

ELIZABETHAN POLICIES
AND THE
CHARLES TOWN COLONY:
AN ETHNOHISTORICAL-ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

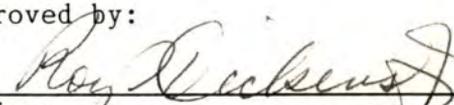
by
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MICHAEL O. HARTLEY, SR. Elizabethan Policies and the Charles Town Colony:
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DICKENS, JR.)

Archaeology, within American Anthropology, has recently begun to consider literate, historic cultures. There has, however, been a lag in the joining of archaeology with anthropological use of documentary data from historic contexts.

The central theme of this thesis is that an analytical combination of written communications originating within a literate society with a study of the archaeological remains of that society can increase the understanding of both data bases. An increase in the understanding of the data bases leads to an increase in an understanding of the culture being studied. This is accomplished by using both types of data in a complementary way to create a culture context, or historiography. The historiography can be used to derive anthropological interpretations.

This is illustrated by combining primary documentation relating to the processes of English sixteenth-eighteenth century colonization and archaeological evidence of these processes observed on the Carolina landscape.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Test Data.....	11
CHAPTER II: THE ELIZABETHAN PLAN.....	15
<u>Notes On Colonization</u> 1578.....	15
<u>Discourse Of Western Planting</u> 1584.....	17
CHAPTER III: THE CHARLES TOWN COLONY.....	21
Introduction.....	21
English Reconnaissance.....	23
Description of the Port.....	27
Fortification.....	27
The Rivers.....	28
Trade, Indians and the Spanish.....	29
Skins.....	34
Archaeology.....	37
CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION.....	41
The Charles Town Model.....	44
Hypotheses.....	46
The English Model.....	54
Other Pertinent Models.....	56
CHAPTER V: SUMMARY.....	62
REFERENCES CITED.....	69

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
1. Charles Town in Relation to the Spanish Lands.....	47
2. Infilling Between James Town and Charles Town and Expansion of the Competitive Boundary Through Georgia.....	48
3. A Portion of the 1695 Thornton-Morden Map Showing Charles Town and the Ashley River.....	49
4. Seventeenth Century Sites Located in the Ashley River Survey.....	50
5. Initial English Attempts to Colonize, Circa 1585. The "Lost Colony".....	51
6. Stages of the English Model.....	52

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A traditional aspect of anthropology has been that its primary area of inquiry is among non-literate, so-called "primitive" peoples (Honigmann 1976:195). This limitation is not inherent in the tenets of the discipline but is rather the result of the historical development of anthropology. During the developing years, anthropology contained a salvage attitude which focused on observing and recording the behaviors of non-literate and less complex societies before they disappeared into the complex society of the nineteenth-and-twentieth-century world. Additionally, there was the belief that simpler societies contained information on integration, roles, and types of social relationships which could not be observed elsewhere (Honigmann 1976:396). Some anthropologists--Spier, Kroeber, Lowie, and others--rejected the idea of limiting anthropological study to the primitive, stating that anthropologists study culture wherever and whenever found, restricted to no special segment but considering the totality (Taylor 1967:37-38).

Within anthropology, archaeology has been regarded as having similar limitations, committing itself to an examination of prehistory (Honigmann 1976:254). Only very recently has inquiry into historic or literate cultures been regarded as a legitimate area of study for the archaeologist. Around 1960, such scholars as J.C. Harrington, Clyde Dollar, Bernard Fontana, and James Deetz began to press for acceptance of Historic Sites Archaeology (Schuyler 1972:118-124).

On the forefront of the move to legitimate historical archaeology has been Stanley South. South founded the Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology in 1960 (South 1983:iii), he has been a prolific field researcher and has generated new and innovative methodologies for the recognition of pattern reflective of human behavior in the archaeological record (South 1977:xiv).

In South's approach to historical archaeology there is a reluctance to use the literate record of the culture under study in any extensive way, preferring to leave the synthesis of these materials to the "historian" (South, personal communication). The value of the documentary data base for South has primarily been to direct the archaeologist toward particular contexts, where archaeological methods could reveal a class of data not present in the written record. This material could then be analyzed to produce cultural information otherwise unavailable (South, personal communication).

