiteware, one banded, one molded, and two plain. Five sherds of stoneware were found at the site, including two fragments of American grey salt glazed stoneware, two lead glazed Albany slip glazed, and one piece of white salt glazed stoneware.

Like at Bush Camp Field, relatively high frequencies of smoking-based products were recovered from shovel test pits at Behavior. A total of six white ball clay pipe bowls were found, one molded and five plain, while seven white ball clay pipe stems were recovered. A total of 40 glass artifacts were recovered from shovel test pits at Behavior, the majority of which were historic dark olive green wine bottle glass ($n$=16).

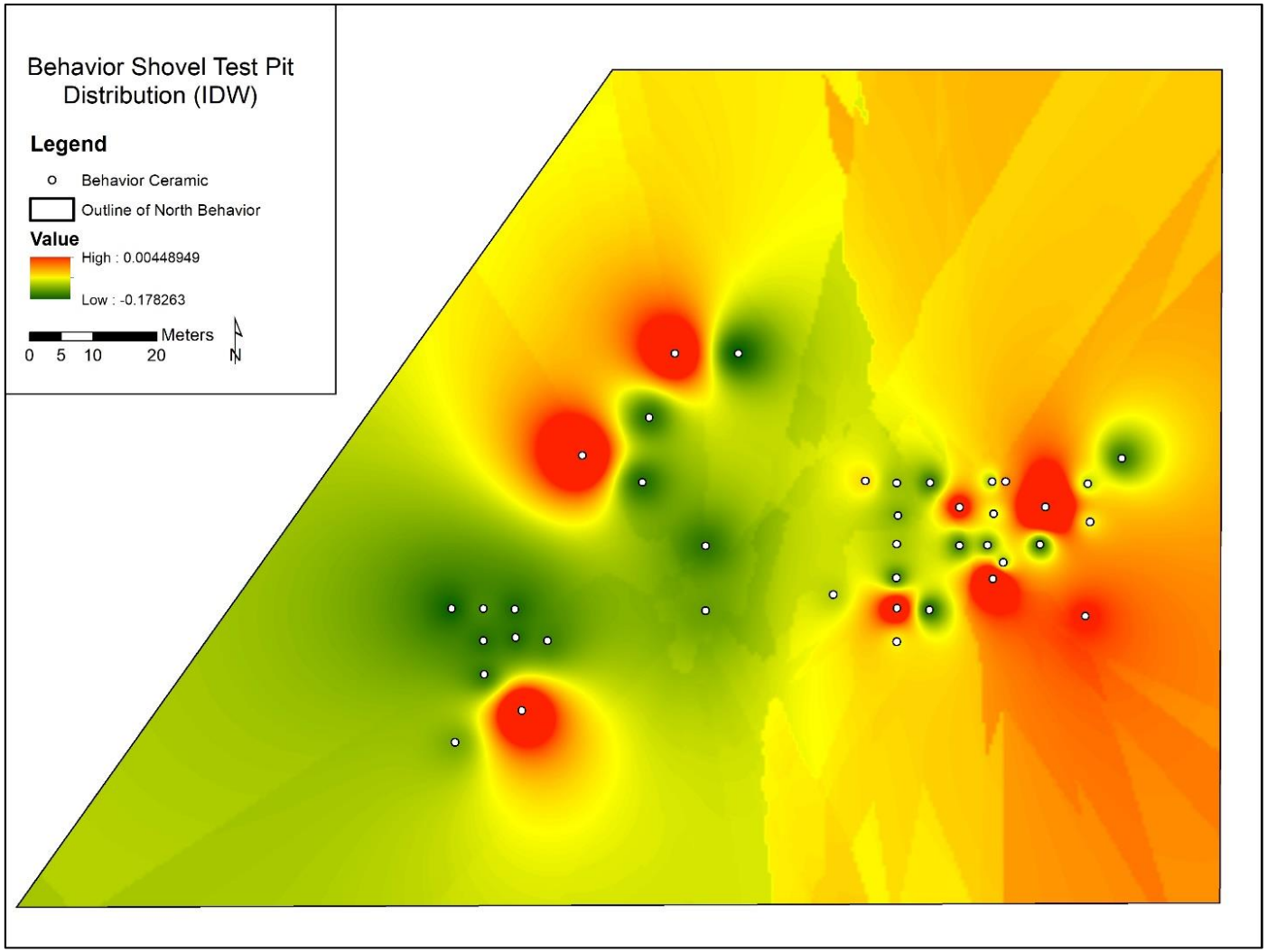



Figure 47. Distribution of antebellum ceramics across the North Behavior landscape.

Also present was light olive green bottle glass, curved amber bottle glass, and colorless bottle glass. As at Bush Camp Field, no window glass was recovered from the site. Of the identifiable metals at Behavior, all but three artifacts were cut nails. Some of the nails were complete, measuring between 41mm-67mm. Flat iron, a modern wire, and a copper filter, which was probably used as a sieve, were also found.

Two four-hole prosser pressed buttons were found at Behavior, one on Transect #16 and another at Transect #18. In addition, four pieces of white quartzite, an imported stone, were found. Other lithic artifacts include a chert side scraper and the base of a nondiagnostic flint point. A single sherd of grit tempered prehistoric pottery was identified. Prehistoric materials were identified on Transects #14-#17, but in no discernable spatial pattern.

Brick and tabby building materials were found near or in the same shovel tests as those diagnostic ceramics, wine bottle glass, and cut nails. Shovel testing at a 10m interval with 5m delineations provided archaeologists with a good map of the site upon which to base input of four 1 x 1 m test units to better delineate the location of antebellum slave quarters. The site itself, however, is nowhere near delineated. Although bounded by a road to the north and west, and by the hand-dug drainage ditch to the east, a large swatch of land ideally situated for living spaces stretches about a kilometer south, certainly deserving further archaeological attention in the future.

## *BEHAVIOR TEST UNIT RESULTS*

Distribution maps and probing with a 1" Oakfield auger and continuing pedestrian surveys through the Behavior woods guided the placement of four test units, all of which contained antebellum domestic artifacts. Figure 48 shows the location of these test units. Of those four, two contained potential foundations of wattle and tabby daub slave cabins, one contained refuse likely belonging to an antebellum wood framed cabin, and one contained a sheet midden associated with one of the identified wattle and tabby daub cabins. The following section summarizes results from each test unit, ending with a narrative describing the relationship between the four areas.

### *TEST UNIT 1, NORTH BEHAVIOR*

Test Unit 1 was placed to investigate a concentration of hand-made bricks located in an area with plants that are associated with historic homesteads. Rich, hardpacked soils were encountered that were filled with whole and crushed oyster shell. The majority of the assemblage from this test unit was cut nails, recovered in the top 10 cm of the test unit. Though no features were encountered in this unit, the prevalence of cut nails suggests a nearby building. The presence of some domestic artifacts, such as cut bones, slate, and bottle glass likewise suggest that the structure may have been a house, but this hypothesis needs further exploration. Table 11 summarizes the artifacts recovered from this productive area of the site.




Figure 48. Test Unit locations at Behavior.

Table 11. Artifact assemblage from Test Unit 1, North Behavior.

| **Rough Material** Artifact | **Count** | **Weight** |
|---|---|---|
| **Building** | **15** | **195.1** |
| Hand-made brick | 14 | 193.8 |
| Slate | 1 | 1.3 |
| **Ceramic** | **6** | **22.2** |
| Pearlware | 3 | 9.8 |
| Pipe bowl, white ball clay | 3 | 12.4 |
| **Faunal** | **100** | **2898** |
| Bone | 14 | 6.6 |
| Clam shell | 83 | 546.2 |
| Horse tooth | 1 | 322.2 |
| Oyster shell | 2 | 2023 |
| **Flora** | **24** | **4.7** |
| Carbonized wood | 24 | 4.7 |
| **Glass** | **30** | **104.11** |
| Glass bottle | 16 | 56.1 |
| Glass lip | 1 | 6.2 |
| Glass medicine vial | 1 | 8.31 |
| Glass shoulder and neck | 1 | 29.2 |
| Glass vial | 11 | 4.3 |
| **Metal** | **92** | **296.1** |
| Cut nail | 69 | 220 |
| Iron spike | 2 | 47.5 |
| UID iron | 21 | 28.6 |
| **Grand Total** | **267** | **3520.21** |

*TEST UNIT 2, NORTH BEHAVIOR*

Test Unit 2 is closer to the margin of 17B (specifically Transect #17, STP 17-8 and 17-6-S) near the eastern terminus of Transect #17. A ¼" Oakfield auger was used to probe around the concentration of dense artifacts in Transect #17, STP 17-8 and 17-6-S in search of subsurface building materials. Test Unit 2 was placed over one such concentration of building materials. Shortly after opening the unit, whole oyster shells were uncovered that spanned the entire test unit. Fill was screened through 1/8" mesh, helping archaeologists to recover small, fragile artifacts like a green wire wound bead, part of a green brooch, a decorated pipe bowl, fish bones and scales, and small sherds of refined earthenware (Figure 49).



Figure 49. Glass eye of a brooch, wire wound green bead, and a four eye prosser pressed button (post 1840, Sprague 2002:111).

Building materials included tabby mortar, hand-made brick, and 30 cut nails. Lead shot, dark and light olive green bottle glass was also recovered from Level 1. Ceramics included blue hand-painted pearlware and plain whiteware, summarized in Table 12.

Table 12. Ceramic artifacts recovered from Test Unit 2, North Behavior

| Ceramic | Production Date Range | Median Production Date | Count |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearlware, handpainted blue | 1790-1820 | 1805 | 1 |
| Pearlware, handpainted polychrome | 1795-1815 | 1805 | 1 |
| Pearlware, Blue Banded | 1785-1840 | 1812 | 1 |
| Brown American Saltglazed Stoneware | 1820-1900 | 1860 | 1 |
| Whiteware | 1840-1900 | 1860 | 4 |
| Whiteware, Blue Transferprinted | 1820-1840 | 1830 | 1 |

Dense whole shell and organic soils persisted throughout Level 2 (10-24 cmbs). In the center of the test unit, large mortar chunks and tabby mortar chunks were present in a concentration, but without whole shell. In addition, 42.7g of clams and 1350.7g of oyster shell were found in Level 2. The test unit was rich with iron, producing 292 fragments of unidentifiable iron fragments. In addition to those unidentified iron fragments, 13 cut iron nails were found by archaeologists. Glass artifacts were fairly varied, with three fragments of colorless bottle glass, mouth blown brown bottle glass, two fragments of light green wine bottle glass, two fragments of highly patinated glass, and a tooled mouth blown aqua medicine bottle neck was recovered.

Level 3 (30-40 cmbs) of Test Unit 2 revealed a linear tabby feature and two postholes (Figure 50). Tabby mortar was the most common artifact found in this level (*n*=1617.12 g). Handmade brick (*n*=24) and cut nails (n=17) were also recovered in small quantities. Two personal artifacts were recovered: a four hole prosser pressed button, and




Figure 50. Dense organic and greasy midden with tabby chunks and shell lens through Level 2, TU 2, east wall.

a faceted glass brooch with a green eye in the middle. Table 13 summarizes the building materials recovered from this productive test unit.

Table 13. Building materials recovered from Test Unit 2, North Behavior.

| **Building Material** | **Count** | **Weight (g)** |
|---|---|---|
| Brick, hand-made | 133 | 131.47 |
| slate | 3 | 0.98 |
| mortar, tabby | 30 | 2131.18 |
| plaster, tabby | 2 | 8.6 |
| **Grand Total** | **168** | **2272.23** |

Presented in Figure 51 is a plan view of the tabby and post hole features at the bottom of Level 3 (30 cmbs) in Test Unit 2. Feature 2 is a post hole and a square post mold that is pointed at the bottom. Small chunks of tabby mortar and tabby plaster were recovered from the post hole around Feature 2, but the post mold itself was sterile. Feature 3, a probable wall trench or unusually large rectangular posthole, intrudes upon Feature 2, indicating the depositional relationship between the older Feature 2 and more recent Feature 3.

Of similar architectural significance, Feature 4B and 4C were a post hole and post mold; however, both features were rounded, perhaps indicating a different depositional sequence or tools used to create the feature. All three post molds reached a depth of 75 cmbs, well into the sterile subsoil reached at 43 cmbs. Although all post molds were sterile, they are interpreted to be historic in nature given the rectangular postholes and lack of any prehistoric artifacts from the test unit or shovel tests around the test unit.

Test Unit 2 and the surrounding area are interpreted to contain a wattle and tabby daub slave cabin due to the presence of structural features, domestic antebellum artifacts, and fragments of tabby with impressions of vines. Antebellum-era domestic artifacts combined with *in situ* tabby foundations (margins of Feature 2 and Feature 3) and post holes provide evidence that a slave cabin was in this location. Based on the distribution maps of tabby within North Behavior, this is the only known location of a potential wattle and tabby daub structure.

### *TEST UNIT 3, SOUTH BEHAVIOR*

Based on results from the targeted shovel test excavations in 2016 in "South Behavior," or the area around Georgia Power Road that connects to Middle Road and the West Autobahn, the UTC field school archaeologists intended to excavate shovel test pits on a transect-based grid. South Behavior is where UTC archaeologists initially understood Crook's (2008) test units to be, but later determined that Crook's grid was more likely to be on the west side of Middle Road at North Behavior. Neither Crook's grid, nor the surface architectural materials he cites, were identified.

While conducting pedestrian surveys at South Behavior in attempts to locate the above ground tabby and brick resources described by Crook (2008), tabby, brick, creamware, stoneware, and antebellum-period dark olive green wine bottle glass were identified on the surface, typically only in roadbeds due to the ground cover in the woods. As a result of this surface scatter, the 2017 transect survey was planned to continue at South Behavior. While laying out transects for the survey, Cochran identified an area




Figure 51. Tabby and posthole features in Level 3 of TU 2. Plan view facing north. Undulations in the test unit walls are due to large tree roots.

with tabby on the surface and a small topographical rise. Blue transfer-printed pearlware was identified nearby. As time was running out for field school excavations at Behavior, STPs at South Behavior were foregone and instead two 1 x 1 m test units, TU 3 and TU 4 were excavated in the vicinity of these surface features.

TU 3 is located in the center of the slight topographic rise. No tabby artifacts were found on the surface, but oyster shell was present–an artifact previously used to identify high probability locations of pre-1860 cultural materials. The test unit is about 30m east of Middle Road and about 10m east of an adjacent area with shell and tabby on the surface that also marks the location of TU 4. Fill was screened through 1/8" mesh.

Other artifacts from this level include whole and crushed oyster shells, hand-made brick fragments, whiteware, and cut nails. The second level presented carbonized throughout the floor of the unit instead of localized in any particular area. Cultural materials include crushed and whole oyster shell, cut nails, handmade brick fragments, small fragments of slate, creamware, two pipe bowls, and two pipe stems (*n*=1 4/64", *n*=1 5/64"). A colorless glass vial, handblown dark olive green glass, and unidentified bone fragments were also found. A profile image of Test Unit 3 is presented in

Figure 52. No features were found in this test unit despite the rise in topography that was the impetus for excavating in this location.



Figure 52. South profile of TU 3, Level 4 at the end of excavation.

## TEST UNIT 4, SOUTH BEHAVIOR

While the assemblage from Test Unit 3 was more domestic in nature, Test Unit 4, located 10m west of Test Unit 3, contained many more architectural materials and features, including tabby chunks on the surface. An auger was used to probe around areas where surface tabby was present. Test Unit 4 was placed at what seemed to be the edge of an area with linear segments of tabby foundations.

