Archaeological Studies at the Sorrel-Weed House, Savannah, GA









Archeological Studies at the Sorrel-Weed House, Phase I and II
Savannah, GA

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Note: The original installment of this report was compiled in spring 2017. After completing a second round of excavations in fall 2017, the report was updated and revised.

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INTRODUCTION

Background and Research Questions

In January 2017, my interest in incorporating fieldwork as a part of a final project in *Historical Archaeology* coincided with the desire of the Sorrel-Weed House staff to investigate the cause of a depression in the floor of what the staff identifies as their carriage house basement.[1] The Sorrel-Weed House, a privately owned Greek Revival mansion that is a prominent entity in Savannah's ghost tour industry, had just recently approached Laura Seifert, Co-Director of *Digging Savannah* and my instructor at Armstrong State University, about undertaking this as an archaeological study. Consequently, after submitting a proposal in early January, we were given permission by the Sorrel-Weed House to begin excavations in the basement of the carriage house to uncover the source of the depression in the floor. In total, our study spanned two semesters, and was conducted in spring 2017 and fall 2017.

The inquiry of the Sorrel-Weed house staff regarding the depression in the floor of the carriage house basement was prompted by the strong belief on the part of the staff that it was caused by the remains of a former enslaved woman who once lived at the home. The depression then was potentially physical evidence to reinforce Sorrel-Weed's current interpretation program, which largely focuses on the home's exceptional level of paranormal activity stemming from the tragic story of infidelity, suicide, and murder. Oral tradition dictates that a suicide and a murder took place in the home in 1860.[2] As the story goes, the home's original owner Francis Sorrel, a wealthy merchant and slave owner, was involved in a sexual "relationship" with one of his slaves, the woman believed to be buried in the basement. When Mr. Sorrel's wife learned of this, she supposedly took her life by jumping from the home's upper level balcony.

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[1] The two-story detached building that sits at the back of the Sorrel-Weed lot will be referred to as the carriage house. However, there is no historical documentation to establish that this building was used as a carriage house.

[2] *Oral tradition* is not synonymous with *oral history*. Oral tradition indicates information that has been passed down and cannot be linked to anyone who actually witnessed an event. Oral history is the opposite, and involves the retelling of a past event by a person who witnessed an event or has first-hand knowledge. In the case of the Sorrel-Weed House interpretation program, this falls into the category of oral tradition, as the story cannot be corroborated by an eye-witness oral account or other documentation. Oral tradition vs. Oral history is discussed in Russel J. Barber, *Doing Historical Archaeology: Exercises Using Documentary, Oral, and Material Evidence*, Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1994), 27.



Above: The Depression in the basement floor of the carriage house at the Sorrel-Weed House. Staff believed the depression may have resulted from the interred remains of a bondwoman owned by the Sorrel family. Photo Credit: Kelly Westfield.

Sometime shortly after this, the enslaved woman involved in the affair with Mr. Sorrel was found hanged in her room above the carriage house. The staff believes that in an attempt to conceal what had transpired, the woman was clandestinely buried in the basement of the carriage house by members of the Sorrel family.[3] Although this story may have originated at one time from an oral or documentary source, presently it only borders on oral tradition. At present, no sources can be found to corroborate it. It is necessary to be incredulous about this account, but trace amounts of the story *can* be linked to documentary evidence. And while the story in its

Above: The depression in the basement floor of what the Sorrel-Weed House identifies as the home's original carriage house, prior to excavation. Photo Credit: Kelly Westfield.

[3] Sorrel-Weed House Staff, Personal communication, January 2017. This detail is also provided on tours at the Sorrel-Weed House.

entirety may never be verified, parts of it unequivocally represent commonplace segments of southern antebellum history. Sexual exploitation by slave owners, unilateral extramarital affairs, and oppressive gender codes were legion in the antebellum south.

What is less common is the nature of this study and the circumstances which brought it to the surface, so to speak. In addition to being basement archaeology, a relatively rare setting for excavations, this study weaved together dark tourism, public archaeology, and urban slavery. Indeed, the belief that an enslaved woman was buried beneath the carriage house basement floor is what motivated the Sorrel-Weed House to seek out archaeological studies. And according to the house's lurid paranormal narrative that draws untold numbers of visitors to their site every year, the spirit of this woman is a fixture in the carriage house. While we were interested in the archaeology of urban slavery at the Sorrel-Weed House, it was undoubtedly the home's haunted interpretation focus which got us in the door.

Dark tourism, which emphasizes the macabre and the tragic as much as plantation tourism focuses on hoop skirts and the Old South, has become a prominent component of global tourism and South American tourism.[4] In 2016, 13.9 million people visited Savannah, and the popularity of the Sorrel-Weed House as a paranormal hotspot no doubt put it on the radar of a large number of these visitors.[5] Savannah has commodified its dead like many southern urban locales, but has pushed the marketing and narratives of dark tourism perhaps more than most cities.[6] The Sorrel-Weed House is reputed to be one of the most haunted houses in the South, a reputation solidified by a site visit from the *SciFi* Channel show *Ghost Hunters* and their paranormal findings, and by the house's own marketing and tourism efforts.[7] While the Sorrel-Weed House and ghost tourism in Savannah contribute to the billions of tourist dollars generated annually, one author has recently pointed to the problematic nature of how African American history is portrayed through dark tourism, and how these portrayals represent another means of obscuring and marginalizing black lived experiences in the South.[8]

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[4] Glenn Gentry and Derek Alderman, "A City Built Upon it's Dead: The Intersection of Past and Present Through Ghost Walk Tourism in Savannah, Georgia," *The South Carolina Review 47*, no. 2 (2015): 49-64.

[5] Savannah tourism figures collected from *Savannah Tourism Snapshot Report 2016*, compiled for Visit Savannah, digital copy provided by Jenny Dent, October 2017.

[6] Gentry and Alderman, "A City Built Upon it's Dead", 50.

[7] Tiya Miles, *Tales from the Haunted South: Dark Tourism and Memories of Slavery from the Civil War Era*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 33.

[8] Ibid.

No matter the nature of the Sorrel-Weed tour narratives or the reason we were asked to undertake this project, the excavations in the carriage house basement had the potential to reveal details about the lives of the enslaved people who once worked and lived at the Sorrel-Weed House. Learning about enslaved lives and experiences through documentary sources is limited, as is the reliance on written documents in the exploration of any historical event. Documentary sources most often represent the lives and viewpoints of educated white males and other elite members of society, thus leaving an untold void in the historical record. These records convey a limited view of the past, as writers selectively chose what they wanted present audiences and posterity to know or not know. Thus, archaeological studies are particularly important for learning more about the lives of underrepresented people who left no written records, and for uncovering a more complete historical past. As one author has written, "archaeology contains particularly strong data with which to address strategies of coping with powerlessness and to discover the subtle expressions of mutedness."[9]

This study also aligns with the argument that plantation slavery was far from being the only type of enslaved experience, despite how pervasive this notion is in American culture, or that urban slavery was essentially the same in nature as plantation slavery.[10] For one, housing for bondpeople in urban locales was of an entirely different form and nature than the largely ramshackle style housing for the enslaved on plantations. On the narrow urban lots of Savannah, separate living spaces for the enslaved were extensions of the "Big House" and often reflected the same exterior style. Brick walls and windows were common in many of these structures, but were relatively non-existent in rural locations. The spatial circumstances of the city also created a vastly different dynamic than what was experienced on the plantation or sprawling, rural sites of enslavement. Although enslaved and white lives were components of a subjugated, hierarchal, and oppressive system which favored the latter and was underpinned by strict notions of separateness, the theoretical physical separation which upheld this system was negated on the typical narrow urban lot of Savannah.

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[9] Barbara J. Little, *Historical Archaeology: Why the Past Matters* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), 69.

[10] Clifton Ellis & Rebecca Ginsburg, Introduction to *Slavery in the City: Architecture and Landscapes of Urban Slavery in North America* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2017), 1; Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry, Introduction to *Slavery and Freedom in Savannah*, eds. Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), 94. Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 55. Wade argued in his seminal work on urban slavery that slavery in the cities was largely the same as planation slavery or slavery in rural locales.

The archaeology of slavery in recent decades has underscored the implications of *subfloor pits*. As many as 250 of these have been excavated on eighteenth and nineteenth century plantation sites in Virginia.[11] The study of these features and the artifacts recovered suggest resistance strategies as the enslaved preserved cultural traditions and practices known to them from West Africa.[12] Although these features have not been connected to the enslaved in urban locales, the superficial appearance of the depression in the basement of the carriage house at Sorrel-Weed indicates the possibility of an urban subfloor pit. It was immediately realized that the potential of identifying this feature in an urban setting would provide a unique opportunity for study, and that the results may have revealed an urban adaption to the plantation subfloor pit.

While the presence of a feature such as a subfloor pit would be instructive in learning more about urban slavery, other archaeological features that might account for the depression are not limited to enslaved lifeways, or may have been indicative of both enslaved and non-enslaved experiences. These include trash pits, privies, wells, or root cellars.[13] Together, these features are major sources of artifacts for archeologists and help to tell much of the story of the past on excavated sites. These features have the potential to shed more light on the history of Savannah by revealing details of health, wealth, diet, consumption, as well as spatial patterning on the urban landscape. Artifacts recovered from these features can also contribute to the growing studies in urban archaeology and help better define southern urban history.

In summary, the presence of a depression in the floor and the shape and size of this anomaly point to several possibilities. Taking all of these considerations into account, this translated into the following research questions:

1. What is causing the depression in the basement floor of the carriage house?
2. If the depression is caused by enslaved human remains, what does this reveal about slavery in Savannah?
3. Is the depression remnants of a subfloor pit, indicative of early African American culture?

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[11] Patricia Samford, *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007), 5. Ebook. *EBSCOhost,* accessed March 12th, 2017.

[12] Ibid., 8-11.

[13] Ivor Noel Hume, *Historical Archaeology: A Comprehensive Guide for both Amateurs and Professionals to the Techniques and Methods of Excavating Historical Sites* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1975), 115-161.

4. Is there evidence that enslaved individuals lived and worked in the carriage house basement?
5. What do the artifacts imply about how the carriage house basement was used?
6. What do the results of the excavation imply about urban slavery and/or the lives of the slaves who lived and worked at the Sorrel-Weed home?
7. Do the artifacts recovered provide any information about the Sorrel family and their lives?

Previous Studies

No previous archaeological investigations have been undertaken at the Sorrel-Weed House, although unofficial digging led by the home's owner during the 1990s and early 2000s occurred in the basement of the main home and in other scattered areas around the property.[14] Unfortunately, none of this activity was documented or done according to archaeological method. Despite these disturbances to the site, the Sorrel-Weed staff has indicated that the basement of the carriage house has remain undisturbed.

Urban archaeological studies on other comparable sites have been conducted at other historic house museums in Savannah and in Charleston.[15] In Savannah, the Owens-Thomas, Telfair, and Davenport Houses have spearheaded archaeological studies at their sites.[16] Moreover, reinterpreting historic homes to encompass the lives of the enslaved and an overall more inclusive range of experiences is part of a broad and important movement of historical recovery in the United States.[17] Like the Owens-Thomas House, the Sorrel-Weed home has the potential to be another frontrunner in this movement and to help increase urban archaeological studies in Savannah and better awareness and understanding of urban slavery.

As for the documentary history on the Sorrel family and the history of the home, family members and other local historians have attempted to recount this history. In recent decades,

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[14] Sorrel-Weed House staff, personal communication, January 2017.

[15] The Charleston Museum has done extensive archaeological studies in Charleston. The Joseph Manigault House, the Aiken-Rhett House, and the John Rutledge House have all been subject to archeological research. See note #88 below.

[16] See Michael Trinkley, Natalie Adams, and Debi Hacker, *Archaeological Studies Associated with the Owens-Thomas Carriage House, Savannah, Georgia*, Research Series 38 (Columbia: The Chicora Foundation, 1993), 4, pdf, accessed March 26th, 2017, http://chicora.org/pdfs/RS%2038.pdf

[17] Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry, "Introduction," in *Slavery and Freedom in Savannah*, eds. Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), xx. Rex Ellis, In Jessica Foy Donnelly (Ed.)., *Interpreting Historic House Museums* (pp. 61-80). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002, p. 62.

authors have focused on the home's 'haunted' history and the fateful story previously described.[18] The only somewhat comprehensive work available on the Sorrel family is by self-published author Carla Ramsey Weeks.[19] Her 2009 book provides valuable information about the Sorrels and possible research leads, but unfortunately, Weeks's research methodology is impaired. For the most part, she does not cite her sources and includes no bibliography. As a result, her work must be approached with caution.

More recently, Tiya Miles examined the Sorrel-Weed oral tradition in 2015 through the lens of ghost tourism. While Miles keenly points up the way in which the Sorrel-Weed interpretation program obscures, sexualizes, and commodifies the enslaved female experience, her depth of concerned is undermined by her cavalier admission that she "may have missed something" in the course of her research regarding the murder-suicide-infidelity plot.

Outcomes

The outcome of this study is to increase public knowledge and awareness about urban slavery, as well as the importance of archaeology and sound research methodology in uncovering the past. This will be accomplished through the completion of an archaeological excavation and a comprehensive report. This report will be made accessible to the public through various venues, which include the following:

1) Completion of a Historical/Archaeological study that will be offered to the Minis Room at Armstrong State University and documented through a Georgia State Archaeology file.
2) Incorporation of findings from the excavation onto *Digging Savannah* blog and website.
3)

It is hoped that perhaps in the future, armed with credible knowledge about the implications and verified facts about the Sorrel-Weed House, that visitors, students, and researchers will be made more culturally aware and reflect on the Sorrel-Weed home as more than a haunted mansion. This study will also encourage more critical thinking about the historic house museums tour narratives, and about the way enslaved African American experiences are portrayed through these narratives.

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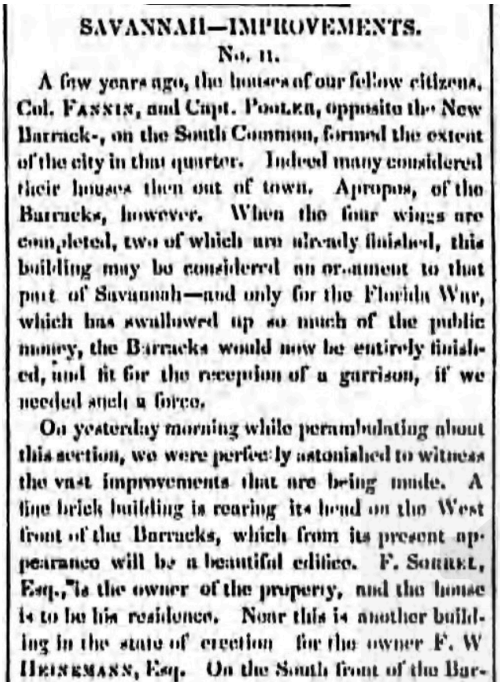
[18] See Tiya Miles, *Tales from the Haunted South: Dark Tourism and Memories of Slavery from the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015); James Caskey, *Haunted Savannah: America's Most Spectral City*, (Savannah: Manta Ray Books, 2013).

[19] Carla Ramsey Weeks, *The Sorrels of Savannah: Life on Madison Square and Beyond* (Denver: Outskirts Press, 2009).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Sorrel-Weed House was completed for wealthy shipping merchant and slave owner Francis Sorrel in c. 1837-1842 by Charles B. Cluskey.[20] The timing of the home's completion coincided with the end of a turbulent era in Savannah's history marked by natural disasters, yellow fever epidemics, and recessions. Improvements to the Savannah-Ogeechee Canal and completion of the Central of Georgia Railway eventually propelled Savannah into economic and financial prosperity and a commercial boom in the 1840s that lasted until the Civil War. [21] Cotton, rice, lumber, and other commodities were responsible for stimulating Savannah's economic resurrection, but what most underpinned the city's new boom was an economy built on agriculture and slavery.[22]

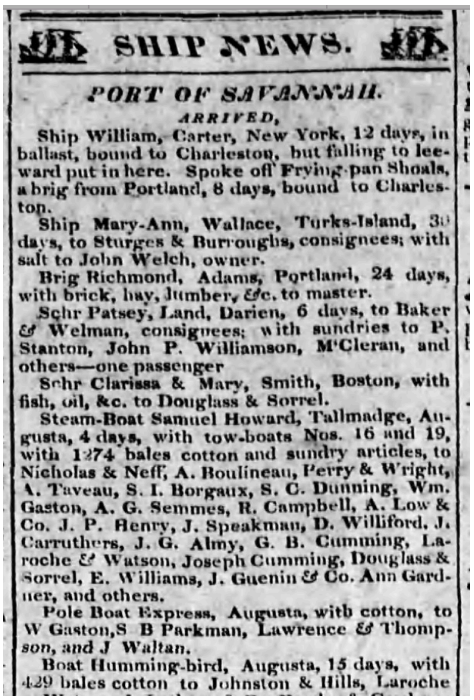


SAVANNAH—IMPROVEMENTS.
No. II.

A few years ago, the houses of our fellow citizens, Col. FANNIN, and Capt. POOLER, opposite the New Barracks, on the South Common, formed the extent of the city in that quarter. Indeed many considered their houses then out of town. Apropos, of the Barracks, however. When the four wings are completed, two of which are already finished, this building may be considered an ornament to that part of Savannah—and only for the Florida War, which has swallowed up so much of the public money, the Barracks would now be entirely finished, and fit for the reception of a garrison, if we needed such a force.

On yesterday morning while perambulating about this section, we were perfectly astonished to witness the vast improvements that are being made. A fine brick building is rearing its head on the West front of the Barracks, which from its present appearance will be a beautiful edifice. F. SORREL, Esq., is the owner of the property, and the house is to be his residence. Near this is another building in the state of erection for the owner F. W HEINEMANN, Esq. On the South front of the Bar-

Left: An improvement notice from September 28, 1839 in the *Weekly Georgian* announcing the building of Francis Sorrel's home. **Right**: Announcement in the *Daily Georgian*, January 19, 1820 of 1,274 bales of cotton arriving to Savannah for Francis Sorrel's firm and others. Photo Credit: *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO.



SHIP NEWS.

PORT OF SAVANNAH.

ARRIVED,

Ship William, Carter, New York, 12 days, in ballast, bound to Charleston, but falling to leeward put in here. Spoke off Frying-pan Shoals, a brig from Portland, 8 days, bound to Charleston.

Ship Mary-Ann, Wallace, Turks-Island, 30 days, to Sturges & Burroughs, consignees; with salt to John Welch, owner.

Brig Richmond, Adams, Portland, 24 days, with brick, hay, lumber, &c. to master.

Schr Patsey, Land, Darien, 6 days, to Baker & Welman, consignees; with sundries to P. Stanton, John P. Williamson, M'Cleran, and others—one passenger

Schr Clarissa & Mary, Smith, Boston, with fish, oil, &c. to Douglass & Sorrel.

Steam-Boat Samuel Howard, Tallmadge, Augusta, 4 days, with tow-boats Nos. 16 and 19, with 1274 bales cotton and sundry articles, to Nicholas & Neff, A. Boulineau, Perry & Wright, A. Taveau, S. I. Borgaux, S. C. Dunning, Wm. Gaston, A. G. Semmes, R. Campbell, A. Low & Co. J. P. Henry, J. Speakman, D. Williford, J. Carruthers, J. G. Almy, G. B. Cumming, Laroche & Watson, Joseph Cumming, Douglass & Sorrel, E. Williams, J. Guenin & Co. Ann Gardner, and others.

Pole Boat Express, Augusta, with cotton, to W Gaston, S B Parkman, Lawrence & Thompson, and J Waltan.

Boat Humming-bird, Augusta, 15 days, with 429 bales cotton to Johnston & Hills, Laroche

[20] John Linley, *The Georgia Catalog: Historic American Buildings Survey* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1982), 339; Roulhac Toledano, *The National Trust Guide to Savannah* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), 146. Linley and Toledano both give 1841 as the date when the home was completed, but Lane Mills in *Architecture of the Old South: Greek Revival & Romantic*, 1996, p. 103, gives the date of 1839. A notice in the *Daily Georgian* from September 1839 indicates the home was in the process of being built. Tax Digests do not account for the value of the home until 1842, so it may be that it was completed in this year.

[21] Walter J. Fraser, Jr., *Savannah in the Old South* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003), 237-241.

[22] Buddy Sullivan, "Savannah," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, October 25th, 2016. http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/savannah. Accessed February 15th, 2017.

Cotton was Savannah's primary export until the eve of the Civil War, accounting for 80 percent of the city's agricultural exports.[23] This newfound prosperity was marked by the most expansive growth in Savannah's population between 1848 and 1852, with an increase of 51 percent.[24] Savannah was at its height as a premiere international shipping port, but this less than a quarter century of affluence and prosperity was soon confronted with the realities of the system of bondage which made these success possible.



Above: African Americans picking cotton in Savannah, ca. 1880s. Photo Credit: Library of Congress.

Early Savannah

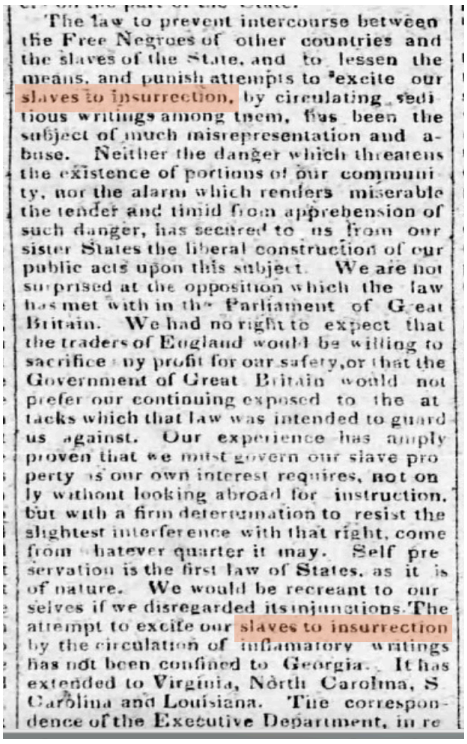
The Siege of Savannah and the Revolutionary War trampled Savannah's plantation economy and its commercial vitality, creating financial losses and hardship that were not repaired until the 1790s. In large part, these losses stemmed from the decrease in the enslaved population during the War; one-third of the enslaved individuals in Georgia escaped with the

[23] Ibid.
[24] Fraser, *Savannah*, 254.

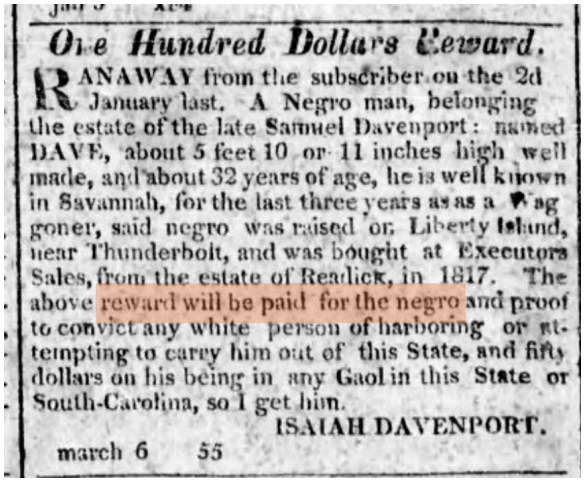
British Army, and many others fled and established maroon communities outside the city.[25] Both merchants and planters believed the solution to the social and economic chaos in the aftermath of the War rested in the resuscitation of slave labor.[26] This belief coincided with the advent of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, which was the catalyst for the diffusion of slavery and cotton throughout the Deep South.[27] As early as the end of the 1790s, plantation production was once again thriving and cotton and rice were Savannah's primary exports, accumulating $2 million annually. This recovery of enslaved-produced agricultural products was reflected in the increased populations of bondpeople. The number of enslaved individuals in Tidewater Georgia in 1790 was 13,000, more than double that of the white population of 5,847.[28] As one author has put it, by the end of the 1790s, Savannahians had become obsessed with their cotton economy.[29]

But this obsession and the prosperity it brought also came with great anxieties. The first movement in the Haitian Revolution occurred in 1791, sparking hysteria over the possibility that this would lead to local insurrections. As revolts in the Caribbean continued, authorities attempted to prevent an influx of Black, Haitian refugees into Savannah. This was not successful on a large scale, but to quell anxieties Savannah authorities instead ordered a census of all "people of color" in 1798 and required all "free people of color" to register with the city in 1799.[30] In the midst of these tensions, Savannah experienced its first great fire in 1796. This conflagration took in its wake 229 homes and created a level of social chaos that required the placement of militia in the city.[31] In 1804, when Savannah had only just recovered from this fire, one of several nineteenth century hurricanes ripped through the city causing a level of devastation that would not be seen again until a half century later.[32]

[25] Ibid., 140.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., 153.
[28] Ibid., 144.
[29] Ibid., 153.
[30] Ibid., 148, 157, 161.
[31] Ibid., 158-9.
[32] Ibid., 170-171.



The law to prevent intercourse between the Free Negroes of other countries and the slaves of the State, and to lessen the means, and punish attempts to excite our slaves to insurrection, by circulating seditious writings among them, has been the subject of much misrepresentation and abuse. Neither the danger which threatens the existence of portions of our community, nor the alarm which renders miserable the tender and timid from apprehension of such danger, has secured to us from our sister States the liberal construction of our public acts upon this subject. We are not surprised at the opposition which the law has met with in the Parliament of Great Britain. We had no right to expect that the traders of England would be willing to sacrifice any profit for our safety, or that the Government of Great Britain would not prefer our continuing exposed to the attacks which that law was intended to guard us against. Our experience has amply proven that we must govern our slave property as our own interest requires, not only without looking abroad for instruction, but with a firm determination to resist the slightest interference with that right, come from whatever quarter it may. Self preservation is the first law of States, as it is of nature. We would be recreant to ourselves if we disregarded its injunctions. The attempt to excite our slaves to insurrection by the circulation of inflamatory writings has not been confined to Georgia. It has extended to Virginia, North Carolina, S Carolina and Louisiana. The correspondence of the Executive Department, in re



One Hundred Dollars Reward.

RANAWAY from the subscriber on the 2d January last. A Negro man, belonging the estate of the late Samuel Davenport: named DAVE, about 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high well made, and about 32 years of age, he is well known in Savannah, for the last three years as as a Wagoner, said negro was raised on Liberty Island, near Thunderbolt, and was bought at Executors Sales, from the estate of Readick, in 1817. The above reward will be paid for the negro and proof to convict any white person of harboring or attempting to carry him out of this State, and fifty dollars on his being in any Gaol in this State or South-Carolina, so I get him.

ISAIAH DAVENPORT.

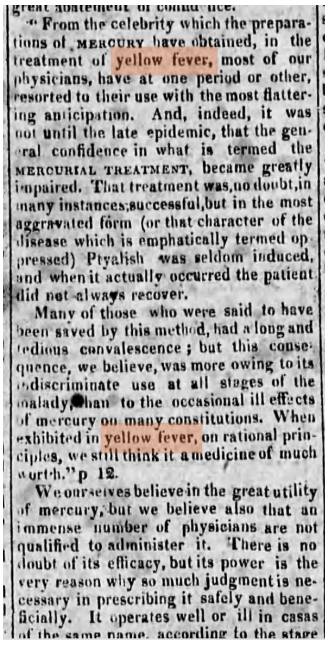
march 6 55

Left: An excerpt from the *Savannah Republican* on October 23, 1830 discussing laws against sexual intercourse between slaves and "Free Negroes" as well as fears over anti-slavery literature. **Right**: Isaiah Davenport offers a $100 reward for a runaway slaved named "Dave" in the *Savannah Daily Republican* on January 16, 1822
Photo Credit: *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO

Concerns over enslaved resistance did not dissipate in the nineteenth century. Abolitionist literature and regional rebellions such as the Denmark Vesey affair in Charleston in 1822, and Nat Turner's freedom movement in Virginia in 1831, deeply intensified the fears of Savannah slave owners.[33] As one author has described it, these freedom seeking initiatives caused a shudder of terror not just in Savannah, but throughout the Nation.[34] These anxieties were compounded by other sources of tension. In 1819, Savannah and the Nation experienced the onset of its first economic recession. Overspeculation, fueled by the availability of credit caused cotton prices of $.33 a pound to be slashed to less than half this price, and enslaved individuals who sold for $1000 were soon were priced at $600. This panic and economic downturn coincided with the most devastating fire in the city's history in 1820, and successive outbreaks of Yellow Fever. All in all, the first quarter of the nineteenth century was one of the hardest in the city's history.

[33] Fraser, *Savannah*, 203; Russell and Hines, *Savannah: A History*, 100.
[34] Russell and Hines, *Savannah: A History*, 98.

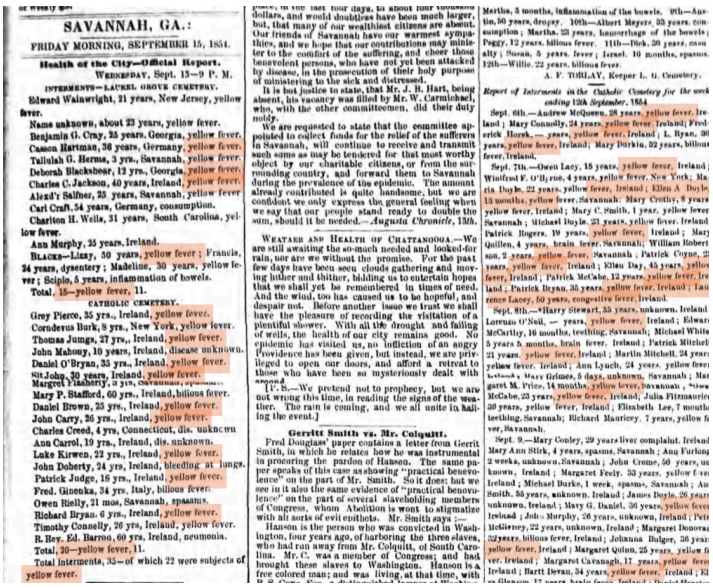
The 1820 conflagration destroyed about half of Savannah's business district, and somewhere between 400 and 500 buildings.[35] The pecuniary losses were estimated to be $5,000,000.[36] Yellow Fever hampered the city in 1817, 1818, 1819, and most profoundly in 1820, when close to 900 people died, accounting for 12 percent of the city's population.[37] All told, Yellow Fever would claim the lives of four thousand people in Savannah between 1807 and 1820.[38] Nonetheless, efforts to revive the floundering economy seemed promising during the 1820s and 1830s. The opening of rice fields, advanced cultivation technology, and the high value of rice, at its highest in the 1820s more than any other time in the antebellum period, helped to ameliorate the recession, but once again at the expense of enslaved labor.[39] By the start of the 1830s, steam-powered rice mills helped to further advance the benefits of rice agriculture.[40]



"From the celebrity which the preparations of MERCURY have obtained, in the treatment of yellow fever, most of our physicians, have at one period or other, resorted to their use with the most flattering anticipation. And, indeed, it was not until the late epidemic, that the general confidence in what is termed the MERCURIAL TREATMENT, became greatly impaired. That treatment was, no doubt, in many instances; successful, but in the most aggravated form (or that character of the disease which is emphatically termed oppressed) Ptyalish was seldom induced, and when it actually occurred the patient did not always recover.

Many of those who were said to have been saved by this method, had a long and tedious convalescence; but this consequence, we believe, was more owing to its indiscriminate use at all stages of the malady, than to the occasional ill effects of mercury on many constitutions. When exhibited in yellow fever, on rational principles, we still think it a medicine of much worth." p 12.

We ourselves believe in the great utility of mercury, but we believe also that an immense number of physicians are not qualified to administer it. There is no doubt of its efficacy, but its power is the very reason why so much judgment is necessary in prescribing it safely and beneficially. It operates well or ill in casas of the same name, according to the stage



SAVANNAH, GA.:

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 15, 1854.

Health of the City—Official Report.

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 13—9 P. M.

INTERMENTS—LAUREL GROVE CEMETERY.

Edward Wainwright, 21 years, New Jersey, yellow fever.
Name unknown, about 23 years, yellow fever.
Benjamin G. Cray, 25 years, Georgia, yellow fever.
Casson Hartman, 36 years, Germany, yellow fever.
Tallulah G. Herms, 3 yrs., Savannah, yellow fever.
Deborah Blackshear, 12 yrs., Georgia, yellow fever.
Charles C. Jackson, 40 years, Ireland, yellow fever.
Alexd'r Salfner, 25 years, Savannah, yellow fever
Carl Craft, 54 years, Germany, consumption.
Charlton H. Wells, 31 years, South Carolina, yellow fever.
Ann Murphy, 25 years, Ireland.
BLACKS—Lizzy, 50 years, yellow fever; Francis, 24 years, dysentery; Madeline, 30 years, yellow fever; Scipio, 5 years, inflammation of bowels.
Total, 15—yellow fever, 11.

CATHOLIC CEMETERY.

Grey Pierce, 35 yrs., Ireland, yellow fever.
Cornelius Burk, 8 yrs., New York, yellow fever.
Thomas Jumps, 27 yrs., Ireland, yellow fever.
John Mahony, 10 years, Ireland, disease unknown.
Daniel O'Bryan, 35 yrs., Ireland, yellow fever.
Sit John, 30 years, Ireland, yellow fever.
Margret Flaherty, 9 yrs, Savannah, spasms.
Mary P. Stafford, 60 yrs., Ireland, bilious fever.
Daniel Brown, 25 yrs., Ireland, yellow fever.
John Carry, 26 yrs., Ireland, yellow fever.
Charles Creed, 4 yrs, Connecticut, dis. unknown
Ann Carrol, 19 yrs., Ireland, dis. unknown.
Luke Kirwen, 22 yrs., Ireland, yellow fever.
John Doherty, 24 yrs, Ireland, bleeding at lungs.
Patrick Judge, 16 yrs., Ireland, yellow fever.
Fred. Gineuka, 34 yrs, Italy, bilious fever.
Owen Rielly, 21 mos, Savannah, spasams.
Richard Bryan, 6 yrs., Ireland, yellow fever.
Timothy Connelly, 26 yrs, Ireland, yellow fever.
R. Rev. Ed. Barron, 60 yrs, Ireland, neumonia.
Total, 20—yellow fever, 11.
Total interments, 35—of which 22 were subjects of yellow fever.