South's conceptual framework is evolutionary theory, in which patterned regularity is abstracted from the material record and synthesized. These demonstrated regularities are often expressed as being empirically lawlike, with the explanation of these lawlike regularities being the goal of archaeology (South 1977:xiii). The explanation of regularities lies in the testing of hypotheses with new data from the archaeological record which, says South, produces an understanding of culture process and eventually new theory (South 1977:xiii).

With this procedure as basic to archaeological science, it follows that the use of ethnographic data and historical documentation does not result in a different kind of archaeology merely because a wider data base is available...Many colleagues assume historical archaeology

is a particularistic involvement with details of history, cataloging, and classification (South 1977:xiii).

South is not alone in this approach, since all archaeologists are faced with the task of understanding cultural meanings in the material record. This goal of developing a "material literacy" does not preclude the anthropological use of other sources of data, however, if the uses of such data do contribute to the understanding of culture. South's stance has, in part, been a reaction to the uses to which historical archaeology has been put in the past, i.e., verification of the historical record and production of lists of artifacts which were given no meaning beyond a mention of their relationship to specific places and people.

It is argued here that this failure of archaeologists to move beyond the historically specific to the level of anthropological generality, by combining the material and written record, is not attributable to the nature of either data base but to their methodological application. It is further argued that a combination of written communications of a literate society with the material remains of their behavior can alter the comprehension of both data bases on the general level.

In his seminal work, A Study of Archaeology, Walter Taylor included a discussion of the relationship between archaeology, history, and anthropology which culminated with a statement of the need for historiography or "the construction of cultural contexts" which he regarded as basic to cultural anthropology, and a necessary preliminary step to "doing" cultural anthropology (Taylor 1967:39). Taylor contended that ethnology is actually historiography, not anthropology, the difference being a concern for cultural context in the case of ethnology and a major concern with culture itself in anthropology. Only if the student makes use of his cultural context for the purpose of deriving and

comparing cultural abstractions is the practice of anthropology accomplished (Taylor:39).

Taylor perceived the data from archaeological excavation as being no different from other cultural data, even though the archaeological record is, for the most part, not an intentional or purposeful record. The result of archaeological data acquisition should be (1) compiled into an historiography, which is (2) interrelated and integrated into a cultural context (Taylor:41).

When the archaeologist collects his data, constructs his cultural contexts and on the basis of these contexts proceeds to make a comparative study of the nature and working of culture in its formal, functional and/or developmental aspects, then he is 'doing' cultural anthropology and can be considered an anthropologist who works in archaeological materials. The fact that his subject matter is American Indians or non-literate Britons does not, of itself, make his work anthropological. Nor does the fact that he uncovers and studies written inscriptions make his work non-anthropological. The critical test is what the archaeologist does with his discoveries, not his subject matter (Taylor:41).

With these considerations in mind, it is argued here that the written record is not the special province of the historian and that the anthropologist should address these data. Carole Crumley (1974) has presented a framework for the construction of a composite model of Celtic social structure using classical Roman ethnographies combined with archaeological data. This work demonstrates the value of this combined approach for the generation and testing of hypotheses not available in the singular application of either body of data. In Crumley's study the written data did not originate within the culture under study and was in the form of ethnographic observation recorded by "outside" Roman observers (Crumley 1974:3-8).

There is another class of literary data peculiar to the historic period available to the anthropologist, the primary document. Primary documentation, as it is used here, refers to literary documentation originating in the culture which is being studied anthropologically as opposed to secondary data such as ethnographic observation or a synthesis produced by a historian. The use of primary documentation by the anthropologist will result in a secondary statement which is comparable to the recorded observations of the ethnographer to the extent that the data base is produced directly by the culture being studied and is directly reflective of that cultural context. The act of producing the secondary synthesis or historiography interposes a bias disassociated from the culture under consideration in that the structure of the synthesis is determined by the questions and intentions of the observer. By approaching the communications of the subject culture as directly as possible, the filters of bias and heuristic structure can be reduced.

Such communications were frequently, although not always, produced without consideration of their historical meaning. The internal operation of a society through its day-to-day and year-to-year activities encompassed a wide range of cultural elements. Bias is not absent in the communications associated with these activities and they contain inaccuracies, lies and other human foibles. Perhaps, however, these biases are no greater than those of ethnographer's informants. If the examination of these types of documents takes potential biases into consideration, valuable "inside" cultural information can be derived.