The first level of the test unit was very productive, especially for architectural materials. Nearly equal amounts of tabby and hand-made brick were identified. A total of 3,078.2g of tabby was recovered from Test Unit 4. Styles of tabby recovered include tabby mortar, tabby with a flat edge and white plaster, tabby mortar with plaster and a

groove, and tabby with vine impressions. In addition to brick and tabby, large quantities of iron were recovered from the test unit. A total of 73 cut nails were found as well as 353 fragments of unidentifiable iron.

A total of three pieces of lead shot and one unfired copper cap constitute the arms category. Oyster shell is undeniably the most common artifact from the test unit–over 4.6 kg of whole and crushed oyster shell was recovered from the test unit. An unexpectedly large sample of clam shell was also present in Test Unit 4: a total of 623 grams were recovered from the unit. Archaeologists in the UTC lab counted 65 fragments of unidentified bone-more than the average recovered faunal materials from the sandy barrier island soils. Finally, a single brass clothing grommet was recovered from the second level of Test Unit 4.

Figure 53 presents the three overlapping pit features in Test Unit 4 that each contained many fragments of architectural materials, especially tabby.

The area around Test Unit 3 and Test Unit 4 is interpreted to be a wattle and tabby daub slave cabin. The many forms of tabby present in Test Unit 4, including tabby with vine impressions, indicates that tabby was a primary building material for the structure. Like other wattle and tabby daub structures identified within the Sapelo Plantation settlements, a surprisingly large assemblage of cut nails were recovered as well. While the presence of iron is to be expected, the construction of a wattled building covered with a palmetto roof does not require any nails, as suggested by Crook (2008). However, these

nail fragments may indicate multiple building episodes of the one structure, perhaps a nearby second structure, or internal partitions or flooring within a structure.



Figure 53. Test Unit 4, face north. Overlapping pit features in the northwest, north center, and southeast of the unit.

*CONCLUSION*

The present archaeological and geophysical investigations of slave settlements in the Sapelo Plantation have redefined the structure of spaces on the Sapelo Plantation. Previously limited to two wattle and tabby daub structures and depictions of structures on historical maps, we now know the general location and building materials of an additional seven antebellum slave cabins. Research at the two settlements indicated the presence of a total of two wattle and tabby daub slave cabins at Bush Camp Field and

three at Behavior. In addition, evidence of two wood-framed cabins at Bush Camp Field and one at Behavior were recovered through this archaeological research. The targeted research methods used here were appropriate to define the total landscape and intentionally left room for much more research to be conducted. I consider the results presented here as a starting point for future research into the architectural heterogeneity of Georgia's coastal plantation landscapes.

Tabby was recovered from all project areas, but in very localized concentrations, as shown in Figure 69. In these areas small, round, sterile post holes extending approximately 60-85 cm into the ground were recovered and are interpreted to be related to domestic structures. While the features themselves were sterile, they were surrounded by tabby, handmade brick, and domestic materials indicating an antebellum home. No window glass was recovered from any of the excavated test units or shovel tests, indicating that the structures on the Sapelo Plantation had no windows, in the case of wattle and tabby daub structures, or like many other wood-framed cabins on the coast, used clapboard window shutters.

Unlike many other slave settlements, no standing architecture remains at the Sapelo Plantation. As the guiding questions of this project seek to understand the enslaved landscapes as a whole, the research strategy was likewise broad, seeking to cover as much ground as possible to identify the location of slave cabins and return for more in-depth excavations when funding and personnel are available. The results presented here certainly bring up more questions than they answer; however, the

information obtained through these excavations allow interpretation of how the enslaved people at the Sapelo Plantation lived in and created a different landscape than people within other plantations.

I recommend that future researchers take a two-fold approach to archaeological investigations of these structures. First, Test Units 2, 3, and 4 at Bush Camp Field contain the most promising evidence for a structure that is similar to Crook's Cabin #2a and #2b. A ground penetrating radar survey in the immediate vicinity over and around the test units at a 0.5m interval should provide additional evidence about the size, orientation, and dimensions of the structure. Test Units 5 and 6 held the most evidence for a wood-framed slave cabin. Geophysical investigations and archaeological excavations to follow my research may lead to further evidence to interpret the daily lives of enslaved people on the Sapelo Plantation and their interactions with the landscape of Bush Camp Field.

Behavior settlement may however hold more mysteries than Bush Camp Field, as well as more potential to recover intact features. Because Behavior was not plowed like Bush Camp Field was, I anticipate less razing of architectural features. A controlled burn in the area may help to clear enough underbrush and secondary growth to highlight architectural features on the surface that were not identifiable during pedestrian surveys. The dense forest of the area does present challenges to geophysical research due to the secondary growth and large tree roots under the ground surface, though it may be possible in some localized areas, like at the test unit areas of South Behavior. The shovel testing survey that I undertook covered only a small portion of the site. I recommend that

a continuation of the shovel testing survey continue from North Behavior south along Middle Road. I also recommend that the survey extend far beyond the arbitrary 60 meters from the road and instead reach from the High Point Road to the Coffin era drainage to the east of Behavior. Test Unit 2 at North Behavior contained the most intact structural evidence at the site; therefore, additional block excavations at this location are recommended. The area around Test Unit 1 and Test Unit 2 are an ideal candidate for geophysics, especially GPR and gradiometry. The next chapter builds upon archaeological results presented here to discuss the structure of plantation spaces.

# CHAPTER 7: RESULTS OF THIESSEN TESSELLATIONS

In historical narratives about Georgia's lowcountry plantation owners, authors often paint a glowing picture of these people who owned land and person alike. Similarly, each was, according to their biographer, a political and economic mastermind, involved with local, state, and federal politics. These lowcountry businessmen often had political and economic connections to the Caribbean, where they received tips on producing the best quality and highest quantity of indigo, rice, sugar, or cotton. Planters likewise traded commentary locally to compare slave housing and methods of control. These notes were in a paternalistic tone, common at the time, which simultaneously erased the individuality and identity of every enslaved person on the coast, describing them as a whole with the same wants, needs, and shortcomings. If planters and overseers communicated through the same channels, entertained each other at neighboring plantations, had similar national and international connections and influences, will the spaces of each lowcountry plantation equally reflect those contextual similarities?

Thiessen tessellations, or in this application, measures of plantation spatial geometry, analyze the uniformity of plantation landscapes on the Georgia coast. As discussed in Chapter 3, these coastal planters had similar political connections in the Atlantic World, were closely involved with the transition of power from the British to a fledgling America, had and were expanding their political and economic clout, and grew the same crops. Although all of the plantation owners studied here were in favor of

slavery, their writings signified that they approached slavery and management of the enslaved people in quite different ways. Pierce Butler, for example, was an absentee planter who ordered his overseer, Roswell King and later Roswell King, Jr., to run the plantation as a closed military outpost. Rather than use white overseers, Thomas Spalding and John Couper used enslaved drivers, Bilal and Silal, respectively, to manage plantation operations. Spalding used no white overseers while Couper, for example, relied on management from enslaved and free white sources.

The following results of the Thiessen tessellations will report measures of tessellations around enslaved structures for each plantation, presenting images of the geometric margins around quarters depicted on historical maps. Summaries of the mean tessellation size by quarter and by plantation are presented along with estimates of distance from each structure to potential surveillance by plantation management or owner. I present these data alongside archaeological data collected in the 1980s of structure sizes and estimated number of people living in each quarter to estimate the amount of space outside the structure that an enslaved person may have been able to use. While this measurement is by itself meaningless, it does serve as a useful comparative tool to analyze the relative confinement of a person living within the boundaries of these coastal plantations.

## *BUTLER ISLAND*

Butler Island, discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, was a rice plantation on the Altama River located between St. Simon's Island and Sapelo Island. Cotton and sugar

were also grown on the island, but without as much fervor as rice. Drainages for the rice canals were dug by hand in 1802 thereby marking the beginning of one of Georgia's largest and most profitable plantations. Butler Island, under the administration of Pierce Butler, was rumored to be one of the harshest plantations on the coast. I hypothesized that the militaristic rigidness of documented management styles of Butler and King correlate to the geometric rigidness of plantation boundaries on the island: less area around a slave cabin indicates a greater degree of surveillance and therefore fewer chances for enslaved people to overtly engage in place-making.

The analysis of geometric space at Butler Island examined the size of each structure, proximity of each building to potential surveillance, and Thiessen tessellations around each slave quarter (Figure 54). The Thiessen tessellations confirm observations from Kemble (1863) and Singleton (1980) that the landscape of Butler Island made enslaved people easily visible at nearly all times. Each settlement at Butler Island is separated by at least 500 meters. Indicated in the Butler documents and discussed by Singleton (1980), each settlement was dedicated to the production of a crop different than that at the neighboring settlement to isolate and control the enslaved labor force.

The plantation itself was 1,500 acres, with citrus fruit planted around the outer edge of the island to protect the interior dikes and drainages (Spalding 1830; Singleton 1980:66). The plantation held, at the time of Fanny Kemble's visit, seven "masters houses" (Kemble 1863:110) Other non-residential plantation buildings included a slave

hospital, a corn mill, warehouses, and processing facilities for sugar, cotton, and rice. The majority of these buildings were located near Settlement #1.

A total of four slave settlements, designated Settlement #1, #2, #3, and #4 housed 300 to 400 people (Singleton 1980:63, 126). The layout of the enslaved spaces on the plantation was a conscious decision by Butler to reduce contact between groups of enslaved people to prevent revolts (Harris 1994:16). Each gang of enslaved people had a set of cabins within a group of fields. Each neighborhood was separated spatially, and each was kept under near constant surveillance. Managers at Butler's estates sought to maintain order and maximize work output by reducing contact between enslaved people. Roswell King and Major Butler achieved this goal by putting distance between each slave neighborhood, especially at Butler Island. Fanny Kemble described the layout of the settlements:

> There are four settlements or villages (or, as the Negroes call them, camps) on the island, consisting of from ten to twenty houses, and to each settlement is annexed a cook's shop with capacious cauldrons, and the oldest wife of the settlement, for officiating priestess. Pursuing my walk along the river's bank, upon an artificial dike, sufficiently high and broad to protect the fields from inundation by the ordinary rising of the tide– for the whole island is below high-water mark–I passed the blacksmith's and cooper's shops (Kemble 1863:55).

She went on to describe the inside of the structures:

> These cabins consist of one room, about twelve feet by fifteen, with a couple of closets smaller and closer than the staterooms of a shop, divided off from the main room and each other by rough wooden partitions, in which the inhabitants sleep. They have almost all of them a rude

> bedstead, with the gray moss of the forests for mattresses, and filthy, pestilential-looking blankets for covering. Two families (sometimes eight and ten in number) reside in one of these huts, which are mere wooden frames pinned, as it were, to the earth by a brick chimney outside… A wide ditch runs immediately at the back of the dwellings, which is filled and emptied daily by the tide. Attached to each hovel is a small scrap of ground for a garden, which, however, is for the most part, untended and uncultivated…Instead of the order, neatness, and ingenuity which might convert even these miserable hovels into tolerable residences, there were the careless, reckless, filthy indolence which even the brutes do not exhibit in their lairs and nests…The moss with which the chinks and crannies of their ill-protecting dwellings might have been stuffed was trailing in dirt and dust about the ground, while the back door of the huts, opening upon a most unsightly ditch, was left wide open for the fowls and ducks, which thy are allowed to raise (Kemble 1863: 67-68).

Kemble's observations were made at Settlement #2 as she was walking to the slave hospital in Settlement #1. Theresa Singleton (1980) identified five slave cabins in Settlement #4 alongside two buildings for rice production and processing using pedestrian survey and limited excavation at Settlement #4. Through archaeological excavations, she found a similar pattern at Settlement #2, although auxiliary buildings were made for cotton rather than rice. Each slave quarter was a cypress-framed "two pen, saddle-bag" duplex design with a central hearth made of tabby brick, Savannah grey bricks, or homemade from "swamp clay" (Roswell King, Sr., 20 August 1815; Kniffen 1965:556; Singleton 1980:126, 131, 136). Singleton (1980:128-130) determined that the slave cabins on Butler Island, using evidence from her excavations of Settlement #4,

were 24 x 48 feet, which is larger than the 20 x 40 feet slave quarters on other Butler Estate plantations.

At Butler Island, the size and structure of tessellations were quite uniform (Figure 54). Tessellation shape was uniformly rectangular and equally distributed around each structure. This highly rigid organization of space correlates to Major Butler's militaristic management of his plantation. Measurements of the distance to surveillance at Butler Island are misleading because, as indicated in Kemble's journal, all settlements on the island were visible at all times in addition to regular monitoring of living and work spaces by overseers.

### *HAMPTON POINT*

Hampton Point is located at the northern tip of the northwest neck of St. Simon's Island. Sitting to the west of Cannon's Point Plantation and to the south of Five Point, Hampton Point was a nexus of antebellum activity on the coast. The plantation was also owned by Pierce Butler and managed by Roswell King. In contrast to Butler Island, Hampton Point, also referred to as Butler Point, was frequently visited by outside guests, such as Fanny Kemble and Aaron Burr, while on the run from his infamous duel with Alexander Hamilton.




Figure 54. Thiessen tessellation result of Butler Island enslaved spaces presented on a digital orthophoto quadrangle image to best show extant rice fields.

A total of four slave settlements were located on Butler Point, however only the Hampton Point settlement of these will be used in the present research (Figure 55). Hampton Plantation was one of the largest and most prosperous plantations on the Georgia coast, with a maximum of 300 people enslaved there. This settlement was the closest to the plantation house, while the others, Jones and Sinclair/ St. Clair, were located on outlaying parts of the plantation. Although the overseer's residence changed over time, all of the settlements were visible from main roads and were frequently under surveillance.

Of the original five slave cabins at Hampton, ruins of four remain standing. Cabins #3 and #4 are the most intact, while, in contrast, Cabin #5 is under a roadway to condominiums and Cabins #1 and #2 have no standing walls remaining. Conservation efforts are being discussed for Cabin #3 by the current land-owners. All structures are two-room tabby buildings that measure 20 ft. x 40 ft. Like at the Jones settlement, the two bays of the housing unit are separated by a tabby wall with a two-sided fireplace. The hearth itself is made of tabby bricks, whereas the firebox is made of red clay bricks. The material difference is explained by the ability of red clay to withstand higher temperatures than tabby bricks.