WEATHER AND HEALTH OF CHATTANOOGA.—We are still awaiting the so-much needed and looked-for rain, nor are we without the promise. For the past few days have been seen clouds gathering and moving hither and thither, bidding us to entertain hopes that we shall yet be remembered in times of need. And the wind, too has caused us to be hopeful, and despair not. Before another issue we trust we shall have the pleasure of recording the visitation of a plentiful shower. With all the drought and failing of wells, the health of our city remains good. No epidemic has visited us, no infliction of an angry Providence has been given, but instead, we are privileged to open our doors, and afford a retreat to those who have been so mysteriously dealt with around.

[P. S.—We pretend not to prophecy, but we are not wrong this time, in reading the signs of the weather. The rain is coming, and we all unite in hailing the event.]

Gerritt Smith vs. Mr. Colquitt.

Fred Douglass' paper contains a letter from Gerrit Smith, in which he relates how he was instrumental in procuring the pardon of Hanson. The same paper speaks of this case as showing "practical benevolence" on the part of Mr. Smith. So it does: but we see in it also the same evidence of "practical benevolence" on the part of several slaveholding members of Congress, whom Abolition is wont to stigmatize with all sorts of evil epithets. Mr. Smith says:—

Hanson is the person who was convicted in Washington, four years ago, of harboring the three slaves, who had run away from Mr. Colquitt, of South Carolina. Mr. C. was a member of Congress; and had brought these slaves to Washington. Hanson is a free colored man; and was living, at that time, with

Martha, 5 months, inflammation of the bowels. 9th—Austin, 50 years, dropsy. 10th—Albert Meyers, 33 years, consumption; Martha, 23 years, hemorrhage of the bowels; Peggy, 12 years, bilious fever. 11th—Dick, 30 years, casualty; Susan, 5 years, fever; Israel, 10 months, spasms. 12th—Willie, 22 years, bilious fever.

A. F. TORLAY, Keeper L. G. Cemetery.

Report of Interments in the Catholic Cemetery for the week ending 12th September, 1854

Sept. 6th.—Andrew McQueen, 28 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Mary Connolly, 24 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Frederick Horsk, — years, yellow fever, Ireland; L. Ryan, 30 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Mary Durkin, 22 years, bilious fever, Ireland.

Sept. 7th.—Owen Lacy, 15 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Winifred F. O'Byrne, 4 years, yellow fever, New York; Maria Doyle, 22 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Ellen A. Doyle, 13 months, yellow fever, Savannah; Mary Crothy, 8 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Mary C. Smith, 1 year, yellow fever, Savannah; Michael Doyle, 23 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Patrick Rogers, 19 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Mary Quillen, 4 years, brain fever, Savannah; William Robertson, 2 years, yellow fever, Savannah; Patrick Coyne, 2[illegible] years, yellow fever, Ireland; Ellen Day, 45 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Patrick McCabe, 12 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Patrick Bryan, 35 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Laurence Lacey, 50 years, congestive fever, Ireland.

Sept. 8th.—Harry Stewart, 55 years, unknown, Ireland; Lorenzo O'Neil, — years, yellow fever, Ireland; Edward McCarthy, 16 months, teething, Savannah; Michael White, 5 years 5 months, brain fever, Ireland; Patrick Mitchell, 21 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Martin Mitchell, 24 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Ann Lynch, 24 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Mary Grimes, 5 days, unknown, Savannah; Margaret M. Price, 14 months, yellow fever, Savannah; [illegible] McCabe, 23 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Julia Fitzmaurice, 30 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Elizabeth Lee, 7 months, teething, Savannah; Richard Mauricey, 7 years, yellow fever, Savannah.

Sept. 9.—Mary Conley, 29 years liver complaint, Ireland; Mary Ann Stirk, 4 years, spasms, Savannah; Ann Furlong, 2 weeks, unknown, Savannah; John Crome, 50 years, unknown, Ireland; Margaret Feely, 33 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Michael Burke, 1 week, spasms, Savannah; Ann Smith, 55 years, unknown, Ireland; James Doyle, 26 years, unknown, Ireland; Mary G. Daniel, 36 years, yellow fever, Ireland; John Murphy, 26 years, unknown, Ireland; Peter McGivney, 22 years, unknown, Ireland; Margaret Donovan, 32 years, bilious fever, Ireland; Johanna Bulger, 36 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Margaret Quinn, 25 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Margaret Cavanagh, 17 years, yellow fever, Ireland; Bartt Devan, 34 years, yellow fever, Ireland; [illegible]

Right: An excerpt from the *Georgian* on June 9, 1821, describing the treatment of Yellow Fever with mercury. **Left**: Notices in the *Savannah Georgian* from September 15, announcing the deaths of several people from yellow fever. Photo Credit: *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO.

Improvements in transportation in the 1830s would be both a source of hardship and economic prosperity for Savannahnians. The proliferation of steamboats greatly increased the movement of goods between Savannah and other cities in Georgia and South Carolina, and the

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[35] Sullivan, "Savannah."; E. Merton Coulter, "The Great Savannah Fire of 1820," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (1939): 2, *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40576606, accessed April 8th, 2017.

[36] Fraser, *Savannah*, 198.

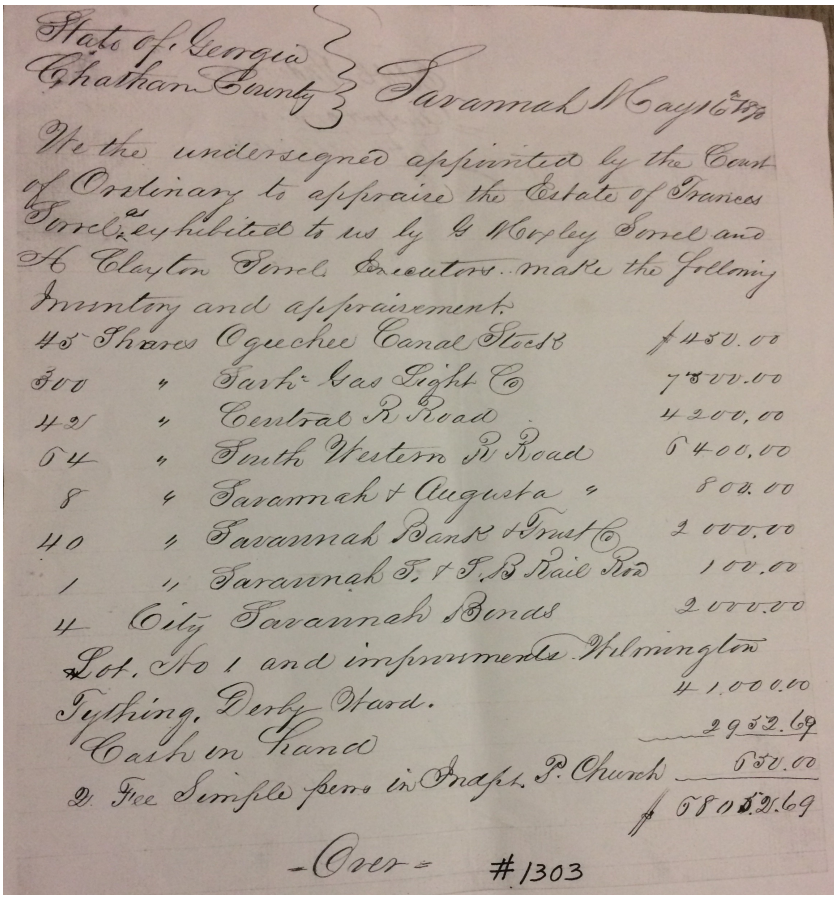
[37] Ibid., 199; 201.

[38] Ibid., 201.

[39] Ibid., 205.

[40] Ibid., 213.

construction of the Savannah-Ogeechee canal would heighten this activity. The canal was soon followed by the building of the Central of Georgia Railroad which commenced in 1835, and it seemed that Savannah was once more on its way to a thriving economy.[41] But once again, overspeculation in the railroad, canal, cotton, and bondpeople caused yet another bust; prices plummeted and banks failed, and Savannah was in the midst of another recession between 1835 and 1837. Moving into the 1840's, Savannah would eventually recover and as work on the railroad and canal finally brought these transportation systems to completion, the city became a boom town in the two decades before the Civil War.



State of Georgia
Chatham County } Savannah May 16th 70

We the undersigned appointed by the Court of Ordinary to appraise the Estate of Frances Sorrel exhibited to us by G Copley Sorrel and H Clayton Sorrel Executors make the following Inventory and appraisement.

45	Shares	Ogeechee Canal Stock	$450.00
300	"	Savh Gas Light Co	7500.00
42	"	Central R Road	4200.00
64	"	South Western R Road	6400.00
8	"	Savannah & Augusta "	800.00
40	"	Savannah Bank & Trust Co	2000.00
1	"	Savannah F. & P. R Rail Road	100.00
4	City	Savannah Bonds	2000.00
	Lot. No 1 and improvements Wilmington Fything, Derby Ward.		1000.00
	Cash in Hand		2952.69
2	Fee Simple pews in Indpt. P. Church		650.00
			$ 58052.69

-Over- #1303

Left: A List of Francis Sorrel's stockholdings at the time of his death in 1870, showing ownership in railroad and canal stock. Source: Chatham County Probate Court, Savannah, Georgia. Photo Credit: Kelly Westfield

The Experience of Slavery in Savanah

As a result of anxiety over resistance and freedom seeking, city officials continuously imposed codes and sought methods to further circumscribe the freedoms of bondpeople. Despite

[41] Ibid., 229.

this, research on urban slavery suggests that the actual practices of slaveholders in Savannah must be examined alongside these codes, as these are not what actually defined the experiences of whites and blacks in the city. Moreover, to maintain the institution that underpinned the southern way of life, slaveholders often negotiated these codes and practices.[42] What resulted, as one author has described it, was "a middle ground between slavery and freedom," that allowed enslaved individuals in Savannah more autonomy in their everyday lives. [43] Overall, bondpeople in Savannah, while hemmed in by codes restricting their daily lives, had better diet, clothing, and housing than their counterparts in the country.[44]

Codes were in place to restrict the freedom of slaves since the early colonial period, but the enforcement of these laws was not steadfast and could vary according to individual slaveholders. Nonetheless, mid-eighteenth century codes imposed several restrictions. Enslaved individuals were not allowed to assemble in large groups, own or rent property of any kind, sell or trade goods, or seek employment. It was permissible for a slave to be taught to read, as this could benefit slaveowners, but it was illegal to teach bondpeople to write.[45] In the aftermath of the Revolutionary War, enslaved artisans often disregarded laws that disallowed employment and hired themselves out, enabling them to enjoy better diets and some material luxuries.[46]

The Haitian Revolution that began in 1791 constituted one of the earliest events that pushed slaveowners to strictly enforce codes and create new ones. In 1792, amidst hysteria that the Haitian rebellion was stirring local insurrections, a curfew was enacted that made it illegal for bondpeople to be on the streets past 8:00 p.m. The curfew was signaled by the sound of the city exchange bell which tolled nightly; violation of the curfew meant the possibility of flogging or imprisonment.[47] But as one author has written, the officials enforcing this curfew often were familiar with bondpeople, and rather than stringently enforcing the code with punishment would instead encourage individuals on the street to head home.[48] While independent living was technically restricted, large numbers of the enslaved population lived in Oglethorpe Ward on the

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[42] Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry, "Slave Life in Savannah," in *Slavery and Freedom in Savannah*, eds. Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), 94.
[43] Whittington B. Johnson, *Black Savannah: 1788-1864* (Fayetteville, The University of Arkansas Press, 1996), 86.
[44] Ibid., 86.
[45] Harris and Berry, "Slave Life," 95.
[46] Fraser, *Savannah*, 144.
[47] Ibid., 148-9.
[48] Harris and Berry, "Slave Life", 97.

west side of the city, or in separate quarters on a slave owner's property such as in apartments above a carriage house.

Fears over the unrest of the enslaved population prompted by the Haitian Revolution and in the influx of Black Haitian refugees into the city continued into the nineteenth century, particularly when plots of rebellion were uncovered in Savannah. These fears were reflected in the improvements made to the city jail and the official appointments of city watchmen in 1806.[49] Whenever rumors of freedom seeking abounded and reached the ears of city officials, the militia and watchmen would be placed on high alert, as was the case in 1795 and 1804. Petty ordinances enacted in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, such as those which made it illegal for bondpeople and blacks to own dogs, smoke in public, gamble, or drink, reflect the continued preoccupation with controlling the enslaved to mitigate possible rebellion. But these ordinances, like others, were probably only intermittently enforced.[50] As one author has described, "pragmatism was the guiding principle governing implementation of slave codes."[51]

Looking outside of the framework of codes and understanding the influences of an urban setting reveals that slave systems were adaptable to the different means that slave owners employed to protect their interests and continue to become more affluent through their ownership of human beings.[52] In Savannah, the mechanisms of control were less stringent than on isolated plantations, and slaves "managed their lives instead of having others manage them."[53] Many among the enslaved population who lived away from their owners were those considered "nominal slaves," who hired out their own time and lived almost as free men and women away from white supervision.[54]

Many of the "nominally" enslaved were skilled workers such as carpenters, mechanics, and market women. Market women often rented rooms throughout the city and with the money they earned selling foodstuffs in Savannah's marketplace, many of these women bought food for their loved ones, clothing, or even sometimes their own freedom or the freedom of that of their kin.[55] Various other occupations that allowed bondpeople more autonomy were born out of

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[49] Fraser, *Savannah*, 144.
[50] Harris and Berry, "Slave Life," 95.
[51] Johnson, *Black Savannah*, 90.
[52] Ibid., 94.
[53] Ibid., 87.
[54] Ibid., 86.
[55] Alisha M. Cromwell, "Enslaved Women in the Savannah Marketplace," in in *Slavery and Freedom in Savannah*, eds. Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), 55.

Savannah's urban setting and her coastal proximity, such as boatmen, pilots, factory jobs, brickmasons, midwives, washerwomen, and many others.[56] A first-hand account of Savannah in the 1840's describes the instruction of a slave who worked as a clerk in one of the city's largest firms "who could read, write, cipher, and transact business so correctly that his masters often committed important trusts to his care."[57] Although occupations involving the selling of goods did allow bondpeople varying degrees of autonomy, white Savannahnians enacted laws to limit their success. In 1839, all blacks, free and enslaved, were required to purchase and wear badges for selling goods. This law imposed a convoluted range of fees that arbitrarily required payment for the right to sell according to occupation, gender, and residence.[58]

Generally speaking, as cotton agriculture continued to thrive, more and more enslaved individuals traveled with their owners.[59] This movement provided bondpeople with numerous advantages for socialization and the chance to rebuild networks of friends and family that many of them lost as a result of being broken up and sold. As one author has described it, many of Savannah's enslaved people "found the means to restore what the cotton revolution had so badly disrupted."[60] This movement also afforded bondpeople the ability to expand their geo-social literacy as well as share and learn information with other slaves and people they encountered. This was especially true when bondpeople travelled alone to carry out their owner's tasks.[61]

No other source in Savannah's antebellum history better illustrates the relationship between autonomy and control then black churches. The use of Christian principles by slaveowners to further their interests and reinforce the righteousness of their dominance was accomplished through worship, and in turn, African Americans churches became the foundation for the development of the black community. [62] The ideology of paternalism underpinning the system of slavery and embedded in Christianity meant that black churches exercised

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[56] Johnson, *Black Savannah*, 93.

[57] Emily Burke, *Pleasure and Pain: Reminisces of Georgia in the 1840's* (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1978), 23.

[58] Janice L. Sumler-Edmond, "Free Black Life in Savannah," in in *Slavery and Freedom in Savannah*, eds. Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), 138-9.

[59] Susan Eva O'Donovan, "At the Intersection of Cotton and Commerce," in in *Slavery and Freedom in Savannah*, eds. Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), 56.

[60] Ibid., 58.

[61] O'Donovan, "Cotton and Commerce," 64, 58.

[62] Johnson, *Black Savannah*, 6.

Box 183, through the Post Office with real name, &c. mh 9

BOY WANTED.

A LIBERAL price in cash will be paid for an active healthy Boy of about 15 years of age. Apply to P. B Pendergast, at the "New Office" Whitaker street. feb 27

WANTED TO HIRE

BY the year, two middle aged Negro Men liberal wages will be paid. Clothing and medical attendance will be furnished. Inquire this office. 225 nov 20

WANTED TO HIRE,

A FEMALE Servant, of middle age, to attend children. For one of good disposition and character, liberal wages will be paid. Apply at this office. feb 19

WANTED.

A NEGRO Man of steady habits; for whom liberal wages will be given. Apply at this Office. jan 30.

WANTED TO HIRE,

A GOOD Cook, Washer and Ironer, and a Girl to do the work about a house; for which liberal wages will be given. Enquire at this office. jan 16

WANTED TO HIRE OR PURCHASE.

A COLORED BOY, from 15 to 20 years of age, one who can be warranted for his honesty and general character. Liberal wages will be paid, or an equal price in purchase. Enquire at this office.
dec 27 256

NEGROES WANTED.

THREE prime Negro Fellows of good character and not over 25 years of age, for whom the cash will be paid, wanted for a kind master in St. Augustine, Florida. Apply at the Office of the Republican. dec 19

For Sale,

A WOMAN, about 32 years of age, a first rate seamstress and house servant, with her family:—
A Boy, about 14 years of age,
A Daughter, 12 do do
A Son 8 do do
A colored Boy 6 do do
For terms, apply to
jan 6-1m I. MINIS.

Top Left: The *Daily Savannah Republican* from March 10, 1838 lists several adds for employment for slaves. **Top Right**: I. Minis places an ad for the sale of slaves in the *Daily Georgian* on January 5, 1838. **Bottom Right**: The *Savannah Republican* printed these notices for freedom seekers on May 1, 1838.

Apprentices Wanted.

ONE or two colored boys are wanted as apprentices to the house carpenter business, apply to Michael Dillon & Co., or to
d 7-2t* NICHOLAS KESLEY.

Above: A notice in the Dec. 8, 1838 issue of the *Daily Georgian* advertised apprenticeships in carpentry for "colored boys." Photo Credit: *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO.

25 DOLLARS REWARD.

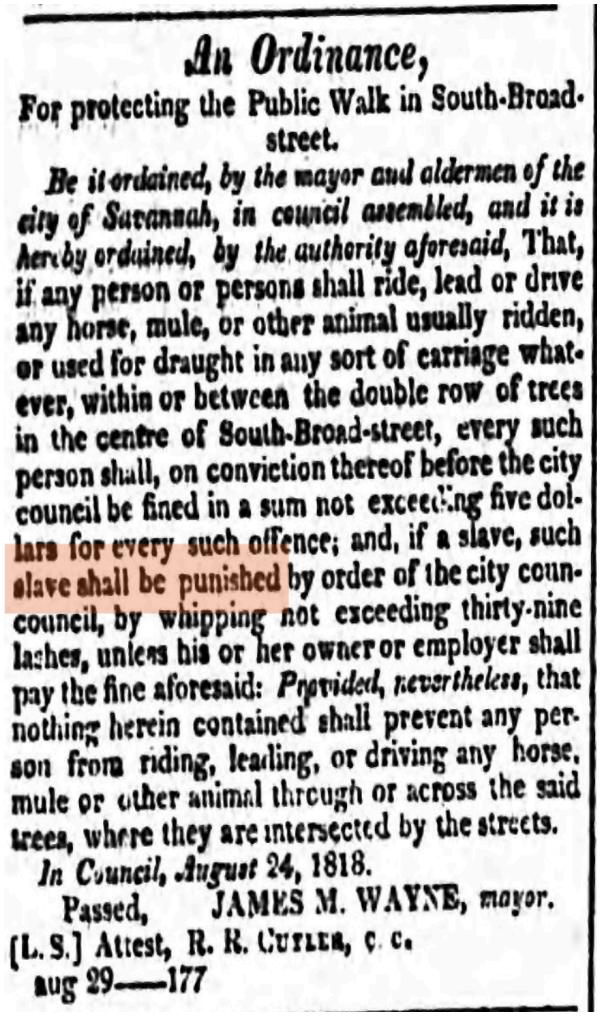


Ranaway from the subscriber in Savannah about the 20th ultimo, his negro man FLANDERS, aged about 28 years, stout built but low in statue, has lost one or two of his front teeth, has a slight blemish in one of his eyes which cannot be seen but by close examination. He is well acquainted in Savannah and with the neighboring plantations generally, having lived several years in that vicinity, and has worked out apart of the time in Savannah—he was hired the last year on the Central Rail Road. I will give twenty dollars for his apprehension and delivery in the Jail of Chatham County, or twenty-five dollars if delivered to me in Effingham.
ap 14 69t J. F. LINDER.

$100 DOLLARS REWARD.



The above reward will be paid for the apprehension and delivery in the Jail of Chatham County or any jail in this State, two Negro men, one named JILL, commonly called JIM, the named JOHN. They are well known about Savannah, having worked here several years, formerly belonged to Miss Mann, of Bryan County. Gill is about twenty two years. One hundred dollars will be given for their apprehension, or fifty dollars for either of them. WM. B. GAULDEN
mh 19 66



An Ordinance,

For protecting the Public Walk in South-Broad-street.

Be it ordained, by the mayor and aldermen of the city of Savannah, in council assembled, and it is hereby ordained, by the authority aforesaid, That, if any person or persons shall ride, lead or drive any horse, mule, or other animal usually ridden, or used for draught in any sort of carriage whatever, within or between the double row of trees in the centre of South-Broad-street, every such person shall, on conviction thereof before the city council be fined in a sum not exceeding five dollars for every such offence; and, if a slave, such slave shall be punished by order of the city council, by whipping not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, unless his or her owner or employer shall pay the fine aforesaid: *Provided, nevertheless,* that nothing herein contained shall prevent any person from riding, leading, or driving any horse, mule or other animal through or across the said trees, where they are intersected by the streets.

In Council, August 24, 1818.

Passed, JAMES M. WAYNE, *mayor.*

[L. S.] Attest, R. R. CUTLER, C. C.

aug 29——177

meticulous social control over its members and reinforced the bedrock principles that evil was punished and good rewarded.[63] Although the black churches were the lifeblood of the enslaved and black community, their existence was only made possible by slave owners and the white community, who viewed them as serving their interests. The message in these churches was one of peace and conciliation between the races.[64] Nonetheless, the church was a place that allowed free and enslaved blacks to preserve their identities and cultural practices and served as not only places of worship, but also of education, government, and recreation.[65] The degree to which white Savannahnians and slave owners were willing to utilize Christian principles to further their interests is perhaps best illustrated by biracial congregations found among the city's Episcopal and Lutheran groups. The Independent Presbyterian Church spearheaded biracial worship, allowing both black and white to attend services throughout the antebellum period. [66] The Independent Presbyterian also operated Sunday Schools for enslaved children beginning around 1826.[67]

Despite instances where meaningful friendships and affection developed over the years between owners and bondpeople, physical force was the bedrock in Savannah for maintaining the slave system and a compliant labor force.[68] The administration of corporal punishment varied according to individual slave owners. Emily Burke, a visiting New England school teacher who

[63] Fraser, *Savannah*, 150.
[64] Sumler-Edmond, "Free Black Life," 130.
[65] Fraser, *Savannah*, 150.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Johnson, *Black Savannah*, 25.
[68] Fraser, *Savannah*, 219; 151.

lived and taught at the Female Orphan Asylum in Savannah during the 1840s, witnessed and described in her memoirs several instances of the brutal side of slavery:

> I knew of one female slave while I was in Savannah, who was sent here [the city jail] and beat daily during one whole week, not for any particular crime, but because she did not happen to please her mistress. But this course of treatment so disheartened the woman, she was never afterwards of any service to her owners…her [health] had so far declined that her mistress, beginning to have some apprehensions that she was in danger of losing a valuable article of property, undertook to force medicine in her stomach…but all was to no purpose…she was determined to die.[69]

Just before the unfortunate bondwoman's death, Burke recalls her admission to one of her friends that "her mistress was very cruel to all her slaves."[70] In her description of the City Jail, Burke describes a similarly cruel situation, the plight of a runaway slave:

> I have seen the runaway slaves dragged to this place of cruelty with their hands tied behind them, attended by two or three white men, who made free use of the lash over his head and shoulders.[71]

In the case of the female mistress that Burke describes, it seems clear that it represents a particularly callous case in the treatment of bondpeople where the use of punishment was exploited. Though Burke also provides other glimpses into the lives of the enslaved that give a positive impression, she ultimately concludes the following:

> Those who have never lived in the Southern states can have but a faint conception of the evils that accrue to the master as well as slave from their peculiar institutions.[72]

Burke's recollections constitute only one of many first-hand accounts of the oftentimes exceedingly brutal treatment of the enslaved that seem to belie notions of the slave experience in

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[69] Burke, *Reminisces*, 13.
[70] Burke, *Reminisces*, 14.
[71] Ibid., 13.
[72] Ibid., 51.

Savannah as one of a more pleasant "middle ground between slavery and freedom." No matter the purposes for which punishment was used, whippings and hangings seemed for the large part to be conducted publicly. Burke recalls seeing two slaves hung in the jail yard for their crimes and others receiving lashings in the public market place prior to their imprisonment in the City Jail.[73]

The diary and memoirs of Mary Boykin Chesnut, the wife of a prominent plantation owner in South Carolina, confirms many of Burke's descriptions. It also describes another unfortunate reality of slave life that Burke does not discuss in her book: sexual encounters between female bondswomen and their owners. As she writes:

> I wonder if it be a sin to think slavery a curse to any land. Men and women are punished when their masters and mistresses are brutes, not when they do wrong. Under slavery, we live surrounded by prostitutes…God forgive us, but ours is a monstrous system, a wrong and an iniquity! Like the patriarchs of old, our men live all in one house with their wives and their concubines; and the mulattoes one sees in every family partly resemble the white children. Any lady is ready to tell you who is the father of all the mulatto children in everybody's household but her own. Those, she seems to think, drop from the clouds. My disgust is sometimes boiling over.[74]

Chesnut further laments the southern slave owner's infidelities and its hypocrisies:

> I hate slavery…What do you say to this? A magnate who runs a hideous black harem and its consequences under the same roof with his lovely white wife and his beautiful and accomplished daughters? He holds his head as high and poses as the model of all human virtues to these poor women whom God and the laws have given. From the height of his awful majesty he scolds and thunders at them, as if he never did wrong in his life.[75]

The prevalence of sexual encounters between enslaved women and slave owners in the antebellum South are legion. As one former bondwoman describes, "It was a hard job to find a merstar dat didn't have women 'mong his slaves…'Dat was a gineral thing 'mong de slave

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[73] Ibid., 14-15.

[74] Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, Centry edition C., ed. Ben Ames Williams (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, n.d.), 21-22.

[75] *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, ed. C. Vann Woodward (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 168.

owners."[76] These relationships and encounters, "ran the gamut from rape and sodomy to romance, from chance encounters to obsession, concubinage, and even marriage. They included, but were not limited to pedophilia, incest, sado-masochism, and voyeurism. It may be the case that interracial sexual relations were more prevalent in the cities of the lower south than on plantations or in rural locales.[77] In Savannah, minister John Martin decried the prevalence of these sexual encounters, lamenting that "white men live in sin with Negresses and father half-black children."[78] As one author has pointed out, Federal Slave Schedules reveal that in 1860, the number of mulattoes in the city had reached two-thousand, testifying to the high occurrence of master-slave sexual intercourse.[79]

Despite that the oral tradition of Francis Sorrel and his supposed affair with one of his bondwoman may not be verified, it is undoubtedly an example of a common occurrence in the lives of bondwomen. The same system of male dominance and patriarchy that upheld the slave system and underpinned southern society accepted these affairs as expressions of male dominance.[80] Thousands of women in the antebellum South and hundreds of thousands in the Atlantic World were subject to these either forced or consensual sexual relations with their owners.[81]

While one author underscores that many of the relationships between female bondwomen and their owners were affectionate and caring and served to lessen racial tensions,[82] it is clear from the memoirs of former enslaved women that many of these sexual encounters were coerced, and that women feared they had no other choice but to comply. Even in cases where slaves occupied positions as official mistresses or "concubines" and gave birth to many children from these unions, many of these relationships were not the choice of the slaves and likely often involved coercion at their start.[83] The experience of Louisa Picquet provides an example of this:

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[76] Brenda E. Stevenson, "What's Love Got to Do with It? Concubinage and Enslaved Women and Girls in the Antebellum South," *The Journal of African American History* 98, no. 1 (2013): 101. *JSTOR*. Accessed March 1st, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5323/jafriamerhist.98.1.0099.

[77] Ibid., 100.

[78] Fraser, *Savannah*, 164.

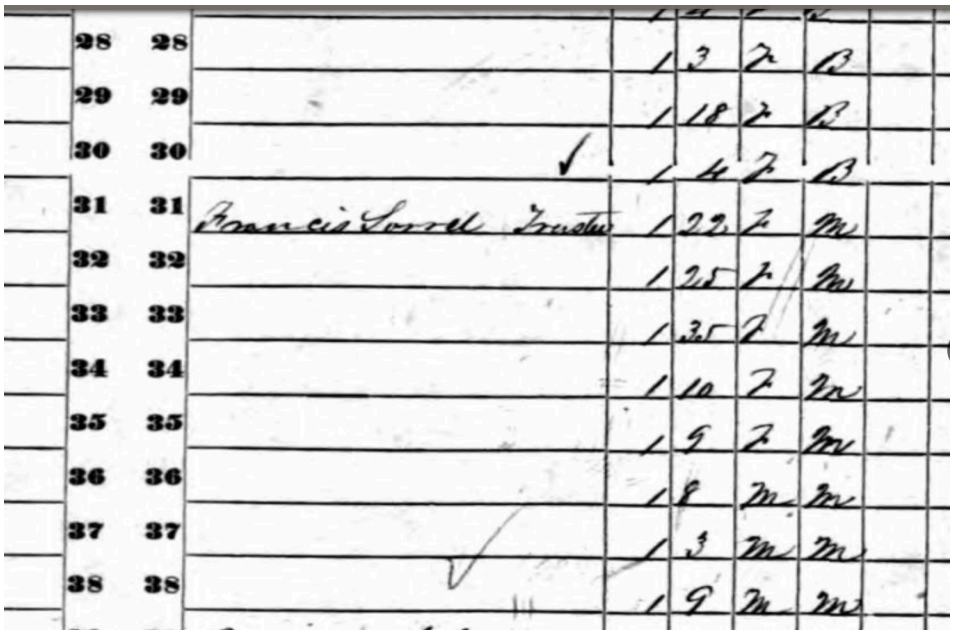
[79] Ibid., 288; The slave schedule from 1860 indicates that 11 percent of the population in the Antebellum South was Mulatto, also indicating the high occurrence of master-slave sexual intercourse; Stevenson, "What's Love," 101.

[80] Ibid., 289.

[81] Stevenson, "What's Love," 99.

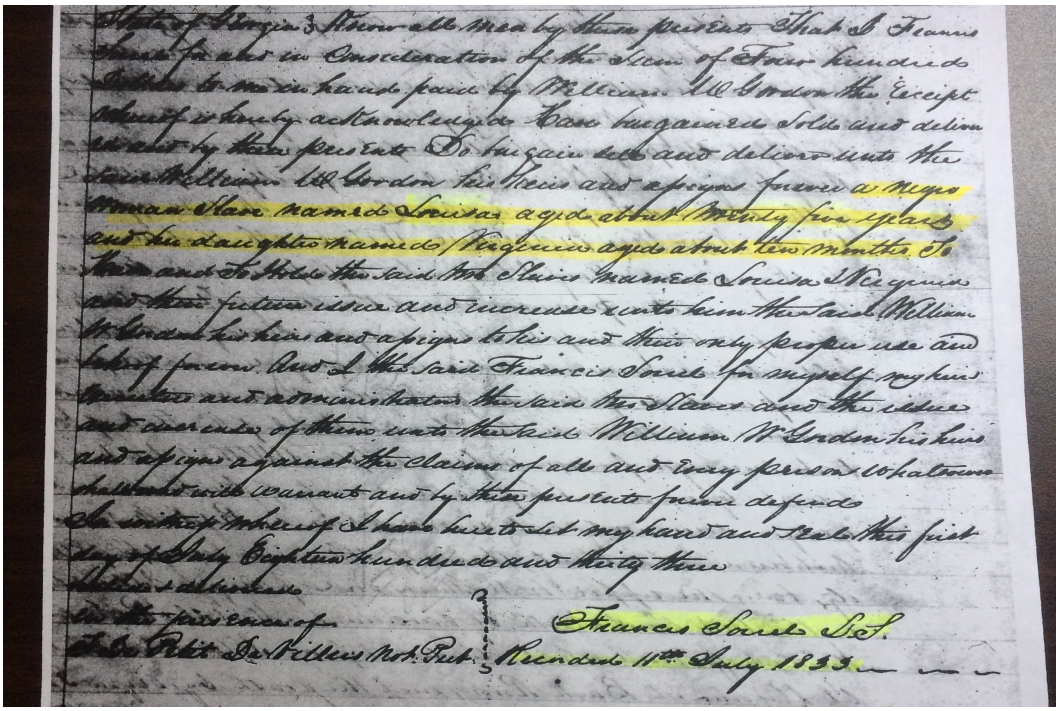
[82] Fraser, *Savannah*, 157.

[83] See Brenda E. Stevenson, "What's Love Got to Do with It? Concubinage and Enslaved Women and Girls in the Antebellum South," *The Journal of African American History* 98, no. 1 (2013): 99-125. JSTOR. Accessed



Right: A curious entry in the 1850 Slave Schedule digitized on ancestry.com lists Francis Sorrel as a Trustee of 8 "Mulatto" Slaves. He is also listed

Below: One of only two deed records found which contained transactions in the sale of slaves by Francis Sorrel. Virginia, a twenty-five-year-old "negro woman slave" and her daughter, ten-month-old Louisa, were sold to William W. Gordon on July 11, 1833 for $400. Photo Credit: Chatham County Superior Court, Deed Record 2S-22.



March 1st, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5323/jafriamerhist.98.1.0099; Harriet A. Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, *Written by Herself*, ed. Lydia Maria Francis Child, [electronic version] 2nd. ed., 2003, *Documenting the American South*, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Accessed March 1st, 2017, http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/jacobs/jacobs.html#jac49.