There may be differences in interpretations and meanings of vocabulary and linguistic structure between the primary writer and the observer because of time, space, and cultural distinctions and these

complications are heightened if the scholar is using primary documentation in a language other than his own. The scholar working in his own language should be sensitive to the possibility of other meanings than those which might occur most readily, but no anthropological observer enters the process of observation with a certain knowledge of meanings and intentions of the culture being studied. At the same time the guard of objectivity must not be so extreme as to render unintelligible the communications available.

An advantage of creating cultural contexts from primary documentation may lie in the fact that it removes the anthropologist from the environment in which the communication is created. Communications produced by members of a culture who are unaware of the scrutiny of the anthropologist or the historian may be less self-conscious. The anthropologist also has available in primary documentation a body of data that can range from broad policy statements pertaining to functions of state to the most intimate communications of personal diaries or letters. This data base is complex, as it contains many perspectives and biases, but it is not unmanageable.

This thesis will utilize historical (or written) documentation in combination with archaeological data to examine aspects of English culture ca. 1570 to ca. 1730. At this time England was actively involved in the export of its culture to the New World through colonization. Englishmen had at that time developed a tradition of literacy in elements of its population which was used for intracultural communications, record keeping, and a range of academic and literary purposes.

Literary materials originating in England during this period are from a distinctly different cultural perspective than that which current

scholars bring to bear on the same subject matter. Primary documents of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries are of particular interest to anthropologist studying English culture of that period as these documents contain thought and communications created within that culture for the use of that culture. The documentation available is extensive and includes subjects as diverse as statements of broad governmental policy to particularistic communication about personal and private life.

Because of the tradition of literacy within this nation-state, access to cultural information is available in the form of recorded thought and intra-cultural communications which is not available for the observation of non-literate groups. The presence of varied biases and positions within this range of material does not alter its characteristic of originating within the English culture, and in fact such diversity increases the richness of the data base for the consideration of this particular culture and of culture in general. Since the perspective contained in primary written material is not available to the current scholar in its original sense, a perspective reserved to the primary author, a metalevel of perception must be derived. The original perception can never be duplicated or reconstructed and what the scholar must accomplish is a synthetic perception of a perception. In the study at hand our own participation in the English tradition of literacy (to the extent that Elizabethan and other writings in that tradition remain current) diminishes certain problems of comprehension.

It is in this way that the use of documentation as applied here differs from Crumley's approach to the study of Celtic society and culture (Crumley 1974). In that study much of the documentation

originated at the time and place under consideration, but the observations were made by Romans rather than by Celts, the subject population and culture (Crumley 1974:3-14). As recorded by the Romans, these observations exist on the synthetic level of ethnography (extra-cultural observation and perception) rather than as the transmission of written information between members of the subject culture (intra-cultural communication).

Certain observations made by the English writers of the colonial period are both primary and synthetic. An example is an English colonist's written observations of American Indians of the seventeenth century. While such a document is primary relative to a consideration of the Englishman's culture and perspective, it is synthetic relative to the Englishman's observation of Indian culture, particularly if interpretations are present. The observation did not originate with the Indian and interposes the Englishman's bias, and it may provide a more direct observation of the Englishman than of the Indian. The written perceptions of Indian society and culture will always contain an intervening level of observation' imposed by contemporary non-Indian observers, with the modern scholar imposing an additional level of bias. Without a tradition of literacy, Indian society left very little written record composed by its members in their own thought, language, and text. The most direct access to primary thought of the Indian culture on a general level is through the material remains left by the culture and observable through methods of archaeology. With English culture, the anthropologist has available literate thought combined with material behavioral results, each originating in the culture and together being synergistically related.

The Elizabethan period constitutes the earliest temporal range of this paper and apart from a brief orienting statement of context the Elizabethan will be considered in the works of two colleagues and cousins, both named Richard Hakluyt.

The two cousins participated in the culture of post-reformation England in a time after England had severed formal ties with Catholicism. Translation of the Bible into English and the thrust of religious reformation had led to a florescence of individual thought and exploration in England. During the first half of the sixteenth century England took little part in the exploration of the New World, and it appeared that control of these new lands would fall to Spain and Portugal. The coronation of Elizabeth I in 1558 brought England nearly a half-century of stability during which it finally could pursue goals of colonization, a pursuit which was encouraged by the Queen (Shafer 1944:271).