Like the structures and the spaces around them at Butler Island, the tessellations of Hampton Point were uniform in size though smaller than any of the four Butler Island tessellations. Averaging 217 $m^2$ these settlement spaces varied between 206.3 and

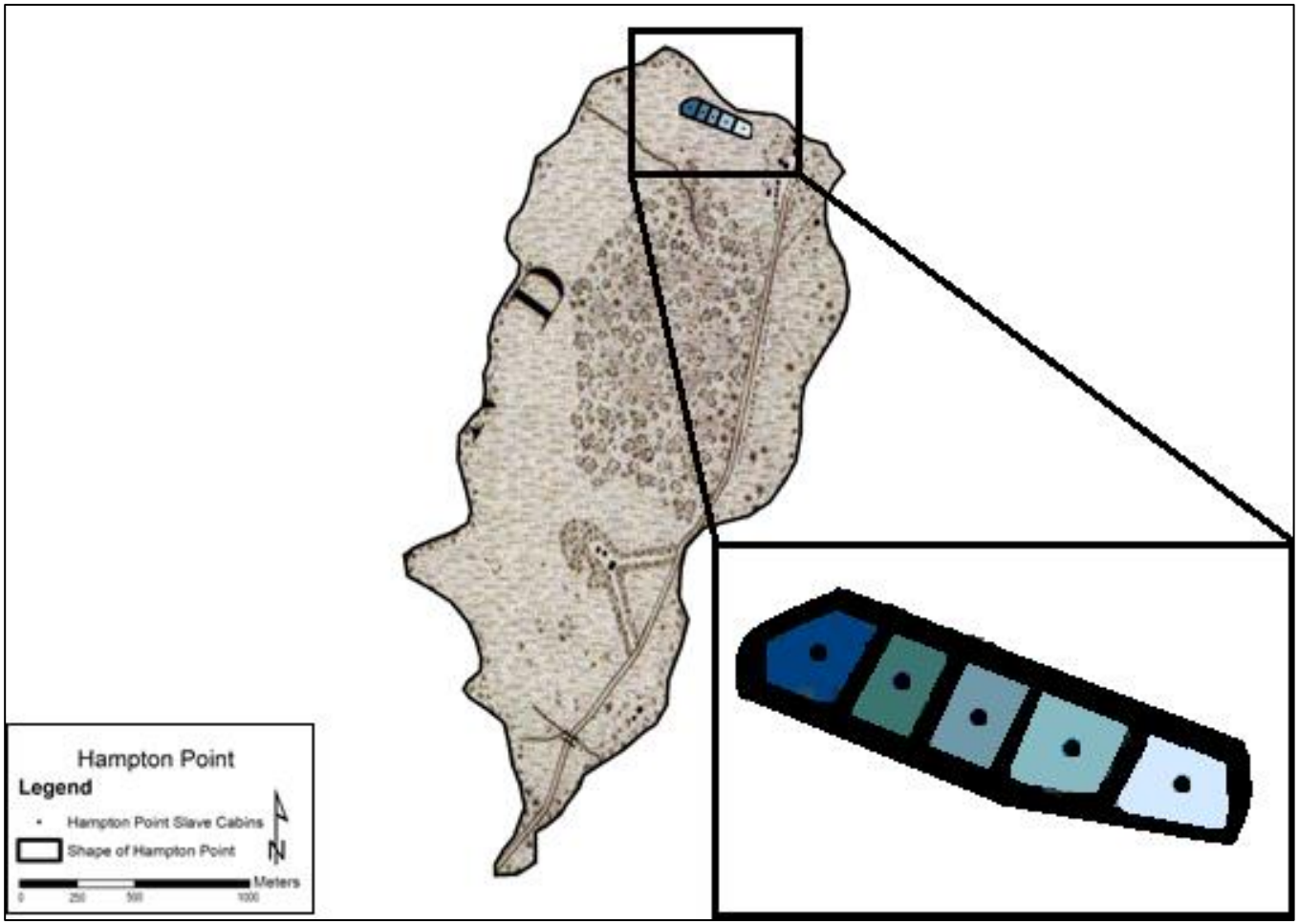



Figure 55. Thiessen tessellation of Hampton Point settlement. Base image from NOAA's Office of Coast Survey Historical Map & Chart Collection.

238.04 $m^2$ indicating high levels of uniformity and a planter-specified settlement building style. The settlement was very close to plantation management and was under close surveillance at all times due to its close proximity to the main house.

### *CANNON'S POINT PLANTATION*

Cannon's Point Plantation was a cotton plantation on the northeastern neck of St. Simon's Island housing from100 to 200 enslaved people. The plantation began in 1793 and plantation owner John Couper's main house was completed by 1804 (Davidson and McIlvoy 2014: 112). After Couper's death in 1850, the plantation was taken over by James Hamilton Couper, John Couper's son and was used as a summer home until the beginnings of the Civil War (Bagwell 2000:10, 14; Otto 1975: 1, 1984:17). The main house of the plantation was located on the banks of the Hampton River situated on top of a large prehistoric midden. The house was surrounded by, according to Otto (1975:6), an "administrative and technical nucleus" that included cotton houses, an ice box, ginnery, kitchen, and storehouses.

There are two sets of four slave cabins separated by an overseer's house to "police both slave quarters" (Otto 1984:6). The northern set of cabins was located near the planter's house and administrative and technical nucleus at the north end of Indian Field. The southern slave cabins, located approximately one mile south of the north slave cabins, were closer to the mainland entrance near the body of the island. Both sets of slave cabins are close to long-staple Sea Island cotton fields maintaining the "live where you work" approach common in Georgia plantation landscapes.

The north set of slave cabins was oriented west to east. Although the houses have since been razed, evidence of the dense historical midden remains on the settlement landscape. Some fragments of brick and tabby piers and brick chimneys are visible on the surface of the Couper Field woods. The "North Slave Cabins" were to the east of the main plantation road, making them easily visible via the roadway and the main house and surrounding area. In excavations in 1973 and 1974, John Solomon Otto focused his attention on "Third Cabin" of the North Slave Cabins. This cabin consisted of one room with a red brick hearth and a compacted dirt floor. According to Otto (1975: ii, 111-112), the cabins were in use from approximately the 1820s until their abandonment due to the Civil War in 1861.

Suzanne McFarlane (1975) discovered that the South Cabins were wood-framed duplexes, in contrast to the single room tabby structure of the North Slave Cabins. McFarlane excavated three of the four cabins (S-2, S-3, S-4) paying attention to S-3 and S-4. Fill was not screened because the purpose of the project was to map architectural remains. Regardless of material capture techniques, unusual artifacts were nonetheless identified by McFarlane and reanalyzed in 2014 by Davidson and McIlvoy (2014:114-115), including a Roman Bronze coin dating from 98 to117 AD. The south cabins were 20 foot x 40 foot two-bay wood-framed structures that were separated by a double chimney and fireplace. All cabins were visible on the ground surface, marked by the red brick piers and chimney rubble. The chronology of the South Slave Cabins match the

North Slave Cabins, with a construction date around the 1820s and continuing occupation into the 1860s.

Cannon's Point Plantation, located on the northeast neck of St. Simon's Island, exhibits different spatial structure than at the Butler Estates. The structures belonging to the enslaved people were in two areas on the plantation alongside Couper Field and Indian Field. The organization of the slave houses was linear–the southern set of cabins consisted of four wooden duplexes on the western side of the road oriented roughly north to south. The northern cabins were aligned linearly in an east to west configuration. According to Otto (1984:86), these standardized dwellings organized in straight rows allowed for more planter and overseer control. Even though the Butler's Estates and Cannon's Point Plantation appear, on the surface, to be nearly identical, they are set apart by the number of slave settlements, distance of the settlements from planter or overseer oversight, proximity to frequently traveled roads, and size of the slave cabins within each settlement.

While the orientation of the settlements, building size (one versus two room), and building materials varied between the North Slave Cabins and the South Slave Cabins, the tessellations were remarkably similarly shaped between the eight slave cabins and the two slave settlements. The area of each tessellation, as at the previously-discussed plantations owned by Butler, was rectangular and set within a similarly rectangular settlement shape; however there was a discrepancy in overall size of tessellation between the north and south slave settlements. The average area of tessellation was overall 235

$m^2$. Tessellation size was slightly below average at the North Slave Cabins (212.88 $m^2$) and slightly higher at the south Slave Cabins (257.14 $m^2$).

Differences in the size of space around each slave cabin at Cannon's Point Plantation correlates with Moore's (1985) discussion of the difference in structure size at Butler Island and Jones settlement. The more frequently traveled Butler Island had, according to Fanny Kemble (1961:275), larger, more comfortable, and better built slave cabins than at the Jones settlement, located on the outskirts of the Hampton Plantation. Similar variation in structure size and building materials is also seen between the one-room cabins at the North Slave Cabins and the two-room cabins with elaborate brick chimneys at the South Slave Cabins. Figure 56, presented below, shows results from the Thiessen tessellations for the two slave settlements at Cannon's Point Plantation.

### *CHOCOLATE PLANTATION*

Chocolate Plantation is located on the western edge of Sapelo Island abutting Mud River. The plantation is one of the oldest on the island, having its start with the French occupation of the island in the early 1790s. Lewis Harrington, brother-in-law to Grandclos Mesle, purchased Villehuchet's 2000-acre tract and 68 slaves to develop and farm the Chocolate Plantation (Crook 2007:4). As stated by Crook and Honerkamp (2007:4-5), the thirty years that passed between Harrington's sale of the plantation in 1801 to Richard Leake and Edward Swarbreak and later developments in 1819 remains unclear.

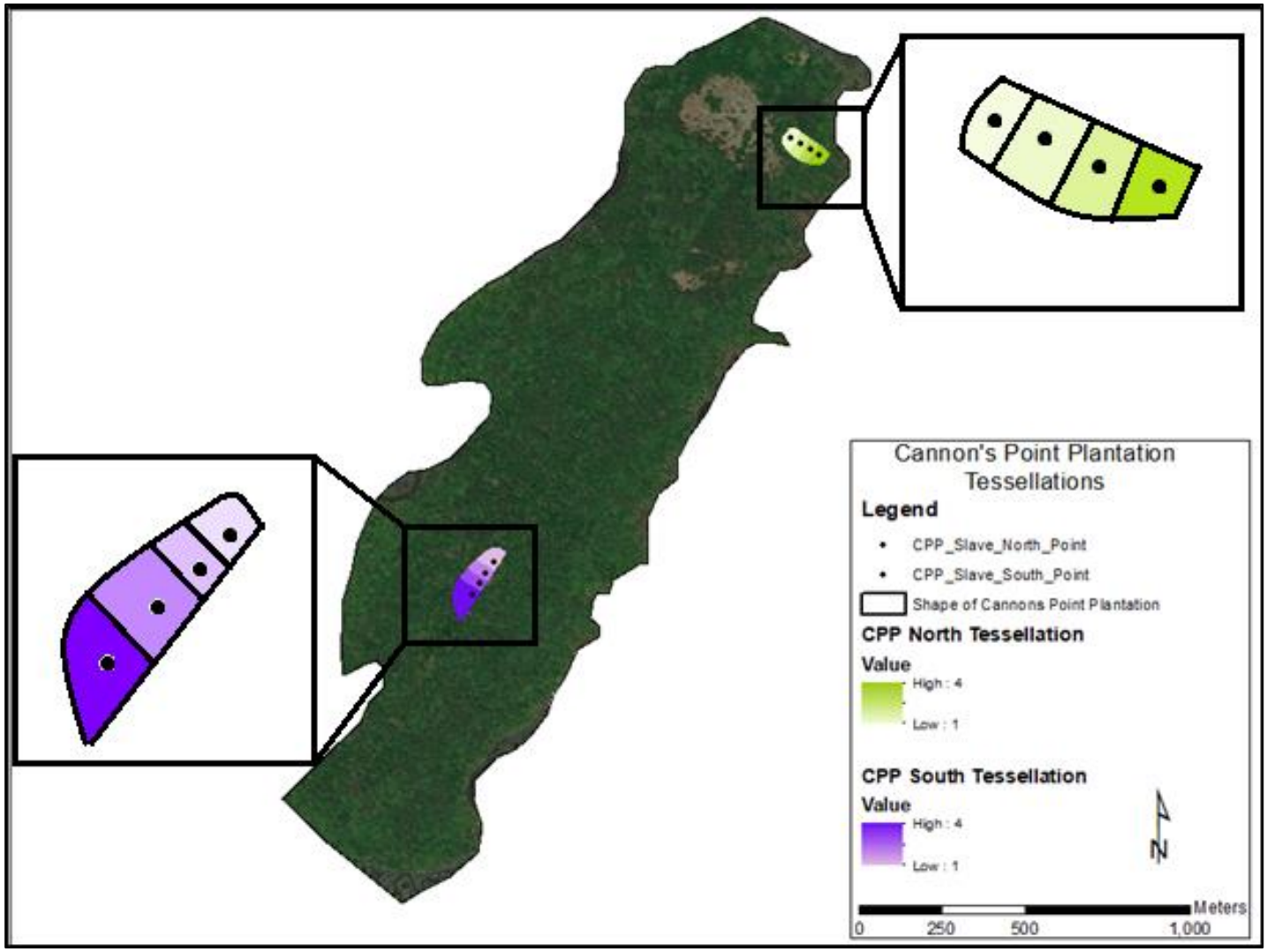



Figure 56. Thiessen tessellation for Cannon’s Point Plantation.

Regardless of exactly what transpired, there is evidence of nine slave quarters on the Chocolate landscape today. The Chocolate Plantation is very ordered and engineered for surveillance and control of the enslaved people living there. The south half of the plantation is dedicated to slave living spaces, marked by ten known slave cabins. To the north is a cotton field, determined by Honerkamp et al. (2007) to have scarce domestic cultural material.

The tabby construction during the Swarbrek phase of Chocolate's development was extensive. According to Crook (2007), approximate 37,000 cubic feet of shell was brought to Chocolate to construct the tabby slave cabins, barn, kitchen, and main house. In addition to additive construction, reductive practices were also in effect: a large hang-dug harbor is visible at the mouth of the plantation entrance to Mud River.

Despite the massive undertaking of these projects, Swarbrek was quite clear as to why he ordered the construction of tabby slave cabins rather than of less substantial wood-framed quarters. In a 1821 publication by John L. Hopkins (1821:156), Swarbrek stated: "The walls are of tabby, which in a little while becomes like stone, requiring no repair: this causes a considerable saving to the negroes, for it is generally expected that they will make the repairs as they become requisite, unless they are so to much extent, and then the plantation mechanics are employed : these always build the negro houses." He added, "It makes my negroes more comfortable, and I desire to leave my estate as valuable as possible to those who may inherit it" (Hopkins 1821:156). Each of the nine

known slave quarters were tabby duplexes that measure 14 feet by 20 feet. Crook (2007:5) estimates that these structures held from 70 to 100 individuals.

The Thiessen tessellation of the Chocolate Plantation confirms the highly ordered landscape. Slave quarters are organized in two parallel rows that are directly adjacent to the planter's house to the west, the plantation driveway to the north, and the island's main road to the east. Furthermore, in contrast to plantation landscapes on St. Simon's Island, the settlement here is very concentrated in one location. Of the ten settlement landscapes presented here, Chocolate Plantation settlements are the most rigid according to the tessellations. Furthermore, spaces around each structure are the most confined and the most similar (averaging 117.05 $m^2$). Each structure is 41.68 to 167.97 m from the main plantation house and is near the confluence of two main plantation roads, indicating perhaps the highest potential levels of surveillance of enslaved people by plantation ownership or management. In addition, of the known structures within the slave settlements, the slave quarters at Chocolate are among the smallest, measuring an average of 26.23 $m^2$.

### *BUSH CAMP FIELD AND BEHAVIOR SETTLEMENTS*

The landscape of slave spaces on the Sapelo Plantation, located on the South End of Sapelo Island, is quite different from the other four settlements that have been previously discussed. The Sapelo Plantation began later than Chocolate Plantation and the Butler Estates; however some of the enslaved people at the Sapelo Plantation were part of Spalding's inheritance on the island and therefore were previously enslaved at the

Chocolate Plantation. Even though the Sapelo Plantation was later than nearby plantations, it was one of the largest and most profitable, second only to the Butler Estates. Despite the site of the plantation, which would lead to the assumption that Thomas Spalding created a geometrically rigid plantation landscape like that at Butler Island or Hampton Point, the geometry of space at the Sapelo Plantation is one that appears to exhibit Spalding's "hands-off" approach to management.