> Mr. Williams told me what he bought me for. He said he was getting old, and when he saw me he thought he'd buy me and end his days with me. He said if I behave myself, he'd treat me well; but if not, he'd whip me almost to death.[84]

Louisa, herself a "quadroon," or an enslaved person of one quarter African blood and three-quarters European, was born from the union of her mother, also a quadroon, as a result of a sexual relationship with her white owner, a South Carolinian plantation owner. Mr. Williams was at least thirty years Louisa's senior; she would have four children by him.[85]

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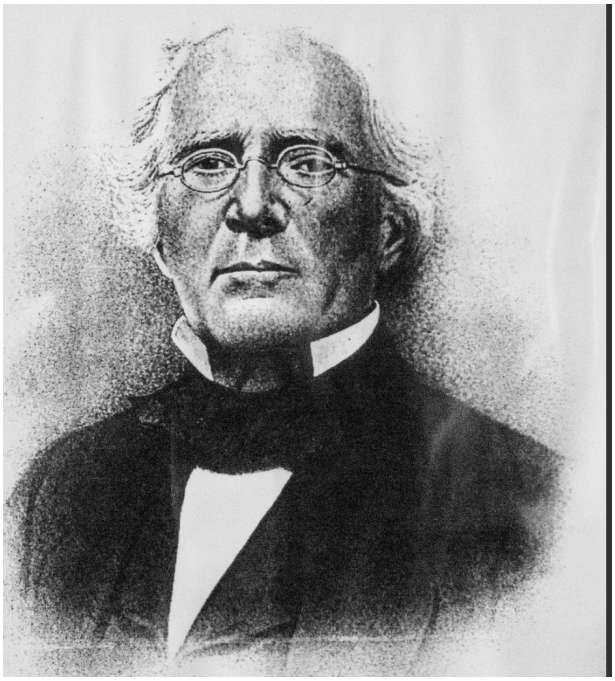
[84] Stevenson, "What's Love," 100.
[85] Ibid., 99-100.

Francis Sorrel

Francis Sorrel was born in Santo Domingo, Haiti, on May 4, 1793 to Colonel Antoine Francois Sorrel des Rivieres and his second wife, Eugenie de Sutre.[86] Of French descent, Francis's father attended France's Royal Naval Academy and became an infantry lieutenant and engineer. He was sent to Santo Domingo in the 1760s to map the colony.[87] Little is known about Francis's mother; she died only a month after his birth and records make no mention of her.[88] But family members theorize that she may have been a free person of color and that she and Colonel Sorrel may not have not married until after Francis's birth.[89] This may account for why Colonel Sorrel would leave Haiti in 1803 without his son and would never return for him or see him again.[90]



Above: Francis Sorrel in his late life. Photo Credit: Ancestry.com. This picture is also displayed in the Sorrel-Weed House.

Francis was born during a volatile and bloody period in Haiti's history; the year 1793 marked the early stages of the Haitian Revolution, and Francis's father is described as often being away on duty during this precarious time. While across the Atlantic Savannah slaveholders were feeling anxious about the effects of the rebellion in their community, the infant Francis was

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[86] *Alexander Claxton Sorrel Papers, 1860-1908*, MS-01795-Z, Folder 1, "A Short Sketch of the Life of Francis Sorrel of Savannah, Georgia, and His Family Tree, Down to the Year 1892" by Aminta Sorrel Mackall, pg. 2, *The Southern Historical Collection*, UNC Chapel Hill, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, [Scan 27 of digitized collection], http://finding-aids.lib.unc.edu/01795/#folder_1#1, accessed April 8th, 2017; For Francis Sorrel's birthdate, see also *Walter C. Hartridge, Jr. Collection*. Series 6: Architectural History 1700s-1900s. MS 1349. Box 62. Folder 1092. [Introduction to the Society for the Preservation of Savannah Landmarks Pamphlet on the Sorrel-Weed House]. p. 3. Georgia Historical Society. Savannah, GA; *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, "The Kollock Letters, 1799-1850, Part VII, ed. Edith Duncan Johnston, in vol. 32, no. 1 (1948): 39; Laurel Grove Cemetery Interment Report, City of Savannah Research and Municipal Archives, Collection # 5600CL-90, vol. 3.; John Gordon Freymann, *The Sorrel Family in Saint-Domingue (Haiti), 1763-1813, Revised Edition*, Kay Kole Genealogy Room, Bull Street Public Library, Savannah, Georgia.

[87] John Gordon Freymann, *The Sorrel Family in Saint-Domingue (Haiti), 1763-1813*, Revised Edition, p. 4, Kay Kole Genealogy Room, Bull Street Public Library, Savannah, Georgia.

[88] Ibid., 43.

[89] Freymann, 40-50; Francis was separated from his father as a child during the Haitian Revolution and would never see him again. His father left Haiti in 1803 never to return, leaving Francis behind. Family members recall Francis's unwillingness to speak about his father and the unwillingness of Francis's father to acknowledge his son and former wife once he escaped to and was living in Louisiana.

[90] *Sorrel Papers*, "A Short Sketch," pg. 2, scan 27.

often at the forefront of these events. As the owner of a sugar cane plantation called Miragoane, the French Colonel Sorrel and his young son would have been targets of the natives' hostilities. As his daughter Aminta would describe of her father's recollections, Francis witnessed "little children torn asunder and cut into pieces."[91] Sometime in 1798, while the Colonel was away, the five-year-old Francis himself was nearly murdered. He would later credit one of his "nurses" with saving his life, by hiding him and later taking him to Port au Prince and placing him in the care of relatives.[92] As a young teenager, Francis would return to Miragoane and find his former home burned to the ground.[93]

His father having left Haiti in 1803 never to return and finding himself "absolutely without means," Francis Sorrel began working as a clerk in the counting house of a merchant firm in Port au Prince perhaps as early as 1807 or sooner.[94] Records of the firm indicate Francis as the "chief clerk" as early in 1811, and by 1812, nineteen-year-old Francis was transferred to a branch of the business in Baltimore.[95] Immigration records place him in Baltimore in October of 1818, where he declares his initial arrival through Newport, Rhode Island in 1812 and his intent to reside in Georgia.[96] Between 1812 and 1818, Francis proved to be a successful clerk at his new position in Maryland, and his aptitude seems to have paid off. About a year before the Great Financial Panic of 1819, Francis would partner with Henry Douglass, his supervisor in the Baltimore office, and bring their business to Savannah.[97] The firm Douglass and Sorrel advertised the sale of whiskey, butter, corn, and flour in the *Savannah Daily Republican* as early as December of 1818.[98] In 1819, Douglas and Sorrel are listed as shippers in the outward bound slave manifests.

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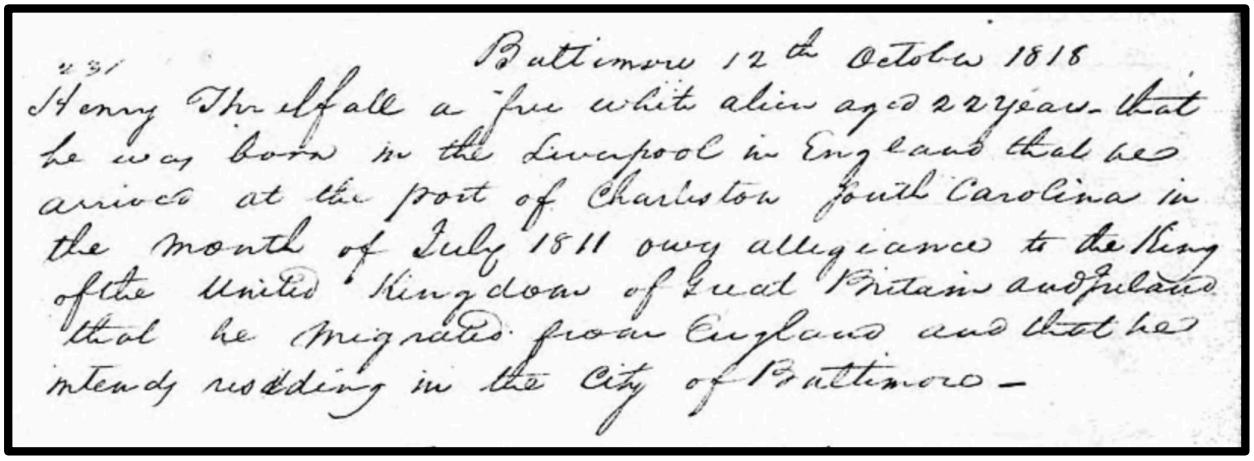
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Freymann, 34.
[96] National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Naturalization records*; NAI Number: *654310*; Record Group Title: *Petitions for Naturalization, 1903 - 1972*; Record Group Number: *RG 21*, ancestry.com, *Maryland, Federal Naturalization Records, 1795-1931,* [online database]. Accessed April 9, 2017.
[97] Freymann, 37.
[98] *Sorrel Papers*, "A Short Sketch," pg. 2, scan 28; In her "Short Sketch," Francis's daughter Aminta indicates that her father was the head of the Savannah branch, although newspaper advertisements indicate a co-partnership of "Douglas & Sorrel." It may have been the case that Francis was more of the figurehead for the company, and that Henry Douglass exercised remote control and partnership from Baltimore. The advertisement of these foodstuffs are from the *Savannah Daily Republican*, December 14th, 1818, pg. 1, col. 2, "Whiskey & Butter," and "White Flint Corn---Afloat," *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, *GALILEO*, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:svr1818-0405, accessed April 8th, 2017.


Baltimore 12th October 1818
Henry Threlfall a free white alien aged 22 years. that he was born in the Liverpool in England that he arrived at the port of Charleston South Carolina in the month of July 1811 owes allegiance to the King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland that he migrates from England and that he intends residing in the City of Baltimore –

Above: Francis Sorrel's Immigration record, from Baltimore, Maryland, 1818. Photo credit: Ancestry.com

The vessel *Morris* contained slaves bound for Baltimore sent by Francis and his partner.[99] This is the only record of the shipment of slaves while Francis and Henry were partners, but Francis would independently transport bondpeople by sea on several subsequent occasions.

Just two years after moving to Savannah and establishing himself as a merchant, twenty-seven-year-old Francis witnessed the most devastating fire in the city's history in January of 1820. While merchants such as Andrew Low and Joseph Habersham sustained damages to their stores and had to temporarily sell their goods in other buildings, Francis and his business partner seemed to escape the devastation, despite that it destroyed nearly half of Savannah's business district.[100] Less than a month after the fire in February 1820, Douglass and Sorrel advertised the sale of Turks Island salt, Muscavado Sugar, molasses, and rum while others posted notices about lost goods and burned buildings.[101] Seemingly undeterred by the fire's destruction, Francis and his partner's business seemed to only flourish.

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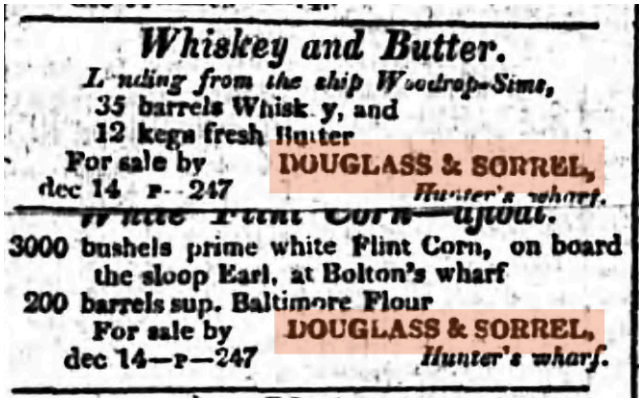
[99] *Papers of the American Slave Trade*, Part I: Port of Savannah Slave Manifests, 1790-1860, Series D: Records of the U.S. Customhouses, ed. Robert E. Lester, Bethesda: LexisNexis, 2005), 91, pdf, http://cisupa.proquest.com/ksc_assets/catalog/100539.pdf.

[100] *Daily Georgian* on February 5, 1820 contains advertisements by Andrew Low & Co. Joseph C. Habersham, and other merchants informing readers of the damage done to their stores by the fire and their relocation of merchandise to new locations. *Daily Georgian*, February 5, 1820, vol. II., pg. 1, *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1820-0041. The destruction caused by the fire is discussed by Sullivan, "Savannah," and Coulter, "Savannah Fire," 2.

[101] *Daily Georgian*, February 7, 1820, pg. 3, col. 4, "Turks Island Salt---Afloat," *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1820-0047.

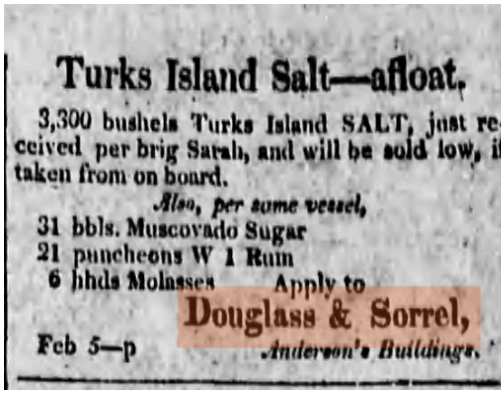


Whiskey and Butter.

Landing from the ship Woodrop-Sims,
35 barrels Whisk y, and
12 kegs fresh Butter
For sale by **DOUGLASS & SORREL,**
dec 14 r-- 247 *Hunter's wharf.*

White Flint Corn—afloat.

3000 bushels prime white Flint Corn, on board the sloop Earl, at Bolton's wharf
200 barrels sup. Baltimore Flour
For sale by **DOUGLASS & SORREL,**
dec 14—r—247 *Hunter's wharf.*

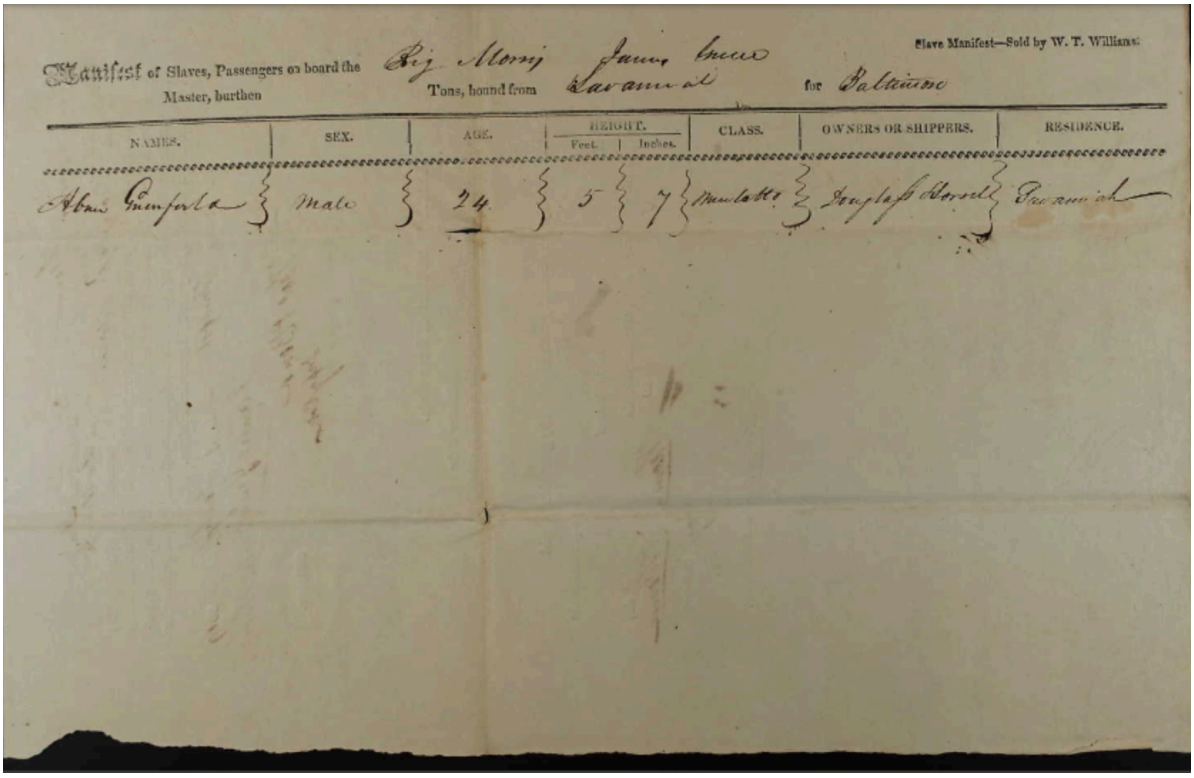


Turks Island Salt—afloat.

3,300 bushels Turks Island SALT, just received per brig Sarah, and will be sold low, if taken from on board.

Also, per same vessel,
31 bbls. Muscovado Sugar
21 puncheons W I Rum
6 hhds Molasses Apply to
Douglass & Sorrel,
Feb 5—p *Anderson's Buildings.*

Above Left: One of the earliest advertisements of goods by Henry Douglass and Francis Sorrel, posted in the *Savannah Daily Republican* on December 15, 1818. **Above Right**: Only a month after the worst fire in Savannah's history, Francis and his business partner advertised the sale of goods in the *Savannah Daily Republican* on February 7, 1820. **Below**: The only record of a bondperson shipped by the firm Douglass and Sorrel: A man named "Abner Gwenferla", aged twenty-four, described as Mulatto, sent on the ship *Morris* from Savannah to Baltimore. It seems that the slave's name was later changed to Allen Greenfield. Newspaper Photo credits: *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO, & ancestry.com.



Slave Manifest—Sold by W. T. Williams.

Manifest of Slaves, Passengers on board the Brig Morris Master, burthen Tons, bound from Savannah for Baltimore

NAMES.	SEX.	AGE.	HEIGHT. Feet.	Inches.	CLASS.	OWNERS OR SHIPPERS.	RESIDENCE.
Abner Gwenferla	Male	24	5	7	Mulatto	Douglass & Sorrell	Savannah

Like so many of their contemporaries and fellow merchants, the firm profited from slave labor and agricultural staples. On January 19, the steamboat *Samuel Howard* brought to port 1,274 bales of cotton and other goods from Augusta for Douglass and Sorrel and other merchants in the city.[102] On February 7, the men received another shipment of 1,185 bales of cotton and 40 hogsheads of tobacco.[103] By 1821, Douglass and Sorrel appear to have diversified their commodities. On January 23, the firm advertised passage on board the cargo carrying vessels *Meridian*, *Major Croghan*, and *Intelligence*, bound for Liverpool, Port au Prince, and New Orleans, respectively.[104] In June, the firm advertised the sale of 100 tierces of rice, 50 hogsheads of New Orleans sugar, 16 shares of U.S. Bank stock, and various other goods, including whiskey, gin, madeira wine, rum, tea, and glass.[105]

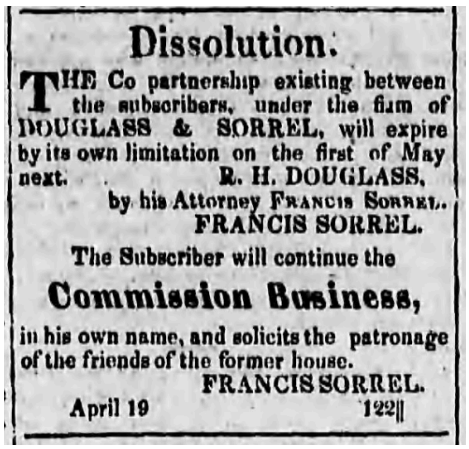


Above: A picture of Lucinda Ireland Moxley at an unknown date. This picture is displayed in the Sorrel-Weed House.

While the 1820s in Savannah was for many characterized by financial ruin, for Francis it was marked by personal and financial gains. On September 5, 1822, twenty-nine-year-old Francis married seventeen-year-old Lucinda Ireland Moxley, the niece of his partner Henry Douglass. Lucinda came from a wealthy, slaveholding family in Virginia who owned vast tracts of land in Westmoreland and Prince William counties, no doubt making Francis Sorrel's wealth

[102] *Daily Georgian*, January 19, 1820, pg. 3, col. 3, "Ship News, Port of Savannah," *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1820-0011.
[103] *Daily Georgian*, February 7, 1820, pg. 3, col. 2, "Ship News, Port of Savannah," *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1820-0047.
[104] *Daily Georgian*, January 23, 1821, pg. 3, col. 1,3, *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1821-0055.
[105] *Georgian*, June 11, 1821, pg. 3, col. 2, 3, *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1821-0411.

more robust.[106] Two years later in 1824, Francis was naturalized in Savannah's Superior Court on July 24.[107] In 1825, he ended his partnership with his wife's uncle, apparently on good terms, and began operating independently. A notice of dissolution appeared in the April 21 issue of the *Savannah Georgian*, declaring that the firm Douglass and Sorrel "will expire by its own limitation," and even names Francis as Henry's attorney in the transaction.[108]



Dissolution.

THE Co partnership existing between the subscribers, under the firm of DOUGLASS & SORREL, will expire by its own limitation on the first of May next.

R. H. DOUGLASS,
by his Attorney FRANCIS SORREL.
FRANCIS SORREL.

The Subscriber will continue the

Commission Business,

in his own name, and solicits the patronage of the friends of the former house.

FRANCIS SORREL.

April 19 122‖

Above: A notice in the Savannah Georgian on April 21, 1825 indicating the end to Francis Sorrel's partnership in the firm Douglass and Sorrel. Photo Credit: *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO

In 1826, Francis appears for the first time as a slaveowner in tax records and makes his first lot purchase. The tax digest from 1826 indicates he was taxed on the ownership of 3 bondpeople and on July 3, 1826, Francis sent one of them, a woman named Nancy, 40 years old, described as "black", to New York City on board the ship *Statira*.[109] His first lot purchase, the eastern half of lot number 10 in Derby Ward, was located at the corner of Broughton and Drayton streets.[110] In the what would eventually become several lot purchases throughout the city, Francis paid John Gardner, a baker, and his wife Ann, $1000 in 1826, another $2500 in 1829, and $4500 in 1835 for what appears to be the final payment for the eastern half of the lot and all of its improvements.[111]

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[106] Freymann, 37; *Sorrel Papers*, "A Short Sketch," pg. 3, scan 29.

[107] Research Library & Municipal Archives City of Savannah, Georgia; Savannah, Georgia; Series Title: *Superior Court, Naturalization Indexes, 1792-1908*; Record Series Number: *5600CC-020*; Film Number: *183847, Ancestry.com. Savannah, Georgia, Naturalization Records, 1790-1910 [database on-line],* accessed April 10, 2017.

[108] *Savannah Georgian*, April 21, 1825, pg. 3, col. 2, *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1825-0303.

[109] *Papers of the Slave Trade*, 103; National Archives and Records Administration - Southeast Region (Atlanta) (NRCAA), Morrow, GA; *Coastwise Slave Manifests, 1801 - 1860*; Record Group: *36, Records of the U.S. Customs Service*; ARC Identifier: *1151775,* Ancestry.com. *U.S., Southeast Coastwise Inward and Outward Slave Manifests, 1790-1860* [database on-line], accessed April 9, 2017. The records contained in the *Papers* do not contain the names of any slaves, but do provide owners names, ship names, and port names. These were used to search the records of slave manifests digitized on Ancestry.com. which contained the original manifest papers with names.

[110] Research Library and Municipal Archives; Savannah, Georgia; Film Number: *194059*; Title: *Tax Digests, 1826-1832*, Ancestry.com. *Savannah, Georgia, Land Tax and Property Records, 1809-1938* [database on-line], accessed April 10, 2017.

[111] CCSC, Deed Book: 2N-555; CCSC, Deed Book: 2P-189; CCSC Deed Book: 2T-255.

Now a citizen, married, and a business owner, Francis Sorrel acquired increasing wealth and landholdings in the decades leading up to the Civil War. Between 1826 and 1856, in addition to the lot in Derby, he purchased lots in Jasper, Brown, and Pulaski Wards.[112] On April 4, 1837, Francis purchased lots 6 and 7 from the city, and no later than 1839, Charles B. Cluskey was in the process of building his Greek Revival home at these lots, which fronted Madison Square, and was valued at $8,000 upon its completion.[113] However, one of the most interesting purchases made by Francis was of the vessel the *William Gaston* in 1838 from John W. Long for $10,000. He seems to have made an additional payment to Mr. Long of $3,000 in 1844.[114] The *William Gaston* appears in the slave manifests extensively between 1839 and 1860, making no less than 90 trips to ports in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida.[115] If this is indeed the same vessel owned by Francis Sorrel, he was heavily transporting bondpeople and profiting as a result.

Records from 1844 show other interesting property ownership and may provide leads for interpreting recovered artifacts. The 1844 tax digest shows Francis owning land and improvements in Effingham county totaling $700, a Wharf on Hutchinson Island totaling $2,000, and 320 acres of land obtained through the Cherokee Land Lottery.[116] This property is again accounted for in the 1845 tax records, and in the same year, his holdings in Derby, Brown, and Jasper wards total $12,000. By far Francis's most valuable purchase was lot 1 in Derby Ward, located on the corner of Bay and Broughton streets. Deed records indicate the official purchase of the lot and its improvements was for $30,100 in 1856.[117] On June 25th, 1844, Francis put most of his estate into trust.[118] At this time, his valuables included the following:

6 dozen silver forks and spoons
1 silver ladle and fish knife

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[112]For deed records relating to these lots and the buying and selling of other property by Francis Sorrel see the following deed book records for grantee/grantor "Francis Sorrel" at the Chatham County Superior Court House: 3B: 498, 2W: 80, 3C: 107, 2N: 555, 3B: 462, 3A: 547, 3H: 268, 3E-59, 3P: 355, 3B: 401, 2T-255, 2P: 189, 3D: 383, 3B: 441, 2S: 22, 2O: 398.

[113] Research Library and Municipal Archives; Savannah, Georgia; Film Number: *194059*; Title: *Tax Digests, 1826-1832*, Ancestry.com. *Savannah, Georgia, Land Tax and Property Records, 1809-1938* [database on-line], accessed April 10, 2017. An excerpt from the *Weekly Georgian* from September 28, 1839 indicates that Francis Sorrel's house was in the process of being built. See pg. 3, col. 2.

[114] CCSC, Deed Book 2W:80; CCSC Deed Book 3B: 496.

[115] The *Papers of the Slave Trade* indicates the ship *William Gaston* making no less than 90 shipments to ports in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida. See the 'Ship' column on pages 21-73.

[116] Research Library and Municipal Archives; Savannah, Georgia; Film Number: *194059*; Title: *Tax Digests, 1826-1832*, Ancestry.com. *Savannah, Georgia, Land Tax and Property Records, 1809-1938* [database on-line], accessed April 10, 2017.

[117] CCSC, Deed Book 3P: 355.

[118] CCSC, Deed Book 3B:441

1 silver teapot
4 dozen tea and dessert spoons
1 silver coffee pot
I silver pitcher
1 large felt dining table
2 mahogany dining tables
3 mahogany toilets
4 mahogany wardrobes
3 mahogany and marble washstands
3 mahogany bedsteads
8 beds
2 sofas
4 couches
2 dozen mahogany chairs
4 Brussels carpets
3 arms chairs
1 hearth table 4 lamps kitchen dishes and furniture

In 1837, the year Francis purchased his lots in Jasper Ward and likely began preparations for the building of his home, advertisements show he was selling a wide array of goods. On June 13 in the *Georgian*, Francis advertised the sale of 4000 bushels of corn, 106 bags of green Cuban coffee, 400 barrels of flour, 20,000 lbs of bacon and ham, and various other sundries, like rum, gin, brandy, tobacco, butter, and lard. In 1838, the same year Francis Sorrel joined with merchant John C. Ferrill to become Francis and Co., there are 11 separate ads for goods in the March 24 issue of the *Daily Georgian*.[119] Francis and Co. advertised the sale of various liquors, corn, oats, molasses, figs, ham, corn, tobacco, flour, and other staples.[120]

After five years of marriage in 1827, Francis's wife Lucinda died after contracting yellow fever on November 12th, 1827.[121] Two years later, Francis married his wife's sister, Matilda Aminta Douglass Moxley.[122] All told, Francis would have eleven children with his two wives, although three of them would die before reaching adulthood. Rodolphine, the second daughter of Francis and Matilda, was born in 1832 and died two years later. Their third child together,

[119] The "copartnership" of Francis and Mr. Ferrill is announced in the January 12, 1838 issue of the *Daily Georgian*. See pg. 1 col. 6; http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1838-0021; *Daily Georgian*, March 24, 1838, pg. 1, *Digital Library of Georgia*, Georgia Historic Newspapers, *GALILEO*, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:sga1838-0139.

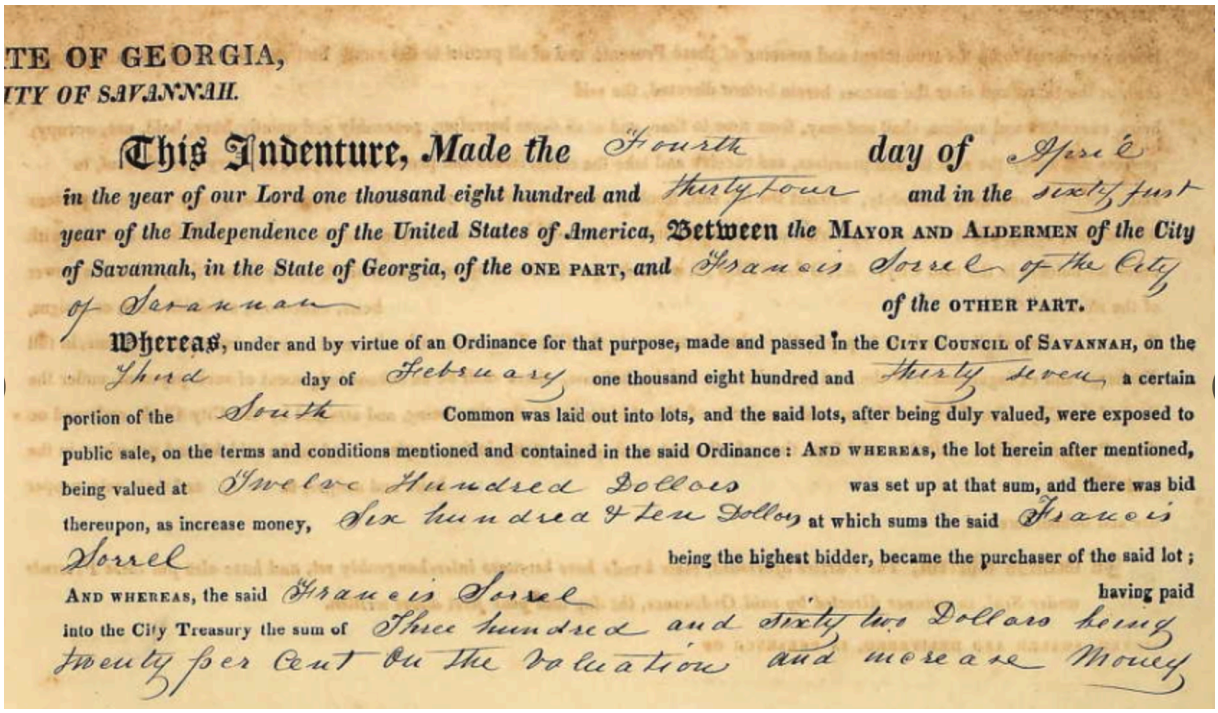
[120] Ibid.

[121] *Sorrel Papers*, "A Short Sketch," pg. 5, scan 30.

[122] Ibid.

Anderson, born in 1834, would also die when still an infant. Matilda Ann, the fourth child of Francis and Matilda, born in 1844, died at age 6.[123]

Francis certainly profited from slave labor, through his sale and shipping of cotton and from his own ownership of slaves. His purchase of the ship *William Gaston* in 1838 and its extensive use in the transport of cargo and enslaved people may point to another lucrative means



TE OF GEORGIA,
ITY OF SAVANNAH.

This Indenture, Made the Fourth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty four and in the sixty first year of the Independence of the United States of America, Between the MAYOR AND ALDERMEN of the City of Savannah, in the State of Georgia, of the ONE PART, and Francis Sorrel of the City of Savannah of the OTHER PART.

Whereas, under and by virtue of an Ordinance for that purpose, made and passed in the CITY COUNCIL of SAVANNAH, on the Third day of February one thousand eight hundred and thirty seven a certain portion of the South Common was laid out into lots, and the said lots, after being duly valued, were exposed to public sale, on the terms and conditions mentioned and contained in the said Ordinance: AND WHEREAS, the lot herein after mentioned, being valued at Twelve Hundred Dollars was set up at that sum, and there was bid thereupon, as increase money, Six hundred & ten Dollars at which sums the said Francis Sorrel being the highest bidder, became the purchaser of the said lot; AND WHEREAS, the said Francis Sorrel having paid into the City Treasury the sum of Three hundred and sixty two Dollars being twenty per cent on the valuation and increase Money

Above: Original Title to Lot 6, purchased by Francis Sorrel in February of 1837. Francis Sorrel won the lot in a public auction bidding $1,810, Two years later, Charles B. Cluskey was building his house on this lot, positioned on Madison Square. Photo: Ancestry.com. this Original document is available at the Georgia Historical Society, in the *A.J. Cohen Collection on the Sorrel-Weed House*, MS 1197.

by which Francis acquired wealth through slavery. But while Francis does appear in the slave manifests, the records do not show that he used the *William Gaston* to transport bondpeople. What is known is that during his lifetime, he owned as few as 3 and as many as 11 bondpeople within a given year. In the 18 years that he appears in the tax digests, the average number of enslaved individuals he owned per year was 6.[124] While this number pales in comparison to the

[123] Ibid.

[124] Research Library and Municipal Archives; Savannah, Georgia; Film Number: *194059*; Title: *Tax Digests, 1826-1832*, Ancestry.com. *Savannah, Georgia, Land Tax and Property Records, 1809-1938* [database on-line], accessed April 10, 2017.

extensive holdings of plantation owners, it was probably average for a city dweller of Francis's socioeconomic standing.