A shift from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic as the all important ocean highway suddenly repositioned England in terms of cultural geography. England was transformed from a remote border state on the fringes of activity to a position directly in the mainstream of new activity on Atlantic sea routes (Shafer 1944:271).

English sailors, encouraged by Queen Elizabeth, moved rapidly to close the exploration gap and to launch explorations in the 1580s and 1590s. English seamen began to rob the Spaniards of their gold and silver by capturing Spanish treasure ships and by raids on Spanish colonial coastal settlements (Bigges 1589; Shafer 1944:271). This piracy was favored by Elizabeth I as a method of undeclared warfare against a great and dangerous Catholic power. The pirates, regarded as national

heroes, included such men as Sir Francis Drake, Sir Martin Frobisher, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Gilbert's half brother Sir Walter Raleigh (Shafer 1944:271).

The two Hakluyts were at the core of this effort of the English as the nation entered into competition for the New World. So closely tied together that it is difficult to determine which produced certain documents, the Hakluyts consciously formalized general models to guide exploration and to form policy statements that reached the highest levels of decision making in the nation.

Using the techniques of the cosmographer and the historiographer, the Hakluyts gathered information on past and current colonial activities by European powers on the coast of North America, translated these materials into English, and compiled them under the title Diverse Voyages to America (Hakluyt 1582). As they gathered this information along with intelligence reports from English seamen in Spanish employ (Hawks 1572)), the Hakluyts formulated generalizations to guide English policy.

Two basic Hakluyt documents, Notes On Colonization (Hakluyt 1578) and the Discourse Of Western Planting (Hakluyt 1584), will be paraphrased in Chapter II. The Discourse was prepared at the request of Walter Raleigh (Hakluyt 1584:211). It was not meant for public eye, but rather it was intended to gain support of the Queen and provide a textbook on colonization for Sir Francis Walsingham, the English Secretary of State (Taylor 1935:12,22). Walsingham had previously communicated the importance of the Hakluyt's work in a letter to one of the cousins, saying

your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same, wishing you to continue your trouble in these and like matters which are like to turn

not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefit of this Realme (Walsingham 1583:196-197).

The two Hakluyt works state general goals of English colonial activity and identify sets of general procedures for attaining these goals. Notes On Colonization (1578) deals with elements of the individual colony, whereas the much longer and more comprehensive Discourse (1584) identifies strategic goals and procedures. Taken together they constitute a generic model of the individual colony and the use of such colonies in broad strategic contexts.

Based on the Hakluyt works, the following hypothesis is proposed: Elizabethan policy makers formulated an explicit model for English colonization of the New World with specific reference to geographical location and English behavior relative to geographical location. Examination of subsequent English colonial activity should reveal a closeness of fit between actual activity on the landscape and those behaviors called for by the general model.

Test Data

Data on the 1670 English colony of Charles Town, South Carolina are used to test the above hypothesis. Communications originating within the culture being examined are the preferred source of documentary information. Secondary synthetic statements by authorities will also be considered as necessary to illustrate various points in the discussion. Archaeological remains of colonial behavior are primary data in the important context of geographical location and physiography. These data will be used in combination with documentation to produce a historiographic statement of culture context about the Charles Town colony.

These data are not presented in the detailed manner of a field report. Ongoing field work has focused on seventeenth-century Charles Town, South Carolina, a major data base for the following paper. Reference to the reports from these surveys will provide added detail on methodologies, sites, artifacts and other archaeological information (South and Hartley 1980; Hartley 1984). It is not the purpose of this paper to replicate this data. The purpose here is to show interrelationships between historical and archaeological data rather than to present a detailed treatment of the archaeological record itself.

Further, Kenneth Lewis has used data from South Carolina to elucidate aspects of colonial frontier expansion, with a focus on the eighteenth century. Although, Lewis's models provide valuable tools, in this paper an effort is made to account for patterns not observed by Lewis. Such divergencies require explanation, and Lewis provides a point of departure for raising questions beyond the scope of his models.