According to historical US&CGS maps, a total of 25 structures, presumably slave cabins, were located at Behavior, and an additional nine at Bush Camp Field. Research by Crook (2008) indicated that the structures were likely all wattle and tabby daub; however this present research challenges that assumption, discussed further in Chapter 6. As discussed in Chapter 3, the sizes of the known structures were quite variable but were both one-room cabins of wattle and tabby daub.

The settlement was under near-constant surveillance because of: (1) its proximity to Long Tabby sugar mill and (2) a resident head driver. Although modern-day Behavior is shrouded in a maritime forest, this area was open during the plantation era, according to A.W. Evans US&CGS transect survey notes (Evans 1857). According to map maker DuVal, the island was so cleared of brush that he could set up a transit on one side of the island and see clear through to the other side, even passing through one of the slave settlements. In contrast to Butler Island and Hampton Point settlements, an enslaved driver managed the plantation operations rather than an overseer. This person lived with

the other enslaved people but may have lived in a slightly larger structure, as observed by Fairbanks (1974) at Kingsley Plantation.

In contrast to other plantations, the geometric rigidity of tessellation outputs is inconsistent between the thirty-four testing sites (Figure 57). At Behavior, the average size of the tessellation was 347.96 $m^2$ with a range of 235.61-540.08 $m^2$. Using Long Tabby sugar mill as an anchor point for potential surveillance, slave quarters within Behavior were from 646 to 1108 m away from the mill. Figure 57 presents the tessellation output map for Behavior. Though closer to the main road and to Long Tabby sugar mill, structures within the Bush Camp Field settlement had similar tessellation shapes and variation as at Behavior. The average size of the tessellation at Bush Camp Field was slightly larger than at Behavior, measuring 402.89 $m^2$. However, the structures were all closer to static locations of surveillance, for example the sugar mill (180.59-374.17 $m^2$).

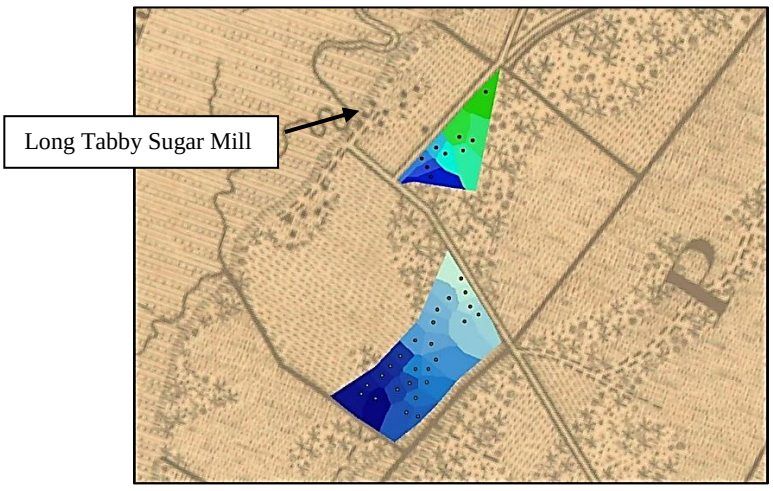



Figure 57. Tessellation outputs at Bush Camp Field and Behavior.

## *TESSELLATION SUMMARY*

Although plantation owners communicated with and traveled frequently to other plantations, management practices differed. Measures of plantation spaces via Thiessen tessellations provide a quantitative metric of the spatial result of variable plantation management strategies. The more rigid and controlling a plantation owner or overseer was, as gleaned from historical documents, the more geometrically constrained the settlement landscapes were.

While panoptic methods of surveillance were not likely as in play in the lowcountry as in the Caribbean, inconsistent placement of slave quarters to fixed points of surveillance—such as sugar mills, ginneries or plantation main houses—indicates differential levels of direct, constant planter control over enslaved people. The distance of surveillance to settlements varied by plantation settlement. Settlements at Chocolate Plantation were the closest to potential points of surveillance, whereas Bush Camp Field, Settlement #1 at Butler Island, the two Cannon's Point Plantation settlements, and Hampton Point settlements were all within 200 to 450 m of a surveillance site. Quarters within Behavior were much further from surveillance, although as at all other coastal plantations, were likely clearly visible from roadways. The settlements at Butler Island are outliers to plantation surveillance distances, some being as far away as 2.7 km from a main house. However, the extremely flat, cleared island environment would prevent enslaved people from having many places to get out of sight from watchful eyes, regardless of distance.

In addition to differences in plantation settlements distance to surveillance points, uniformity of each tessellation, or uniformity of space around a structure was also indicative of plantation management. The size of the tessellation correlated to planter outlooks on the management of enslaved people, defined by system of labor, agricultural production, and documented thoughts on the humanity of enslaved people (Figure 58).

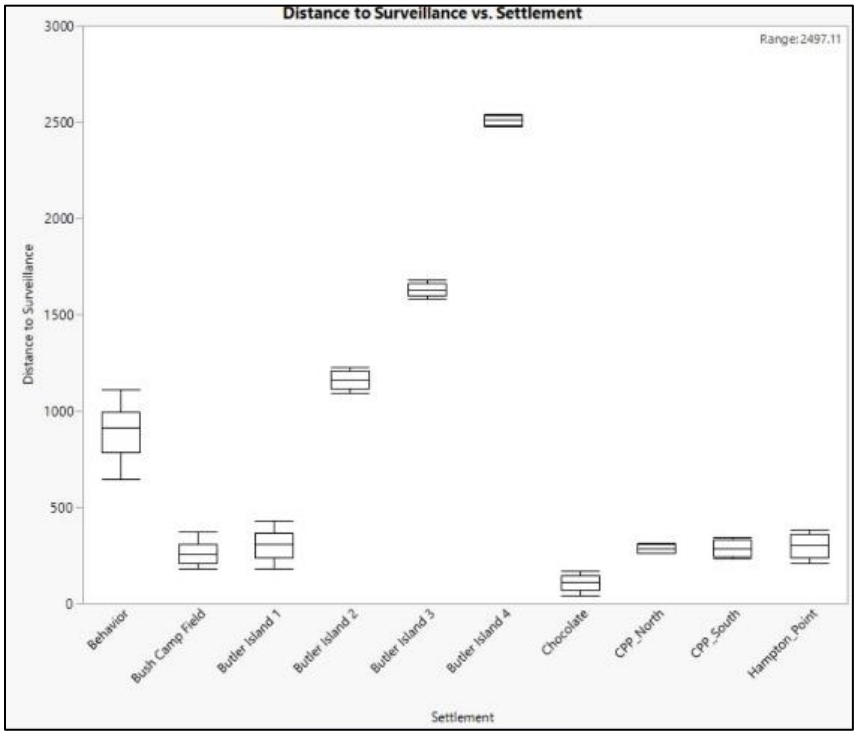



Figure 58. Distance of each slave settlement to surveillance points measured in meters.

The landscape of Thomas Spalding's plantation settlements, who was known to take a laissez-faire approach to plantation management, was equally variable in the size and shape of tessellations. Bush Camp Field and Behavior tessellations were not only larger than most other settlement tessellations, but they were also the most variable, averaging in size from 275 to 545 $m^2$.

In contrast, most other settlement tessellations had a much tighter range of tessellation size and typically output a rectangular shape. The differences in tessellations ultimately indicate a difference in definitions of space. At the Sapelo Plantation, Spalding likely ordered the locations of the settlements, but not the specific cabin placement, unlike at all other plantation settlements which displayed higher levels of spatial uniformity (Figure 59).

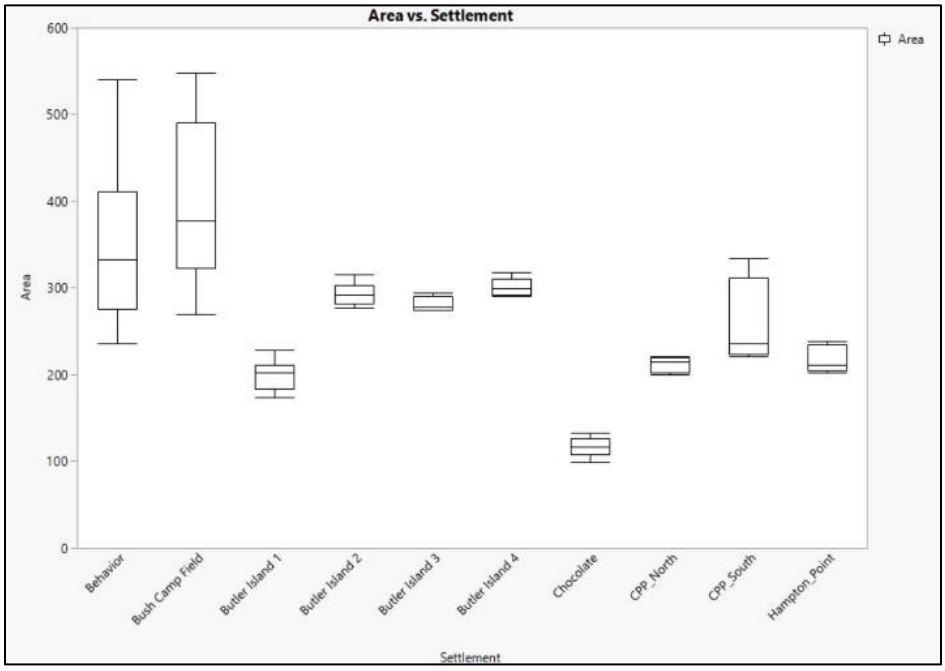



Figure 59. Area of individual tessellations within each settlement.

*CONCLUSION*

In this section, I have illustrated the diverse spaces in plantation landscapes through a broad perspective of the organization and management of plantation landscapes. A comparison of the geometry of ten settlements within five plantations– measuring the area around certain features that are present in all compared landscapes–

location of the planters mansion, slave quarters, fields, and roads, has shown that no two plantations are alike, just as no two planter's approach to plantation management was the same. Ultimately, these Thiessen tessellations have displayed that plantation management styles have spatial results.

Thiessen tessellations determined that the spaces of the Sapelo Plantation were characterized by large settlement areas, cabins dispersed on the settlement landscape instead of in rows, minimal surveillance, small structure sizes, large plots of land around individual structures, and fewer individuals per cabin. These differences contributed to different methods of place-making by the enslaved people at the Sapelo Plantation. The next chapter focuses on rival geographies at the Sapelo Plantation to analyze why the landscape of the Sapelo Plantation contains multiple architectural styles in a dispersed settlement pattern.

In summary, Thiessen tessellations quantified plantation spaces in the Georgia lowcountry, illustrating that the Sapelo Plantation settlements are indeed different than nearby coastal cotton, sugar, and rice plantations Results from the tessellations provide geospatial and statistical evidence that the Sapelo Plantation settlement cabins were outliers compared to the Chocolate Plantation quarters, the Butler Island quarters, the Hampton Point quarters, and the North and South quarters at Cannon's Point Plantation Even though the structure sizes are generally smaller at the Sapelo Plantation settlements, most buildings were associated with larger and more varied amounts of space around them, indicating that the settlement held fewer people. In addition, at other nearby

plantations, there are clear panoptic systems, especially at Butler Island where the overseer's house towers over the flat island.

In contrast to nearby plantations and in spite of a larger overall enslaved population, there were fewer people living within each structure within the Sapelo Plantation settlements. Although the houses themselves are smaller, there is more yard space, a greater distance from surveillance, and with a less strict spatial organization, and without clear panoptic surveillance systems like those found at other plantations. The geospatial tessellations confirmed that plantation spaces—with the exception of the Sapelo Plantation settlements—are largely of the same size, feature similar panoptic surveillance systems, and hold slave cabins of similar sizes within similar sized settlements. Tessellations likewise demonstrated that the spaces of the Sapelo Plantation are significantly different than settlements nearby, but to what degree and why?

In this chapter, I have illustrated that the geometry of enslaved plantation spaces follows a general pattern. Spaces and the quarters within them are dictated, controlled, and managed by plantation owners and overseers. Communication between plantation owners across the coast led to similar construction and management of space as well as similar dimensions and building materials of slave cabins within those spaces. Not the amount of space but the homogenization of space was the key measurement in the Thiessen tessellation study. Through the tessellations, I showed that the geometry of spaces within the Sapelo Plantation settlements were fundamentally different than other

nearby lowcountry plantations, even though Thomas Spalding subscribed to similar agricultural, political, and business practices as his contemporaries.

# CHAPTER 8: RIVAL GEOGRAPHIES OF THE GEORGIA LOWCOUNTRY

In the previous chapters, I presented results of a geophysical and archaeological survey of Bush Camp Field and an archaeological survey of Behavior settlements. The purpose of the archaeological excavations was to determine the ubiquity of wattle and tabby daub slave cabins within the Sapelo Plantation landscape while more completely defining the landscape as a whole. I then interpreted differential geometric profiles of various coastal plantations in the Georgia lowcountry to determine that the spatial layout of the Sapelo Plantation settlements was an outlier in terms of tessellation size, geometry, and spatial relationship to other plantation features.

Archaeological survey results provide evidence of an additional three wattle and tabby daub structures that were present on the Sapelo Plantation landscape. While entire structures were not excavated, the combination of domestic antebellum artifacts recovered in conjunction with structural features with vine-impressed tabby in areas depicted as slave settlements on historical maps leads to the interpretation that these were, in fact, fragments of slave cabins. In this chapter I examine why at least a portion of enslaved people at the Sapelo Plantation lived in wattle and tabby daub quarters. I interpret these spaces to be a form of materiality that led to a conversation, of sorts, between enslaved and enslaver at the Sapelo Plantation. I explore in more detail the two themes of this dissertation: global interconnectedness and choice, to address my four research questions that examine Atlantic World connections; the geometry of plantation spaces, the cause of the presence of wattle and tabby daub slave cabins on Sapelo Island,

and the material impact of the rival geographies within cultural spaces of the Sapelo Plantation.

Some of the people on the Sapelo Plantation were associated with the Igbo Landing Rebellion. Their association with one of antebellum America's most powerful revolts had a material impact on the places they developed on the island. At least five groups of people, perhaps families, lived in wattle and tabby daub cabins for at least part of their lives on the plantation. The physical spaces around these structures was generally larger and shaped differently than at other plantations—a second marker of the unique landscape profile at the Sapelo Plantation. While the material assemblage recovered from this project does not reach the breadth necessary to begin to try to piece together aspects of the daily lives of these enslaved individuals, I summarize the evidence below that marks the beginnings of that process.

*LOWCOUNTRY PLANTATION LANDSCAPE ORGANIZATION*

Traditionally, plantation organization was determined by the plantation owner in ways that followed temporal and regional stylistic variations. Such factors as the size of the plantation, number of enslaved people, quantity and type of agricultural production, the environment around the plantation, and even physical building materials used on the plantation influenced the built landscape and in turn how people reacted to it. These large-scale decisions were made by the plantation owner regardless of geographic region or time period (Handler and Lange 1978:28; Orser and Nekola 1985; Armstrong 1990; Vlach 1993:165; Delle 1999; Epperson 1999; Armstrong 2001; Barka 2001; Leone et al.

2005; Bates 2007; Kaye 2007; Neiman 2008; Singleton 2010). Plantations were designed to be material manifestations of the planters' ability to shape the space around them, with those areas being "designed to instruct, inspire conversation, and display the knowledge of the connoisseur" (Leone et al. 2005:138). Planters were active in the design of the overall landscape and individual components of the plantation "as a form of personal discipline, power, and a particular rationalized world" (Leone et al. 2005:143). In this section, I interpret results from Thiessen tessellations to discuss how and to what degree plantation organization differed.