Besides the tax records, deeds from the nineteenth century indicate that Francis sold bondpeople in Savannah on two occasions: in 1827 and in 1833. In 1827, Francis sold "a negro slave girl" named Minda to R.W. Stiles for $300 on October 17, less than a month before the death of his first wife.[125] In the same year sometime between June and December, slave ship manifests show that a man named Allen Greenfield was sent by Sorrel to Baltimore from Savannah, on board the ship *Hannah Bartlett*. The manifest described Allen as being "yellow" in complexion and 28 years old.[126] The second and seemingly last occasion when Francis sold bondpeople in Savannah was to William W. Gordon on July 11, 1833. A woman named Louisa, aged 25 years old, and her daughter, Virginia, aged 10 months old, were sold to Gordon for $400.[127] Although it does not indicate what race the mother and child were, it is curious that Francis would sell a young woman and her infant child when he owned other infants and enslaved women of Louisa's age.

In the case of Allen Greenfield and many other bondpeople who appear in the slave ship manifests, it is not always clear when someone is a shipper or an owner; the case of Francis Sorrel is no exception. The column on the slave manifests does not always differentiate between owners and shippers. The distinction is only sometimes made in writing next to a person's name. In the case of Allen Greenfield, there is no record indicating that he ever returned to Savannah under Francis Sorrel's ownership. However, there are several other manifests showing Greenfield's movement between Savannah and Baltimore under the ownership of Henry Douglass, Francis's business partner.[128] The sole shipment made by Douglass and Sorrel in 1819 while the men were partners indicates an enslaved man matching Allen's description and age, sent from Savannah to Baltimore. But instead of the name Allen Greenfield, the name "Abner Guenferld" is given, likely a misspelling that refers instead to Allen Greenfield.[129]

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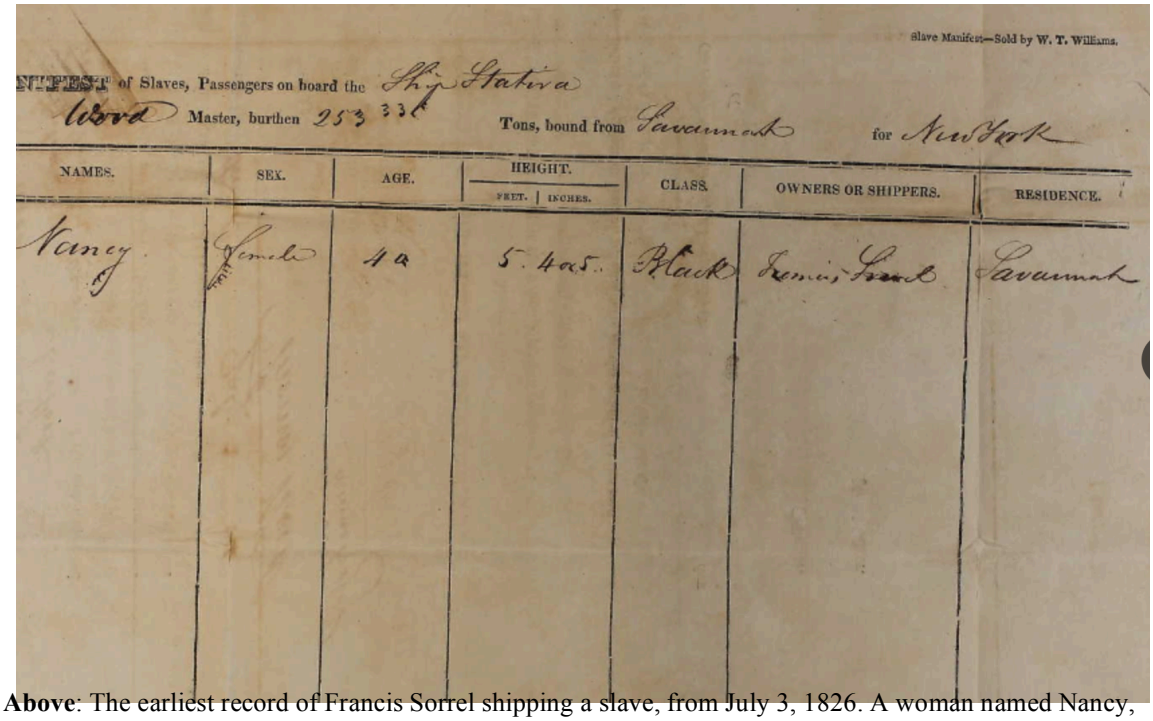
[125] CCSC, Deed Book 2O: 398.

[126] *Papers of the Slave Trade*, 104; *Savannah, Georgia: Coastwise Slave Manifests, 1801-1860*. ARC ID: 1151775, U.S. Customs Service, Record Group Number 36. The National Archives at Atlanta. Atlanta, Georgia. U.S.A., Ancestry.com. *U.S., Southeast Coastwise Inward and Outward Slave Manifests, 1790-1860* [database on-line], accessed April 11, 2017.

[127] CCSC, Deed Book 2S: 22.

[128] *Coastwise Slave Manifests, 1801-1860*, Ancestry.com. accessed April 11, 2017.

[129] *Papers of the Slave Trade*, 90; *Coastwise Slave Manifests, 1801-1860*, Ancestry.com. accessed April 11, 2017.



Slave Manifest—Sold by W. T. Williams.

NIFEST of Slaves, Passengers on board the Ship Statira
Ward Master, burthen 253 336 Tons, bound from Savannah for New York

NAMES.	SEX.	AGE.	HEIGHT. FEET. | INCHES.	CLASS.	OWNERS OR SHIPPERS.	RESIDENCE.
Nancy	Female	40	5. 4 a 5.	Black	Francis Sorrel	Savannah

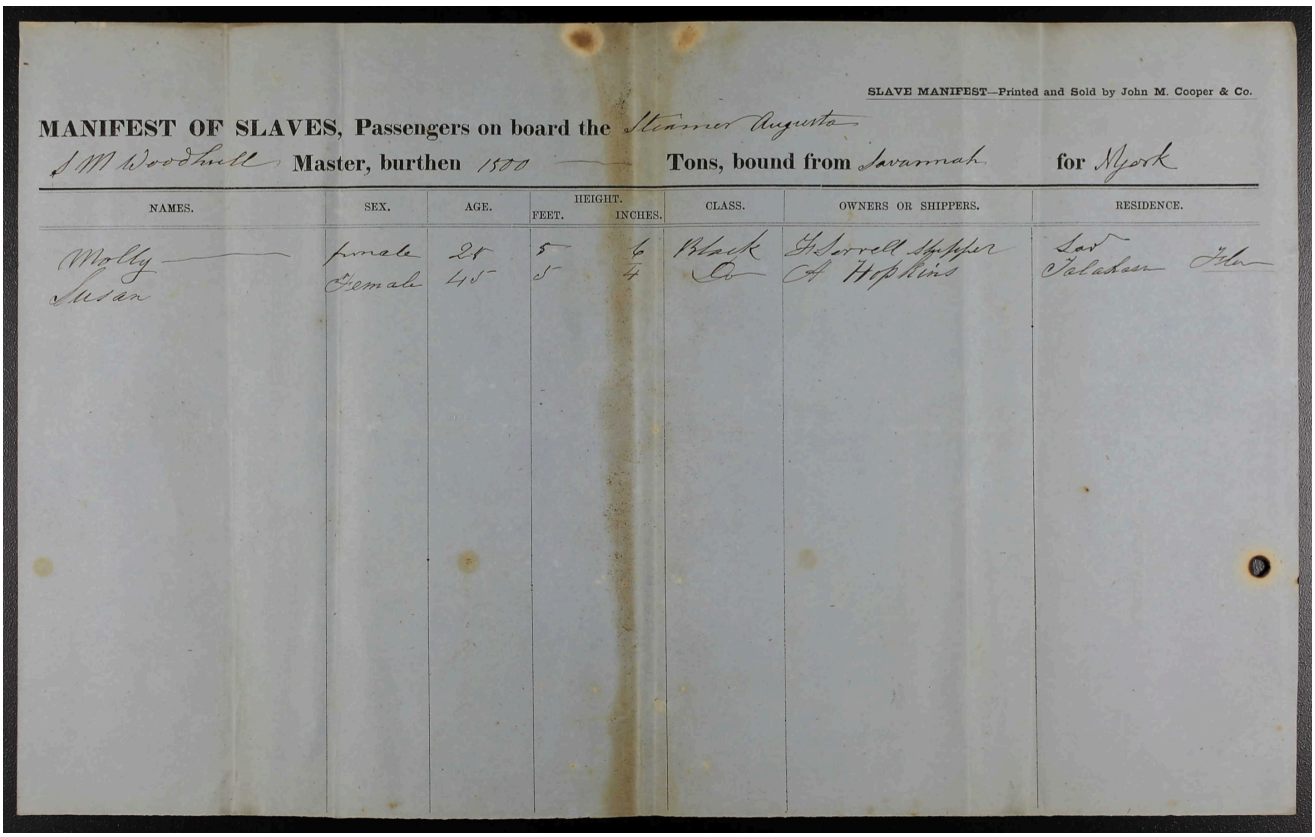
Above: The earliest record of Francis Sorrel shipping a slave, from July 3, 1826. A woman named Nancy, forty-years-old described as "black" traveled from Savannah to New York City onboard the Statira. This is likely the same woman Francis remembered in his will and in a family letter, who was also referred to as "Old Mammy" or "Old Nanny." Photo Credit: Ancestry.com.

It seems likely that Mr. Greenfield perhaps worked for Douglass and Sorrel when they were partners, but was owned by Henry Douglass.

Allen Greenfield's name is much more easily identifiable in the records. It was rare for an enslaved individual to have a last name, or to have it indicated in a manifest. As an example, the remainder of the nine ship manifest records involving Francis Sorrel list only the first names of bondpeople. Those transported in his name between 1826 and 1857 include the following individuals: *Nancy, Judy, Diana, Lidia, Mary, Tom,* and *Molly*. Nancy is the first to travel, in 1826. Listed as aged 40 and described as "black", Nancy travels to New York City from Savannah on July 3. Although no record can be found of her return, Nancy appears again traveling to Maryland about five years later on June 24, 1831 on board the ship *Maryland*. She returns on October 18 of that year, again on the *Maryland* and is accompanied by a 22-year-old woman named Judy.[130] When Francis Sorrel put his estate into a trust in 1844, he would include both Nancy and Judy, and indicated Judy as Nancy's daughter.[131] In 1839, Judy, now close to

[130] *Papers of the Slave Trade*, 112; 116; *Coastwise Slave Manifests, 1801-1860*, Ancestry.com., accessed April 11, 2017.

[131] CCSC, Deed Book 3B: 441.



SLAVE MANIFEST—Printed and Sold by John M. Cooper & Co.

MANIFEST OF SLAVES, Passengers on board the Steamer Augusta

J M Woodhull **Master, burthen** 1500 **Tons, bound from** Savannah **for** N York

NAMES.	SEX.	AGE.	HEIGHT. FEET.	INCHES.	CLASS.	OWNERS OR SHIPPERS.	RESIDENCE.
Molly	female	28	5	6	Black	F Sorrell Shipper	Sav
Susan	Female	45	5	4	Do	A Hopkins	Talahasee Fla

Above: The last known record of Francis Sorrel transporting bondpeople, dated to 1857. A woman named Molly is sent from Savannah to New York City. She is described as "black" and twenty-eight years old. This is an extremely valuable document in tracing the connection of a the bondwoman named Molly to Francis Sorrel. Although this is far from proving the tragic oral tradition, it verifies that a woman named Molly did exist and was connected to the Sorrel family. Photo Credit: Ancestry.com.

thirty years old, traveled from Savannah to Baltimore on May 24, on board the vessel *General Sumpter*. She returned about five months later on October 8, on board the ship *R.H. Douglass.*

Lidia, 40 years old, and Diana, 20 years old, appear to be owned by Francis Sorrel. Diana and Lidia, both described as "brown," returned to Savannah from Charleston on October 28, 1847, on the *William Seabrook*. In the manifest, their residence is listed as Savannah. In 1853, a woman named Mary traveled to Philadelphia on the vessel *State of Georgia*. Mary is described as "yellow" and as being 15 years old and Savannah is indicated as her city of residence. She returns sometime between November and December 1853 on board the ship *Keystone State*.[132] In 1853, a ten-year-old enslaved boy named Tom traveled from Savannah to Baltimore on the vessel *Josephus*. Like Mary, he is also described as "yellow."

[132] *Papers of the Slave Trade*, 70; *Coastwise Slave Manifests, 1801-1860*, Ancestry.com., accessed April 11, 2017.

The last time Francis appears to have transported bondpeople was in 1857. A twenty-eight year old woman named Molly, described as "black," traveled from Savannah to New York City on board the vessel *Augusta*.[133] There are three listings in the slave ship manifests which cannot be identified. Francis transported a slave or slaves from Charleston to Savannah onboard the *Gordon* sometime between June and December of 1852.[134] About two years later, the *Keystone State* carried bondpeople identified with Francis Sorrel and his cousin Charles Green to Philadelphia between May and December of 1854.[135] Finally, sometime between January and June 1858, the *Gordon* carried bondpeople to Charleston, again at the behest of Green and Sorrel.[136] Unfortunately, the names of these individuals cannot be located in the slave ship manifests.

Federal Slave Censuses were recorded in Savannah in 1850 and 1860. Although these do not include names, some of the bondpeople seen in the slave ship manifests associated with Francis Sorrel match the description of the people given in the censuses. Francis Sorrel is identified in two entries for 1850: One as an owner of 5 bondpeople described as "black", and another entry as a trustee for 8 bondpeople described as "mulatto":[137]

Owner	**Trustee**
One 70-year-old black female	One 35-year-old mulatto female
One 45-year-old black female	One 25-year-old mulatto female
One 40-year- old black female	One 22-year-old mulatto female
One 35-year- old black male	One 10-year-old mulatto female
One 19-year-old black male	One 9-year-old mulatto female
	One 9-year-old mulatto male
	One 8-year-old mulatto male

[133] Ibid., 179; *Savannah, Georgia: Coastwise Slave Manifests, 1801-1860*. ARC ID: 1151775, U.S. Customs Service, Record Group Number 36. The National Archives at Atlanta. Atlanta, Georgia. U.S.A., *Ancestry.com. U.S., Southeast Coastwise Inward and Outward Slave Manifests, 1790-1860* [database on-line], accessed April 11, 2017.

[134] Ibid., 163.

[135] Ibid., 170.

[136] Ibid., 183.

[137] United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1850. M432, 1,009 rolls, *Ancestry.com. 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules* [database on-line], accessed April 11, 2017.

One 3-year-old mulatto male

Another census was taken a decade later in 1860, showing that 8 bondpeople were living at the Sorrel home. In the 1860 census, Francis is no longer a trustee of any enslaved individuals. He is listed as an owner only:[138]

Owner

One 80-year-old black female

One 50-year-old black female

Two 30-year old black males

One 27-year-old black female

One 20-year-old mulatto female

One 19-year-old mulatto male

One 12-year-old black male

There is also a census record from Prince William County, Virginia, the former home of Francis Sorrel's wives, that indicates a 55-year-old "black" female and a 40-year-old "black" female were also owned by Francis Sorrel, but residing at the time here under the "charge" of an Alexander Gough.[139] Francis Sorrel was also a guardian to several young women listed in the Registers of Free Persons of Color between 1843 and 1848. The 1843 Register indicates a Leah Stevens or Stephens, born and living in Savannah, whose occupation is listed as "Washer and Iron."[140] Leah also appears in a Register in 1844 as a "nurse". She is listed in this record as being 22-years-old, and she is accompanied here by a Betsey Stephens, 12-years-old, also listed as a nurse.[141] Betsey and Leah appear together again in the 1846 and 1847 Registers as "washerwomen."[142] Finally, on what appears to be a date of March 9, 1848, a 20-year-old Leah Williams, indicated as a "washerwoman," and a 16-year-old Elizabeth Williams, a "house servant," appear in the Register.[143]

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[138] United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1860. M653, 1,438 rolls, *Ancestry.com*. *1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules* [database on-line], accessed April 11, 2017.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Savannah, Georgia, Registers of Free Persons of Color. 5600CL-130 (mf). Microfilm, 3 rolls. City of Savannah, Research Library & Municipal Archives, Savannah, Georgia, Ancestry.com. *Savannah, Georgia, Registers of Free Persons of Color, 1817-1864* [database on-line], accessed April 11, 2017.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid.



Above: The Register of Free Persons of Color from 1848 lists two young women under the guardianship of Francis Sorrel. A twenty-year old Leah Williams and a sixteen-year-old Elizabeth Williams are listed in occupations as "washerwoman" and "house servant" respectively. Source: ancestry.com

The Sorrel Home

In April of 1837, Francis Sorrel purchased lots 6 and 7 in Savannah located in the city's South Commons.[144] In the same year, Jasper Ward and Madison Square were erected, and no later than 1839, the Sorrel's Greek Revival home was being built on lot 6 at Harris and Bull Streets.[145] An improvement notice in the *Weekly Georgian* indicated the erection of a house for Francis Sorrel across from the Barracks, describing it as "a fine brick building…which from its present appearance will be a beautiful edifice."[146] An improvement does not appear in the tax digests until 1842, in the amount of $8,000. Two years later in 1844, lot 6 shows an additional $4,000 improvement, totaling $12,000.[147] The early land planning of Savannah including its division into wards, squares, and lots has been covered extensively.[148] Another review of this history will not be repeated here, but what is necessary is a focus on the previous use of lot 6 and the surrounding area prior to the Sorrels building their home here.

As early as the end of the eighteenth century, the population of Savannah and its need to generate additional income led to the process of dividing up the Commons into new wards and

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[144] *Records of Titles*. Savannah, Georgia: Research Library & Municipal Archives City of Savannah, Georgia, Ancestry.com. *Savannah, Georgia, Records of Titles, 1791-1971* [database on-line], accessed April 10, 2017.

[145] Laura Beth Simo, *Constructing Savannah's Cityscape, 1837-1854* (Charleston: BiblioBazaar, 2012), *Google Books*, accessed April 15, 2017; *Weekly Georgian*, September 28, 1839 pg. 3, col. 2.

[146] *Weekly Georgian*, September 28, 1839, pg. 3, col. 2.

[147] Morrison, "Charles B. Cluskey," 4-5. Digitized tax digests were not available for Francis Sorrel from 1841-1843; but Morrison provided these crucial records in her collection.

[148] See *Deep, Dirty Secrets: 2014 Archaeological Investigations at the Isaiah Davenport House*, *Vol. 1. Savannah, Georgia,* by Rita Folse Elliott, The Lamar Institute, Savannah, GA., 2014, pdf; www.thelamarinstitute.org., Report # 195; http://www.thelamarinstitute.org/images/PDFs/publication_195.pdf Walter J. Fraser, Jr., *Savannah in the Old South*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003).

lots.[149] Originally laid out by Oglethorpe in 1733 with just four wards bordering the Savannah River, the city slowly expanded.[150] Bull Street, at the edge of where Sorrel's lot 6 would later be, was also established by Oglethorpe in 1733.[151]

Houston's 1812 map of the city includes the location of buildings in the commons near the periphery of Bull Street and in close proximity to where the Sorrels would later build their home. In what would become the lots to border Bull Street on its eastern border in Jasper Ward, directly across from Sorrel's lot 6 was formerly the "tobacco inspection building".[152] West of Bull Street, in what would become Pulaski Square, was "Ground alotted for a hospital and poor house."[153] To the southeast of the tobacco inspection site was a "work house", and the site farthest removed from the future Sorrel home on Bull Street's edge in what would be Monterrey Square was "land allotted for an academy."[154]

By 1837, more of the south commons was being divided up into lots and sold by the city. On February 3, Francis purchased lots 6 and 7 in the newly established Jasper Ward from the city, bidding $1,810 and $1,500 respectively.[155] Lot 6 fronted Madison Square on its northwest periphery, and spanned 60 feet wide along Harris Street and 100 feet deep along Bull Street. Francis also purchased the adjacent lot 7 which measured 60 feet by 90 feet, and used a portion of this lot as a garden.[156] Madison Square was once acre in size, and contained a cistern for use by the Fire Department.[157] By 1848, The Savannah Female Asylum and the United States' Army Barracks surrounded Madison Square, with the latter built directly across from the Sorrel's house on Bull Street. The population in Jasper Ward was "213 Whites" and "131" colored and contained 33 houses and 22 private wells.[158]

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[149] Elliott, *Deep, Dirty Secrets*, 4.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Fraser, 12.

[152] Map of the City of Savannah, Copy of Map Drawn by Col. Mossman Houstoun, Georgia Historical Society collection of maps, MS 1361-MP, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia. A digital version of this map was also consulted in *Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, [online collection], hmap1812h6, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/hmap/id:hmap1812h6.

[153] GHS map collection; *Hargrett*, hmap1812h6.

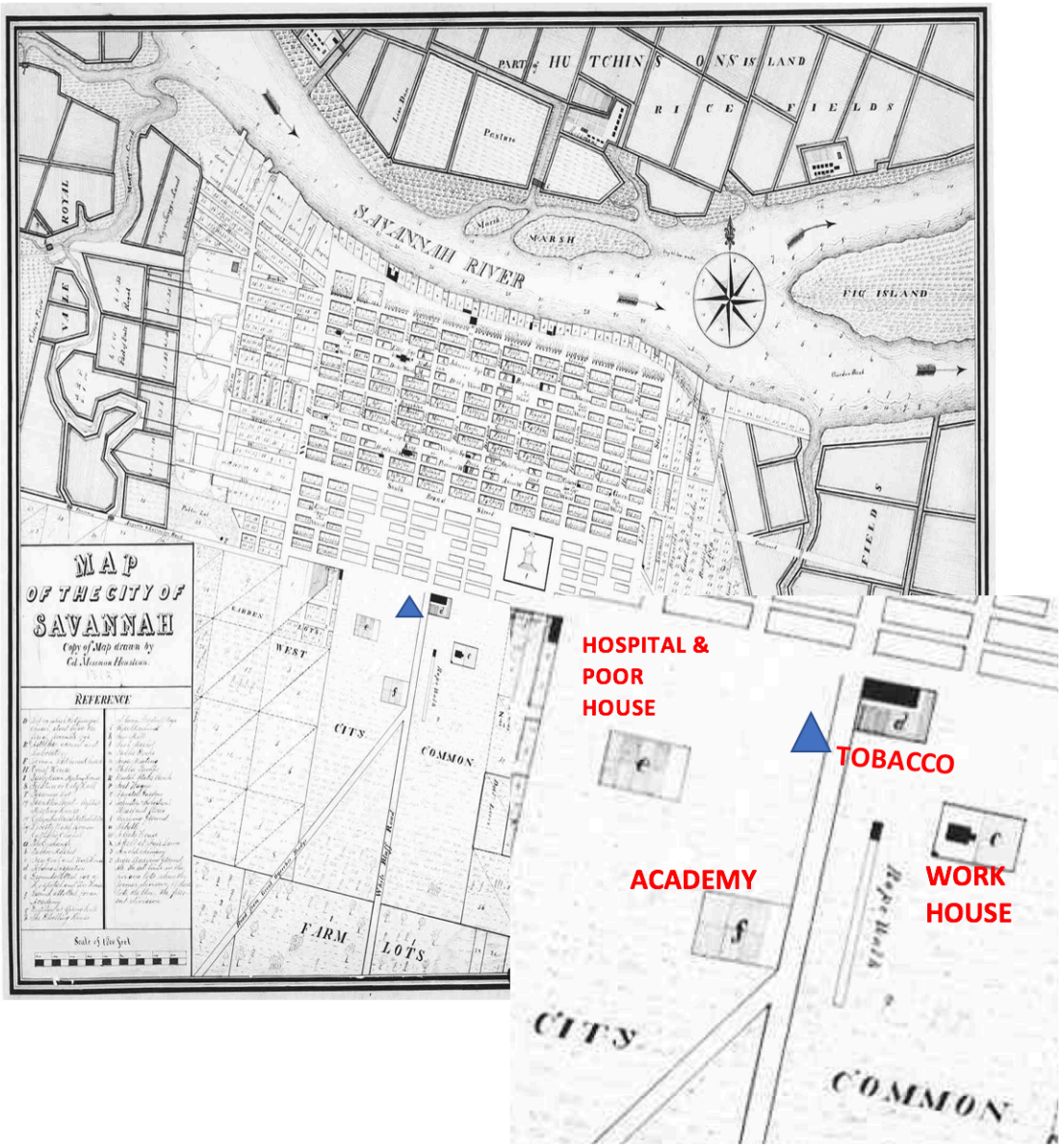
[154] Ibid.

[155] *Records of Titles*. Savannah, Georgia: Research Library & Municipal Archives City of Savannah, Georgia, Ancestry.com. *Savannah, Georgia, Records of Titles, 1791-1971* [database on-line], accessed April 10, 2017.

[156] Ibid; Hartridge notes the use of lot 7 as the family's garden. See "12 West Harris Street, Legal Description," *Walter C. Hartridge, Jr. Collection*. Series 6: Architectural History 1700s-1900s. MS 1349. Box 62. Folder 1092, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

[157] Bancroft, *Census*, 18.

[158] Ibid.



Above: Houston's 1812 Map of Savannah, showing a close-up of the area and locations around what would later be lot 6 in Jasper Ward and the Sorrel-Weed House. The Hospital & Poor House, Academy, Tobacco, and Work House locations are all identified in the map key. Photo Credit: Hargrett Rare Map Collection.

Although the home presently contains a two-story detached outbuilding interpreted as a carriage house and former slave quarters, this structure cannot be dated to the antebellum period. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps place it at a date of no later than 1888, some 45 years after the completion of the Sorrel home and well into Reconstruction.[159] It would not have been uncommon for the enslaved individuals owned by the Sorrels to reside within their home, especially given its large size and available space in the attic and basement. In 1835, Francis was taxed for the first time on a four-wheel carriage, which seems to imply that he would have wanted a carriage house built on his lot.[160] But credible nineteenth century maps of Savannah defy the notion that a carriage house or any detached building was erected in conjunction with the home. [161]

Of particular importance is *Vincent's Subdivision Map of 1853*, which shows only one large building on lot 6, the Sorrel House.[162] While some early maps have to be approached with caution, countless lots on *Vincent's* map appear with secondary structures. Additionally, Vincent's mapping of Savannah was also not intended to be idealistic or artistic in the least; he was hired by the city to produce an aerial map of the city showing in grid fashion all of its lots with their improvements. While it's not outside the realm of possibilities that Vincent made a mistake, the chances of this are rendered improbable when the Sorrel home again appears without any detached buildings in 1871. In a *Bird's Eye View of the City*, another map perceived as credible in the identification of buildings, lot 6 contains no other buildings but the main home.[163]

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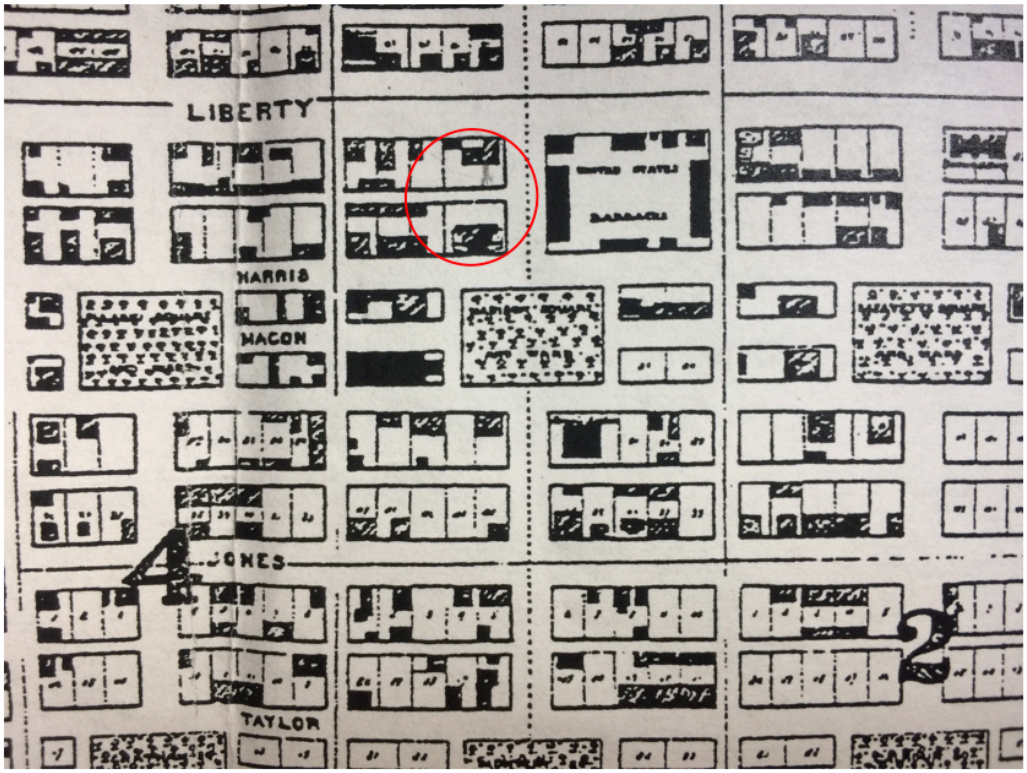
[159] Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Savannah, GA, 1888, Sheet 13, Digital Library of Georgia, *GALILEO*, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/sanborn/CityCounty/Savannah1888/Sheet13.html.

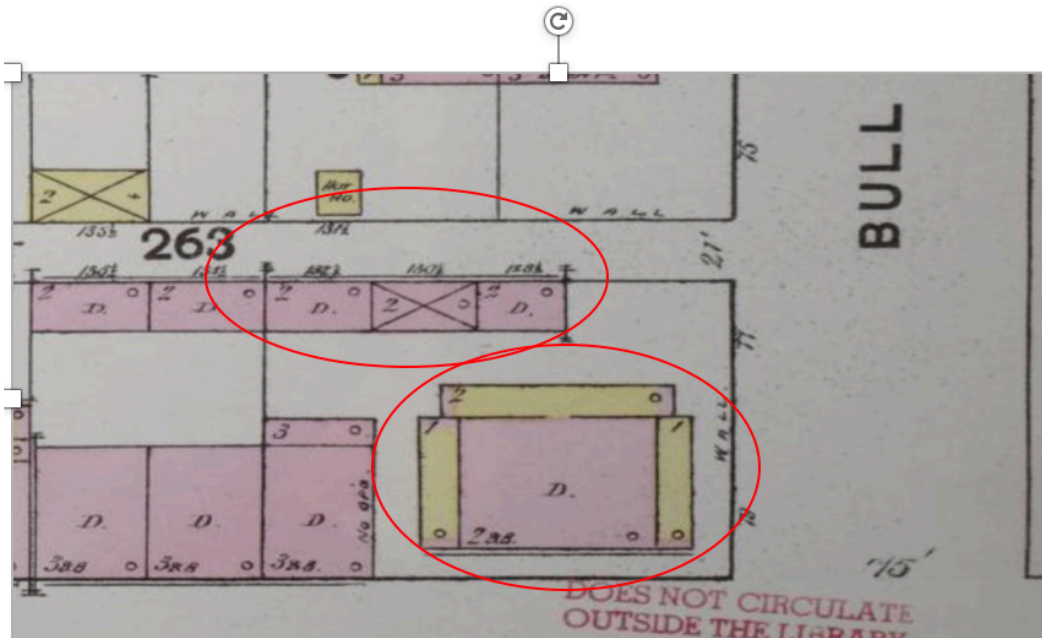
[160]Research Library and Municipal Archives; Savannah, Georgia; Film Number: *194059*; Title: *Tax Digests, 1826-1832*, Ancestry.com. *Savannah, Georgia, Land Tax and Property Records, 1809-1938* [database on-line], accessed April 10, 2017.

[161] The Chicora Foundation utilized Vincent's map in their archaeological studies at the Owens-Thomas House. See Michael Trinkley, Natalie Adams, and Debi Hacker, *Archaeological Studies Associated with the Owens-Thomas Carriage House, Savannah, Georgia*, Research Series 38 (Columbia: The Chicora Foundation, 1993),17, pdf, accessed March 26th, 2017, http://chicora.org/pdfs/RS%2038.pdf ;

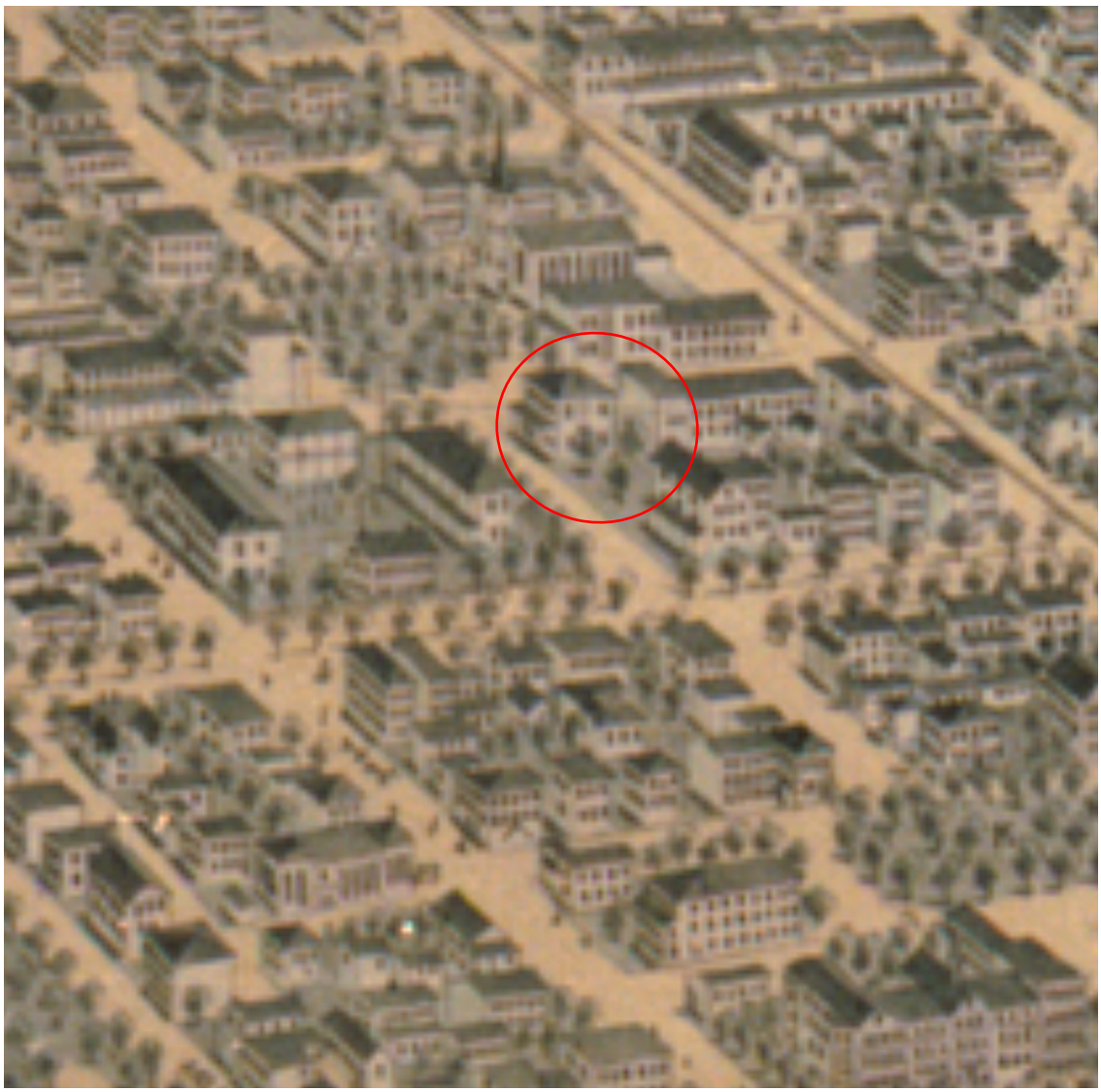
[162] *Vincent's Subdivision Map of the City of Savannah*, by Vincent A. Edward, 1853, Georgia Historical Society Map Collection, MS 1361-MP 010, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

[163] The Chicora Foundation also utilized the 1871 Bird's Eye View Map of Savannah. See Bird's Eye View of Savannah, 1871. Georgia Historical Society Map Collection, MS 1361MP, [digitized], *Georgia Historical Society*, http://georgiahistory.com/education-outreach/online-exhibits/featured-historical-figures/james-edward-oglethorpe/savannahs-city-plan/.