Several groups of primary records are available as resources in the comparison of Charles Town activities to the behaviors proscribed in the Elizabethan model. One important group of documents, known as The Shaftesbury Papers (Cheves 1897) pertain to the first years of activity of Charles Town. A final introductory comment about Lord Shaftesbury will be helpful.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, the Earl of Shaftesbury was the Lord Proprietor of the Carolina colony most interested in the enterprise in the first years. Shaftesbury seems to have been more keenly interested in matters of English trade and overseas expansion than any other major politician of his day (Haley 1968:227). Trade and colonization were "indissolubly" linked after the restoration of the

English monarchy and following the dissolution of the Cromwellian government. At this time, when the Carolina colony was becoming a reality, the politically powerful Shaftesbury was able to exercise influence over English colonial policy.

Shaftesbury's grandfather had been a member of the Virginia Company, and Shaftesbury was related to Walter Raleigh by marriage. It has been suggested that this relationship directed Shaftesbury's interests toward the southern area of English colonial activity (Haley 1968:230).

Shaftesbury's private entry into active colonization began with a share of a Barbados sugar plantation in 1646, and part ownership of a trading ship the same year (Haley 1968:230).

In 1663, Shaftesbury and seven other powerful Englishmen were granted a Royal Charter for the colonization of Carolina, at a time when Shaftesbury himself was entering his most active and influential period. Between 1667 and 1674, Shaftesbury was Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of England's Treasury Commissioners, and in 1672 he became president of the English Council of Trade and Plantations (Haley 1968:227,231). This newly created Council is reported to have one important change in policy, a new Navigation Law of 1673 to close certain loopholes in England's control of colonial shipping. Otherwise, the Council functioned as an intelligence center and made no major changes in English colonial policy. It has been suggested that this inactivity was deliberate on Shaftesbury's part (Haley 1968:260-262).

Shaftesbury, along with his secretary, the philosopher John Locke, and the seven other Proprietors brought Charles Town into being during that period. The Shaftesbury Papers (Cheves 1897) contain a variety of communications, instructions, constitutions, inventories, accounts, and

other records, written by members of the colony and by interested parties in England.

This body of documents contains many and diverse perspectives. These documents are given a commonality through Shaftesbury's interest, participation, and direction.

The purpose of this thesis is to identify models the members of the subject society had about their own culture. These concepts are pertinent to our understanding and perceptual contexts as scholars of their culture. In these considerations, individuals such as the Hakluyts and John Locke should be recognized as insightful theoreticians. This points out a need for scholarly humility when approaching the study of any culture.

CHAPTER II

ELIZABETHAN PLANS

Thy Voyages Attend
Industrious Hakluyt!
Whose reading shall inflame
Men to seek fame,
And much commend
to after times thy wit.

from
To the Virginian Voyage
(Michael Drayton, 1563-1631) (Shafer 1944)

Notes On Colonization (Hakluyt 1578).

In this treatise, Hakluyt proposed that the first seat in an area to be colonized should be chosen on the seaside so that the navy could be harbored within a bay, river, or lake, which would protect it from the elements and an enemy (116). This seat should be located on an island in the mouth of a notable river, or if an island was not available on a point of land entering into the river. The river was to be navigable or portable far into the interior for purposes of planting, trading, and communicating with the various native groups (122).

Colonists were to make observations about the soil types and what each type yielded naturally and by endeavor. This information was to be sent to the parent country so that a determination might be made about how to use it for trade (119). If the soils near the seat were found to be marshy or boggy they were to be drained to use the rich soils (121).

The presence of gold, silver, copper, quicksilver or other precious metals was not necessary at the site of the colony but could be supplied

from other locations by sea. Necessary materials were lime, slate or clay to make tiles from, stone or brick to wall with, reeds for roofing if tile or slate was not available, and timber for construction (117).

The seat was to be located in a temperate climate with sweet water where the necessities of life would grow (117). The climate and soil of the place were most important for the development of commodities (118).

Familiarity with the "Inland people" (natives) was a primary objective. By developing such a relationship the colonists would be able to discover all the natural commodities of the country, as well as all the wants of the inland people, all of their strengths and all of their weaknesses. The relations between the various groups of native peoples were to be ascertained, particularly what confederations existed, who was at peace and who was at war with whom. When these things were known, said the model, the colonists could "woorke many great effects of greatest consequence" (118).

If the port was fortified on the land side as well as on the ocean, even though the nearest native population was unfriendly, trade could be established by sea or the navigable river with a more distant group. In this way the nearer group could be forced into friendship (120-121). Humanity and courtesy as well as forbearance of revenge was to be used with the inland people (118).