The impact that these spatial decisions had on everyday life of those living and working in and traveling to the plantation was immense: the "temporal and spatial organization serve to constitute the social order through the assignment of people and activities to distinctive places and times" (Harvey 1996:212). The construction and geometry of plantation spaces laid the foundation for later uses, such as how and where people traveled, the location of work spaces and domestic spaces, and neutral areas that were either not used or used in undetectable ways. These systems of spatial organization were often designed to control others while simultaneously presenting a landscape of order, gentility, and power. I interpret these plantation spaces with a combination of Soja's (1980) socio-spatial dialectic and Lefebvre's (1991) concept of representational spaces as a foundation upon which to interpret rival geographies of cultural space (Camp 2004).

These plantation spaces may be considered as representational spaces, which are often means of non-verbal communication that were meant to be reacted to and acted upon (Lefebvre 1991). Individual actions set within specific local spatial contexts, which are often interpreted with influences from practice theory, simultaneously shape and are reshaped by the actions of other actors and as a result of an imbalance of power, a practice referred to as the socio-spatial dialectic by Soja (1980). These concepts are used here to interpret how Georgia's plantation spaces were designed by the planter (often the main house was designed with influences from the Chesapeake), maintained over time by all plantation inhabitants, all the while reinforcing social relationships that originally influenced plantation design—a design that physically separated planter, overseer, and enslaved spaces.

Enslaved peoples' position within the hierarchy of the antebellum South was constantly reaffirmed by planter and overseer control over their movement within and outside of the plantation. Exactly where, then, were planter, overseer, and slave spaces? As argued by Upton (1984:361), "the quarter extended beyond its walls. The space around the building was as important as the building itself." What control did the planter have around slave housing in the Georgia lowcountry? According to the Thiessen tessellations, quite a lot. Many coastal planters constructed very similar plantation spaces. However, as I discuss later, these spaces were far from static; rather, spaces were a point of negotiation on plantations. While the data input into GIS to create the tessellations was, of course, static, archaeological and ethnohistorical information provide evidence

that plantation landscapes were significantly malleable, shaped by and influencing actions, reactions, and conversations that impacted the actions of all agents associated with the plantation—human and non-human, living and non-living. In this section, I interpret results from the lowcountry tessellations within the framework of rival geographies. They are the first step in a discursive process to explore cultural spaces on the Sapelo Plantation that held wattle and tabby daub architecture within slave quarters, where elsewhere in the lowcountry it was an illicit construction.

All of the ten slave settlements included in my study were located on lowcountry barrier islands, some of which were more isolated than others. The isolation of these settlements within plantation space illustrates the multiplicity of potential landscape dynamics. Certain fixed points remain constant over time; for example, main well-traveled roads, Long Tabby sugar mill, and the planter's house. Each of these locations served as a nexus for engagement with place-making and production of social spaces that were used by everyone at the plantation. Fixed points such as these also often served as points of surveillance, either of enslaved people watching other enslaved people, drivers, plantation owners or guests, or vice versa, with enslaved people being the ones surveilled.

In landscape designs like Butler Island, where all structures, roads, and fields were fixed points, the overall plantation design acted to unify the space. Other plantation landscapes, like Cannon's Point, were designed in parts, where certain kinds of activities were relegated to parts of the plantation landscape, but there was discontinuity/disjuncture between plantation areas. In contrast to Butler Island or

Hampton Point Plantation and settlement, Cannon's Point functioned in parts with multiple fixed points of surveillance. The main house, which was associated with the ginnery, ice house, and hand-dug harbor, was the first of at least two panoptic systems built into the plantation. The second was the two-story overseer's house, which was built into the landscape as a point of surveillance over the south slave cabins. Like Cannon's Point plantation, the Sapelo Plantation landscape was dispersed and separated into parts.

Fixed and moving surveillance of the enslaved people at Sapelo reaffirmed the dispersed and piecemeal construction of the Sapelo Plantation landscape. In contrast to social spaces of landscapes that were engineered for contained militaristic surveillance, the Sapelo Plantation landscape led to different adaptations of enslaved people to the spaces around them. Essentially, the difference between the physical placement of slave settlements within these lowcountry plantations was a result of the planter wanting the settlements to be part of or peripheral to their (or their overseers') everyday engagement with the plantation operations.

The shape of the tessellation outputs was a measure of the rigidity of plantation space as constructed and maintained by the planter. I hypothesized that the rigidity of spaces would match the documented rigidity of the planters' operations on the plantations. I anticipated that the tessellations around plantation spaces would be a continuum of scales and shapes; however, tessellations were, with the exception of Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements, rectangular both as a whole and around individual structures.

Although the shape of the tessellations, or proscribed plantation spaces per structure, were largely uniform, the size of the tessellations varied by plantation. I anticipated a correlation between the size of the tessellations and the expense of the materials within them: the smaller the tessellation, the more expensive and permanent the building materials. This is, in fact, what I found. Such a combination indicates an expensive show plantation, such as Chocolate Plantation, where all plantation operations were clustered together, and the planter very carefully constructed and maintained that elaborate set of spaces. In plantation spaces such as these, archaeologists have hypothesized a greater density of enslaved people in each quarter (McFarlane 1975, Moore 1981, Singleton 1981; Otto 1984).

The building plans and materials of these rigid, planter-defined and maintained spaces were varied. Archaeologists have identified both two-bay tabby cabins as well as one and two room frame houses on brick piers as common architectural materials for slave cabins on lowcountry plantations. However, while floor plan, building materials and architectural styles vary between slave settlements, they may or may not vary within them—depending on the rigidity of the landscapes.

Within these case studies, an overall nucleated landscape pattern was indicative of rigid slave settlement spaces with two-bay tabby houses, often measuring 20 x 40 feet—a common minimum standard for duplexes (Singleton 2010:166). Dispersed landscapes, where the slave settlements were scattered across the plantation rather than directly adjacent to the planter's house, also often had rigid settlement spaces but contained

multiple types of slave housing, which was often built of inexpensive materials. As discussed in Chapter 5, plantation settlements like Cannon's Point Plantation, Butler Island, and the Sapelo Plantation contained slave housing that was not entirely tabby-based. Rather, some of the slave housing within these settlements was more commonly frame structures with packed dirt or planked wood floors, sometimes on clay or tabby brick piers (Singleton 2010:168-169). The dimensions of these structures were often comparable in size and shape. The structure of the geometry within these settlement spaces illustrates a correlation between the type of plantation spaces and slave living quarters. The more rigidly defined the settlement spaces were, the more fixed the slave housing was—meaning that the slave housing was built for others to observe and was not made specifically to accommodate the needs or desires of inhabitants.

The irregular geometries of enslaved spaces at Bush Camp Field and Behavior were correlated to the amount of space around each structure, distance from each structure to a potential point of surveillance, the surveillance systems built into the plantation landscape by the planter, and the type of materials used to construct slave cabins. Though the tessellations were on average larger than at any other settlement, the structure sizes were significantly smaller, suggesting that fewer people lived in each building.

In addition, a third architectural material was identified at Bush Camp Field and Behavior. The wattle and tabby daub slave cabins found at the Sapelo Plantation substantially increase the number of known structures of this type in the Georgia

lowcountry. These structures provide strong evidence of a link between dispersed plantation landscapes and geometry as seen through tessellation geometry of the Sapelo Landscape. These structures, in essence, were built by enslaved people for enslaved people as semi-fixed points, whereas the fixed tabby block duplexes or frame buildings at Cannon's Point Plantation were instead built by enslaved people for the planter as a projection of his wealth, power, and architectural ideals. The Sapelo wattle and tabby daub cabins suggest that the size and shape of tessellations are, in fact, correlated to the degree to which planters sought to control settlement spaces.

*SAPELO PLANTATION CABINS*

Although hints of mud-based architecture on Georgia coastal plantations have been suggested archaeologically at King's Bay (Adams 1987) and the Silk Hope Plantation (Whitney et al. 2003), substantial evidence has not yet been identified to draw correlations between South Carolina's African-styled architecture and Georgia's styles. Hybridized tabby, however, has been highlighted in recent reviews of slave architecture (Singleton 2010).

One of the major research goals for the present work was to determine if wattle and tabby daub slave cabins represent the norm or if they were anomalous on the Sapelo Plantation settlement landscapes. If these wattle and tabby daub cabins were ubiquitous on the Sapelo landscape, it implies that enslaved people were either required to build in this style or had the power to choose to build their homes according to an African/Caribbean architectural template. If the two wattle and tabby daub cabins

identified by Crook (2008) in the 1990s were isolated architectural styles within the quarters, then the implication is that building styles changed over the 48 years of the settlements duration on this plantation, were insufficient for later housing needs, or, in a scenario similar to the "ubiquity" option, that enslaved people were able to choose what sort of house they lived in to a limited degree. What we do know is that the organization of quarters on the landscape and the absence of fixed tabby quarters is distinct from many nearby contemporary slave settlements, but exactly how and to what extent?

The locations of the five wattle and tabby daub slave cabins that have been identified to date match fairly closely with those represented on historical maps. These structures, two at Bush Camp Field and three at Behavior, probably dated to the early antebellum period on the island, around 1802. Though they differ in the materials used for construction from other slave cabins in South Carolina and the Caribbean that have been associated with West African architecture, their dimensions, use of wattle walls and resulting impermanence, ease of construction and repair, and placement away from the planter's house are similar to those structures found on Caribbean sugar plantations.

The use of a soft, poured tabby in the place of clay or mud daub at other locations singles out this Georgian slave architecture. Though cob-wall structures similar to those found at Yaughan and Curiboo Plantations could have been present on the Sapelo Plantation, no direct evidence has yet been recovered to support this possibility. Instead, the soft tabby, certainly of a different makeup than contemporaneous hard, poured tabby

buildings seen elsewhere on the island, often had impressions of lathing and wattling, and some samples of the tabby had remnants of layers of whitewash.

Perhaps the best example of this different tabby material from recent excavations is from Feature 1 in Test Unit 2-3 at Bush Camp Field, where a pit feature contained large chunks of tabby with different kinds of impressions. In the center of a pit in the eastern wall of Test Unit 3 was a burned stake that may have served as a structural post-hole sealed within the pit that was 5cm in diameter. Fill at the bottom of the pit feature was laminated in lenses (each about 1 to 3mm thick) from flood events, indicating that the pit had been exposed to the elements for some time, or that the post was shored up using remnants from a previous tabby structure and not filled in with loose sand or other sediment. This event could have happened during construction of the cabin or at a later time, perhaps as a part of an addition to the building like Crook (2008) observed at Cabin #2 in Bush Camp Field.

At Behavior, Test Unit 2 contained both sterile postholes and a layer of tabby. A rectangular layer of nearly articulated tabby, measuring approximately 25cm x 30cm, was recovered within the first 10cm in the northeast quadrant of the unit. The tabby appears remarkably similar to what Crook recovered from Cabin #2 at Bush Camp Field. Though there were relatively few architectural materials as compared to Crook's excavations at Cabin #1 at Behavior, a large number of domestic artifacts was recovered around the unit, indicating that the tabby and postholes were associated with an antebellum slave occupation.

Test Units 3 and 4 at South Behavior exhibited a similar deposition pattern to North Behavior and Bush Camp Field. Test Unit 3 contained mostly domestic artifacts while Test Unit 4 contained a layer of tabby fragments, many of which, like at Bush Camp Field, were impressed from lathing and wattling. Below the layer of tabby were three overlapping (sterile) layers of fill that may relate to the ground surface of or near a structure. This particular area of the site would be a good location for future excavations due to the dense architectural materials in one test unit and the higher proportion of domestic materials in another test unit nearby.

The presence of wattle and tabby daub cabins and the absence of any above-ground standing architecture indicates that enslaved people on the Sapelo Plantation did not live in poured tabby cabins. The question of "why tabby" still remains, but I propose that an exPlantation, like everything else in the lowcountry, is quite multifaceted, and that ultimately this building material represented a part of the conversation between enslaved and enslaver. Though enslaved people had few material ways to show individuality or explicitly resist their enslavement, micro-rebellions like breaking tools or "forgetting" instructions spoke volumes. Acts of truancy and explicit displays of group solidarity or individuality, such as practicing Islam, building wattle and daub housing, and not conforming to proscribed, traditional plantation commands were ways that enslaved people pushed back against a planter. Some planters, namely Butler, responded to these actions with brutal physical and psychological punishments. I propose that others, such as

Spalding, chose to instead spatially divide his plantation grounds into places that were built and managed by enslaved people and places that were managed by himself.

In addition to these areas that contained evidence of wattle and tabby daub architecture, there were three more areas that suggest the presence of a frame slave cabin, likely on brick foundational piers. Two of these areas were at Bush Camp Field and another was at Behavior. In these locations, as described in Chapter 5, archaeologists recovered a relatively large number of domestic artifacts in conjunction with architectural materials like brick and cut nails. As with the wattle and tabby daub cabins, no window glass was recovered in the vicinity of the frame cabins. The locations of frame cabins and wattle and tabby daub cabins are separate from each other, indicating that the same place was not used for both types of architecture.

Although more data are necessary before confirmation can be established, I hypothesize that, like in the Caribbean and South Carolina, there was an architectural transition from wattle and tabby daub architecture to frame cabins. Because the research methodology was created to better define the Sapelo Plantation settlements on a landscape scale rather than examining one structure, the material assemblage that was obtained per unit was too small to estimate construction and occupation dates based on mean ceramic dates using traditional methods or the best linear unbiased distribution mean ceramic dating method (South 1972, 1974; Galle 2006:108-109).

Antebellum Southern agricultural journals published recommendations about slave living quarters. Around 1830, an ideal dwelling for a slave family was described as being

"sixteen to eighteen feet, placed at least seventy-five feet from neighboring dwellings, and raised upon building piers of two to three feet. Recommendations also included the use of plank floors and large fireplaces" (Genovese 1976:524; Singleton 2010:166). Initially, of course, these recommendations were not universally implemented, but according to Genovese (1976:524), by the 1850s "the majority of the slave cabins in all parts of the South met the specifications." Even when the suggestions were accepted, like at Cannon's Point Plantation's south slave settlement, multiple building styles existed within the same settlement that generally followed the above recommendations. As discussed by Singleton (2010:166), only one of the four south slave cabins was built according to the ideal footprint, with brick piers that reach approximately two feet above ground surface and a substantial brick fireplace that separates the two sides of the structure, indicating, most likely, multiple episodes of construction.

The change from wattle and tabby daub to wood frame cabins parallels changes in the Caribbean from wattle and daub to slave cabins with masonry or rubble foundations. Singleton (2010:164), for example, proposed that the tabby daub found on Sapelo is a material correlate to the limestone-based daubs used in Caribbean slave settlements. Though the catalyst for and the underlying cause of this change continue to be debated, I anticipate that when similar changes occurred in the lowcountry—increasing fear of rebellion and revolt, the cessation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, growing pressure from abolitionists pressuring planters, and morphing identities, attachment to place, practicality of framed buildings, and changing modes of communication between enslaved

populations within plantations—led to changes that were reflected not only socially, but materially.

On a profoundly practical note, the Sea Islands were hit hard by a series of hurricanes in 1824. These hurricanes led to the loss of many lives, especially of enslaved people, and destroyed many buildings on the islands, especially Sapelo and St. Simon's, prompting many changes in landscape and architectural design. Due to the impermanent nature of wattle and tabby daub housing, many of these earthen buildings would have undoubtedly been wiped out from the hurricanes, prompting rebuilding. Perhaps these structures were rebuilt onto brick piers, 2 to 3 feet high (McFarlane 1975:73; Singleton 2010:167).