Above, Top: Vincent's 1853 subdivision map of Savannah, showing only the Sorrel-Weed House on lot 6, and no additional structures. **Above, bottom**: Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Savannah in 1888 shows a structure at the back of the Sorrel-Weed House lot, most likely the building that is there today. Photo Credit: Georgia Historical Society Map Collection & GALILEO.



Above: In this close-up of an 1871 Bird's Eye View of the City, only the Sorrel-Weed House is on lot 6. As was the case in 1853, there are no detached buildings. Photo Credit: Original map image from Georgia Historical Society.

If the building now present on the Sorrel-Weed House lot was erected sometime between 1871 and 1888, this would date the artifacts recovered and the use of the building to a postbellum time frame. As a result, this challenges not only the period of interpretation of Sorrel-Weed House's haunted tours, but also renders most of the story itself, impossible.

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The Tragic Oral Tradition

In 1859, the Sorrels sold their home to Henry D. Weed and moved into the three-story townhouse they built on the adjacent lot 7.[164] Soon after moving next door, Matilda Sorrel died from a concussion.[165] In what now forms the basis of the Sorrel-Weed House's interpretation program and the source of their supposed paranormal activity, Matilda caused her own death by jumping from the upper level of the Sorrel-Weed home. There is one source to corroborate this incident, found in the correspondences of Charles C. Jones, Jr., a friend and business associate of Mr. Sorrel.[166] In a letter written on the day of Matilda Sorrel's death, Charles C. Jones writes to his mother that

> …the sad news has reached the office that Mrs. Sorrel, probably in a fit of lunacy, sprang from the second- or third- story window of her residence on Harris Street, next door to the house which was the family mansion for so many years, falling upon the pavement of the yard, and by the concussion terminating her life…[167]

Two days later, Charles's mother seems to indicate the reason for the tragedy, writing that

> ….The death of Mrs. Sorrel was very distressing. I heard some time since that she was subject to great mental depressions. We are not sufficiently grateful for our preserved reason. Our commonest blessings are our greatest; we need only to be deprived of them to feel it so...[168]

This correspondence is strong evidence to indicate that Matilda was either suffering from depression or was perceived as depressed at some time close to her death. Charles Jones is also

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[164] *Hartridge Collection*, Pamphlet on the Sorrel-Weed House, 3.

[165] *Laurel Grove Cemetery Interment Report*, 5600CL-90, Vol. 1, City of Savannah Research and Municipal Archives, Savannah, Georgia.

[166] The Sorrels and the Jones traveled in the same social circles, and the letters of Charles C. Jones, Jr. indicate that he rented an office from Mr. Sorrel and was invited by him to preach at the Presbyterian Church. See *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*, ed. Robert Manson Myers (New Haven: Yale Univesrity Press, 1972), 215, 173.

[167] See letter from Charles C. Jones, Jr., to Mrs. Mary Jones, March 27th, 1860, pg. 570-571, in *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*, ed. Robert Manson Myers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

[168] See letter from Mrs. Mary C. Jones to Charles C. Jones, March 29, 1860, pg. 572, in *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*, ed. Robert Manson Myers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

clear in his indication that she jumped from the upper balcony of the *townhouse next door*, *not* from the Sorrel-Weed mansion.

Another important component of the tragic oral tradition is the existence of an enslaved woman named Molly. According to the Sorrel-Weed interpretation program, this poor young woman was found hanged in the slave quarters above the carriage house and then was interred clandestinely in the basement. While the most recent inquiry into the Sorrel-Weed House story was unable to identify a bondwoman named Molly associated with the Sorrel family,[169] Slave Ship Manifests show that a twenty-eight year old woman named Molly, a resident of Savannah, owned by Francis Sorel, and described as "black," traveled from Savannah to New York City on board the vessel *Augusta* in 1857.[170] There is no record of her returning. There is also a record of a twenty-two-year-old Molly traveling from Charleston to Savannah on the *Gordon*.[171] Charles Green, the Sorrel's neighbor on Madison Square, a close friend of Francis and his relation through marriage, is listed as the owner.

Is it possible that Matilda Sorrel suffered from depression, that her husband was sexually involved with one of his bondwomen, and that this led to the grisly death of both of these victimized women? In terms of Francis's supposed sexual involvement with an enslaved woman and his infidelity, this is not just possible, it is probable. Sexual relations between bondwomen and male slave owners was legion in the South. In the year that Matilda Sorrel died, there were two-thousand "mulattos" living in Savannah, a testament to, as one author has indicated, the prevalence of sexual intercourse between white males and female bondwomen.[172] In regards to Matilda's supposed suicide, a compelling study on female suicides in the antebellum South provides some insight. Between 1860 and 1870, forty-percent of female suicides reported in

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[169] Tiya Miles recent inquiry into the Sorrel-Weed home indicates not finding any research to support the existence of a bondwoman named Molly associated with the Sorrel family. However, Miles utilizes graduate students to conduct her research and admits to the possibility "she may have missed something" so her oversight is not so much a surprise. See Miles, *Tales of the Haunted South*.

[170] *Papers of the American Slave Trade*, Part I: Port of Savannah Slave Manifests, 1790-1860, Series D: Records of the U.S. Customhouses, ed. Robert E. Lester, Bethesda: LexisNexis, 2005), 179, pdf, http://cisupa.proquest.com/ksc_assets/catalog/100539.pdf; *Savannah, Georgia: Coastwise Slave Manifests, 1801-1860*. ARC ID: 1151775, U.S. Customs Service, Record Group Number 36. The National Archives at Atlanta. Atlanta, Georgia. U.S.A., *Ancestry.com. U.S., Southeast Coastwise Inward and Outward Slave Manifests, 1790-1860* [database on-line], accessed April 11, 2017.

[171] *Coastwise Slave Manifests*, Ancestry.com.

[172] Fraser, 288.

newspapers were described as stemming from "disappointed love" or "domestic trouble."[173] The only mention in the newspaper surrounding Matilda's death was a funeral notice, with no indication of suicide or even how she died.[174] If Matilda was suffering from depression, it seems that it was not well known in the community, despite the words of Mrs. Jones. Matilda was for many years on the Board of the Female Asylum and as late as January of 1860, just two months before her death, she was still an active board member.[175] If knowledge of her depression was widespread, it seems that she would have been shunned from being an ambassador of a high-society charity organization such as the asylum.

There is one telling source that seems to support the notion that Francis Sorrel played a role in his wife's death. From the family papers held in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of Chapel Hill, a single letter from Francis Sorrel was preserved. This letter happened to date to October 8, 1860, just shy of seven months after the death of his wife Matilda. In a letter to his son Alexander Claxton, Francis Sorrel is praising the sermon of his pastor, while staying at his home named "Ireland" in Virginia. In the course of his praise, he laments,

> How my dear and beloved wife would have enjoyed this visit of our friends, if her life would have been preserved!!...and how much more comfortable she would have made them, than I have been enabled to do!!.. But I must not enlarge on this sorrowful subject. The Lord has bereaved me and laid his chastening rod heavily upon me, and I must submit.[176]

This speaks of an admission of culpability in his wife's death, or his belief that he was deserving in some way of the enduring such a tragedy, although we cannot not know in what way. In other Christian accounts, "laying his chastening rod upon me" is used to describe what people believe are justified ills visited upon them by God. In an account from 1847, a man uses this metaphor to describe the illness of himself and his family, believing it was God's attempt to purify the health

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[173] India Miller, *In the midst of life we are in death: suicide coverage in the South during the Civil War Era,* Honors Thesis, University of Richmond, 2015, pg. 39-40, UR Scholarship Repository, pdf, http://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses/934.

[174] *Daily Morning News*, March 28, 1860, pg. 2, col. 2, [Funeral Invitation for Mrs. Sorrel], Digital Library of Georgia, *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:smn1860-0284.

[175] *Daily Morning News*, January 17, 1860, pg. 1, col. 1, Digital Library of Georgia, Georgia Historic Newspapers, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:smn1860-0043.

[176] *Sorrel Papers*, [letter from Francis Sorrel to Alexander Claxton, October 8, 1860,] pg. 1 of 2, Scan 19.



Above: Photo Attributed to Matilda Sorrel from ancestry.com. This photo is also displayed at the Sorrel-Weed House.

of the soul.[177] In a memoir from 1854, a reverend justifies the visit upon him of the chastening rod, writing "O Lord, thy judgements are right, and thou in faithfulness has afflicted me."[178] In an account from 1866, an author in a religious and literary journal describes her experience of misfortune as a result of her own sin, and what she believes is God's reaction to this:

…I feel again to record some of the Lord's merciful dealings with me, an unworthy creature; poor and miserable as I am, yet He careth for me. I have been dipped into some deep conflicts, and I fear some of them have been caused by my own unwatchfulness and unfaithfulness, and the Lord in tender mercy has been pleased to lay his chastening rod upon me..[179]

Francis Sorrel thus included in his letter a commonly used expression to describe the Christian experience with misfortune. It is not clear however if Francis was truly culpable in some way in the death of his wife (as in, was he referencing his affair or perhaps ignorance of her depression?) or if he merely was coping with the loss by believing God to be "chastening" him for other unspecific, yet justified reasons.

[177] The Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society, *The Home Missionary*, vol. xix, (New York: William Osborn, 1847), 227, *Google Books*.

[178] *Memoir of the Late Rev. R. H. Krause, A.M.*, ed. By Charles Stuart Stanford, (Dublin: George Herbert, 1854), 23, *Google Books*.

[179] *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal*, vol. LXVII, (Philadelphia: WM. H. Pile's Sons, 1894), 364, Google Books.

Aftermath

Francis Sorrel lived another decade after the death of his second wife before dying from a stroke in 1870. In the same letter in which he lamented his wife's death, he asked his son Alexander Claxton "to remember us unto Savannah, especially to old Mammy."[180] This is a telling reference. Despite the tragic oral tradition surrounding the bondwoman Molly and the immorality on the part of Francis Sorrel it suggests, he shows endearment here towards an enslaved woman named Mammy. Mammy, who was 80-years-old in 1860, is likely the "Old Nanny" referred to in Francis Sorrel's will. In the monetary divisions of Francis's estate after his death, "Old Nanny" receives small payments through at least 1875 "for her support at sundry times."[181]

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE URBAN SOUTH and SLAVERY

Background

Until recent decades, the focus of African American and enslaved archaeological studies has centered around plantations and rural locations.[182] Although the Georgia lowcountry and coastal areas comprise the starting point of archaeological studies in African American life, these studies are limited to plantations such as Silk Hope, Butler Island, Cannons Point, Hofwyl-Broadfield, and other non-urban sites.[183] More recently, moving inward from the plantations into the cities has become more of a priority for studies of enslaved people, especially as it pertains to developing more inclusive interpretation programs at historic sites. Stately Antebellum homes in Savannah and other southern cities have traditionally focused on the wealth and success of the home's former owners, and either obscured or wholly omitted the lives of the enslaved people who once lived and worked here, and made this wealth possible. As one author has said,

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[180] *Sorrel Papers*, [letter from Francis Sorrel to Alexander Claxton, October 8, 1860,] pg. 2 of 2, Scan 20.

[181] Chatham County Probate Court, [Will and Estate Dispersments of Francis Sorrel] [need #], Savannah, Georgia.

[182] O'Donovan, "Cotton and Commerce," 42; Michael Trinkley, Natalie Adams, and Debi Hacker, *Archaeological Studies Associated with the Owens-Thomas Carriage House, Savannah, Georgia*, Research Series 38 (Columbia: The Chicora Foundation, 1993), 4, pdf, accessed March 26th, 2017, http://chicora.org/pdfs/RS%2038.pdf ; J.W. Joseph, "Archaeology and the African-American Experience in the Urban South," in *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 109, *EBSCO*, ebook, accessed March 26th, 2017.

[183] Theresa Singleton, "Reclaiming the Gullah-Geechee Past: Archaeology of Slavery in Coastal Georgia," in *African-American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry: The Atlantic World and the Gullah-Geechee* (Athens: Unversity of Georgia Press, 2010), 151-153.

"Perhaps the greatest problem in the interpretation of urban slavery is that it is trivialized - - the slaves and their lives are lost in comparison with the grand house, the fine furnishings, and the political and commercial importance of the owners."[184]

However slowly, progress is being made in both Savannah and regionally. In the 1980s, the Charleston Museum undertook several archaeological studies on former urban compounds that enslaved people and elites once shared.[185] Also in the 1980s, archaeological studies were conducted at the Telfair Home.[186] In 1993, the carriage house and former slave quarters at the Owens-Thomas House in Savannah was the subject of archaeological studies, the results of which were used to develop an interpretation program that focused on urban slavery at the home.[187] The Davenport House in Savannah was also the focus of archaeological studies in 2014. Currently, the Davenport House is also planning to incorporate a new urban slavery exhibit, with an expected completion date of January 2019.[188]

Like the archaeology of slavery at plantation sites, artifacts, housing, and features can be used in urban archaeology projects to uncover more about enslaved lifeways. While some elements of rural studies may share with their counterparts in the city, the housing of bondpeople in urban locales such as Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans was disparate from housing found on plantations. Housing for bondpeople in Savannah was dynamic, and it is known that many members of the enslaved population lived apart from their owners, especially in Oglethorpe Ward. Since this study will excavate a portion of a detached building believed to be the former living quarters for bondpeople, this will be the type of urban housing discussed here.

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[184] Harris & Berry.

[185] See Martha Zierden and Debi Hacker, *Exploration of the North Entrance of the Joseph Manigault House*, Archaeological Contributions 15, (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 1986), pdf, https://www.charlestonmuseum.org/assets/pdf/ArchaeologyReports/Joseph%20Manigault%20House%201986%20-%20AC%2015.pdf; Martha Zierden and Kimberly Grimes, *Investigating Elite Lifeways Through Archaeology: The John Rutledge House*, Archeological Contributions 21, (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1989, pdf, https://www.charlestonmuseum.org/assets/pdf/ArchaeologyReports/John%20Rutledge%20House%201989%20-%20AC%2021.pdf; Martha A. Zierden, *Aiken-Rhett House, Archaeological Research*, Archaeological Contributions 31 (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 2003) pdf, https://www.charlestonmuseum.org/assets/pdf/ArchaeologyReports/Aiken-Rhett%202003%20%20AC%2031.pdf;https://www.charlestonmuseum.org/assets/pdf/ArchaeologyReports/Joseph%20Manigault%20House%201986%20-%20AC%2015.pdf.

[186] Nicholas Honerkamp, R. Bruce Council, Charles H. Fairbanks, *The Reality of the City, Urban Archaeology at the Telfair Site*, Savannah, Georgia (Chattanooga: The Jeffery L. Brown Institute of Archeology, 1983).

[187] See Trinkley, Adams, and Hacker, *Archaeological Studies*.

[188] Elliott, *Deep, Dirty Secrets*, 2014.

Housing

Although the image of the ramshackle plantation slave cabin has become symbolic of housing for the enslaved in the South, studies have shown the vast differences between urban and rural living spaces for the bondpeople. Wattle-and-daub, thatched houses, and earthfast construction were common to plantation sites, as were log cabins and dwellings raised on brick piers.[189] The circumstances of urban locales presented a different outcome. Dense populations, narrow lots, and exorbitant land values meant that bondpeople often resided in detached buildings on the lots of their owners. Urban lots in cities such as Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans were often no more than 50 feet by 150 feet or smaller.[190] While slave quarters and other outbuildings in a plantation setting could be scattered far from the main house, affording bondpeople and their owners space and relative isolation from one another, the opposite was true for Savannah and other urban locations.

Slave quarters in cities such as Savannah were often placed at the back of the lot or on the side, only a short distance away from the "Big House," often just across a small garden area. These were often two story dwellings, although typically one room deep. The second floor typically contained rooms for sleeping, and the first, a kitchen, store rooms, and often a stable and/or a carriage house. Haylofts were also often contained on the second floor above the stable or carriage house. One author has pointed to several examples throughout the south. In New Orleans, the Galley House Slave Quarters featured three privies on the ground floor, kitchens on the second, and bedrooms at the top. In Charleston, the former slave quarters of William Aiken, Jr. consisted of rooms above a detached kitchen building and stable.[191] These constitute only a few of the variations on housing for the enslaved.

Urban housing for bondpeople was typically built of brick. Because these structures were located only earshot from the main residence, these slave quarters were generally much better than those on plantations, where housing was typically much smaller and cruder.[192]

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[189] Singleton, Gullah-Geechee, 162-165.

[190] Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 55.

[191] John Michael Vlach, "Without Recourse to Owners: The Architecture of Urban Slavery in the Antebellum South," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 6, Shaping Communities (1997): 151, *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3514369.

", 153-155.

[192] Wade, 57.



A view of the Sorrel-Weed carriage house **(Above)** showing various modern additions to the building. Windows, doors, a two-story dwelling, and brick construction were common for the urban slave dwelling when it shared a lot with the Big House, although the Sorrel-Weed carriage house cannot be dated to the antebellum period. The slave quarters of the Owens-Thomas House **(Below)** is one of the oldest urban intact slave quarters in the South. Photo Credits: Kelly Westfield, 2017.





Above: A small dwelling for enslaved individuals, consisting of log construction, a wattle-and-daub chimney, and wood shingle roof, in a rural location of Savannah. This type of housing was vastly different from the carriage house seen in urban Savannah. **Below**: A dwelling occupied by enslaved individuals at Hermitage Plantation, on the outskirts of Savannah. Photo Credits: Library of Congress





Above: The intact slave quarters at the Aiken-Rhett House in Charleston, SC. The large, yellow Big House can be seen in the background. Photo Credit: TripAdvisor. **Below**: Drawings from the Historic American Buildings Survey showing the slave quarters of the Gally House in New Orleans. The first floor of the slave quarters contained privies. Source: Image produced by John Michael Vlach, in "Without Recourse to Owners: The Architecture of Urban Slavery in the Antebellum South," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 6, Shaping Communities (1997): 151, *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3514369.



Fig. 11.3. Sectional View of the Gally House, New Orleans, Louisiana. The slave quarter is on the left with privies located on the first floor, kitchens on the second floor, and slave bedrooms on the third floor. Drawn by E. N. Maddux, 1936. Historic American Buildings Survey, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

However common it was for bondepeopl to live in detached buildings on their owner's lot, this was not always the rule. Within the vast spaces of Antebellum mansions, enslaved individuals more commonly lived in the cellars or attics of their owner's homes.[193]

Relevant Features

The presence of a depression in the basement floor may indicate the possibility of distinct underground features, such as a subfloor pit, privy, trash pit, well, a building trench, or a root cellar. *Subfloor pits* have been discovered under numerous enslaved dwellings in the Upper South, particularly in the Chesapeake region of Virginia. These features have been interpreted as root cellars, storage spaces for food, personal items, and stolen goods, and as religious shrines. Some archaeologists believe they are a source of resistance to oppression and an attempt to modify European housing, while others believe the use of storage pits was a practice with African origins. These pits were dug beneath earthen floors or below floors covered with wooden boards.[194]

Subfloor pits may have originally been dug as sources of clay for construction, and some of these discovered in Virginia show burn marks, indicating that coals may have been placed in these pits to dry them out.[195] Though hundreds of subfloor pits have been excavated, it is difficult to determine the original use of these pits, as many became backfilled with soil and refuse.[196] In some pits, the fill consisted of organic soil replete with animal bones, whole oyster shells, and large fragments of ceramic and glass, indicating that daily garbage was deposited once the pit surpassed its original function.[197] Animal bone would sometimes be mixed with more telling artifacts, such as coins, tools, and ceramics.[198] Only a few of these pits have been found in the lowcountry of Georgia and South Carolina and none have been found in urban locations. These pits are also associated with the colonial period, rather than the antebellum. However, because of the sizeable depression in the carriage house basement floor at the Sorrel-Weed House and the

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[193] Vlach, "Without Recourse to Owners," 151.

[194] Singleton, "Gullah-Geechee", 165-6; Singleton, Theresa A., "The Archaeology of Slavery in North America", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 119-140. *JSTOR*. Accessed February 17th, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2155932.

[195] Patricia Samford, *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007), 108-110.

[196] Ibid., 174.

[197] Ibid., 175.

[198] Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African American, 1650-1800*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1992), 58.

possibility that enslaved individuals once lived here, this feature cannot be ruled out as a possible explanation.

Unlike the absence of subfloor pits from the landscape in Georgia, *Privies* are omnipresent during archaeological investigations and are a prominent part of urban waste disposal systems.[199] As early as 1839, a city ordinance in Savannah required at least one privy per residence.[200] The presence of brick or stone in excavations can indicate the site of a former privy, especially when found six or more feet below ground, which was the required minimum depth established per the 1839 ordinance.[201] Regionally, privies have been found during archaeological studies on the urban lots of the elite in Charleston.[202] In the late 1980s and early 90s, excavations of urban lots in Covington, Kentucky unearthed privies on nearly every lot.[203] In Savannah, they have also been uncovered on the lots of the Owens-Thomas House, Telfair Academy, and Davenport House.[204] These makeshift bathrooms were enclosed by small buildings and may have had modest brick foundations, or none at all. Urban compounds built by the wealthy often contained all brick structures for both the main home and outbuildings, including the privy.[205] Moreover, privies can preserve materials that are deposited into them because of the rich, organic soil that they contain, but many times, the sanitation practices of these privies disturb this process to the extent that after 1820 these features can be difficult to identify.[206]

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[199] Joan H. Geismar, "Where is the Night Soil? Thoughts on an Urban Privy, *Historical Archaeology 27*, no. 2, [Health, Sanitation, and Foodways in Historical Archaeology], (1993): 57. *JSTOR*, accessed March 29th, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25616239

[200] Trinkley, Adams, and Hacker, *Owens-Thomas*, 9.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Zierden and Hacker, *Joseph Manigault*; Zierden and Grimes, *John Rutledge House*; Zierden, *Aiken-Rhett House;*

[203] Robert A. Genheimer, "Archaeology at Convington Kentucky: A Particularly "Northern" Looking Southern City," in *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 105, *EBSCO*, ebook, accessed March 26th, 2017.

[204] See Michael Trinkley, Natalie Adams, and Debi Hacker, *Archaeological Studies Associated with the Owens-Thomas Carriage House, Savannah, Georgia*, Research Series 38 (Columbia: The Chicora Foundation, 1993), pdf, accessed March 26th, 2017, http://chicora.org/pdfs/RS%2038.pdf; Rita Folse Elliott, *Deep, Dirty Secrets: 2014 Archaeological Investigations at the Isaiah Davenport House*, vol. 1. Savannah, Georgia. The Lamar Institute. Savannah, GA., 2015. Pdf. www.thelamarinstitute.org. Report # 195; Nicholas Honerkamp, R. Bruce Council, Charles H. Fairbanks, *The Reality of the City, Urban Archaeology at the Telfair Site*, Savannah, Georgia, (Chatanooga: The Jeffery L. Brown Institute of Archeology, 1983).

[205] Zierden and Grimes, *John Rutledge House*, 89.

[206] Geismar, "Nightsoil," 57.

Once the conditions of a privy were no longer tolerable, they were abandoned and filled with clay or lime and covered with loam, and new ones created on the home's lot.[207] Perhaps more than any other outbuildings, privies were typically placed at the back of the lot, oftentimes as far removed from the main house as possible.[208] One author's description is instructive for understanding the placement of privies and other archaeological features and their relationship to the constricted urban lot:

> A common pattern of spatial organization and use seen at contemporaneous sites in Charleston, Savannah, Fort Frederica, and St. Augustine consists of front-lot dwellings, mid-lot wells and cisterns, and rear-lot privies.[209]

The crowded conditions of urban locales such as Savannah meant that disposal of garbage often entailed the scattering of refuse onto the ground at urban sites and in features such as wells and privies.[210] Deposits into privies outside of their primary function can also reflect abandonment and loss due to natural disasters, property sales, and clean-up efforts of other sorts. Often, privies show evidence of a single dumping incident, although periodic reuse of privies for trash and other deposits is also common.[211]

Items deposited into privies have the potential to reveal numerous details about the lives of both enslaved people and their owners. As one author has described them, they are a "treasure trove," or a "time capsule of sorts."[212] Diets, wealth, health, as well as consumer access and behavior can commonly be gleaned from the remains of privies as well as social organization, urban spatial patterns, and chronologies.[213] Unfortunately, privies are not considered unique indicators of African American lifeways. The spatial limitations of urban locales made it commonplace for privies to receive deposits from both bondpeople and their owners, making it nearly impossible to distinguish between the two.[214] Three urban examples of privies built for

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[207] Ivor Noel Hume, *Historical Archaeology: A Comparative Guide for Both Amateaurs and Professionals to the Techniques and Methods of Excavating Historical Sites* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1975), 139.
[208] Zierden and Grimes, *John Rutledge House*, 89.
[209] Honerkamp, Council, and Fairbanks, *Telfair Site*, 169.
[210] Ibid., 83.
[211] Ibid., 84.
[212] Geismar, "Nightsoil," 57.
[213] Elliott, *Deep, Dirty Sercrets*, 123; Robert E. Genheimer, "Archaeology at Convington"," in *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 105, *EBSCO*, ebook, accessed March 26th, 2017.
[214] Trinkley, Adams, Hacker, *Owens-Thomas*, 4.

wealthy antebellum homeowners are instructive for the way they are built and incorporated into the owner's lot. These include the privies of the Gally House in New Orleans, those of the Aiken-Rhett House in Charleston, and the Waring House privy in Mobile.

The Gally House was built in the 1830's, and the enslaved lived here in a three-story brick dwelling that was built behind the main house on the opposite side of the lot. The living quarters of the enslaved here mimicked in materials that of the main home, and contained three floors: a lower floor with privies for the residence, a second floor containing the kitchen, and a third floor with rooms for the enslaved.[215] The Aiken-Rhett House in Charleston contained six outbuildings within the confines of the lot, all added in the 1830s. The privies were placed in the two back corners of the lot, as far away from the main house as possible. The privies and all of the outbuildings were constructed with brick, following the fashion of the main house, and also contained similar gothic stylings. The privies for example were built with lancet windows.[216] The Waring House privy in Mobile contained three private privies for the enslaved, for men, and for women and children, all within one small building constructed with a stucco exterior. The aring house privies were built behind the main residence.[217]

Trash Pits, oftentimes no more than a repurposed privy, are another common feature of the archaeological landscape. According to one author's description, in Savannah, Charleston, Fort Frederica, and St. Augustine, "trash pits dot the tything-lot landscape across the middle and rear areas."[218] Unlike privies, the soil in trash pits was typically not nutrient-rich and did not work to preserve deposited items,[219] unless of course a privy was also used as a trash receptacle, which was oftentimes the case. But trash pits preserved deposited items in another way; through time, they often remain unmolested by activity due to being dug well below the surface. Because trash pits were typically only open and utilized for a short period of time, the items they contain can illustrate an assemblage from a particular time slot.[220] Oftentimes, all the pieces of a broken object can be found in trash pits, whereas the random scattering of garbage across a backyard area is not conducive to preserving the whole of an item. Moreover, trash pits are one of the most informative archaeological features. In addition to often preserving whole items such as broken

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[215] Vlach, "Without Recourse to Owners," 153-154.
[216] Vlach, "Without Recourse to Owners," 153-154.
[217] Ibid., 154.
[218] Honerkamp, Council, and Fairbanks, *Telfair Site*, 169.
[219] Hume, *Historical Archaeology*, 141.
[220] Ibid., 142.

ceramics, they can also indicate the location from which deposits were made, pointing to the former presence of another dwelling.[221]

Like the excavation of urban privies, trash pits have been discovered on sites in Savannah and Charleston, as well as in other cities such as New Orleans and Mobile.[222] Typically, trash pits and refuse was concentrated in close proximity to outbuildings.[223] Both the Aiken-Rhett and John Rutledge House excavations in Charleston uncovered trash pits, and in the archaeological studies of the Charleston Powder Magazine, the artifacts recovered from trash pits were the most illustrative of how the magazine was used during the late colonial period.[224] More recently in 2014, a trash pit, as well as a former privy repurposed as a trash pit, were discovered during archaeological investigations at the Davenport House. These features allowed archaeologists to uncover new details about the health, diet, and local environment of Savannah in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as how these categories specifically applied to the Davenports.[225]

Like privies, *wells* were repurposed nearly as much both during and after their initial period of use and often became trash receptacles.[226] Correspondingly, they have the potential to hold some of the most valuable deposits of artifacts. Although wells did not have the nutrient rich soil like privies, there preservation potential is twofold and combines the value of previously discussed features. As one author describes:

> To the archaeologist, wells hold all the promise of both privies and rubbish pits; the moisture preserves organic materials and metals, as well as cushioning the fall of large objects and enabling them to be recovered intact.[227]

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[221] Ibid.

[222] Shannon Lee Dawdy, "Ethnicity in the Urban Landscape: The Archaeology of Creole New Orleans, in *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), *EBSCO*, ebook, accessed March 26th, 2017; Bonnie L. Gums and George W. Shorter, "Mobile's Waterfront: The Development of a Port City," in *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), *EBSCO*, ebook, accessed March 26th, 2017.

[223] Martha A. Zierden and Bernard L. Herman, "Charleston Townhouses: Archaeology, Architecture, and the Urban Landscape, 1750-1850," in *Landscape Archaeology*, eds. Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 212.

[224] Zierden and Grimes, *John Rutledge House*; Zierden, *Aiken-Rhett House;* Martha A. Zierden, "Charleston's Powder Magazine and the Development of a Southern City," in *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 101, *EBSCO*, ebook, accessed March 26th, 2017.

[225] Elliott, *Deep, Dirty Secrets*, V.

[226] Zierden and Grimes, *John Rutledge*, 83; Honerkamp, Council, and Fairbanks, *Telfair Site*, 16; Hume, *Historical Archaeology,* 144.

[227] Hume, *Historical Archaeology*, 144.

Also like privies and trash pits, wells were a common if not required element of the urban plot and are common features found during archaeological studies in the urban south. As one author describes of Savannah during the colonial and antebellum periods, "in almost all private houses of any importance, there was a well."[228] A census of Savannah taken in 1847 indicated twenty-two brick houses and a corresponding twenty-two private wells in Jasper Ward, the location of the Sorrel-Weed House.[229] Francis Sorrel's house was completed around 1841 and it was constructed of brick. This census surely includes his home and his well in its calculation.

Ideally, wells would be placed on the middle portion of a lot, between the house and its associated outbuildings, and as far removed from privies as possible to avoid contamination.[230] Wells were usually built no deeper than sixteen feet at their end, with more shallow variations ranging from between ten to twelve feet.[231] Like privies, they can be identified during excavations by the presence of brick or stone courses below the surface, as well as by small projections above surface of about two feet.[232] Over time, the spatial limitations of the urban lot and the creation of new privies created a pattern where wells and privies would invariably creep closer together, often resulting in sewage seeping into well water.[233]

Root cellars like their foregoing counterparts were also subfloor features, oftentimes dug haphazardly into the earth underneath kitchen floors, accessible by a ladder through a trap door.[234] These cellars often took the shape of a rectangle and could be of any size. Some of these were mere holes, but others could have wood reinforcement on the sides and bottom.[235] As the name suggests, root cellars were used to preserve root vegetables, such as turnips, potatoes, and carrots.[236] These storage spaces were meant to counteract the effects of humidity and temperature upon foods, especially fruits and vegetables, and it was recommended that root cellars be dug to a depth of ten feet for maximum benefit.[237] The practice of "root cellaring," especially pits and

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[228] Charles Seton Henry Hardee, *Reminisces and Recollections of Old Savannah*, 127, quoted in Trinkley, Adams, and Hacker, *Owens-Thomas*, 9.

[229] Joseph Bancroft, *Census of the city of Savannah*, 2nd ed. (Savannah, E.J. Purse, 1848), 18, *Haiti Trust Digital Library*, accessed April 2, 2017.

[230] Honerkamp, Council, and Fairbanks, *Telfair Site*, 169.

[231] Trinkley, Adams, and Hacker, *Owens-Thomas*, 9; Hume, *Historical Archaeology*, 145.

[232] Ibid., 3.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Hume, 132.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Samford, *Subfloor Pits*, 124.