If trade was assured, even from the limits of a fortified city, the colony would increase its wealth, the navy would be increased and an alternative offered against times of trouble in the mother country. Access to a large territory would free England from dependence on other European nations for necessary goods, enriching her doubtful friends (120).

The colony was to sustain itself by the production of commodities which would draw sea trade to it from England. The vessels of this trade were also expected to have military capability against any enemy force (117-118).

The rivers were to be used for the transportation of English goods to the inland people and to bring their inland commodities to the port (118). A well chosen location might in time become the central port for the commodities of a large territory and become the seat of government for all the provinces around (121).

A specific list of commodities needed immediately in Elizabethan England was included in this plan, and in addition to the variety of suggested agricultural products, trade with the "savages" for hides and leather was recommended. Timber and fish were to be exploited while experimental planting was undertaken to develop a commodity (119-121). Discourse Of Western Planting (Hakluyt 1584).

This document is a discussion of the broader context that would incorporate colonies established on the plan described in Notes On Colonization. Intelligence gathered by English seamen in the employ of Spain focused on the area the English were interested in colonizing. One of these seamen actually accompanied Spanish admiral Pedro Menendez de Aviles on his 1565 colonizing expedition to mainland Florida (Taylor 1935:9). The English regarded the Spanish presence on mainland North America and the expansion of the Spanish colonial system as highly detrimental. This central issue in broad English colonial policy was well developed in the Discourse. Although this document comprises 112 pages of printed text and is too lengthy to completely examine here, several points are pertinent to this discussion.

The treatise begins by ignoring the presence of the Spanish town of Santa Elena at Port Royal (now South Carolina) and stating that the continent from 30 degrees North latitude in Florida to 63 degrees North latitude was in no Christian prince's possession. It recommended English planting in that area for the sake of the "savages" (Hakluyt:214-215). Santa Elena, at 32 degrees 15 minutes North latitude had been in existence for eighteen years when Hakluyt wrote this document and had been the capital of Spanish Florida (Lyon 1984:1-12). The Discourse further stated that the Spanish had curtailed English trade with new wealth and might acquired in their colonies and were mortal enemies of the English (Hakluyt 1584:219). The voyage of Sebastian Cabot from Florida northward to 67 degrees North latitude was cited as giving just title of that part of America to England (Hakluyt 1584:222). This claim was also allied to the theory of "effective occupation", which was to become basic to English colonial activity (Florio 1580:165). [In accordance with this theory, England conceded to other countries only those lands which they actually occupied, claiming for herself the right to conduct trade and establish colonies in unoccupied regions (Parker 1963:xvi).] Observations of the coastline by various European seamen were cited to illustrate the potential for employing England's increasing population, many of whom were poor and idle (Hakluyt 1584:233-239).

After identifying the area of activity, the Discourse addressed the strategic issues of English colonization on the coastline. This is the crux of the discussion, beginning with the recognition of Spanish expenditures in the Azores to protect the homeward route of the West Indian gold convoys. Hakluyt proposed to establish two or three strong English forts (as described in Notes) on good harbors between Florida and

Cape Briton (just north of Nova Scotia) that could inflict damage on Spain's fleets and her holdings in the West Indies (Hakluyt 1584:240; italics added). The Discourse noted that the current of the Bahama channel, used for Spain's homeward voyages, flowed against the coast proposed for English occupation, and that this current and the southeastern winds would force the Spanish fleet close into the shore where the English would be strongly settled (Hakluyt 1584:240).

Hakluyt further observed that the Indians of Florida were the Spaniard's mortal enemies and would join the English against the Spanish. He reported that the Spanish greatly feared the arming of these Indians and he therefore recommended that the English enter into alliances with them and provide them with arms (Hakluyt 1584:240-241). He felt that the Spanish were maintaining their colonies with a very weak force and that the region of the West Indies abounded with people who rejected the "proude and bluddy" government of the Spanish (Hakluyt 1584:246-248).