Although the historical evidence (Wylly's 1916 account and the 1857 maps) suggests that at least some wattle and tabby daub houses persisted at Sapelo throughout the antebellum era, I believe that with more evidence archaeologists will be able to observe an architectural change beginning about 1820 on the Georgia coast. Many changes that happened on coastal Georgia plantations had previously occurred in similar ways on Caribbean plantations. Archaeologists should look for evidence that the architectural shift in the Caribbean from wattle and daub to masonry buildings began to occur on the Sapelo Plantation, and perhaps other lowcountry plantations at about the same time.

None of the tabby recovered from the 2016-2017 excavations was exactly the same as that found by Crook (2008:14) at Behavior. However, it is very similar, if not

exactly the same as that found at Bush Camp Field (Crook 2008:20). Evidence for wattle and tabby daub is slightly different at each of the five locations, indicating architectural variability within each settlement. Furthermore, this research confirmed the presence of multiple wattle and tabby daub structures at both settlements, indicating that the cabins previous identified were not anomalies within each landscape. Because of the multiple building materials, dimensions, and additions, each structure was slightly different, individualized, in a sense. These differences indicate that the settlements were under low levels of planter surveillance, under minimal constant spatial control, and under low levels of consistent planter oversight. Instead, the spaces of the Sapelo Plantation were organized and ordered by Thomas Spalding: the overall shape of the two settlements were similar to those at other plantations, albeit larger in area, they were near work areas like Long Tabby sugar mill and cotton fields, and they maintained the dispersed plantation landscape pattern common on Sea Island plantations (Singleton 2010:166). What happened within them, however, was controlled and maintained by the enslaved people living within those settlements.

*INTERPRETATION OF ANTEBELLUM RIVAL GEOGRAPHIES*

Landscapes of enslavement were dynamic, complex, and fluid systems in which a plantation owner leveraged forced, unpaid labor of a group of exploited, displaced peoples. Naturally, people experiencing the profits or the pains of slavery conceived of and experienced plantation landscapes differently. Plantation landscapes served many purposes—to maximize potential spaces for agricultural fields, to be manipulated to show

the projected power of an enslaver, and to accommodate at least some of the social, spiritual and economic needs of enslaved residents.

Of course, there were certain standards and expectations based on time and place in which the plantation operated. Previous sections of this chapter have compared, in a general sense, lowcountry plantation landscapes to some Caribbean island plantations to illustrate that the organization of physical space was tightly controlled on the Georgia Sea Islands. Because slavery was legalized in Georgia later than almost anywhere else in the world, most of Georgia's plantation systems were reactions to the largest and most successful Caribbean economies, agrarian methods, and systems of manipulating public spaces to demand control, order, and power (Morgan 2010). However, major differences between slavery in the Caribbean and slavery in Georgia are obvious: reliance on the gang rather than task system, relatively frequent revolts, truancies, and petit marronages, and an agricultural focus on sugar rather than cotton, to name a few. Plantation landscapes commonly reflect these differences.

Communication about plantation order and daily operational advice came from face-to-face discussions with Spalding's partners and competition and through regional journals. Although others in his local social and business networks chose to more directly control the spaces of the plantation by only allowing certain styles of slave cabins in highly structured settlement spaces, Spalding opted for what was perhaps a more economically favorable landscape design.

On Sapelo Island, there is a hybrid form between Caribbean and mid-Atlantic plantation management styles that led to the settlement landscapes that are marked by wattle and tabby daub structures in a village arrangement in areas infrequently visited by the planter and managed by an enslaved driver. At the core of this discussion has been the global context that led to the development of and display of wattle and tabby daub slave cabins in a landscape of multiple conflicting agendas.

Enslaved people did not often come to their places of bondage with many material goods, but they did carry with them the memories and practices of previous places. Through participation at the Igbo Landing Rebellion, people that were on their way to perhaps a lifetime of enslavement at the Sapelo Plantation very clearly communicated that they did not want to be slaves. In contrast to historical figures that discuss Spalding's plantation as "heaven" for enslaved people, slavery was clearly as undesirable there as it was anywhere else. Within the first eight years of the Sapelo Plantation, at least five people were documented as runaway slaves. In May 1802, Alik and Abdalli escaped from the island and in March 1807 Toney, Jacob, and Musa did the same—running away from a place surrounded by miles of swift estuary currents and challenging navigation (Gomez 2010:105). Their escape from the Sapelo Plantation—African slave housing and all—clearly illustrated that despite planter documentation that the enslaved people were comfortable and content, their reality could not be further from the truth.

While plantation settlements were in locations that were appropriated by Spalding, enslaved people could build their housing styles of their choosing, therefore controlling

their own cultural space—a concept at the core of rival geographies. Enslaved people engaged with the dialectical tensions of the cultural geographies of plantations by providing a degree of control over their bodies and the spaces they occupied while at the same time being under the control and ownership of another person. In this way, enslaved people had limited power over themselves in a system that was constructed to constrain personal mobility.

Rival geographies are likewise characterized by using plantation spaces in ways that "conflicted with planters' ideals and demands" of space (Camp 2004:7). While wattle and tabby daub slave cabins diverge from the woods, swamps, and outbuildings that Camp (2004) uses to characterize rival landscapes, I argue that the slave cabins at Bush Camp Field and Behavior also functioned as semi-fixed points within the rival geographies of Sapelo Island. Wattle and tabby daub cabins were built in an African style with materials readily available on the plantation grounds. These wattle and tabby daub cabins are the material result of the empowerment of the enslaved people at Bush Camp Field and Behavior in a show of overt resistance to enslavement via control of their cultural space.

The wattle and tabby daub cabins and their placement on the landscape represent a form of spatial and material resistance to the confines of enslavement. As described earlier in this chapter, this architectural style carries with it attributes from the Atlantic World, a material that fully embodies Foucault's (1976) multiplicities of resistance. This one building style represented the African history of the people who inhabited them,

those who were involved with Igbo Landing and carried the memory of that event to the plantation, and those who wore turbans and broke from work to pray to Allah (Gomez 2010). Overt displays of past heritage were uncommon at other plantations in the Georgia lowcountry, where rival geographies were focused more around non-fixed points such as places inside the home or in woods and swamps.

These "African" huts, not allowed at Couper's Altama plantation and presumably at others, cost nothing for the planter, took little time to construct and cure, and showcased the very building material that Spalding was promoting (Spalding 1830). Spalding's association with the tabby revival highlights the dialectical tensions between places of the planter and the enslaved. Spalding, though he was invested in the labor output of the enslaved people, did not view the spaces that he defined as the slave settlements as an area of cultural significance; rather, they were spatial containers, of sorts, for the laborers of his sugar and cotton plantation.

Enslaved people similarly interacted with Spalding's mansion and other spaces at the South End; they "generally place little or even no value upon the fine houses of their masters" (Lester 1968:67 *in* Ferguson 1992:81). The places of the planter were simply cultural spaces to enslaved people—a space in which they had to operate, but as slaves, not as themselves. Enslaved people experienced a multiplicity of interactions with spaces that led to definable cultural spaces, and these spaces were dependent upon their function within a plantation. Some parts of the overall plantation landscape, like the settlements on Sapelo where they were able to break from work to pray "on duh bead," were places

where enslaved people could reconcile, to an extent, their position as both enslaved people and as people with an African past (Georgia Writers Project 1940:158-60).

The wattle and tabby daub architecture within Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements illustrate that placemaking is a process and that spaces are fluid containers for potential cultural use. In a framework outlined by Castells (1996), enslaved people at the Sapelo Plantation operated within small localized networks with large global influences. However, planters such as Thomas Spalding had opportunities for unlimited multi-directional physical movement, but in contrast to the enslaved people under his control, he and his peers conducted their operations within large sociospatial networks with relatively local and contained influences.

Georgia lowcountry island plantations were nearly identical in many ways: they existed for the same purpose, were run by people in the same networks, and grew similar products. However, the experiences of the people within those plantations varied drastically, and for more reasons than just the management style and directives of the plantation owner. A key difference between the style of place-making at plantation slave settlements with rigid boundaries and those without them, like Sapelo, was either the presence or absence of slave-controlled fixed points (Rapoport 1990). Both styles of plantation settlements represent the contested materiality of plantation spaces. In the case of the Sapelo Plantation settlements, however, wattle and tabby daub cabins at Bush Camp Field and Behavior served as fixed points where enslaved people engaged in placemaking.

At the core of slavery was the restriction of movement via planter control of space (Camp 2004:12-13). In plantation landscapes with rigidly defined settlements, spaces were more confined than at plantations with more relaxed geometry. Nevertheless, Camp (2004) argues that enslaved people were always able to create and negotiate rival landscapes in some form. They engaged with place-making within their cabins, out of line-of-sight of the overseer, and in some areas, like Cannon's Point Plantation, went into the woods to practice certain non-planter approved religious activities.

Within the rival geographies that enslaved people created, maintained, and controlled, they were able to resist their enslavement. Through a multiplicity of actions and reactions, many of which were based around a reconfiguration of private spaces, enslaved people took control over places in the settlement. This spatial control was usually focused around the yard and inside the home, regardless of how a planter defined their space on a settlement scale. Rejecting these spatial constraints was a form of empowerment. The people within the Sapelo Plantation settlements similarly could negotiate spatial control of settlement spaces; however, in contrast to the majority of plantations, their houses were a material result of these rival geographies.

## *CONCLUSIONS*

Ultimately, four major conclusions can be drawn from this research: (1) enslaved people on the Sapelo plantation did not live in hard poured tabby cabins; (2) wattle and tabby daub cabins are present in abstractly defined geometric space (as opposed to geometrically rigid space); (3) wattle and tabby daub and frame cabins are present in

disarticulated landscapes rather than landscapes with a uniform/unified design; and (4) place-making was a fluid, ongoing process at the Sapelo Plantation, and likely other plantations, that was deeply influenced by rival geographies. In this research, I contextualized the landscape of the Sapelo Plantation settlements with local and international examples to understand how Georgia's antebellum Sea Island landscapes fit into the global scale.

As stated by Singleton (1999:17), "African Americans did not simply adopt a world that was created for them, nor was their world insular to those of other communities." The landscapes of Bush Camp Field and Behavior settlements exemplifies the global influences expressed in wattle and tabby daub living quarters. This style of architecture combines functional and stylistic attributes with origins in Africa that developed on Caribbean plantations and again in America on South Carolina and Georgia plantations. In direct contrast to the adjacent rival geography at Chocolate Plantation, with its highly regimented, hard-tabby, double-bay cabins, the wattle and tabby daub slave housing at Sapelo Plantation was not controlled by the enslaver, but by the enslaved. To build and live in this style of house was a conscious decision of the individual in an expression of identity and show of agency in an environment ill-suited for either.

While the landscape of the Sapelo Plantation settlements were spatially distinct from nearby plantation settlements, the cultural spaces and places were similar to plantations in the lowcountry and the Caribbean. By contextualizing the Sapelo

Plantation settlements locally and through the Atlantic World, I was able to draw parallels between settlement spaces, slave architecture, and reoccurring systems of rival geographies between planters, overseers, and enslaved people. I approach this section by again moving from larger to smaller scales, summarizing points from each chapter to communicate the purpose, goals, and cause of this work. Finally, I provide a series of recommendations and hypotheses for future research on the coast.

This study advances our understanding of enslaved spaces and places in the Georgia lowcountry and their connection to the larger Atlantic World. While most previous research of enslaved living spaces on the Georgia coast were based on above-ground tabby or brick architecture, this study instead focused on archaeologically identifying more ephemeral living quarters made of wattle and tabby daub. In this study, I turned to historical cartography, geospatial tessellations, and geophysical methods to inform archaeological surveys of Bush Camp Field and Behavior slave settlements of the Sapelo Plantation on Sapelo Island. These surveys produced new information about the spatial organization of the settlements, which lays the foundation for future research into the lifeways of enslaved people. In total, archaeological excavations for this study led to the identification of three wattle and tabby daub slave cabins and two antebellum wood-framed slave cabins.

Architecture of enslaved spaces on the Georgia coast was a powerful form of material culture. Enslaved people on the Sapelo Plantation chose the building materials, structural configuration, and organization of spaces in the settlements to create places that

have physical characteristics similar to certain places in Africa and the Caribbean. Though the plantation owner defined the spaces of enslaved settlements on the plantation landscape, enslaved people negotiated those spaces, changing them into places imbued with aspects of their own making. In these rival geographies, a singular location served multiple purposes and meanings, entering into the socio-spatial dialectic described by Soja (1989). Enslaved people within plantation boundaries were a part of landscapes that were far from homogenous and stagnant. The memories and traditions that they brought to the lowcountry continued to develop over time, including the Muslim traditions within many plantations on St. Simon's and Sapelo Islands that are now a part of Gullah-Geechee culture (Gomez 2010:105-106).

I tested the structure of plantation spaces to determine if there was a correlation between the geometry of space and the style of architecture within. The architecture of slave housing within more rigid settlement spaces were likewise rigid, permanent, busy tabby duplexes or formal wood cabins on brick piers 2-3 feet above ground surface. The management style of the planter at these spatially strict plantation landscapes was harsh and controlling. At these rigid plantation spaces, planters intentionally created and maintained these areas, removing enslaved people's ability to move from their confines and manipulate the spaces around them. Therefore, enslaved people within these plantations engaged in place-making activities inside the home or at night, in the woods, moving their rival geographies away from the settlement and into the homestead or more neutral covert locations on the plantation.

In contrast to these rigid spaces and constrained places, the landscape of the Sapelo Plantation settlements were geometrically fairly random. The ways that enslaved people reacted to and acted within Bush Camp Field and Behavior varied from more rigidly defined plantation spaces. Wattle and tabby daub slave cabins in these two settlements were a material representation of the tensions between slaveholder and slave. Though Spalding controlled the boundaries of the settlements, enslaved people controlled the space within. By controlling settlement spaces, enslaved people built the "African huts" that were torn down at the Altama Plantation, using the settlements as their own places rather than borrowed space. The ability to navigate spaces more freely, thus resisting the spatial confines of enslavement, was a fundamental difference between the settlements at the Sapelo Plantation and other lowcountry plantations.

After archaeological survey at Bush Camp Field and Behavior, I discovered evidence of an additional three wattle and tabby daub structures, indicating that the cabins found by Crook were not merely an anomaly on the landscape, but rather a choice of enslaved people to build in that style. These cabins were a reflection of the identities of those living within them as well as a material reflection of the dialectical tension between planter ideologies of space and the ways that enslaved people manipulated and controlled those same spaces.

The ways in which enslaved people created, used, and manipulated their places within the Sapelo Plantation, were as far as we know now, unique. However, the research presented here suggests that at many lowcountry plantations, additional research should

target below-ground architectural refuse. The effects of architectural place-making at the Sapelo Plantation implies that wattle and tabby daub or fiber-based slave cabins were perhaps more common on the Georgia coast than previously realized. By relying on short-interval archaeological survey and targeted test units guided by geophysical and geospatial survey, archaeologists perhaps can, in the future, find more evidence of the enslaved people that did not live in expensive, crowded, non-negotiable tabby block quarters. If wattle and tabby daub slave cabins were made in building styles and materials reminiscent of African architectural patterns, then archaeologists will need to re-evaluate the material effects of negotiations of power through manipulations of space.