[237] Ibid., 130.

small rooms in basements or attics, is now believed to have incorporated a more diverse array of food storage.[238] Manuals written in England and the colonies encouraged the storage of vegetables in subfloor spaces.[239] There are three accounts about subfloor pits used as root cellars written by African Americans in the South. One of these described slave quarters in 1860s Virginia, in which a pit was dug into an earthen floor and was used to store sweet potatoes in the winter. The pit was sealed by being covered with boards.[240] Another of these describes a root cellar from 1850s New Bern, North Carolina, which consisted of a hole underneath the floor which held potatoes and prevented the clutter of other items.[241] The placement of root cellars in front of hearths in Virginia was also a common practice.[242] Root cellars, a type of subfloor pit, have in many cases, been labeled as markers of African American culture.[243] However, this analysis derives almost solely from Virginia, especially in the eighteenth century, in non-urban locales.

Methodology

Research

Research for this project encompassed a myriad of resources. Print sources have come extensively from Lane Library and interlibrary loan. Other print sources consulted include items from the Kay Kole Genealogy and Local History Room at the Bull Street Public Library and the City of Savannah Archives. Non-print sources include microfilm collections at the Chatham County Superior Courthouse, and various electronic resources, including: slave schedules, tax digests, and other digitized records from ancestry.com, digitized archaeology reports from the LAMAR Institute, Chicora Foundation, Charleston Museum, and numerous primary and secondary sources accessed through the Haiti Trust Digital Library, electronic books available in *GALILEO*, *JSTOR* journals, various digitized newspapers in the *Digital Library of Georgia,* and family papers in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's manuscript collection. Of particular importance were nineteenth century maps of Savannah.

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[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid., 125.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Ibid., 126.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ferguson, 58; James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996), 200.

Because it was predetermined that the focus of the excavations would cover the depressed portion of the basement floor, preliminary research, including GPR to determine the location of excavations was not undertaken. However, estate inventories for Francis Sorrel were reviewed for possible connections between these items and recovered artifacts, as well as historic newspaper articles advertising the sale of goods sold by Sorrel in his occupation as a merchant. Research was also particularly focused on identify the totality of enslaved individuals owned by Francis Sorrel who would have lived and worked at the house; identifying the date of construction for the carriage house, and investigating the veracity of the fate of the enslaved woman Molly, and the possibility that she would have been covertly interred in the carriage house basement.

Fieldwork & Methods

The first round of excavations took place between February and March 2017 and the second round, in September 2017. All work was open to the public. Fieldwork was conducted on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, increasing the likelihood of interaction with visitors to the Sorrel-Weed House. The original final report from the first round of excavations and the revised and updated version of the report containing the results of round two are accessible to the public through *Digging Savannah* and the Lane Library at Armstrong. The results of the study will also be presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference in New Orleans on January 3-7, 2018. A portion of this report will also be included in the forthcoming publication, *Ghostly Tidings: The Intersection of Hauntings and Archaeology.*

As has been previously indicated, all excavations took place in the basement of the carriage house, located behind the main home at the back (north) end of lot 6 in Jasper Ward. The garden area just outside the carriage house provided a space for screening and interacting with the public. Professor Laura Seifert oversaw and directed the excavations. She was assisted directly by Research Assistant Chase Freeman, and the totality of the project was the focus of two semesters of research for Graduate Student Kelly Westfield. Seifert, Freeman, and Westfield were assisted by the generous efforts of several Armstrong students named in the foregoing acknowledgements section. In order to access the soil for excavations, the brick floor of the basement was removed. The soil excavated and screened during round two of the study was

back-filled at the completion of the project. However, we were instructed to not replace the brick flooring.

At the conclusion of the round one of excavations and the uncovering of a large pit feature (feature 2) containing a large quantity of artifacts, it was determined that the second round of excavations in the next academic semester would focus on excavating the remaining portion of the feature. We also determined that the placement of an additional test unit excavated in round two would attempt to uncover a builder's trench or original building foundations. Test unit dimensions measured 1 x 2 meters and all soil was screened with one-quarter dry mesh screens. Levels were removed in 10 cm increments, or until a change in soil was encountered. A Munsell Soil Color Chart was used throughout the excavations. Features and levels were drawn in plan and profile views and were photographed, and field notes and forms were completed for each level and feature. With the exception of the E/W orientation of test unit 3, test units were oriented on a N/S axis.

Results

Artifact Analysis

All artifacts (n=1,118) were processed by Instructor Laura Seifert and graduate student Kelly Westfield at the Anthropology Lab at Armstrong State University in Savannah, Georgia. All artifacts were cleaned, analyzed, and catalogued between March and April 2017 and in October 2017. The artifacts were placed in archivally sound plastic bags and labeled and will remain in the Armstrong Anthropology Lab until requested by the Sorrel-Weed House staff. Items were catalogued in Microsoft Access according to Stanley South's cataloging system. Soil and faunal analyses were not conducted in this study, but remain open as future research projects. A short-wave UV light was used to analyze ceramics that were recovered, and was particularly helpful in identifying white porcelain absent of any colors or patterns. A small glass sherd with identifiable letters recovered from test unit 2 was the only item recovered for which a definitive identification could be made. An intriguing piece of jewelry shares a striking resemblance to items for sale in turn of the century mail order catalogs.

Test Unit 1

Test unit 1 was a cross-section of the deepest part of the depression in the basement floor, oriented on a N/S axis. A total of 2 levels and 5 features were excavated, with the majority of

recovered artifacts coming from level 1, feature 2. While initially it was thought that test unit 1 could be completed in a relatively short amount of time, the project unexpectedly lasted much longer than was anticipated, due to anomalies in the soil and unusual features. Although test unit 1 was finished during our initial round of excavations in spring 2017, a large pit uncovered in the unit (feature 2) was not fully excavated until the second round of excavations in fall 2017. Feature 2 was the most prominent finding in test unit 1.

Level 1

Level 1 was excavated to a depth of 10 cm. Overlying Feature 2 and Level 3, this layer was immediately below the brick floor, which was removed prior to excavation. Soil in this level was 10 YR/ 2/1, black. This soil was very dark and organic and contained an abundance of coal; 18 kg (apx. 37 lbs.) of coal was weighed and discarded along with 2 kg (apx. 4.5 lbs.) of brick. Artifacts recovered in Level 1 (n=184) included items from various categories, including arms, kitchen, architecture, furniture, and several miscellaneous artifacts. Some of the more notable artifacts included a Minie ball and an upholstery tack.

Coal constituted the largest number of artifacts recovered from this level (n=59) not including the approximately 37 lbs. that was discarded. An animal tooth was also uncovered and was the only one in the entire assemblage of Test Unit 1. Additional animal bones discovered (N=24) were largely small fragments. Level 1 contained 32 heavily corroded, largely unidentifiable metal artifacts. The oldest artifact recovered was a piece of aqua bottle glass with a start date of 1800, as well as light aqua window glass. The latest possible end date also pertained to the aqua bottle glass, dating to 1920. Level 1 contained the same dark, organic soil as Feature 2, and also mimicked its artifact assemblage in smaller amounts.

Level 1 is certainly the top layer of the pit fill, or the top layer of Feature 2. Unfortunately, a small piece of masking tape was found in this level, indicating a very recent disturbance. However, this may have come from recent repair or movement of the bricks, and may not have involved the disturbance of the entire Level 1. The soil in level 1 was extremely compact.

Test Unit 1: Level 1 Artifacts

Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
1	9	AC0120	red/orange		tiny fragments; multiple types of brick	Brick, handmade		
1	2	AG0301	light aqua			Window glass, sized	1804	
1	15	AM1507			heavily corroded	Nail fragment, unidentified		
1	2	AR0108	tan		sand mortar	Mortar		
1	1	FM0106	green	partial		Tack, upholstery		
1	24	KF0101	brown			Bone, unidentified		
1	1	KF0102	white	partial		Animal teeth		
1	1	KG0304	aqua	body		Bottle, aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
1	3	MF0101	black			Coal		
1	23	MF0101	dark gray		dull	Coal		
1	3	MF0101	black		coal with iron concretion	Coal		
1	30	MF0101	black		hard; shiny	Coal		
1	34	MF0103				Cinder/clinker		
1	12	MF0104	brown			Wood, unidentified		
1	17	MM9901			heavily corroded and fragmented	Iron fragment, unidentified		
1	1	MZ0102			masking tape	Modern miscellaneous		
1	1	RM0104	gray	whole	Iron rusted onto base	Minie ball	1852	
1	1	ZG0904	colorless	body		Glass lamp body		
1	3	ZM1208			heavily corroded,	Iron flat strip		
1	1	ZM1247				Screw		

Feature 2

After completing Level 1, a piece of bone was identified on the surface, within a clearly defined area of dark, coal-laden soil. This area was treated as feature 2. Outside of the dark soil feature was a very tan soil. Overall, the dark, organic soil in feature 2 was extremely compact. The soil of feature 2 was 10 YR 2/1 black, loamy sand mottled with 10 YR 3/3 dark brown sand. Feature 2 was overlain by level 1, and was excavated beginning at a NE depth of 8 cm below surface and a SE depth of 7 cm below surface. Closing elevations for feature 2 were 60 cm NE,

68 cm SE and 48 cm SW (all elevations were measured below surface). After excavations began, it became clear that the difference in soil between feature 2 and the surrounding tan soil was due to the fact that feature 2 was a pit that had been backfilled. The pit's south wall was much more compact than the north wall. The south wall also had distinct gouges that appeared to be individual shovel marks from the pit's original excavation. The north wall was much looser and in between archaeological excavations, partially collapsed.

The pit was excavated until reaching subsoil to a depth of 80 cm. The sides of the pit were remarkably straight, whereas the bottom of the pit was deepest at its center (80 cm). The pit was replete with coal; a total of 76 kg (apx. 168 lbs.) was weighed and discarded. The pit was by far the deepest feature excavated, intruding on level 3, feature 5, and feature 6. Plan and profile drawings were taken and a south profile photograph taken.

Feature 2 contained by far the largest number of artifacts (N=591) constituting 58.2% of all artifacts recovered during round 1 and 2 exacavtions. It also contained the most diverse assemblage of items. The pit contained the largest amount of heavily corroded unidentified metal objects (N=201), faunal remains (N=78), slag (N=105) and was also the only feature in test unit 1 to contain ceramics: small sherds of English hard-paste porcelain, creamware, redware, whiteware, and coarse earthenware were all found in small amounts in (N=14). In addition to the ceramics, some of the other notable artifacts included personal items such as an unidentified piece of jewelry, pencil lead, a .32 caliber cartridge, and a glass goblet base. Feature 2 contained the largest amount of bottle glass (N=15) in various colors including aqua, light aqua, colorless, amber/olive, and olive green. The pit also contained 111 pieces of various brick types, mostly droplet size, but some whole bricks and large chunks. The oldest artifact in Feature 2 was a small sherd of creamware (start date 1762) and a small piece of hand painted creamware (start date 1765). Unfortunately, none of the ceramics contained any identifiable maker's marks or designs. The latest start date pertained to the glass bottle pieces with fine lipping finish that set the TPQ for the feature and test unit 1 of 1880.

Feature 2 appears to be a refuse disposal pit, but its not known if this was what this pit was originally used for. Its depth seems to shallow to indicate a privy, as it is only 80 cm deep (apx. 2ft, 7in) and 86 cm wide. Although only a portion of the pit was excavated, it's clear that the remainder of the depression running E-W is the additional length of the pit.



Above: From left to right: a minie ball, animal tooth, and upholstery tack recovered from test unit 1, feature 2. **Below**: Just a few of the heavily corroded metal artifacts recovered from test unit 1, feature 2, many of which are likely hardware. Photo Credit: Kelly Westfield.













Top, Left: Clean troweling after excavation of level 1, test unit 1, showing dark, semi circular outline of feature 2 pit. **Middle, Left**: A piece of animal bone on the surface of feature 2, after completing excavation of level 1, test unit 1. **Bottom, left**: Measuring test unit 1 prior to excavations. **Top, Right**: Armstrong student volunteers screening for artifacts. **Bottom, right**: A planview of feature 2 pit after completing excavations. Photo Credits: Kelly Westfield & Laura Seifert.



Above: Some of the heavily corroded metal artifacts recovered from feature 2, test unit 1, after assembling them in the lab. Photo Credit: Kelly Westfield.



Top: Assemblage of all test unit 1 ceramics, recovered from feature 2, including once small sherd of hand painted creamware, English/European hard-paste porcelain, and one small sherd of redware, among others. **Bottom**: From left to right, unidentified jewelry, small glass bottle lip and neck, likely a pharmacy bottle, .32 caliber casing, and glass wine goblet base from feature 2. Photo Credits: Kelly Westfield.









Test unit 1, feature 2 faunal remains. **Top:** clear butcher marks are present. **Bottom left**: small bones from fowl or rodents. **Bottom right**: larger sized bones with some joint cavities visible. Photo Credits: Kelly Westfield.

Test Unit 1: Feature 2 Artifacts

Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
ft. 2	9	AC0120	Grey, red	small	small pieces only	Brick, handmade		
ft 2	6	AC0120	grey	large	Likely Savannah grey	Brick, handmade		
ft 2	4	AC0121	red	various	One whole brick, 2 sections, 1 chunk, 3 BAT	Brick, machine made		
ft 2	1	AC0199	orange	water drop size		Brick, unspecified		
ft 2	91	AC0199	various	small, tiny	dark red, red, orange, grey colored brick pieces	Brick, unspecified		
ft 2	5	AG0301	light aqua			Window glass, sized	1804	
ft 2	1	AR0108	white	large	large chunk	Mortar		
ft 2	1	CF0600	green		woven ribbon	Ribbon		
ft 2	1	ZM1299	unknown	round	heavily rusted			
ft 2	29	FM0105	ferrous	small	small metal straps, corroded	Strap		
ft 2	1	KC0114	white	base		Porcelain, English hard-paste	1768	2009
ft 2	1	KC0114	white	rim		Porcelain, English hard-paste	1768	2009
ft 2	6	KC0114	white	body	one sherd has a molded design	Porcelain, English hard-paste	1794	2009
ft 2	1	KC0604	cream	body	flatwear	Creamware, plain	1762	1820
ft 2	1	KC0606	cream, blue	body	flatwear	Creamware, hand painted	1765	1810
ft 2	2	KC0700	white	body	flatwear	Whiteware, plain	1820	2009

ft 2	1	KC1296	tan	flake	high sheen; ridges	Coarse earthenware, lead glazed		
ft 2	1	KC1302	red	body		Redware, clear glazed, plain		
ft 2	5	KF0101	brown		sections of long bones; some cavities visible	Bone, unidentified		
ft 2	2	KF0101	brown	flat	Some BM	Bone, unidentified		
ft 2	1	KF0101	brown	T-shaped	spinal cord covering?	Bone, unidentified		
ft 2	39	KF0101	brown	flakes/small chunks		Bone, unidentified		
ft 2	5	KF0101	brown	lobule	some long bone heads	Bone, unidentified		
ft 2	5	KF0101	brown	small, elongated cylindrical	small animal bones	Bone, unidentified		
ft 2	16	KF0101	brown	various	various sized pieces; some BM	Bone, unidentified		
ft 2	5	KF0101	brown	small and flakes		Bone, unidentified		
ft 2	7	KF0104	white	normal	white, powdery, fragile; 4 shells, 3 pieces	Shell, oyster		
ft 2	1	KG0227	colorless	body	thin-walled	Bottle, paneled	1867	
ft 2	1	KG0232	colorless	finish and neck	pharma bottle; patent (hand) finished	Bottle, fine lipping tool finish	1880	1920
ft 2	1	KG0232	colorless	base sherd	no mold marks; handmade	Bottle, fine lipping tool finish	1880	1920
ft 2	1	KG0232	light aqua	body lip	flat front	Bottle, fine lipping tool finish	1880	1920

ft 2	2	KG0299	olive green	body		Bottle, amber/olive green glass		1900
ft 2	1	KG0299	Amber-olive	body	some base; bubbles present	Bottle, amber/olive green glass		1900
ft 2	4	KG0300	light aqua	body		Bottle, light aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
ft 2	1	KG0301	colorless	body		Bottle, colorless bottle glass	1870	
ft 2	3	KG0304	aqua	body		Bottle, aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
ft 2	1	KG0503	colorless	base	mold marks and some stem	Tableware, goblet base		
ft 2	1	MF0101	black and grey	small to tiny	some very black with high sheen; some grey	Coal		
ft 2	1	MF0104	dark brown	tiny	burned	Wood, unidentified		
ft 2	5	MF0104	brown	small	some pieces burned	Wood, unidentified		
ft 2	1	MM9901			possible nail; carbonized; heavily burned?	Iron fragment, unidentified		
ft 2	2	MM9903	brown		possible burn marks	Slag		
ft 2	12	MM9903		small	some burning	Slag		
ft 2	91	MM9903	multi	various		Slag		
ft 2	1	MP9901	off-white		corner piece w/ intact edges; 3D; only plastic in test unit found	Plastic, unidentified		
ft 2	1	MR0122	colorless		probable quartzite;	Unmodified stone		

					multiple facets; not flake			
ft 2	1	PF0201		linear	pencil lead?	Pencil, part		
ft 2	1	PZ0104			plastic and metal pendant	Jewelry parts		
ft 2	1	RM0102	green	partial	possible .33; corroded w/ petina	Brass/copper cartridge	1814	
ft 2	2	ZC0201	terra cotta	base, body	terra cotta flower pot	Flower pot, ceramic		
ft 2	3	ZG0904	colorless	body		Glass lamp body		
ft 2	1	ZM1208		square		Iron flat strip		
ft 2	1	ZM1247	ferrous	small		Screw		
ft 2	2	ZM1299	ferrous	large, curved		Metal object, unidentified		
ft 2	105	ZM1299	ferrous	small		Metal object, unidentified		
ft 2	1	ZM1299	ferrous	small		Metal object, unidentified		
ft 2	35	ZM1299	ferrous	small		Metal object, unidentified		
Ft. 2	13	ZM1299	ferrous	small		Metal object, unidentified		
Ft. 2	4	ZM1299	ferrous	large		Metal object, unidentified		
Ft. 2	32	ZM1299	Ferrous	small		Metal object, unidentified		
Ft. 2	1	ZM1299				Metal object, unidentified		
Ft. 2	6	ZM1299	ferrous	small		Metal object, unidentified		

Ft. 2	4	ZR0302	Grey	Large,small		Slate, unidentified		

Level 3

Level 3 was overlain by level 1 and intruded by feature 2. It also overlies levels 4, 5, & 6. This soil was excavated throughout the test pit, excepting the previously excavated feature 2 area. Level 3 depths ranged from 2 to 7 cm. Level 3 soil was very compact and mottled, consisting of 10 YR 2/2, very dark brown sand and 2.5 Y 4/4, olive brown sand. There were also patches of Level 1 soil, 10 YR 2/1, black. Level 3 contained very few artifacts of a limited assemblage: only small brick pieces, unidentified heavily corroded metal objects, and coal were recovered (N=62). One kg (apx. 2.2 lbs.) of coal was weighed and discarded.

Feature 4

After completing the excavation of level 3, very unusual soil patterns were uncovered, particularly in the southwest corner of the test unit. This area was treated as feature 4. Feature 4 was overlain by level 3 and excavated beginning at a NE depth of 18 cm and was excavated to a depth of 30 cm. Feature 4 soil was 10 YR 3/2, very dark grayish brown sand mottled with 10 YR 2/2, very dark brown, and 10 YR 5/2, grayish brown sand. This feature was almost completely sterile, containing only 1 heavily corroded, unidentifiable metal artifact. A plan drawing and photographs were taken of feature 4.

Feature 5

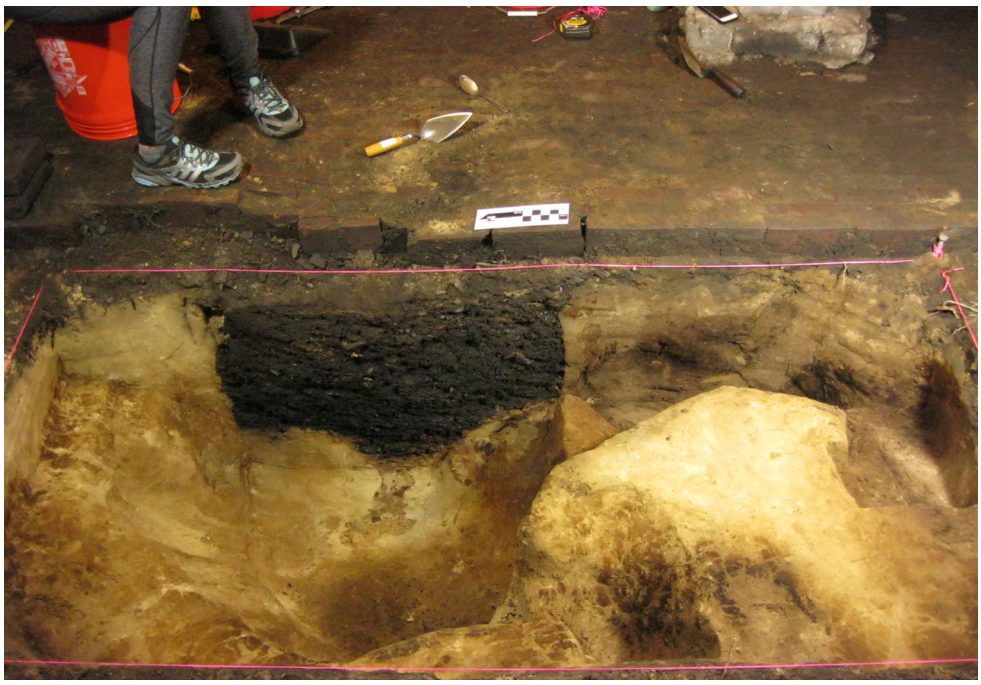
Unusual stratigraphy also emerged in the remaining portion of the test unit, after the excavation of level 3. Feature 5 was excavated beginning at a SW depth of 18 cm and a NW depth of 10 cm. Closing elevations were 35 cm SW and 30 cm NW. Feature 5 was overlain by level 3, overlies subsoil, and was intruded by feature 2. Although the stratigraphy in this feature was incredibly complex, it was nearly sterile. Only a small amount of coal, brick, and slate were found (N=39) in very minute pieces. Feature 5 soil was extremely mottled, containing 10 YR 6/2, light brownish gray, 10 YR 4/6, dark yellowish brown, and 10 YR 6/3, pale brown sand. This feature's soil was along the surface of the test unit as well as the walls of feature 2. One explanation for this is that feature 2 was open for some length of time, and the exposed, sandy

subsoil collapsed. This would explain the lack of artifacts as well as the strange mottling observed. A plan drawing was done, and plan photographs taken.

Features 6 & 7

Feature 6 was a small portion of the northeast corner of the test unit, overlain by level 3, overlying subsoil, and intruded by feature 2. The soil in this feature was 10 YR 7/3, very pale brown sand. Opening elevations for feature 6 were 13 cm, and the feature was excavated to a depth of 26 cm below surface. Feature 6 was also nearly sterile, containing only small pieces of coal (N=27). A plan drawing and photographs were taken of feature 6. Feature 7 was located opposite feature 6, in the southeast corner of the test unit. Opening elevations were 10 cm NE and closing elevations were 60 cm NE and 72 cm SE. Feature 7 was overlain by Level 3. Although feature 7 was another area containing unusual soil patterns, this feature was completely sterile.

As excavations continued and layers of soil were removed through level 3 to feature 7, the stratigraphy of test unit 1 became more and more puzzling. Soil mottling was reminiscent of animal print or giraffe-like patterns, which continued to emerge throughout the test unit. Excavation found these deeper soil levels to be sterile or nearly so. According to Laura Seifert via personal communication, these unusual patterns in the subsoil were also observed in the subsoil of Madison Square at a similar depth of more than 6 feet below surface. Archaeologists made these observations during the 2008-2009 Savannah Under Fire project, and Seifert confirmed this by reviewing field photographs, which were not contained in the final report.



Above: Profile view of Test Unit 1, complete, showing the black soil of Feature 2 (pit) and the surrounding incredibly complex stratigraphy. **Below**: Angled view of Test Unit 1. Photo Credits: Laura Seifert.





Above: Plan View of Test Unit 1, complete, showing complex stratigraphy and odd soil patterns. Photo Credit: Laura Seifert.



Above: Planview of test unit 2, after completing the excavation of level 1. The remaining portion of the pit feature found in test unit 1 (feature 2) is clearly delineated by the dark, semicircular portion of soil. Photo Credit: Laura Seifert

Test Unit 2

Test unit 2 was oriented on a N/S axis and was parallel to test unit 1 on its eastern border. A total of 2 levels and 1 feature were excavated. The remaining portion of the large pit discovered in test unit 1 (feature 2) was excavated, and similar artifacts were recovered. Test unit 2 was completed over the course of one weekend in September 2017, unlike test unit 1 which took several weekends to complete. Having excavated the entirety of the pit which spanned test units 1 and 2 (feature 2 in both) we were able to rule out the presence of human remains and conclude again that the depression in the basement floor was caused by this large pit.

Level 1

Closing elevations for level 1 were at 4 cm NE, 10 cm SE, 3 cm SW and 5 cm NW. Overlying Feature 2 and Level 3, this layer was immediately below additional brick flooring, which was

removed prior to excavation. Soil in this level was 10 YR/ 2/1, black clay. The eastern most border of the pit feature discovered in test unit 1 was clearly delineated in this level. Artifacts recovered in Level 1 (n=37) included items from the categories of kitchen, architecture, and miscellaneous metal objects, but the prominent items included various types of glass and ceramics. More coal was found in level 1 but was weighed and discarded (1.75 kg). More brick was also found in this level, but it was determined to have come from the brick floor when it was removed prior to excavation and from the remaining brick floor on the periphery of test unit.

Three anomalous artifacts were discovered: Easter basket grass, three small pieces of formed plastic, and thin, evergreen colored glass. Although older artifacts were found in this level, the latter two of these items indicate a more recent period of disturbance. The evergreen colored glass did not match any other pieces of glass recovered. The earliest start dates for level pertained to milk glass (ca. 1743) and English hard-paste porcelain (ca. 1768). However, milk glass continued to be manufactured through 2009 and English hard paste is still made today. End dates pertained to amber/olive and light aqua bottle glass, corresponding with 1900 and 1920 respectively. Artifacts from level 1 consisted mostly of various types of kitchen glass (N=20) and ceramics (N=9).

Test Unit 2: Level 1 Artifacts

Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
1	2	KG0299	amber/olive	irregular	body; some bubbles	amber/olive bottle glass		1900
1	3	KG0501	colorless	irregular	small sherds; curved	tableware, clear, curved glass		
1	3	KG0300	light aqua	irregular	small sherds	light aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
1	1	KG0516	colorless	irregular	thick	glass, other		
1	2	KG0182	white	irregular	thin	milk glass	1743	2009
1	2	KG0516	Evergreen	irregular	thin; base lip visible	glass, other		
1	3	KC0114	White	irregular	corner/edge pieces; base lip visible	porcelain, English hard-paste	1768	
1	1	KC0399	pale blue	irregular	curved	stoneware, unidentified		
1	3	MP9901	colorless	various	tube, clip, rim	plastic		
1	3	AC0120	red	irregular		brick, handmade		

1	3	ZR0302	grey	irregular	floor or roof?	roof or floor slate		
1	3	MM9903	multi	irregular		slag		
1	1	MF0104	brown	irregular	singed wood chip	wood		
1	6	AM1504	rusted	various	some heavily corroded	nails		
1	1	AM1504	rusted	linear	heavily corroded; likely a nail	nails		

Feature 2

Feature 2 consisted of the remaining portion of the pit feature unearthed in level 1 during round 1 excavations. Feature 2 is overlain by level 1 and intrudes level 3. Opening elevations for feature 2 were at 4cm NW with closing elevations of 70 cm NW, corresponding with the depth of the pit. Soil in feature 2 was 10 YR 2/1 black sand with a large amount of coal similar to what was recovered in test unit 1, level 1, feature 2. All coal (7.75 kg) was weighed and discarded. Corresponding with the large quantity of artifacts recovered from the pit feature in test unit 1 (N=591) the majority of artifacts recovered from test unit 2 were excavated in feature 2 (N=361). Three unique artifacts were excavated from feature 2: A round metal artifact resembling a wheel, a large iron strap with a wood core, and a glass sherd with identifying letters. The wheel-like object resembles a castor or pulley wheel. The wheel, metal strap, and other iron objects were heavily corroded.

Categories of artifacts recovered from feature 2 were predominantly faunal remains (N=42), coal (N=50) which included an additional discarded amount of 7.75 kg, a large collection of heavily corroded, largely identifiable metal artifacts (N=102) identical to what was discovered in the pit during the excavation of test unit 1, as well as brick, consisting of a few solid bricks and several small pieces (N=70).





Top Left: Heavily corroded metal strap with wood core recovered from feature 2.
Bottom Left: Faunal remains from feature 2, including several large teeth recovered from a partially intact jaw.
Photo Credits: Kelly Westfield.



Left: A sliver of a pulley or castor wheel recovered from feature 2. Photo Credit: Kelly Westfield

Test Unit 2: Feature 2 Artifacts

Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
ft. 2	3	KC0114	White	irregular	lip, base. Panneling/edges visible	Porcelain, English hard-paste	1768	
ft. 2	1	KC9903	White & Blue	Irregular	white with blue stripes	earthenware, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	KC0806	White, Yellow, Blue	irregular	Yellow base one side, white and hand-painted blue on other	spongedware, with painted design on yellowware	1840	1870
ft. 2	1	KG0299	amber/olive	irregular	curved; bubbling present	amber/olive bottle glass		1900
ft. 2	1	KG0253	colorless		Lip and partial neck of bottle	bottle, applied finish	1800	1885
ft. 2	2	KG0501	colorless	irregular	curved	tableware, clear curved glass		
ft. 2	1	AG0313	colorless	thin	cloudy	window glass, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	KG0110	light aqua	thin	Letters "HYP.." and 'of' visible; front body portion of pharma bottle	bottle, pharmaceutical, emboassed letters	1858-1864	
ft. 2	1	CC0101	white		4-hole	button, porcelain		
ft. 2	5	AR0108	white	round		mortar		
ft. 2	1	AC0120	grey	irregular		brick, handmade		

ft. 2	2	KF0104	white			shell, oyster		
ft. 2	4	KF0102	white/brown	large	4 large teeth, well preserved; part of an intact jaw which crumbled; likely cow; large butcher mark	animal teeth		
ft. 2	7	KF0101	brown	irregular	Pieces of a formerly intact large animal jaw/mandible	bone, partial jaw		
ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown	long/linear	Large portion of longbone; includes articulating/joint head	bone, partial long bone		
ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown	half sphere	head of longbone; butcher marks	bone, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown	irregular	irregular, nodule shaped with fissures and articulation points; vertebra?	bone, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown		knuckle? Matching bone found in TU 1	bone, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown	irregular	skull fragment	bone, unidentified		
ft. 2	2	KF0101	brown	irregular	large chunks showing spongy bone	bone, unidentified		
ft. 2	3	KF0101	brown	irregular	small chuncks showing spongy bone	bone, unidentified		
ft. 2	4	KF0101	brown	linear	long bone fragments; some chicken/rodent?	bone, unidentified		
ft. 2	11	KF0101	brown	irregular	small fragments unidentified	bone, unidentified		
ft. 2	2	KF0104	white	irregular	small fragments	shell, oyster		
ft. 2	1	AM1504	rusted		heavily corroded	nail, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	unknown	rusted		looks like staple with weave pattern			
ft. 2	50	MF0101	black	irregular	COAL! Square/rectangular, small chunks; greyish tones; some shiny	coal		
ft. 2	70	AC0199	red, orange			brick, unspecified		
ft. 2	51	ZM1299	rusted	multi	heavily corroded; some nails/screws	metal object, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	KF0113	white			shell, unidentified		
ft. 2	2	FM0105	rusted	linear	heavily concreted/corroded	strap		
ft. 2	1	ZR1102	multi	round	smooth	ballast stone, small		

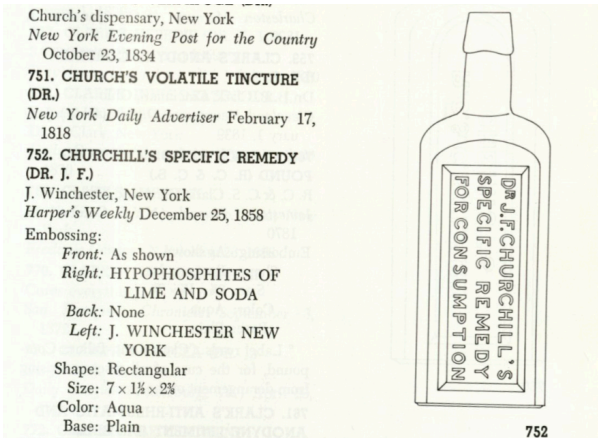
ft. 2	1	KG0159	colorless	square		bottle, pharmaceutical, fragment		
ft. 2	1	KG0306	amber	small	square sherd	amber bottle glass		
ft. 2	35	ZR0302	grey		nail hole present in one piece	Slate, flooring or roof		
ft. 2	2	KC0114	white	small		porcelain, English hard-paste	1768	
ft. 2	2	AG0313	colorless	small		window glass, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	KG0501	colorless	small	curved and cracked	tableware, clear, curved glass		
ft. 2	1	KG0304	aqua	small	tiny sherd	aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
ft. 2	1	AR0203	grey	large	nail hole present	slate		
ft. 2	19	AC0120	grey		Savannah grey	brick, handmade		
ft. 2	51	ZM1299	rusted	multi	heavily corroded; some nails/screws' concreted with coal	metal object, unidentified		
ft. 2	5	MF0104			linear/tube like shape pieces of wood (internal) and metal (external)	wood/metal, unidentified		
ft. 2	1	ZR0301	multi/red			marble/stone		
ft. 2	2	AR0108	white			mortar		
ft. 2	2	MM9903				slag		
ft. 2	1	cobble stone	grey/multi					
ft. 2	1	KF0113	white			shell, unidentified		

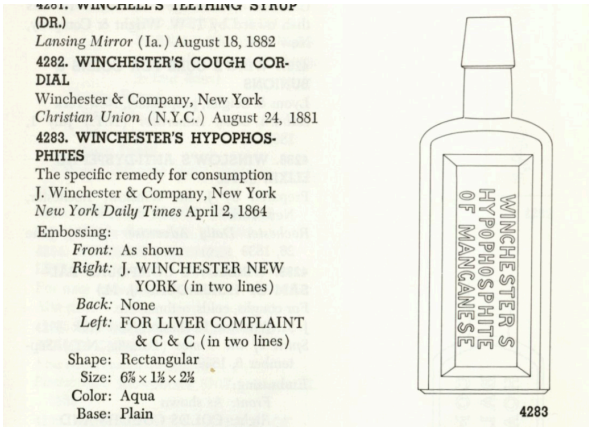
Just a few letters

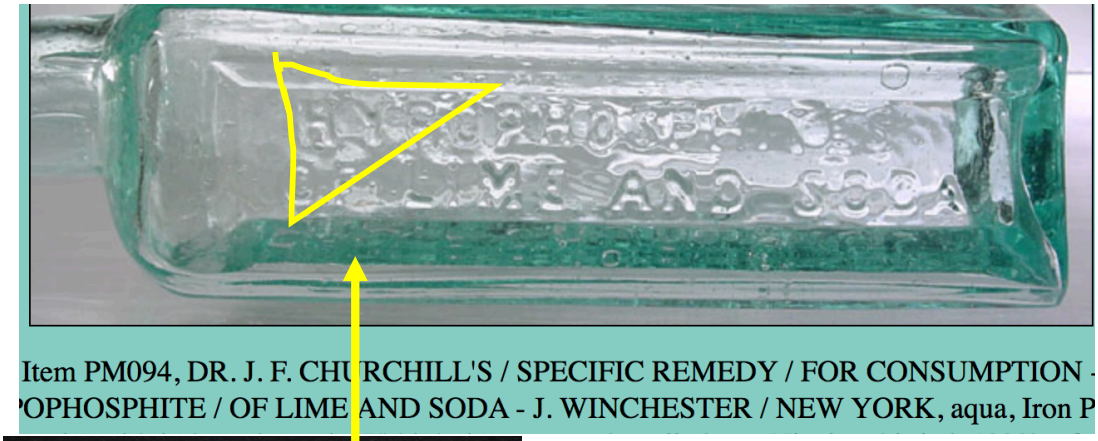
A small glass sherd with embossed letters, "hyp.." and "o.." found in feature 2 is the only artifact recovered during all excavations that can be more specifically identified. From among the seminal works which have compiled examples of nineteenth century proprietary medicine bottles, the letters "hyp" and the "o.." below it refers to either HYPOPHOSPHITES OF LIME AND SODA or HYPOPHOSPHITES OF MANGANESE.[244] In the case of the former,

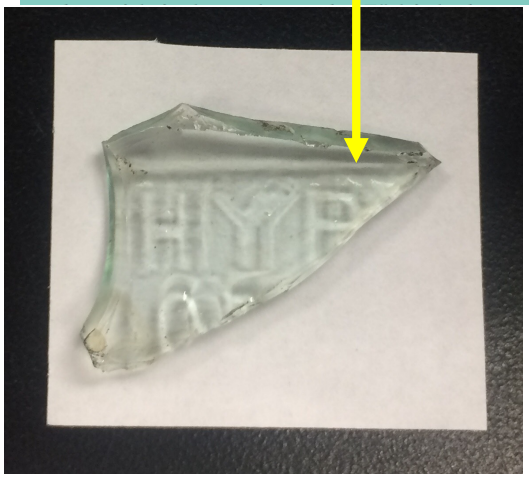
[244] See Joseph K. Baldwin, *Patent and Proprietary Medicine Bottles of the Nineteenth Century* (Nasheville: Thomas Nelson, 1973), p. 113; 527; Richard E. Fike, *The Bottle Book: A Comprehensive Guide to Historic, Embossed Medicine Bottles* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, 1987), 186.

hypophosphites of lime and soda was manufactured in New York by J. Winchester and was marketed additionally as, "Dr. J.F. CHURCHILL'S SPECIFIC REMEDY FOR CONSUMPTION." This medicine was advertised in *Harper's Weekly* as early as 1858.[245] The color, paneling, and letters as they appeared on this early medicine bottle match the sherd found in feature 2.