Addressing the trade aspects of these proposals, the Discourse indicated that the voyage from England to the proposed colonies was easy and short which would increase the trade returns on merchant's investments. Since the length of the voyage was only five to six weeks through a temperate climate, such intercourse would increase England's maritime capabilities (Hakluyt 1584:265,270). It was recommended that England initiate the formal instruction of procedures of world navigation. No man was to command voyages to the West Indies who had not passed an examination on navigation (Hakluyt 1584:272).

Finally, Hakluyt urged that speed was of the essence because of great competition from other European nations for the lands of the New World (Hakluyt 1584:274). These policies were developed in conjunction

with England's initial efforts at colonization. The unsuccessful attempts in the 1580s to establish a colony on the barrier islands of North Carolina, then called Virginia, had brought England into the competition. The attempts on the outer banks continued until 1590, when John White revisited the site of the 1587 attempt and found only archaeological residue of the vanished colony (Humber 1962:136). The defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588 allowed England more freedom on the seas and the attempts continued (Shafer 1944:272).

The English established their first secure foothold in 1607 with the occupation and fortification of Jamestown, Virginia (Cotter and Hudson 1957). One of the last colonial acts of the younger Hakluyt was as a patentee of the Virginia Company, chartered in 1606. This company drafted the Instructions For The Virginia Colony which reflected the policies formulated by the Hakluyts (Council 1606:492-496). The Jamestown colony stood as the southernmost extension of permanent English colonization on the North American continent until the successful occupation of Charles Town, South Carolina in 1670. Although the Elizabethan colonizers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries passed from the scene, their concepts did not, as will be seen in an examination of the data relating to Charles Town.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARLES TOWN COLONY

INTRODUCTION

In the preceding section, it has been demonstrated that the English nation formalized a scheme of colonization in the sixteenth century. The following section examines the Charles Town colony to determine its closeness of fit to the general models formulated almost one hundred years before it was founded.

Since the English did not arrive in an area that was culturally vacant, the presence of the Spanish and the Indians must be considered. Relationships between these groups and the English were central to the course of the establishment of the colony.

The Spanish, with their extensive holdings in Central and South America, claimed a virtual monopoly on trade in the New World. Spain also claimed all of North America, basing this claim on the discoveries of Spanish explorers and the 1492 treaty of Tordesillas. Also, De Soto explored the lands of present-day South and North Carolina (De Pratter and Smith 1980), and the Georgetown, South Carolina, area is thought to be the location of De Allyn's short lived colony (Hoffman 1983:71).

A permanent settlement was established at St. Augustine on the east coast of Florida in 1565, followed by Santa Elena at Port Royal in 1566. The site of Santa Elena, on Parris Island, South Carolina, (38BU162) was discovered by archaeologists in 1979, and has been the scene of a series of excavations (South 1980,1982,1983,1984).

Several reasons have been proposed for the establishment of Spanish fortified presidios such as Santa Elena. The most prevalent are that they were designed to defend the Spanish frontier against attack by enemy European naval forces, to provide a base for entrepreneurial activities, and to protect the bullion convoys in the Florida straits (Dobyns 1980:20-21). It is also contended that Santa Elena was not founded for the protection of the convoy route, but to secure the Spanish coastline against other European colonizing interests (Hoffman 1983:70). Arguably, an enemy presence at Port Royal would implicitly threaten the Spanish convoy route. During the sixteenth century, English, French, and Dutch attacked Spanish bullion ships. Using Caribbean bases for these activities, ships of these nations intercepted the Spanish on the high seas or seized wealthy colonial ports for ransom (Dobyns 1980:20). Port Royal would be well placed to fit this pattern of behavior if occupied by an enemy of Spain.

The first Spanish governor of Florida, Pedro Menendez de Aviles, violently terminated French efforts to establish a foothold there, and attempted to consolidate his control over Spanish Florida. His claim encompassed an area extending from Chesapeake Bay to the southern tip of the Florida peninsula and west along the Gulf coast to the Panuco River in modern Mexico (DePratter and Smith 1980:68). In 1566, of 1,500 soldier and settlers who arrived in Florida, 250 soldiers and most of the settlers went to Santa Elena at Port Royal (DePratter and Smith 1980:68).