The application of Thiessen tessellations to archaeological interpretation of landscapes proved to be a valuable method to quantifying the geometric structure of settlement space. I anticipate that this method of quantified landscape analysis will have a wide utility for archaeologists and geographers attempting to use landscapes to understand underlying social structures. As archaeology continues on the Georgia coast and as archaeologists obtain more temporal control within antebellum settlements, I expect that this conversation will help to further identify how Georgia's plantations borrowed certain functional and stylistic aspects from Chesapeake and Caribbean plantation owners to create a unique and dynamic antebellum world.

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# APPENDICES

*APPENDIX A*

22 October 2016 interview, Cornelia Bailey (CB) with Norma Harris (NH) and Myrna Crook (MC)

NH: First of all, where did Bush Camp Field get its name?

CB: We don't really know. Someone actually said that there was a guy by the last name of Bush, and he camped here during one of the wars. And that's how they call it Bush Camp Field, cause they actually camped out there in that field. And I'm going, well, I have not found any record of that. And so maybe there's some hidden records somewhere. Yeah.

NH: Would it been War of 1812, or would it been the Civil War?

CB: I would think it would be Civil War and not – because one report you know says Sherman's men didn't reach the shores here, then one report say he did, so, and then if he didn't then it would back it up and it would be the Revolutionary War. That's the one that some of the folks was armed and that kind of stuff and so forth so, so been confused it might have been, might have been that one and that might of been how Bush Camp got its name from. So we didn't have no Black people named Bush so we didn't do anything like that [laughs], not as I know of.

NH: Now I'm a little bit confused about I've seen the name New Barn Creek and Bush Camp used, both of those, or is New Barn Creek in a different place, or is it the same place…

CB: No it's the same, it's that creek, you know some people now you call 'em Barn Creek, coming up inside there, and over the years people mispronounce things and then it becomes something else, you know, and so people say it's the same place, Barn Creek is the same place as New Barn Creek. Just like I'm trying to get somebody to tell me one day where there's uhm a landing place where it's supposed to land the last of the slaves on the island and all that, and I'm going they call it one thing and somebody calls it another thing but it's supposed to be up there at Kennan's Field, so, who knows. Yeah.

NH: How, do you know how Behavior got its name? I think this is in your book…

CB: [laughs] What the old people always said is that it got its name because the last slaves that came in refused to be slaves. One report was they were part of the Ibo tribe, and they refused to be slaves, all of them – you know you had the popular thing was they all went overboard and drowned themselves at Frederica Island, but that's a lie, they didn't do that; some of them did, just a handful, and they said some was offloaded here on Sapelo. OK. If they were offloaded here on Sapelo, then it's natural to have the same attitudes as the others, that we don't want to be slaves. And so they said that they hid in

that woods, and stayed there, and the slave that was already here was told to go and offer them food and water on the edge of the woods, and let them stay there until they learned how to behave themselves. And so henceforth the name Behavior came from that. And that's the only exPlantation I ever heard. Yeah.

NH: Would they have offloaded the slaves at Sapelo before what happened at Ibo's Landing?

CB: No, they said after. Mmhm.

NH: So some of them that survived…

CB: They said some would drop off St. Simons at Frederica, some at Darien and some at Sapelo. So they dropped them off at different places. So. Yeah.

NH: You said they hid in the woods. Is that right?

CB: Mmhm. And they just stayed there, and it became like a village type thing. Mmhm.

NH: Now how do you pronounce that. Do you call it Ibo?

CB: Ibo, I B O. Mmhm. Ibo. I've seen it where they spell it E B O but the correct thing is I B O.

NH: I've seen it spelled I G B O and…

CB: Yeah [laughs] I know. When I first thing I ever heard of it, it was I B O, so… Oh well.

NH: So the slaves that were already here they might have been from somewhere else originally and when the Ibo were offloaded here they might have been from another part of Africa or…

CB: Oh yeah. They probably was the, you know, like the old say "Been here" so they been here. And those was the new ones. And they said they was the last of the new slaves that came…

NH: Do you remember what year that was?

CB: No, not right offhand. Got to look it up. Yeah. Look it up according to the Ibo's legends. Yeah.

NH: Even though they came and they were offloaded there and hiding in the woods and the other slaves brought them food and stuff like that, was there already kind of a settlement nearby there?

CB: They said there wasn't. Yeah. They said that wasn't a community there, it became a community after that. And so. Because with all the woods there for them to hide in then there wouldn't have been a settlement there. Yeah. So.

NH: That makes sense. So the settlement at Bush Camp Field, was that all of that considered part of Behavior?

CB: All of that was considered, I think it was part because like, uhm, Ray had excavated, uhm, part of Bush Camp and found the various ruins and so forth there, and my momma and some of the old ones always said that you know there's Behavior gate here, then there's the road, and then there's a ditch in front of that. Momma always said there's headstones, there was headstones, some headstones across that ditch, in the front of the gate that we call Behavior Cemetery. So that there was – but nobody ever excavated inside that woods there. But she said that there was headstones inside that, inside that woods in front of the gate. Yeah.

NH: And that goes on down into Bush Camp Field.

CB: You know what, what very well always interested me is that fact, how come we got two cemeteries on the south end, but then there's no notable cemetery on the north end. Not large. I mean there was some article about it one time on how many grave sites it take to make a cemetery? [laughs], you know. But we have a small plot here, a small plot there, but nothing – I'm going, if you had a number of slaves on the north end, how come there's a big – if somebody died and you were a slave up at, oh, Hanging Bull, or up at High Point, did they bring them all the way down here? You know, that's the part that always bothers me, why isn't there a notable cemetery on the north end, even at Raccoon Bluff on the east side, you know. But I never hear nobody talk about any cemetery. They talk about the one in the woods back there, Behavior, and talk about New Orleans, but never any notable cemetery on the north end that you can actually walk up to and [claps] put your hand on. Yeah. And so. I'm going [loudly] you better get them all the way down here [unintelligeable] [laughs] Yeah. There's more than one up there somewhere. Yeah.

NH: During Bilali's time were most slaves Muslim? Or were there already Christian slaves on Sapelo?

CB: Mmm, no. There were three sets of African Americans here. There was Muslim, and the one that became Christian, and there was the one that was just pure African, that practiced their traditions as well. So you had like this mixture: one, two, three. So. Yeah. Cause if you look at it very carefully there's the Islamic influence, there's the Christian influence, and there's the African influence. So you know that mixture was here, so you had a group over here, because common sense would tell you when we read the church history, go through the church history of 1866, the traveling minister that came through to convert people was coming through and he converted only like a dozen people that first year. We had hundreds of people here. So if everybody wanted to explore that new Christianity why didn't they [swooshing sound] and went over, you know it took 'em, what took them years for everybody to slowly embrace that new religion. Yeah. And the Islamic religion, I remember grandma used to say that her parents and grandparents used to listen to the traveling minister in the daytime and then at night they had a whole

different service. Yeah. They go into the woods and have a whole different service, away from the prying eyes of the ones who didn't believe it, there were several, so they worshiped both ways. [laughs]

NH: Well they wouldn't have approved.

CB: Yeah, so I was like, now, OK: night service! Yeah. So. That kind of thing.

NH: Do you think it was more like a Muslim service, or just…

CB: I think the night service was the one that mostly Muslim meant and African mix. Yeah. 'Cause you know even sometime in Larindade [?] thing you hear that the Islamic religion is the African religion. So. I think that one, that night one where they snuck off into the woods was a combination of both of those. Yeah. I think Christianity was just kind of left out of it, and Christianity as we know it was kind of left out of those services.

NH: I don't remember, did Spalding care?

CB: He belonged to a church in Darien but I can never find no record or anything that he had – a lot of the large plantations as you know about doing research had some sort of worship place on the plantation. And two things I never found in Spalding's memoirs or anybody's right after that is where the hospital was and where the – what they call then, the infirmary, back then, but where that was and where the place of worship was on Sapelo. There was no mention of those two things.

MC: What about the church at Hanging Bull? Because that…

CB: No that was established right after the Civil War. They had a small property, there was a small wooden church that was built by one of the big large oak trees there. And you look there's about three huge oak trees. My cousin Annie was baptized in the creek back there for instance, although Poppa was born in three [1903]. But black people back then, you know now you're going to tear down a perfect good church and put up this prefab thing, but a church was a sacred thing so they wasn't going to tear it down. So it stayed there. So poppa remembered the small wooden building that was there as a church. Because right next to it is the community of Lumber Landing, it had a praise house. So the praise house was in Lumber Landing which was just a mile and half or so on down the road from Hanging Bull. So they had a praise house. And then that church there was the central church, the first church that was on the island was that one. Yep.

MC: Was the Lumber Landing praise house Christian?

CB: [14:45] Mmhmm, yeah. [Laughs] Well hey, in Black religion in the south, you had a mixture of all three inside your church. It wasn't strictly Christianity, it wasn't strictly Muslim, it wasn't strictly African. So it was a mixture inside there. That mixture was in the service. That mixture was in the service when I came around. But then people grew out of the exPlantation of why you doing this and saying that, and as you get older and

you start reading different things you going wait a minute, we did that, we did that you know, we said that, and you realize that that was African, that was Muslim, that's Christianity, and you know that in the church you were rolling up all three of those at the same time. Yeah. And we did it well I guess. [laughs]

MC: Especially with only one god.

CB: Hey, now they celebrate the word god when I was growing up, Jesus was not on the top plate. So it was god, it was my lord, Jesus I mean god, you know, the master, stuff like that all referring to god. So the son of god wasn't mentioned that much when I was growing up in church. It was mentioned but it wasn't on the forefront as now when you go to church it's more on the forefront, you know you hear the word Jesus and the son of god more than when I was going when I was little. Yeah.

NH: We were talking about Spalding, did he care what kind of religion was practiced. Like Butler, he would not allow any kind of church.

CB: I know. I read about that.

NH: And so he did not want anybody to practice religion.

CB: Yeah but right next door, right down the river on St. Simons, they had churches, the black church, the white church, the white minister also ministered the sermon at the white church and the black church, you know, but then coming down here to Butler and over at Spalding you don't have no mention of the blacks going to church. Yeah.

NH: I remember some of the Butler documents, and Roswell King in particular says "It's always trouble when there's preaching." And so he actually had to have some fiddles sent because he'd rather have the people singing and dancing than preaching.

CB: I told a white minister a couple of years ago, that's when I said and we was up there talking up front, and he said "You'all people from way back when seem to always be so happy, singing and dancing." I looked at him - I get very polite when I get upset – I said "Sir, be glad we were singing and dancing, 'cause the moment we stopped singing and dancing was the time we was gonna kill you." [laughs] So he didn't know what to say after that, I said be grateful we were singing and dancing, cause the moment we quit singing and dancing was the moment we were gonna kill you. [laughs] So I said singing and dancing kept us clean. That's right. That's right. Something to be said for singing and dancing. It wasn't all for entertainment. Yeah.

NH: My poor Appalachian family's the same way, we're still on the porch with the guitars.

CB: Yeah. Because then if you stop singing and patting your feet and doing stuff, other things will form in your mind and you will do things that you might later regret. So. It's good to sing. Nothing wrong with it.

NH: This is referencing Spalding. In 1964 Charles Hall, born in 1874 on Sapelo, recounted that during the Civil War some of Spalding's slaves ran away, so that would have been Randolph Spalding?

CB: Yeah, because old man Spalding was already dead.

NH: And hid in the marsh, hoping to be picked up by Union ships. He listed 8 slaves that successfully fled and mentioned that Spalding shot one slave named John Johnson, as he was escaping with the group. Have you ever heard about that?

CB: I heard just very little about it, but, uhm, I heard more about when they returned, when the returnees, when the slaves returned back to Sapelo after the Civil War was ended, then how they left the island. They left the island by various means, you know you had to leave by boat. So they left the island on – matter of fact the slave masters took most of them off the island who left. Everybody didn't leave. 'Cause the thing was some people – "everybody left the island, the slave master took all the slaves off to various plantations they had on the mainland" and so forth for Milledgeville and Macon and down to Thomasville and so forth, but everybody didn't leave. There were people still here on the island. And uhm, because the Union soldiers and the involvement they had out there – they had a lighthouse in that river out there, they would paddle into places like Shell Hummock and get vegetables and have the native ladies do their laundry and so forth and stuff for them, so that means somebody was here. Yeah. So. But everybody didn't leave. Yeah.

NH: So, do you remember any Geechee people living out at Bush Camp. I know Behavior was already empty.

CB: No I don't remember them living there, but there was a black person that owned all of that, including where the state office, where the airport at, yeah, oh gosh what's the guy's name, was Robinson I think, and he married a lady from Harris Neck. And after he dies, she stole everything out and moved back to Harris Neck to her home. Something like that…But those were the only things that we did own property in that area as well. There's no record of we owning property at Hanging Bull. No. So the place that we owned property was Shell Hummock, Hog Hammock, Lumber Landing, Bell Marsh, Raccoon Bluff. Those were where we owned property at, but we didn't own property anyplace else. Yeah. [22:49]

NH: So over by Long Tabby I know there's some stuff that shows up in there. Is that where those people lived that owned that property?

CB: Yeah they had actually lived over there they said, yeah, that they lived with the Robinsons and had actually - we had Roberts over here and we had Robinson, and they actually had a house on over there. Yeah. And so when he died his wife sold it out [laughs] and left. I think she sold – matter of fact she sold it to Howard Coffin I believe, when she left. Yeah.

NH: Do you know of any slave settlements or old slave cabins that were in that area of Long Tabby in the back there?

CB: No. I never heard anybody say – I know one of my husband's uncle and my father and them, when they were building the airstrip, they came across a couple of bodies that they reburied. And they reburied it, you know, out of respect, so it's under the airport some place, under the airstrip. So, it's like there may be there might be more of them, you know, they just happened to be where they happened to be digging at, they, you know, came across that. And they buried it back. So there's people everywhere somewhere around here. My Uncle Glasco said there's one in the yard, that house, first house when you're coming from the dock, Uncle Glasco said they'd been digging lines to make some water lines or something years and years ago, and they dug up a body there. And he said it was a lady. I said "How you know it was a lady Uncle Glascow?" "Cause it had long hair. Ain't no man had that long of hair. That had to have been the body of a lady." So they buried them back. [laughs] So they buried them back, Yeah.

NH: In that same yard in there?

CB: That same yard, yeah. So there's a body of I guess a lady with long hair. Someplace in that yard, in that front yard. Yeah. So. [laughs] Back then I mean you didn't have to have formal cemeteries a lot of time. Where several people died at, that's where they were buried at a lot of time. A lot of families, yeah. So.

MC: Are there people buried around Bell Marsh?

CB: Not as we know near Bell Marsh, where Poppa took Ray at and that day, and there's a cemetery going, Poppa said when he was a little boy he used to play on it, and you know 'cause you know all the cemeteries had mounds you know, they'd pile the sand up on, and Poppa said he'd play on it as a little boy, and there was a cemetery there. Yeah.

NH: But it was near Bell Marsh?

CB: Right near Bell Marsh, yeah.

NH: Do you know where that is?

CB: It was where what we call the old county road. [laughs] That's the old county road. Me and I think Frank went with us probably, but I now Alfred and Stanley and Poppa, and we went and Poppa showed them exactly where it was and he said now "You go across the ditch right here, and you will see the old road bed." And sure enough Ray's family and Alfred went over there, there was the old road bed, just as plain as you can see that. He said "That's the old road bed." That went thataway. And on the other side of the road that we use now, he said cut through there, he said that was a cemetery there. Yeah. So there's a cemetery someplace around there. Yeah.