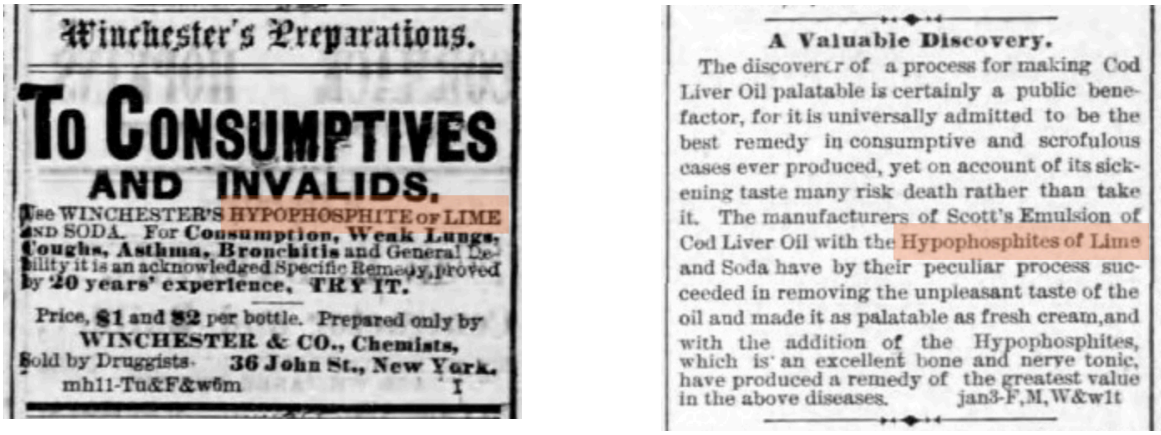


Top Left and Right: Descriptions and drawings of "HYPOPHOSPHITES OF LIME AND SODA" and "HYPOPHOSPHITES OF MANGANESE" from Baldwin's book. **Middle**: An intact example of Churchill's "HYPOPHOSPHITES OF LIME AND SODA" bottle, compared to the sherd found in feature 2 (**Bottom**). Intact bottle pictured on http://www.greatantiquebottles.com/pm094text.html.

[245] Baldwin, 113.

A search of nineteenth century newspapers in Savannah shows that Winchester's remedy of hypophosphites and lime was a popular advertisement in the *Savannah Morning News* in 1879, and indicated its additional use in the treatment of "Weak Lungs, Coughs, Asthma, Bronchitis, and General Debility."[246] "Scott's Emulsion of Cod Liver Oil with Hypophosphites of Lime and Soda" was another popular medicine advertised at the same time in Savannah, also claiming effectiveness in the treatment of consumption.[247] Although Scott's Emulsion was advertised in print sources with the wording "hypophosphites of lime and soda," the letters embossed on the brand's medicine bottles only included the words "Lime and Soda."

In the case of the latter, hypophosphites of manganese was also manufactured by J. Winchester of New York and was marketed "FOR LIVER COMPLAINT" and other ailments.[248] It was advertised in prominent newspapers as early as 1861.[249] An advertisement for hypophosphites of manganese was not identified in any Savannah newspapers, although this does not rule it out as a possibility for the bottle sherd found in feature 2.



Winchester's Preparations.

TO CONSUMPTIVES AND INVALIDS.

Use WINCHESTER'S HYPOPHOSPHITE OF LIME AND SODA. For Consumption, Weak Lungs, Coughs, Asthma, Bronchitis and General Debility it is an acknowledged Specific Remedy, proved by 20 years' experience. TRY IT.

Price, $1 and $2 per bottle. Prepared only by WINCHESTER & CO., Chemists, 36 John St., New York.

Sold by Druggists.

mh11-Tu&F&w6m

A Valuable Discovery.

The discoverer of a process for making Cod Liver Oil palatable is certainly a public benefactor, for it is universally admitted to be the best remedy in consumptive and scrofulous cases ever produced, yet on account of its sickening taste many risk death rather than take it. The manufacturers of Scott's Emulsion of Cod Liver Oil with the Hypophosphites of Lime and Soda have by their peculiar process succeeded in removing the unpleasant taste of the oil and made it as palatable as fresh cream, and with the addition of the Hypophosphites, which is an excellent bone and nerve tonic, have produced a remedy of the greatest value in the above diseases.

jan3-F,M,W&w1t

Above: "WINCHESTER'S HYPOPHOSPHITES of LIME and SODA" (left) and "Scott's Emulsion of Cod Liver Oil with the Hypophosphites of Lime and Soda" (right) were popular advertisements in the *Savannah Morning News* in 1879. Photo Credit: *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALIELO.

[246] *Savannah Morning News*, May 2, 1879, pg. 3, col. 3, "To Consumptives and Invalids…," *Savannah Historic Newspaper*s, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:smn1879-0419.

[247] *Savannah Morning News*, January 8, 1879, pg. 3, col. 5, "A Valuable Discovery," *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:smn1879-0027.

[248] Baldwin, 527; Fike, 186.

[249] Fike, 186.

Level 3

Level 3 consisted of a second layer of excavations surrounding feature 2. Level 3 was overlain by level 1 and intruded by feature 2. Opening elevations for level 3 were 4 cm NE, 10 cm SE, 3 cm SW, and 5 cm NW. Soil in level 3 was 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown sand mottled with 10YR 6/3 pale brown sand mottled with small amounts of 10YR 2/1 black sand. Level 3 was the final level of excavations in test unit 2, and aside from small pieces of brick (N=38) and heavily corroded metal objects, likely nails and screws (N=9) level 3 was relatively sterile.

Test Unit 3



Above: Planview of test unit 3, completed, showing the presence of additional bricks underneath the main brick floor.

Test unit 3 was oriented E-W and was located in the northeast corner of the carriage house basement. This location was chosen because the pit feature had been successfully excavated and the source of the depression in the basement floor accounted for, and team members agreed that attempting to locate a builder's trench or original remnants of the carriage house foundation would be worthwhile. Results from these efforts may have provided more evidence of a date for the carriage house's construction, which historic maps have called into question. Test unit 3 consisted of 2 levels and 1 feature, and a total of 148 artifacts were recovered. A large amount of slate was recovered (N=50), as well as brick (N=35) glass (N=10) and new types of ceramics (N=12). Test unit 3 was the final test unit excavated during phase two excavations. A probable builder's trench was found, and the presence of brick on the N and E sides of the unit was discovered after excavating level 1. Like test unit 2, test unit

3 was completed over the course of one weekend in September 2017. The recovery of small pieces of English hard-paste porcelain likely dates the trench to post-1850, but earlier dates are associated with a single piece of gilded lusterware with a start date of 1815.[250]

Level 1

Level 1 closing elevations were 4 cm NE, 5 cm SE, 3 cm SW and 1 cm NW. Level 1 soil was 10YR 2/1 black sandy. Level 1 contained 1 kg of coal which was weighed and discarded, and remnants of completely deteriorated bone which lotches or streaks in the soil. Artifacts excavated from level 1 (N=57) consisted of slate (N=14) coal (N=11) and glass (N=9) among others. Five small pieces of English hard-paste porcelain were also recovered. After the completion of level 1, remnants of an original brick floor or foundation were found bordering the N and E sides of the test unit.

Test Unit 3: Level 1 Artifacts

Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
1	14	ZR0302	grey	small		slate, unidentified		
1	11	MF0101	black	small		coal		
1	2	KG0299	amber/olive	small		amber/olive bottle glass		
1	3	MM9903	multi			slag		
1	2	KF0104	white			shell, oyster		
1	7	MF0104	brown	irregular	some heavily concreted with metal	wood, unidentified		
1	1	AG0313	colorless	irregular	thin	window glass, unidentified		
1	2	AR0108	white	irregular		mortar		
1	1	AC0199	orange			brick, unspecified		

[250] *Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum, State Museum of Archaeology*, Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland: "Luster decorate wares: Painted or stenciled", http://www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/Post-Colonial%20Ceramics/LusterDecoratedWares/index-Lusterware.html. *Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum, State Museum of Archaeology*, Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland: "Hard Paste Porcelain", www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/Porcelain/PorcelainWareDescriptions/HardPastePorcelain-intro.html

1	3	MM9901	rusted		small screw/nail	iron fragment, unidentified		
1	5	KC0114	white	small	beveling/paneling present on some	porcelain, English hard-paste		
1	4	KG0405	colorless	small		flat glass, unidentified		
1	1	KG0299	amber/olive	small		amber/olive bottle glass		
1	1	KG0306	amber	small		amber bottle glass		

Level 2

Level 2 was overlain by level 1 and overlies level 3. A TPQ of 1830 was established for level 2 based on the recovery of a small piece of yelloware. Closing elevations for level 2 were 11 cm NE, 12 cm SE, 13 cm SW, and 10 cm NW. Soil in level 2 consisted of 10 YR 2/1 black sandy, mottled with 10YR 5/2 grayish-brown sand. Level 2 artifacts (N=90) included several small fragments of slate (N=36) and brick (N=35) as well as small amounts of ceramic and glass. Similar to test units 1 and 2, and level 1 of test unit 3, a small amount of English hard-paste porcelain was also found in level 2.

Test Unit 3: Level 2 Artifacts

Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
2	2	KF0113	white	small		shell, unidentified		
2	1	KC0905	red/yellow	small	sherd; dark maroon one side, yellow other		1830	1900
2	1	KC0101	blue/white	small	sherd; floral design	Porcelain, Chinese Export		
2	1	KF0101	brown	small	small flake	bone, unidentified		
2	1	MM9901	rust	small	curve-like shape	Iron fragment, unidentified		
2	1	KC2399	white/green	small	sherd; floral design	transfer print, unidentified		
2	1	KC0114	white	small	small piece of tea cup handle.	Porcelain, English hard-paste		

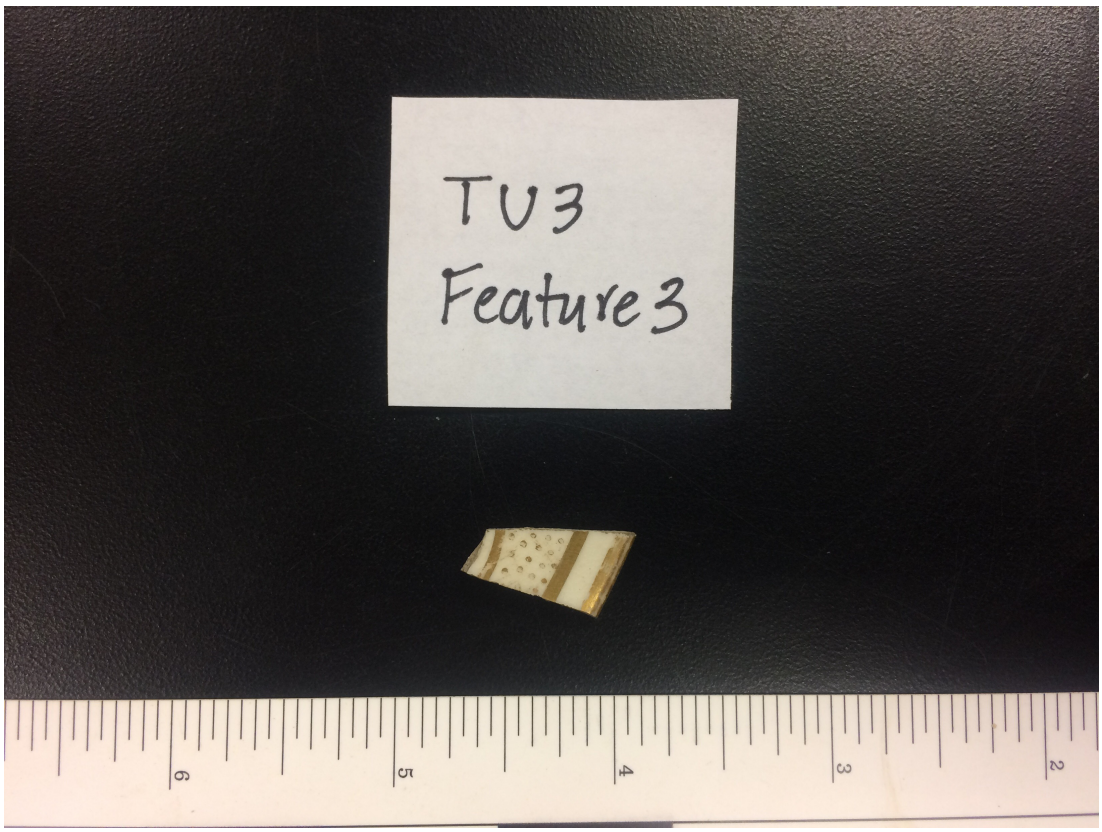
2	2	MF0104	brown	small	flakes	wood, unidentified		
2	2	KC0114	white	small	corner/square pieces	Porcelain, English hard-paste		
2	1	AG0313	colorless	small	sharp thin sherd	window glass, unidentified		
2	1	KG0501	colorless	small	small, curved sherd	Tableware, clear, curved glass		
2	36	ZR0203	grey	large	several large pieces, one with nail/screw hole	slate		
2	1	AR0108	brown	small		mortar		
2	20	AC0199	red, orange	small		brick, unspecified		
2	1	MM9901	rust	linear	nail, bolt, or screw; Heavily corroded	iron fragment, unidentified		
2	15	AC0120	grey	small	Savannah grey	brick, handmade		
2	1	ZR0301	red	small		marble, stone		
2	1	MM9903	grey			slag		
2	1	MM9901	rust			iron fragment, unidentified		

Feature 3

After completing the excavation of level 1 & 2, unique soil patterns emerged along the north side test unit 3; there was also brick uncovered in this area. The TPQ for feature 3 was established by a single piece of lusterware which dates to ca. 1815. After completing level 2, test unit 3 was bisected E-W and the northernmost half of the unit excavated as feature 3. Feature 3 soil was 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown sand, mottled with 10 YR 6/3 pale brown sand. Save one small sherd of gilded lusterware, feature 3 was completely sterile.

Test Unit 3: Feature 3

Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
ft. 3	1	KC0110	white & gold	small	gilded lines and dots	lusterware, painted or stenciled (bone china)	1815	1860



Above: A single piece of gilded lusterware ca. 1815-1860 was excavated from feature 3 in test unit 3. This was the only artifact recovered from the feature.

ARTIFACTS CLASSIFICATION

The artifacts recovered from all test units spanned several categories in South's classification system (N=1,118). Unfortunately, the largest quantities consisted of unidentified metal objects (N=217) coal (N=229 + 95 kg or apx. 209 lbs. weighed and discarded) and brick, rather than artifacts reflecting African American lifeways. The copious amounts of coal, corroded metal, most of which are likely nails and other similar hardware, and brick points to the use of the basement space for particular activities involving construction, demolition, and/or iron work. Then there is also the considerable faunal collection to consider. Many of these bones contain butcher marks, and their recovery from the basement points to eating and food preparation potentially taking place in the basement, as well as on-site butchering. All of these items, together with various ceramics, glass, personal items, and arms, marks the pit in which most of these were discovered as a site for trash disposal.

As a merchant, Francis Sorrel would have had even greater access to a wide array of goods than the typical citizen living in a booming port city. This means that items such as

ceramic sherds and bottle glass may represent goods he sold and purchased for himself and his family. However, because the carriage house cannot be dated to the antebellum period, connecting these artifacts to Francis Sorrel is impeded.[251] However, such an attempt of drawing a connection between merchant goods and artifacts may in fact be futile. Studies of urban archeological sites in comparison to goods sold by merchants shows little connection, as archaeological assemblages contain only a small amount of these goods.[252]

Kitchen Classification

Kitchen artifacts (N=240) accounted for 21.5 percent of the total assemblage of artifacts. Nearly all of the artifacts from this category came from the pit feature, excavated as feature 2 in both test units 1 & 2. Items in this category included ceramics, faunal remains, bottle glass and tableware. Faunal remains constituted the largest subcategory (N=157) of kitchen artifacts, and nearly all of these remains were animal bones. However, many of these were bone flakes, chips, and other very small pieces.

Kitchen Glass

Kitchen glass constituted the second most numerous subcategory after faunal remains (N=46). Bottle glass (N=45) was the largest contributing artifact to this subcategory, and was found in no shortage of colors: aqua, light aqua, amber/olive, amber, white, and colorless bottle glass were all recovered. However, no intact bottles were excavated and all pieces recovered were small to medium sized sherds. The other piece of kitchen glass was the unique goblet stem pictured above (N=1). Kitchen glass accounted for 4.1 percent of all artifacts recovered. No completely intact bottles were discovered. Olive and amber olive glass sherds were also recovered (N=3). Although there is not a designated start date for this color glass, these colors were in heavy use in the nineteenth century and basically disappear in the twentieth, except in the case of wine, liquor, and champagne bottles. [253]

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[251] See footnotes 163-165.

[252] Martha Zierden, "A Trans-Atlantic Merchant's House in Charleston: Archaeological Exploration of Refinement and Subsistence in an Urban Setting," *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 3 (1999): 76, *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25616726.

[253] *Society for Historical Archaeology*, "Bottle/Glass Colors," Bill Lindsey, 2016, accessed April 22, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/colors.htm#Olive%20Greens/Ambers.

The two most unique kitchen glass artifacts consisted of the base of a goblet and a pharmaceutical bottle sherd with identifiable letters, pictured and discussed in the foregoing section. The base contained mold marks, dating it to between the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

Ceramics

Ceramics (N=37) constituted the third largest subcategory in kitchen artifacts and provided the oldest start date (=1762) pertaining to the recovery of a small amount of creamware. The use of a UV light allowed precise identification of porcelain artifacts.[254] Ceramics constituted 3.3 percent of all artifacts recovered. Unfortunately, no intact pieces were recovered; only very small sherds, but these sherds represented a diverse collection of ceramic types.

The most frequent type of ceramic recovered was plain white, English hard-paste porcelain (N=24), identified with the use of a recently acquired UV light, and one of the most singular ceramic artifacts recovered was the single piece of gilded lusterware excavated from feature 3 of test unit 3. Originally, the English/European hard-paste was thought to be bone china porcelain, but the UV light measurement allowed us to refine this initial finding. English/European hard-paste was interestingly recovered from all three test units, whereas the other ceramic types were not, indicating it was scattered throughout the basement and may have been a preferred ceramic type used in the main house. Neither the items placed in trust by Francis Sorrel nor the goods he sold in his occupation as a merchant bare a connection to the high prevalence of English/European hard paste or the gilded lusterware. However, there is a link to the Weed family.

Henry D. Weed, who would purchase the Sorrel-Weed House from Francis Sorrel in 1860, partnered with his brother and Isaac Morrell, and between the 1830s and 1850s, the "Weeds and Morrell" were purveyors of fine china, earthenware, glass, and other high-status tableware and household items.[255] Some of the specific items they sold included white, and white and gold/gilted china and tea and dining sets, as well as white and white and gold china nursery lamps.

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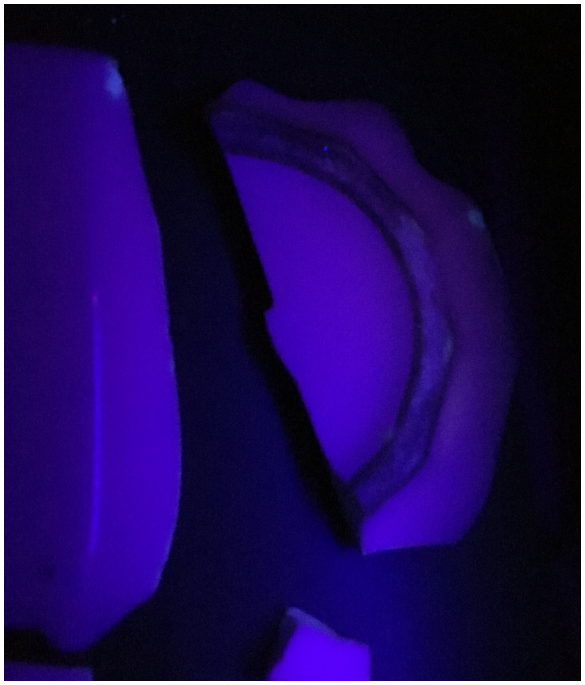
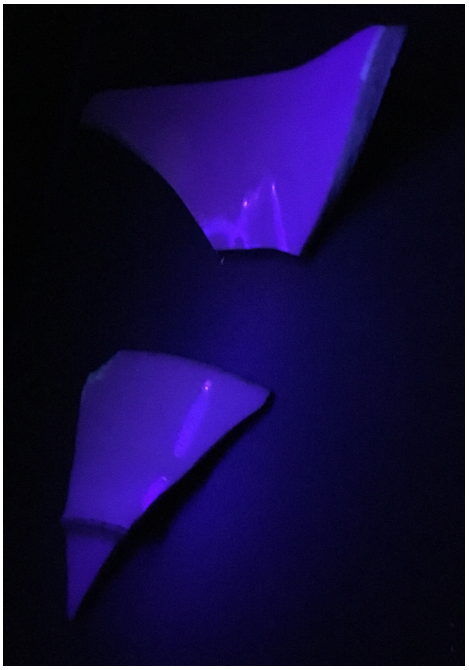
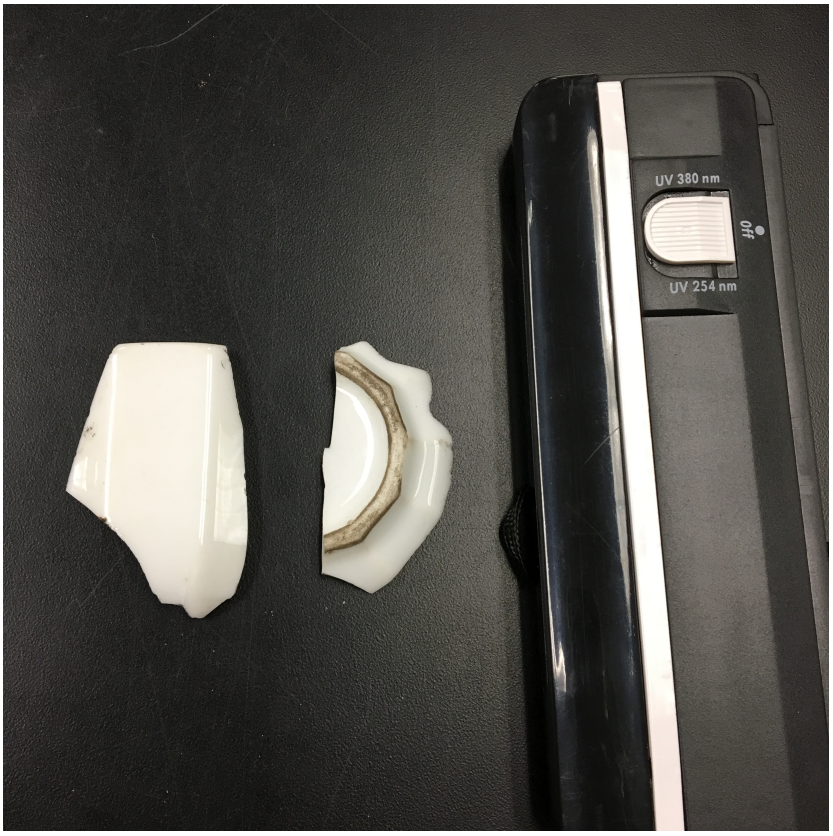
[254] *Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum, State Museum of Archaeology*, Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland: "Hard Paste Porcelain", www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/Porcelain/PorcelainWareDescriptions/HardPastePorcelain-intro.html

[255] *Savannah Daily Republican*, November 17, 1836, pg. 3, col. 1, *Savannah Historic Newspapers*, GALILEO, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:svr1836-0884.







Above: English/European hard-paste porcelain identified under short wave UV light by a magenta or dark purple hue. **Below**: UV device and hard-paste porcelain before the use of UV light. Without the use of UV light, bone china and hard-paste porcelain are nearly indistinguishable. Photo Credits: Laura Seifert.

It would be remarkable if the white hard-paste porcelain or the single gilded lusterware sherd were remnants of these antebellum ceramics sold by Henry Weed, but it is a compelling connection. It is of course possible that the Sorrel's could have purchased these items from Weeds and Morrell, particularly since their business seemed to be the largest and most frequent supplier of these items and similar goods between the 1830s and 1850s.[256]

Various other types of ceramics were also recovered: Plain and hand-painted creamware whiteware, lead-glazed coarse earthenware, clear-glazed redware, Chinese import porcelain, stoneware, and ironstone were also recovered.


may 6

Nursery Lamps.

WHITE and white and gilt China nursery Lamps, green, blue, and brown Japanned do. do. Just received and for sale by

may 6 1m WEEDS & MORRELL.

DINING AND TEA SETTS.

THE subscribers have just opened a large and splendid assortment of the above, consisting in part of the following:

50 setts white China Dining Service
6 do do do Glass do do
5 do do and Gold do do do
do Printed Dining Service, asst patterns
do white China Tea Setts
do do and Gold do do
do do Raised figure do do, and for sale by

WEEDS & MORRELL,

nov 2 Near the Market.

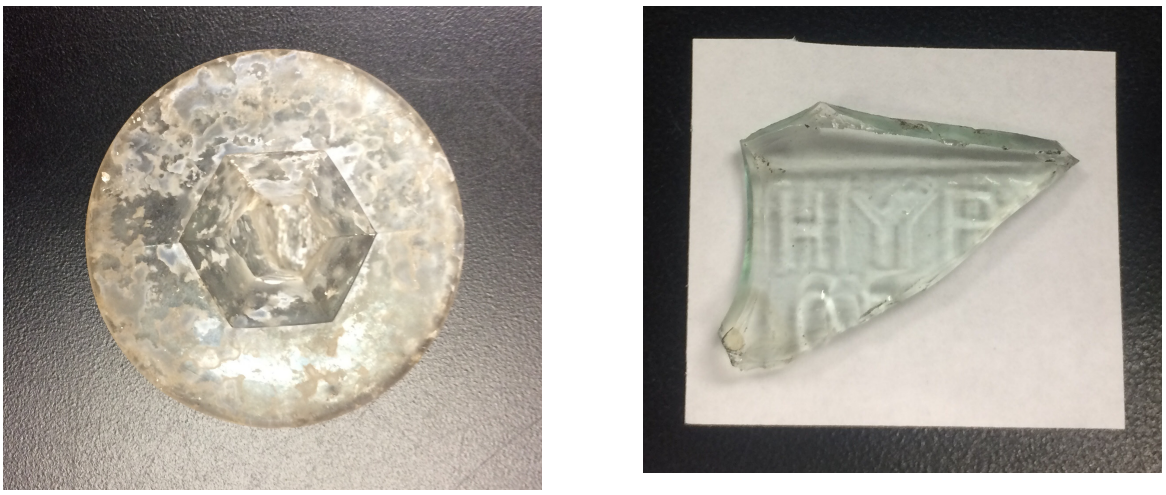
Above: White and gilded china were items frequently advertised by Henry D. Weed in his partnership with Isaac Morrell, lending an interesting connection to the gilded and white porcelain recovered during excavations. Photo Credit: Savannah Historic Newspapers, *GALILEO*.

Faunal Remains

Faunal remains were by far the largest subcategory of kitchen artifacts (N=157), constituting 14 percent of all artifacts recovered. Faunal remains consisted almost entirely of bones, but also included some teeth and oyster shells. The bones recovered consisted of large and small bones, indicating the consumption of domestic animals such as pig and cow, as well as fowl and other smaller species. Some of the bones contained clear butcher marks. The articulation points or cavities on some of these bones were very well preserved, but the assemblage did not contain any whole bones. Notable among these faunal remains was the recovery of a partially intact, large jaw, partial long bones, and what appears to be a bovine astragalus, or a cow "knuckle bone" The large size of the jaw when intact and the shape and size of the teeth also indicate cattle remains.[257]

[256] A review of Savannah's newspapers showed that while Weeds and Morrell were not the only dealers of these items, the advertisements for the company's goods were the most frequent, particularly as it applies to the white and white/gold china, and Weeds and Morrell also sold a larger quantity and variety than other purveyors.

[257] April M. Beisaw, *Identifying and Interpreting Animal Bones: A Manual* (College Station: Texas A & M University, 2013).



Above: Unique kitchen glass finds. To the left, the base of a goblet, and to the right, a sherd from a pharmaceutical bottle, whose contents can be linked to the treatment of liver complaint or consumption. **Below:** Bottle glass assemblage from test unit 2 & 3. Photo Credits: Kelly Westfield.



A formal analysis of the bones in the future has the potential to produce more information about diet and consumption, but the presence of bovine remains and butcher marks may point to on-site butchering, an interesting concept for the small, urban, Savannah lot.



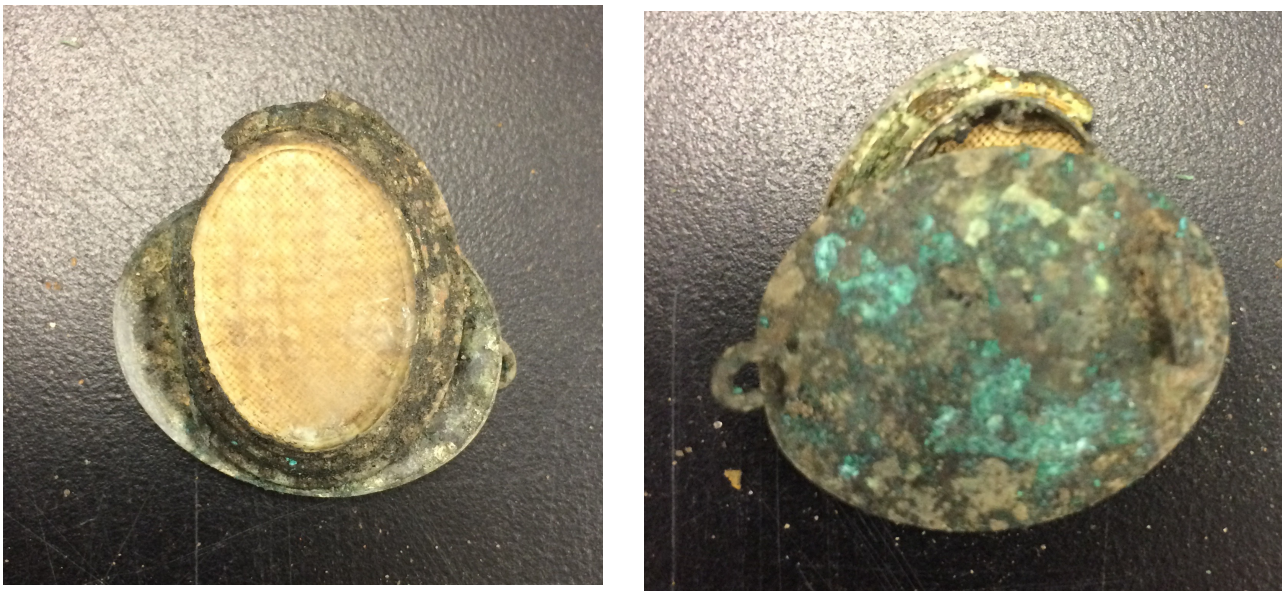
Architecture Classification

Architectural artifacts (N=378) accounted for of all 33.8 percent of all artifacts recovered. However, it should be noted that of the large amount of heavily corroded, unidentified metal artifacts (N=207) many of these are likely pieces of hardware, and should at a later date be subjected to X-Ray analysis to determine their exact identity. Architectural items (not including unidentified hardware) consisted of brick, window glass, nail fragments, mortar, and slate. Brick (N=333) was by far the largest subcategory of architectural artifacts, comprising almost the entire collection, but much of this consisted of very small pieces. An additional 2 kg (4.4 lbs) of brick was weighed and discarded. Brick types consisted of handmade, machine made, and unspecified. Brick colors included gray, red, and orange.