NH: OK let's see what else we can come up with…

CB: You're not doing nothing but making more work for yourself. [laughs]

NH: I know, that's the way this works. Well, as my professor would have said "Well, that means you're doing it right." If you have more questions than you started with that means you're doing it right.

CB: [laughs] Yep. You're doing it right.

[Child speaking about crabbing]

CB: Where were you going crabbing at, down at the corner of the road right there? Would you get the bucket out of the sink please? Thank you. And so, what else is there?

NH: There are some other questions that are just general…

CB: Well they highlighted one in lavender for you.

MC: They were going to edit them. Do you know of any rebellions that ever took place on Sapelo?

CB: Oh yeah, we had rebellions over here. And when the newly freed slaves didn't want to work on the crop sharing system, what they call share cropping - eh uh! And they arrested some folks because they wouldn't, they said "no we not working on no share cropping system" and they refused it.

NH: But that was after the Civil War.

CB: Uh huh. But I never heard of any before. Yeah, before that.

NH: I think what this is referring to Myrna is the…

CB: Well that's about as close as you're going to get when they refuse to be slaves and all that.

NH: Yeah, Yeah.

CB: Oh, there's probably a lot of things happened that we'll never know about.

NH: Was Long Tabby considered part of was the field… east along Long Tabby also considered part of Behavior?

CB: That's what we don't know, but like I said them coming across that ditch there, there's all those people from Long Tabby area was buried there and there wasn't part of how big was Behavior, I've never seen a map that says how big was the Behavior area, and if they came across that ditch and across that […] that pass there. Yeah.

MC: They want to know a little bit about some of the traditional slave meals and how they were prepared, and if they ate together as a family.

CB: Laughter

CB: I think for special occasions they might have got together, but each family ate together in their own little abode, cottage, or whatsoever it was cooked for themselves. You know. I don't think they got together as a habit of eating together. I don't think they did that. Special occasion.

NH: So there's no oral history that says anything like that?

CB: No

NH: I think they can get that from Drums and Shadows.

CB: Even Drums and Shadows, they didn't say anything about communal meals. You know, on a regular basis or anything

MC: There is a question—they found a lot of Native American artifacts

[Child needs a straw hat]

MC: They asked do you know of anybody during/after people were kidnapped and brought here to be slaves, did anyone make use of some of the Native American artifacts that were left behind. Like a grindstone or anything like that? Do you know if anybody found some of that?

CB: Bah! I don't know if they did or they didn't. I mean, I grew up with people having grinding stone but I also grew up with mens having brimstone, also. Brimstone is what they dug up out of the ground from after a lightning strike. They knew exactly how to find it, how deep to dig down in the ground to find it, and they used it for various things, but I guess if they came across something that was useful they used it. But 'cause they had to sharpen the hoe and sharpen their knives and all that sort of stuff. Things had to be used for sharpening purposes since we had no natural rocks over here or anything. Either that or they got it from they slave master or it came over in the slave ship as supplies that was needed, you know, for purposes of producing crops or whatsoever. But they had it, they got it. Now I don't know if Indians sharpened they tools, but, you know.

NH: Well, they had to bring something with them. Deer antler. Very, very hard and they did that.

CB: Deer antlers and certain part of the bone and stuff like that was also used.

NH: So those little houses, that like Ray excavated at Bush Camp and Behavior. How many people you think might live in that?

CB: Don't have the focus. It could be anyone from two people to eight so it depends, you know, how many people were crammed into those things. So, it was just a shelter so it was almost like sleeping on upon each other so you don't know really how many people was in that. Unless you were lucky enough to find some slave document from the slave

master and it says, you know, like John and his wife had six kids and they lived in that. Other than that you'd just be guessing.

NH: And that doesn't exist on Sapelo for anything that I've heard about.

CB: Nope

MC: Maybe one of the things that if they're curious about they can, you know that Spalding did turn in the list of enslaved people and he arranged those by families so that the dad and then the mom and then the youngest they would all be grouped together. And they had the ages, cause if they had a little one, they were probably in that household.

CB: Yeah, that could be. That's a possibility

NH: I don't remember how good the slaves and the census were for Spalding.

CB: They didn't have the census they only had the slave plantation report. You must remember, now, that if you all did your work, they didn't take census of black people in the south until 1870.

NH: Yeah, what I meant was the list of slaves.

CB: And I don't know how good…some slave owners had better records than some. Some of them didn't have good records and so it depends. I've seen some microfilms of Spalding's and so forth, and some of them seem to be pretty good. But, you know, everybody didn't do that. And then you know we've got the misconception that we always used the word Spalding, but there was other slavers here as well. And so we kind of put Spalding in that spot. But he was the big cheese, but he then wasn't the only cheese. [Laughs] Yeah, so, there were other people that had smaller plot of land and that had maybe two or three slaves with several working, but you know, there were others here as well.

MC: Well, up at Raccoon Bluff he never owned anything.

CB: I know. He didn't. He didn't own the east side. And I think on Raccoon Bluff up there ran down to Miller in that area and so forth and Kenan was King Savannah, I don't think he owned those either. Cause it seemed like he had some of those old records and there was the confusion as of who owned that after the Civil War and what family and that kind of stuff. Even when Howard Coffin bought it, it seemed to me like the title wasn't that clear and soforth for that area. And it still isn't! (Laughs) And it still isn't—you're right on that one. So we don't know for sure. I think Spalding most of his interest holding was on the South End here and going up on the west side was the biggest of his holdings because people—if you close your eye you think of Bilali you think of North End—no Bilali was on the South End. He was a South End slave, not a North End slave, he was a South End slave. And because this is the first part of the island that Thomas Spalding purchased was on the South End. And the last but was purchased by his father

and whatsoever Bilali came on the scene. It was on the South End. Yeah. So he was a South End person. Yeah.

NH: I've read a couple of conflicting things about what happened during the War of 1812 when the British came into the area and there was a lot of slaves depending on the plantation, a lot of them left, and I know, I was just reading that Spalding actually went to Bermuda with Roswell King and Couper to try to get slaves back, and it wasn't clear that he actually lost any slaves.

CB: No, it is not clear that he did! It seems to me that all of his slaves stayed intact on the island.

NH: Maybe he was just going along with…

MC: Cornelia, I've read that Bilali had a bunch of guns that Spalding and provided, and you know they had some for hunting but not much, but during the war of 1812 he passed out additional ammunition and guns.

CB: Yup, I heard that too

MC: And Bilali said that I will vouch for all the Muslims but those Christian dogs may go with the Brits.

CB: Yup, I heard that too, I heard that too. And I'm going, well, I don't know how much truth was in that. [Laughs] Or how much it was embellished

MC: Well, I heard that he was the one who guarded so that. And it was because he had been in the Bahamas, and he knew that the Brits had lied to them there, so he didn't have any…the devil you know is better than the devil you don't know.

CB: [Laughter] Well, you know so that probably was a fact. But it does leave quite a bit of question there. And I don't think that the non-Muslim could have worked all of these fields. With just the Muslim that was here. They needed all of them.

MC: Well, they said during the war. They thought that the ones that battled best (Cornelia laughing] You know you hear that stuff enough and how can you believe anything?

CB: Well, I don't know, it's like, someone's been embellishing…just like the guy, McKinley embellished the fact that during the hurricane of 1898 the whole island was underwater, which was a lie. You know, the whole island. It came up on the south end of the island and that's it and nobody ... If it came up over the whole island, a lot of people would have lost their lives and there was no report of anybody losing their lives or anything. Because the people noticed that the winds was stronger, and the tide was coming in, and the moon and the wind and the tide was all in sync. So they just got up from this end and got up to the North End, went up to stay with relatives at Raccoon Bluff and so forth, and after three days or so they came back.

MC: Well, he got his feet wet, so…

CB: Well, look where he house is! His house is right on the creek right where they got the state office. Water came in and he woke up and there was things floating in his living room! You know, and so he just embellished the whole thing. But it was on the South End. You know, I suspect it came up around the lighthouse area, and other areas and whatsoever, yea, but it didn't come up over the whole island. Yeah.

MC: Well, he was kind of a poop, anyway.

CB: Yeah, he was a mess. I know some stories about him that have been repeated about him. You know, my father know him.

NH: Oh, really?

CB: My father…

[Call for Cornelia comes in]

CB: My father remember him, as um, his and his wife run the post office. My father said he was a mean old man. But he had a nephew, who a lot of people didn't know, that was black. And the nephew was the mills guide that settled on Sapelo and that was McKinley's nephew. And he had the last name of Mills. That's right. And Mills was very fair skinned. Papa said that was McKinley's nephew. He said a lot of people didn't know that. But they were kin, yeah. Those are the inner stories you don't get to hear. That's not printed.

MC: Did he have any children here?

CB: No. He didn't have any. His wife was pregnant a couple of times, I think.

MC: Well I know he did it with Sally,

CB: Yup.

MC: But I wondered if…

CB: Did he have any extra ones. He might have had some extra ones but we couldn't tell [laughs] You know, you never could tell who had extra kids. Word of mouth and that kind of stuff, but you wouldn't find it written down in any legal documents.

MC: Well there were some who were housekeepers for a while and quit in a bit of a hurry so it makes you wonder if he was, if he was rude.

CB: In various ways [laughter]

NH: You cleaned that up nicely!

CB: I know, she did, didn't she! You know, she needs to be on Trump team, so he can be more diplomatic when he open his mouth.

*APPENDIX B*

TESSELLATION RESULTS

| Site | Point | Tessellation Length (m) | Tessellation Area ($m^2$) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Behavior Settlement | 1 | 518.8176656 | 8314.63937 |
| Behavior Settlement | 2 | 303.9530603 | 3439.831574 |
| Behavior Settlement | 3 | 471.6522461 | 7456.400179 |
| Behavior Settlement | 4 | 319.6754869 | 3618.34419 |
| Behavior Settlement | 5 | 440.2092239 | 6007.689778 |
| Behavior Settlement | 6 | 429.7279872 | 7209.230106 |
| Behavior Settlement | 7 | 571.2241669 | 8836.444613 |
| Behavior Settlement | 8 | 424.4873836 | 6605.03014 |
| Behavior Settlement | 9 | 461.1714168 | 7216.094849 |
| Behavior Settlement | 10 | 707.4783792 | 17178.54953 |
| Behavior Settlement | 11 | 398.2836509 | 5245.575584 |
| Behavior Settlement | 12 | 340.6380992 | 3570.282497 |
| Behavior Settlement | 13 | 366.8409759 | 4304.944023 |
| Behavior Settlement | 14 | 319.6756165 | 4263.745743 |
| Behavior Settlement | 15 | 702.2380347 | 15420.87647 |
| Behavior Settlement | 16 | 366.840817 | 4552.118026 |
| Behavior Settlement | 17 | 356.360447 | 4037.175028 |
| Behavior Settlement | 18 | 303.9535277 | 3611.482673 |
| Behavior Settlement | 19 | 487.3745539 | 8822.724365 |
| Behavior Settlement | 20 | 377.3223915 | 5561.40929 |
| Behavior Settlement | 21 | 408.7664194 | 5657.528486 |
| Behavior Settlement | 22 | 586.9458869 | 10848.18963 |
| Behavior Settlement | 23 | 545.021429 | 11459.25341 |
| Behavior Settlement | 24 | 434.9684012 | 4510.920188 |
| Behavior Settlement | 25 | 576.4644112 | 12475.40752 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 1 | 652.7571118 | 11305.95402 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 2 | 487.9813324 | 9026.695022 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 3 | 361.2348607 | 3720.125645 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 4 | 526.0081498 | 9583.955513 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 5 | 424.6098385 | 6185.14681 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 6 | 396.0903278 | 3928.47334 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 7 | 510.1620699 | 3639.796801 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 8 | 665.4321275 | 9423.312341 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 9 | 6.337457355 | 2.510210355 |
| Bush Camp Field Settlement | 10 | 570.3703449 | 12975.24189 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 1 | 231 | 2285.0366 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 2 | 215.6 | 2295.7088 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 3 | 247.94 | 2259.5419 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 4 | 220.22 | 2081.079 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 5 | 254.1 | 2219.2247 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 6 | 215.6 | 1778.1071 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 7 | 258.72 | 2315.2745 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 8 | 221.76 | 1748.4621 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 9 | 246.4 | 2357.3704 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 10 | 231 | 2126.7323 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 11 | 252.56 | 2382.2722 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 12 | 217.14 | 1897.28 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 13 | 267.96 | 2638.405 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 14 | 212.52 | 1832.6539 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 15 | 280.28 | 3010.1533 |
| Butler Settlement 1 | 16 | 244.86 | 2348.4769 |
| Butler Settlement 2 | 1 | 366.6 | 4390.2144 |
| Butler Settlement 2 | 2 | 377.52 | 4547.1816 |
| Butler Settlement 2 | 3 | 382.2 | 4587.9444 |
| Butler Settlement 2 | 4 | 388.44 | 4283.136 |
| Butler Settlement 2 | 5 | 380.64 | 4676.1624 |
| Butler Settlement 3 | 1 | 396 | 4829.625 |
| Butler Settlement 3 | 2 | 384 | 4607.4375 |
| Butler Settlement 3 | 3 | 366 | 3840.75 |
| Butler Settlement 3 | 4 | 367.5 | 3997.6875 |
| Butler Settlement 3 | 5 | 373.5 | 4033.125 |
| Butler Settlement 4 | 1 | 408 | 5239.68 |
| Butler Settlement 4 | 2 | 400 | 4960 |
| Butler Settlement 4 | 3 | 392 | 4572.16 |
| Butler Settlement 4 | 4 | 388.8 | 4415.36 |
| Butler Settlement 4 | 5 | 435.2 | 5294.72 |
| Cannon's Point Plantation North | 1 | 268.84 | 2466.5694 |
| Cannon's Point Plantation North | 2 | 294.22 | 2472.5337 |
| Cannon's Point Plantation North | 3 | 287.64 | 2245.2276 |
| Cannon's Point Plantation North | 4 | 281.06 | 2602.6438 |
| Cannon's Point Plantation South | 1 | 330 | 3684.7404 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cannon's Point Plantation South | 2 | 294.36 | 2674.584 |
| Cannon's Point Plantation South | 3 | 315.48 | 2781.7416 |
| Cannon's Point Plantation South | 4 | 444.84 | 6404.1912 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 1 | 182.3353178 | 2014.092699 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 2 | 189.1118209 | 2075.87916 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 3 | 180.0623712 | 2104.594982 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 4 | 166.239433 | 1665.387792 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 5 | 167.0780708 | 1669.923812 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 6 | 156.3659544 | 1553.073436 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 7 | 137.0144224 | 1231.790443 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 8 | 162.9062836 | 1652.377331 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 9 | 141.1878008 | 1205.724071 |
| Chocolate Plantation | 10 | 155.2791016 | 1487.529456 |
| Hampton Point Settlement | 1 | 236.5474186 | 3797.136372 |
| Hampton Point Settlement | 2 | 204.3347499 | 2459.10458 |
| Hampton Point Settlement | 3 | 199.0272763 | 2335.664862 |
| Hampton Point Settlement | 4 | 210.6946647 | 2707.517774 |
| Hampton Point Settlement | 5 | 229.4394809 | 3521.301628 |

# VITA

Lindsey Cochran was born in Nashville, Tennessee, to Rob and Ann Cochran. She attended St. Cecilia Academy and received her diploma in 2006. From there, Lindsey attended the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, earning a B.S. in 2010. She continued her education at the University of West Florida, receiving a M.A. in 2013. Lindsey then returned to East Tennessee for her Ph.D. at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville finishing in the spring of 2019.