Clothing and Personal Items Classification

Very few clothing and personal items were recovered during excavations (N=4). Pencil lead, woven ribbon or elastic, a broach or pendant-like object, and a ceramic button constituted the entire collection in this category. The pendent-like object and elastic were perhaps the most

unique artifacts recovered. No dates could be associated with these artifacts, but the pendant or broach-like object is telling: it contains either a fiber glass or plastic overlay in its center, pointing to a date of production somewhere in the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth. The object is also composed of metal and with an inlay of patterned fabric. Two ovals of metal are placed one over the other perpendicularly, with the one on top containing the fabric overlay oriented vertically. On the back of the object, located on the metal oval placed horizontally, there are two small eye hooks on each side.



Top Left: overhead view of the pendant or broach, face up, showing fiber glass or plastic overlay and fabric contained underneath. **Top right**: overhead view, showing the back of the object with heavy patina and eye hook. **Bottom**: The small piece of woven ribbon or elastic recovered, showing green, patina like staining similar to pendant. Photo Credits: Kelly Westfield.

Once more testing is conducted on the plastic portion of the pendent, which may represent cellulose acetate material (ca. 1900)[258], the pendent may provide a more succinct TPQ for feature 2, level 1. The patina on the pendent indicates brass or copper composition, and because the elastic or woven ribbon also contains this patina, it seems to have likely been connected to the pendent. A Photograph of Aminta Sorrel Mackall (1823-1904) the daughter of Francis Sorrel, shows her wearing a broach very similar to the shape of the one recovered. Aminta lived at both the Sorrel-Weed House and the townhouse nextdoor, later built by her

[258] *Society for Historical Archaeology*, "Common twentieth century artifacts: A Guide to Dating: Plastics or Synthetics," https://sha.org/resources/20th-century-artifacts/#plastics.

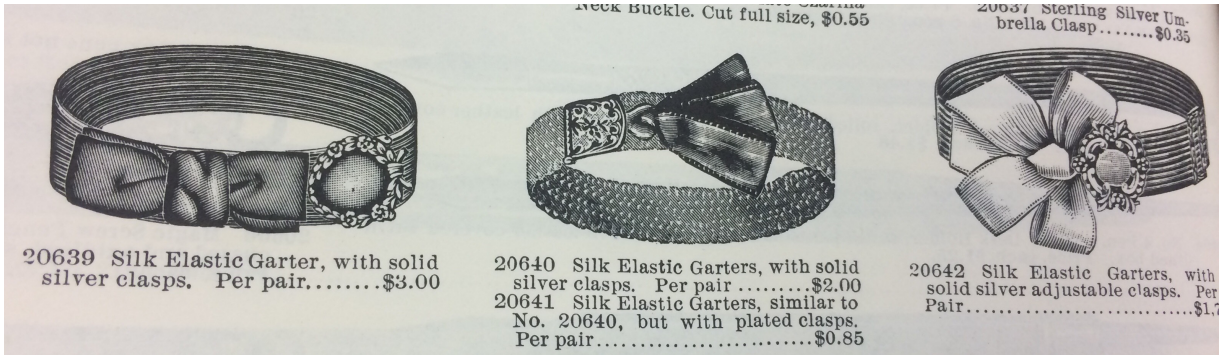


Left: A Photo of Aminta Sorrel Mackall from *A Son's Recollections of his Father*, wrote by Aminta's son William W. Mackall, Jr. The broach in the photo is of the same shape as the broach-like object recovered from feature 2. Although the one recovered is likely not the one in this photo, it helps to perhaps identify the artifact and how it was worn. Photo Credit: William W. Mackall, *A Son's Recollections of his Father*, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1930), p.82.

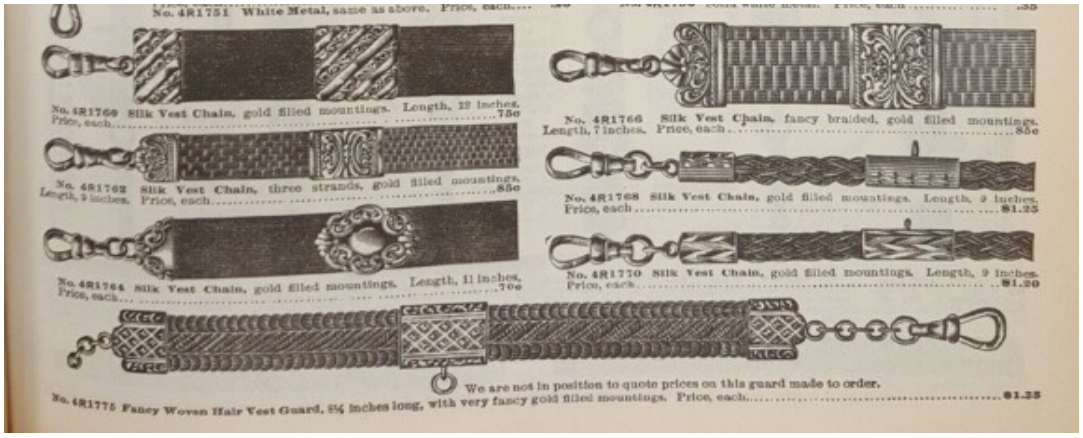
father. Despite the resemblance, broaches were extremely common and it would be incredible if this were the same one worn by Aminta in the photo.

Another possible explanation for this item comes from popular turn of the century mail order catalogs. The elastic/woven ribbon and pendent together bare a strong resemblance to Victorian style garters, as advertised in the Montgomery Ward & Co. spring and summer catalog of 1895.[259] Several silk elastic garters with decorative pendants sell for between $0.85 and $3.00

[259] Montgomery Ward & Co., catalogue no. 57, Catalogue and Buyer's Guide, Spring & Summer, 1895, [unabridged facsimile], with an introduction by Boris Emmet.



Above: Silk, elastic garters advertised in the 1895 Montgomery Ward & Co. catalog, showing a similar elastic band and pendants. **Below**: Silk vest chains from 1902 Sears Roebuck catalog, also baring a resemblance to pendent and elastic artifacts recovered. Photo Credit: Montgomery Ward Fascimile, 1895; Sears Roebuck Fascimile, 1902.



each. In addition to garters, the pendent and ribbon together may have also once been a silk vest chain, as seen in the Sears Roebuck & Co. mail order catalog of 1902.[260] Like the garter, the vest chain contains a narrow, woven silk portion with a decorative pendant. However, the silk vest chains are not described as elastic as are the garters, making it more likely that these artifacts were once in fact the former of these two possibilities.

Arms Classification

Two artifacts were recovered in the category of arms: a .32 caliber casing and a minie ball. Both of these were found in test unit 1. The former of these was determined to be brass or copper by the appearance of patina, giving it a start date of 1814. The mini ball has a start date of

[260] Sears Roebuck and Co., catalogue no. 111, 1902 ed., [facsimile with an introduction by Cleveland Amory], p. 64.

1852. It's not unusual that such a small amount of arms artifacts were recovered. The shooting of guns in the Savannah was discouraged by a city ordinance imposed in 1817, which levied fines for free whites and lashings for persons of color for shooting a gun.[261] What is curious is that these artifacts were found in the basement of the carriage house. Perhaps in order to conceal the sound of a gunshot, a weapon or weapons was purposefully discharged below ground.

Activities Classification

Activities constituted 39.6 percent of all artifacts recovered (N=443), However, nearly the entire assemblage consisted of metal hardware and unidentifiable, heavily corroded metal objects. Other artifacts recovered included slate (N=23), lamp glass (N=5), and a flower pot sherd (N=2). Although a few screws and iron straps were identified, many of these are likely among the unidentified metal objects along with other hardware. The slate recovered indicates that the floor of the basement once consisted of this material. Alternatively, these fragments may be from the main house's basement floor, which was originally slate, according the Sorrel-Weed House staff. The vast amount of unidentified metal hardware and other objects will benefit from more research and X-ray analysis to better pinpoint the types of activities that pertain to these objects.

Miscellaneous Classification

Miscellaneous artifacts accounted for the largest category of artifacts (N=504) largely because of test unit 1 being so replete with coal. In addition to the 96.75 kg (apx. 214 lbs.) of coal that was weighed and discarded, an additional 290 large and small pieces of coal were found. This coal constituted 57.5 percent of all miscellaneous artifacts. Slag was also found in large amounts, but limited almost entirely to test unit 1 (N=115). Some very small pieces of wood, some of which were singed were also among artifacts in this category. Miscellaneous items also included a single piece of masking tape and small pieces of plastic. More than any other artifacts recovered, this points to a very recent disturbance in the basement. The most interesting artifacts from this category are tube-like pieces of metal with wooden cores, which have very distinct, pointed ends (see photo above). These items are of interest for further research.

[261] Elliott, *Deep, Dirty Secrets*, 110.

Kitchen Classification

TU/Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
TU 1, ft 2	1	KC0114	white	base		Porcelain, English/European hard-paste	1794	2009
TU 1, ft 2	1	KC0114	white	rim		Porcelain, English/European hard-paste	1794	2009
TU 1, ft 2	6	KC0114	white	body	one sherd has a molded design	Porcelain, English/European hard-paste	1794	2009
TU 1, ft 2	1	KC0604	cream	body	flatware	Creamware, plain	1762	1820
TU 1, ft 2	1	KC0606	cream, blue	body	flatware	Creamware, hand painted	1765	1810
TU1, ft 2	2	KC0700	white	body	flatware	Whiteware, plain	1820	2009
TU 1, ft 2	1	KC1296	tan	flake	high sheen; ridges	Coarse earthenware, lead glazed		
TU 1, ft 2	1	KC1302	red	body		Redware, clear glazed, plain		
TU 1, ft 2	5	KF0101	brown		sections of long bones;	Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	2	KF0101	brown	flat	ribs? Some BM	Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	1	KF0101	brown	T-shaped	spinal cord covering?	Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	39	KF0101	brown	flakes/small chunks		Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	5	KF0101	brown	lobule	some long bone heads	Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	5	KF0101	brown	small, elongated cylindrical	small animal bones; fowl? Rodent?	Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	16	KF0101	brown	various	various sized pieces; some BM	Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, level 1	24	KF0101	brown			Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	5	KF0101	brown	small and flakes		Bone, unidentified		
TU 1, level 1	1	KF0102	white	partial		Animal teeth		
TU 1, ft 2	7	KF0104	white	normal	white, powdery, fragile; 4 shells, 3 pieces	Shell, oyster		
TU 1, ft 2	1	KG0227	colorless	body	thin-walled	Bottle, paneled	1867	

TU 1, ft 2	1	KG0232	colorless	finish and neck	pharma bottle; patent (hand) finished	Bottle, fine lipping tool finish	1880	1920
TU 1, ft 2	1	KG0232	colorless	base sherd	no mold marks; handmade?	Bottle, fine lipping tool finish	1880	1920
TU 1, ft 2	1	KG0232	light aqua	body lip	flat front	Bottle, fine lipping tool finish	1880	1920
TU 1, ft 2	2	KG0299	olive green	body		Bottle, amber/olive green glass		1900
TU 1, ft 2	1	KG0299	amber olive	body	some base; bubbles present	Bottle, amber/olive green glass		1900
TU 1, ft 2	4	KG0300	light aqua	body		Bottle, light aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
TU 1, ft 2	1	KG0301	colorless	body		Bottle, colorless bottle glass	1870	
TU 1, level 1	1	KG0304	aqua	body		Bottle, aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
TU 1, ft 2	3	KG0304	aqua	body		Bottle, aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
TU 1, ft 2	1	KG0503	colorless	base	mold marks and some stem	Tableware, goblet base		
TU 2, level 1	2	KG0299	amber/olive	irregular	body; some bubbles	amber/olive bottle glass		1900
TU 2, level 1	3	KG0501	colorless	irregular	small sherds; curved	tableware, clear, curved glass		
TU 2, level 1	3	KG0300	light aqua	irregular	small sherds	light aqua bottle glass	1800	1920
TU 2, level 1	1	KG0516	colorless	irregular	thick	glass, other		
TU 2, level 1	2	KG0182	white	irregular	thin	milk glass	1743	2009
TU 2, level 1	2	KG0516	Evergreen	irregular	thin; base lip visible	glass, other		
TU 2, level 1	3	KC0114	White	irregular	corner/edge pieces; base lip visible	porcelain, English hard-paste	1768	
TU 2, level 1	1	KC0399	pale blue	irregular	curved	stoneware, unidentified		
TU 2, level 1	2	KG0299	amber/olive	irregular	body; some bubbles	amber/olive bottle glass		1900
TU 2, ft. 2	3	KC0114	White	irregular	lip, base. Panneling/edges visible	Porcelain, English hard-paste	1768	
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KC9903	White & Blue	Irregular	white with blue stripes	earthenware, unidentified		

TU 2, ft. 2	1	KC0806	White, Yellow, Blue	irregular	Yellow base one side, white and hand-painted blue on other	spongedware, with painted design on yellowware	1840	1870
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KG0299	amber/olive	irregular	curved; bubbling present	amber/olive bottle glass		1900
TU 2, ft. 2	1	KG0253	colorless		Lip and partial neck of bottle	bottle, applied finish	1800	1885
TU 2, ft. 2	2	KG0501	colorless	irregular	curved	tableware, clear curved glass		
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KG0110	light aqua	thin	Letters "HYP.." and 'of' visible; front body portion of pharma bottle	bottle, pharmaceutical, emboassed letters	1858 - 1864	
Tu 2, ft. 2	2	KF0104	white			shell, oyster		
Tu 2, ft. 2	4	KF0102	white/brown	large	4 large teeth, well preserved; part of an intact jaw which crumbled; likely cow; large butcher mark	animal teeth		
Tu 2, ft. 2	7	KF0101	brown	irregular	Pieces of a formerly intact large animal jaw/mandible	bone, partial jaw		
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown	long/linear	Large portion of longbone; includes articulating/joint head	bone, partial long bone		
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown	half sphere	head of longbone; butcher marks	bone, unidentified		
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown	irregular	irregular, nodule shaped with fissures and articulation points; vertebra?	bone, unidentified		
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown		knuckle? Matching bone found in TU 1	bone, unidentified		
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KF0101	brown	irregular	skull fragment	bone, unidentified		
Tu 2, ft. 2	2	KF0101	brown	irregular	large chunks showing spongy bone	bone, unidentified		

Tu 2, ft. 2	3	KF010 1	brown	irregular	small chuncks showing spongy bone	bone, unidentified		
Tu 2, ft. 2	4	KF010 1	brown	linear	long bone fragments; some chicken/rodent?	bone, unidentified		
Tu 2, ft. 2	11	KF010 1	brown	irregular	small fragments unidentified	bone, unidentified		
Tu 2, ft. 2	2	KF010 4	white	irregular	small fragments	shell, oyster		
TU 2, ft. 2	1	KF011 3	white			shell, unidentified		
TU 2, ft. 2	1	KG015 9	colorless	square		bottle, pharmaceutical, fragment		
TU 2, ft. 2	1	KG030 6	amber	small	square sherd	amber bottle glass		
Tu 2, ft. 2	1	KF011 3	white			shell, unidentified		
TU 3, level 1	2	KG029 9	amber/olive	small		amber/olive bottle glass		
TU 3, level 1	2	KF010 4	white			shell, oyster		
TU 3, Level 1	5	KC011 4	white	small	beveling/paneling present on some	porcelain, English hard-paste		
TU 3, level 1	4	KG040 5	colorless	small		flat glass, unidentified		
TU 3, level 1	1	KG029 9	amber/olive	small		amber/olive bottle glass		
TU 3, level 1	1	KG030 6	amber	small		amber bottle glass		
TU 3, level 2	2	KF011 3	white	small		shell, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	1	KC090 5	red/yellow	small	sherd; dark maroon one side, yellow other		1830	190 0
TU 3, level 2	1	KC010 1	blue/white	small	sherd; floral design	Porcelain, Chinese Export		
TU 3, level 2	1	KF010 1	brown	small	small flake	bone, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	1	KC239 9	white/gree n	small	sherd; floral design	transfer print, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	1	KC011 4	white	small	small piece of tea cup handle.	Porcelain, English hard-paste		
2	2	KC011 4	white	small	corner/square pieces	Porcelain, English hard-paste		

2	1	KG0501	colorless	small	small, curved sherd	Tableware, clear, curved glass		
ft. 3	1	KC0110	white & gold	small	gilded lines and dots	lusterware, painted or stenciled (bone china)	1815	1860

Architecture Classification

TU/Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
TU 1, level 1	9	AC0120	Red, orange		tiny fragments	Brick, handmade		
TU 1, ft 2	9	AC0120	Grey, red, orange	small	small pieces only	Brick, handmade		
TU 1, ft 2	6	AC0120	grey	large	Likely Savannah grey; large BAT portions	Brick, handmade		
TU 1, ft 2	4	AC0121	red	various	One whole brick, BAT	Brick, machine made		
TU 1, level 3	42	AC0199	various	various	small pieces	Brick, unspecified		
TU 1, ft 2	1	AC0199	red-orange	water drop size		Brick, unspecified		
TU 1, wall fall ft 2	2	AC0199	Grey, red			Brick, unspecified		
TU 1, ft 5	2	AC0199	Red, grey	tiny		Brick, unspecified		
TU 1, ft 2	91	AC0199	various	tiny to small pieces		Brick, unspecified		
TU 1, ft 2	5	AG0301	light aqua			Window glass, sized	1804	
TU 1, level 1	2	AG0301	light aqua		one very thick, one thin	Window glass, sized	1804	
TU 1, level 1	15	AM1507			heavily corroded,	Nail fragment, unidentified		
TU 1, level 1	2	AR0108	tan		sand mortar	Mortar		
TU 1, ft 2	1	AR0108	dirty white	large	large chunk	Mortar		
TU 2, level 1	3	AC0120	red	irregular		brick, handmade		
TU 2, ft. 2	1	AG0313	colorless	thin	cloudy	window glass, unidentified		

TU 2, ft. 2	5	AR0108	white	round		mortar		
TU 2, ft. 2	1	AC0120	grey	irregular		brick, handmade		
TU 2, ft. 2	1	AM1504	rusted		heavily corroded nail/screw	nail, unidentified		
TU 2, level 3	22	AC0120	grey	chunks	Savannah grey?	brick, handmade		
TU 2, level 3	3	AR0108	white	round small		mortar		
TU 2, level 3	16	AC0199	red, orange, pale red	irregular		brick, unspecified		
TU 3, level 2	1	AG0313	colorless	small	sharp thin sherd	window glass, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	1	AR0108	brown	small square		mortar		
TU 3, level 2	20	AC0199	red, orange	small		brick, unspecified		
TU 3, level 2	15	AC0120	grey	small	Savannah grey	brick, handmade		
TU 3, level 1	1	AG0313	colorless	irregular	thin	window glass, unidentified		
TU 3, level 1	2	AR0108	white	irregular		mortar		
TU 3, level 1	1	AC0199	orange			brick, unspecified		
TU 2, ft. 2	70	AC0199	red, orange					
TU 2, ft. 2	2	AG0313	colorless	small				
TU 2, ft. 2	1	AR0203	grey		nail hole present			
TU 2, ft. 2	19	AC0120	grey		Savannah grey			
TU 2, ft. 2	2	AR0108	white					

Clothing and Personal Items Classification

TU/Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
TU 1, Ft 2	1	CF0600	patina		woven ribbon	woven ribbon		
TU 1, Ft 2	1	PF0201			square; about 1 in in length	pencil lead		

TU 1, Ft 2	1	PZ0104	Patina, fabric is beige		Copper or brass	plastic and metal pendant		
TU 2, ft. 2	1	CC0101	white		4-hole	button, porcelain		

Arms Classification

TU/Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
TU 1, Ft. 2	1	RM0102	Patina, gray	partial	.33;	Brass/copper cartridge	1814	
Tu1, level 1	1	RM0104	gray	whole		Mini ball	1852	

Activities Classification

TU/Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
TU 1, level 3	3	ZM1299	ferrous	rounded	heavily rusted	metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	1	ZM1299	unknown	round	heavily rusted;	metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	2	ZC0201	terra cotta	base, body	terra cotta flower pot	Flower pot, ceramic		
TU 1, ft 2	3	ZG0904	colorless	body		Glass lamp body		
TU 1, wall clean-up pit	1	ZG0904	colorless	tiny	curved, thin, rectangular strip	Glass lamp body		
TU 1, level 1	1	ZG0904	colorless	body		Glass lamp body		
TU 1, ft 2	1	ZM1208		square	heavily rusted; concentric puncture	Iron flat strip		
TU 1, level 1	3	ZM1208			heavily corroded,	Iron flat strip		
TU 1,	1	ZM1247				Screw		
ft 2	1	ZM1247	ferrous	small	threads visible; heavily corroded	Screw		
TU 1, ft. 4	1	ZM1299	ferrous		heavily corroded with coal	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, level 3	17	ZM1299	ferrous			Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 2	2	ZM1299	ferrous	large, curved	curved, handle pieces; heavily corroded	Metal object, unidentified		

TU 1, ft. 2	105	ZM1299	ferrous	small	heavily corroded with coal	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 2	1	ZM1299	ferrous	small	probably staple; heavily corroded	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 2	35	ZM1299	ferrous	small	small nails/screws/other heavily corroded	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 2	13	ZM1299	ferrous	small	medium sized nails or screws? heaivly corroded	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 2	4	ZM1299	ferrous	large	large metal bolts or screws? Heavily corroded	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. .2	32	ZM1299	ferrous	small	metal flakes; heavily corroded	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 2	1	ZM1299			heavily corroded; possible edge portion	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 2	6	ZM1299	ferrous	small	sqaure nails? Heavily corroded	Metal object, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 5	1	ZR0302	grey	tiny	tiny flake	Slate, unidentified		
TU 1, ft. 2	4	ZR0302	grey	large and small	one large, thin, linear piece and small pieces	Slate, unidentified		
TU 2, level 1	3	ZR0302	grey	irregular	floor or roof	slate, unidentified		
TU 2, level 1	1	ZM1299	rusted	linear	heavily corroded; likely a nail	metal object, unidentified		
TU 2, level 3	1	ZR0302	grey	irregular/small	small flake	slate, unidentified		
TU 2, level 3	9	ZM1299	rusted	linear	heavily corroded, likely nails/screws whole and pieces	metal object, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	36	ZR0203	grey	large	several large pieces, one with nail/screw hole	slate, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	1	ZR0301	red	small		marble		
TU 3, level 1	14	ZR0302	grey	small		slate, unidentified		
TU 2, ft. 2	51	ZM1299	rusted	multi	heavily corroded; some nails/screws	metal object, unidentified		
TU 2, ft. 2	1	ZR1102	multi	round	smooth	ballast stone		

TU 2, ft. 2	35	ZR0302	grey		nail hole present in one piece	slate, unidentified		
TU 2, ft. 2	51	ZM1299	rusted	multi	heavily corroded; some nails/screws concreted with coal	metal object, unidentified		

Miscellaneous Classification

TU/Level	Number	Code	Color	Size	Notes	Description	Start	End
TU 1, ft. 5	36	MF0101	black	tiny		Coal		
TU 1, level 1	3	MF0101	black			Coal		
TU 1, wall clean-up pit	2	MF0101	black	small		Coal		
TU 1, wall fall ft. 2	104	MF0101	black	tiny		Coal		
TU 1, ft. 6	27	MF0101	black			Coal		
TU 1, level 1	23	MF0101	dark gray		hard, dull	Coal		
TU 1, level 1	3	MF0101	black		coal with iron concretion	Coal		
TU 1, level 1	30	MF0101	black		hard, shiny	Coal		
TU 1, ft. 2	1	MF0101	black and grey	small to tiny	some very black with high sheen; some grey	Coal		
TU1, level 1	34	MF0103				Cinder/clinker		
TU 1, ft. 2	1	MF0104	dark brown	tiny	burned	Wood, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	5	MF0104	brown		some pieces burned	Wood, unidentified		
TU 1, level 1	12	MF0104	brown		some has bark	Wood, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	1	MM9901			possible nail; carbonized;	Iron fragment, unidentified		
TU 1, level 1	17	MM9901			heavily corroded and fragmented	Iron fragment, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	2	MM9903	multi		burn marks	Slag		
TU 1, wall	3	MM9903	multi			Slag		

clean-up pit								
TU 1, ft 2	12	MM9903			some burning	Slag		
TU 1, ft 2	91	MM9903	multi			Slag		
TU 1, ft 2	1	MP9901	off-white		corner piece	Plastic, unidentified		
TU 1, ft 2	1	MR0122	colorless		probable quartzite	Unmodified stone		
TU 1, level 1	1	MZ0102	colorless		masking tape	Modern miscellaneous		
TU 2, level 1	3	MP9901	multi	various	tube, clip, rim	plastic, unidentified		
TU 2, level 1	3	MM9903	brown	irregular		slag		
TU 2, level 1	1	MF0104	black	irregular	singed wood chip	wood, unidentified		
TU 2, ft. 2	50	MF0101	brown	irregular	COAL! Sqaure/rectangular, small chunks; greyish tones; some shiny	coal		
TU 2, level 3	1	MF0104	rust	irregular/small	singed wood chip	wood, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	1	MM9901	brown	small	curve-like shape	plastic, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	2	MF0104	rust	small	flakes	wood, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	1	MM9901	grey	linear	nail, bolt, or screw? Heavily corroded	iron fragment, unidentified		
TU 3, level 2	1	MM9903	rust			slag		
TU 3, level 2	1	MM9901	black			iron fragment, unidentified		
TU 3, level 1	11	MF0101	multi	small		coal		
TU 3, level 1	3	MM9903	brown			slag		
TU 3, level 1	7	MF0104	rusted	irregular	some heavily concreted with metal	wood, unidentified		
TU 3, level 1	3	MM9901			small screw/nail?	iron fragment, unidentified		
TU 2, ft. 2	5	MF0104			linear/tube like shape pieces of wood (internal)	wood, unidentified		

					and metal (external)			
TU 2, ft. 2	2	MM990 3				slag		

Interpretation

The results of round 1 and 2 of archaeological studies at the Sorrel-Weed House uncovered a diverse assemblage of artifacts from numerous categories within South's cataloging system. Although some of these artifacts were not great in number, they still provide insight into what may have been happening in the basement of the carriage house. Most importantly, the excavations revealed the cause of the depression in the basement floor to be a pit, utilized for trash disposal, identified as feature 2 in test units 1 & 2. TPQ's ranging from 1815 to 1880 were established, although some artifacts dated to the mid-eighteenth century, potentially indicating earlier occupation of the site or curation effect. There were no human remains found or any artifacts to interpret this feature as a subfloor pit indicative of African American culture.

Feature 2 may have originally been created for other means besides trash disposal. Two possibilities include its use as a root cellar or as privies. The pit's location beneath the floor of a basement would have made it ideal for preserving foods against Savannah's hot and humid climate. In the same light, the placement of privies in a basement would have also been helpful to deter the sanitation issues rampant in Savannah until plumbing and organized sanitation became available. The soil in the pit--- dark and organic--- points to the night soil often found in privies. However, the large amount of coal it also contained would have obviated the full consistency of the night soil. Coal and ash were used in the cleaning of privies, making the combination of these factors particularly telling. But feature 2 is very shallow for a privy. However, it is possible that the privy predates the basement. The excavation of the basement could have removed the vast majority of a very deep (approximately 7 feet) privy feature, leaving the bottom 80 cm intact. This could account for the dates of the artifacts within the privy, as the last use and filling of the privy would occur contemporaneously with the building construction ca. 1870-1880, corresponding with the earliest appearance of the carriage house on the 1888 Sanborn map.

The excavations revealed that the soil beneath the basement floor was replete with coal, heavily corroded metal objects and hardware, slag, and faunal remains. By far, coal outnumbered all other artifacts. So the question is, why was there so much coal buried underneath the floor?

Sorrel-Weed staff indicate that the carriage house basement was used for coal storage, a common occurrence that still takes place today. If this is the case, one answer to the question of how much coal ended up underground may be that at some point when the floor was bricked over, rather than bringing all of the coal out of the basement, it was simply buried underneath the floor. Another possible explanation is that cooking was taking place in the basement. This helps to explain the high number of faunal remains, which indicate that eating was taking place here. But then there is also the abundance of heavily corroded metal objects, many of which are straps, nails, and other hardware, but will need further testing to be identified. This seems to signal that perhaps iron working was taking place in the basement, a process which could also involve coal and slag. Coal is used in the smelting process and slag is the byproduct. However, the slag could also simply have come from the burning of coal for other purposes, such as cooking and heating. The smaller amount of architectural artifacts points to the pits use in the discarding of materials during construction and/or demolition.

While it has long been assumed that the carriage house on the Sorrel-Weed House lot was erected around the time of the home's completion in the 1840s, research belies this notion. The carriage house does not appear on maps considered credible drawn in 1853 and 1871. By 1888, the carriage house or other detached buildings were present at the back of the Sorrel-Weed lot per Sanborn maps, though an earlier date than this cannot be verifiedThe mix of older and newer artifacts may point to another possibility. Francis Sorrel may have originally built a cellar at the back of his lot, in the location of the current basement, and the carriage house now sitting above it may have been erected much later. Cellars for the storage of coal and to preserve food were common.

In future studies, several of the artifacts recovered would benefit from further research to help better identify how this space was used, as well as details about diet. The large amount of heavily corroded metal objects and hardware when subjected to x-ray analysis will be able to identify these items. More basement studies are needed to determine if burying coal beneath a brick floor was commonplace, and if in Savannah, having coal in the carriage house basement was in fact common. The large number of faunal remains recovered will dictate information about diet once they have undergone formal analysis.

Without any supporting research to connect the carriage house and its basement to the antebellum period, the use of this space by African Americans or enslaved individuals is at this

time, doubtful. The relative abundance of white china recovered from all test units and the gilded lusterware also recovered may be connected to the Weeds and their business as purveyors of fine china, glass, and other luxury homewares. If this is the case, this space again points to a later occupation than the Sorrels, beginning no sooner than 1860 when Francis sold the house to the Weeds.

Other items of interest that call for more research include the pendent and the piece of the medicine bottle embossed with identifiable letters. In the case of the latter, there may be evidence of illness among members of the weed family associated with the medicine bottle sherd which indicated liver illness or consumption. A review of the interment records at the City of Savannah Research Library and Archives may shed light on the disease or illness associated with this artifact and the Weed family.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The conclusion of round 1 and 2 of archaeological studies at the Sorrel-Weed House provides answers to the projects original research questions as follows:

What is causing the depression in the basement floor of the carriage house?

> The depression is caused by deep pit (-80cm) used for trash disposal at different times during the eighteenth and nineteenth, and perhaps twentieth centuries. The large amount of coal in this pit may indicate that in addition to trash disposal, the pit was once the location of a former privy.

If the depression is caused by enslaved human remains, what does this reveal about slavery in Savannah?

> The Depression was not caused by human remains. The oral tradition about the Sorrel family as it concerns the burial of a slave in the carriage house basement cannot be corroborated by documentary or archaeological evidence.

Is the depression remnants of a subfloor pit, indicative of early African American culture?

> The pit was clearly used for trash disposal, but may have originally been created for use as a root cellar or privy. It does not show a connection to an African American subfloor pit.

Is there evidence that enslaved individuals lived and worked in the carriage house basement?

> Without being able to verify the building's existence until 1888, this question remains inconclusive. With formal analysis of the faunal remains recovered, there may be evidence of African American foodways.

What do the artifacts imply about how the carriage house basement was used?

The large amount of faunal remains indicates that eating was taking place here, and in conjunction with the coal, perhaps cooking as well. The large amount of metal artifacts may point to blacksmithing or other activities requiring hardware.

What do the results of the excavation imply about urban slavery and/or the lives of the slaves who lived and worked at the Sorrel-Weed home?

This question remains inconclusive. Future analysis of the faunal remains recovered may shed light on African American foodways.

Do the artifacts recovered provide any information about the Sorrel family and their lives?

This questions remains relatively inconclusive. The large amount of coal, slag, and metal may point to the possibility that Francis Sorrel was running a blacksmithing operation in the basement. However, evidence pointing to a later date of construction for this building may indicate a connection between the artifacts and the Weed family, particularly as it pertains to the china recovered.

Do the artifacts provide any insight about life in the urban south?

Analysis of the Faunal remains may provide additional information about diet, and analysis of the metal objects may uncover activities that took place in basements. If feature 2 was indeed once a privy, this speaks to the limited space of the urban lot and the city, and the unsanitary conditions that would have prompted the placement of a privy in a basement.

Recommendations

1) Formal analysis of the faunal remains and metal artifacts. The metal artifacts should undergo x-ray analysis to identify their specific type.
2) Future phases of archaeological studies at the Sorrel-Weed House to learn about urban slavery may be best served by excavating underneath and around the main basement of the house.
3) Locating the descendants of the enslaved individuals who once lived at the Sorrel-Weed House and conducting reverse deed research to identify origins and early life of bondpeople owned by the Sorrel family.
4) Further research into the diaries, letters, memoirs, etc. of the friends of the Sorrels.
5) Contacting the descendants of the Sorrel family and learning if there is any documentary evidence to support the Sorrel-Weed interpretation program.

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Chatham County Probate Court. Will and Estate of Francis Sorrel (d. 1870)

Maps

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