Explorations were launched from Santa Elena to establish interior forts in South Carolina and North Carolina and to obtain provisions from the Indians (DePratter and Smith 1980:68). A mission was established in the Edisto area some five leagues to the north of the presidio, but the

Indian populations resisted attempts to force them into Spanish religious attitudes (Lyon 1984:4). In 1576 the Indians of Guale and Edisto joined together and attacked Santa Elena, first killing Spanish in outlying areas and then causing the population of the town to flee their burning houses and fort (Lyon 1984:9-11). Although the fort and town were rebuilt in 1577, increasing to sixty houses and four hundred residents, it lost its status as "capital" of Spanish Florida (Lyon 1984:12-13; South 1983:1).

In 1586 English forces under Francis Drake burned the sister town of St. Augustine as part of a general raid through the Caribbean. Santa Elena was threatened in this expedition but was saved by Drake's unfamiliarity with the channels (Bigges 1589:270). As a result of these raids and because of incessant problems with the Indians the settlers of Santa Elena were withdrawn to St. Augustine in 1587 (Connor 1925; Gannon 1965:39).

This withdrawal did not end Spanish occupancy of Port Royal, however. Missions stood on Parris Island and Edisto as late as 1655 (Crane 1981:5) in spite of violent uprisings by the Guale Indians on the coast of Georgia (Gannon 1965:40-41). In 1674, the Spanish Bishop Calderon reported that St. Catherine's had not only the Friars but also "an officer with a good garrison of infantry" (Gannon 1965:64).

English Reconnaissance

England attempted to move south from Virginia in 1629 with a patent granted by Charles I to Sir Robert Heath. The patent granted Heath the lands on the east coast from 31 degree North latitude to 36 degrees North latitude (from Florida to Virginia), extending west for the extent of the continent. Heath was supposed to create a province and name it Carolina

(Charles I 1629:3). This patent was never successfully exercised, and King Charles II revoked it in 1663 and issued a new charter to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina (Charles II 1663:5). A reconnaissance voyage ordered by gentlemen and merchants of Barbados interested in the proposed colony set out in 1663, commanded by William Hilton. Hilton made landfall at 32 degrees 30 minutes North latitude, about four leagues to the north of "St. Ellens" or Santa Elena at Port Royal (Hilton 1663:18).

Here Hilton met Indians who were very bold and familiar, used many Spanish words, and were not impressed with Hilton's ordnance. He reported that they must have been used to cannon for many years. The Indians told Hilton that there were Spaniards at St. Augustine who frequently came to Santa Elena both by land and sea (Hilton 1663:19).

While Hilton was at this location, a Spanish Captain with a detail arrived to investigate a reported shipwreck. Hilton felt uneasy in the Port Royal area, particularly on a visit to "St. Ellens", where the behavior of the Indians caused him to fear treachery. This feeling was perhaps heightened by his knowledge of the nearness of Spanish forces. At "St. Ellens" Hilton observed a sentinel house, a large cross, construction material, and the ruins of an old fort which encompassed more than a half acre of land within the trenches (Hilton 1663:20-21).

Hilton assumed that this was the ruin of the French Charles Fort which was temporarily occupied somewhere at Port Royal in 1562, but there is the strong possibility that this was the ruin of Fort San Marcos, the last fort of the town of Santa Elena. The ruin of a fort on Parris Island was misidentified as Charles Fort by the Huguenot Society in 1925, but excavations on the site have revealed the remains of the town of Santa Elena and demonstrated that the fort ruin is Spanish (South 1980).

From the context of Hilton's account this may also have been the ruin which he saw at "St. Ellens".

After an attempt to establish the Carolina colony on the Cape Fear in 1664 was unsuccessful (Vassall 1667) the venture was inactive for several years. In 1666 Robert Sandford, secretary and chief register for the Lords Proprietors made another reconnaissance into the Port Royal area.

When Sandford left Port Royal after making his observations he left the surgeon, Dr. Henry Woodward, to live with the Indians to learn their language and their ways. Woodward had embarked with Sandford planning to stay with the Indians if such an opportunity arose. The Cassique (Chief) of Port Royal placed Woodward beside him on his throne, gave him a field of maize and the sister of an Indian going with Sandford to tend Woodward, prepare his food, and care for him for the sake of her brother (Sandford 1666:78-79). This contact was to be of great importance to the future colony at Charles Town. As Sandford traveled up the coast he observed the mouth of Charles Town harbor which he named "River Ashley" in honor of Lord Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper (Sandford 1666:80).

Based on the Hilton and Sandford accounts, the Lords Proprietors formulated articles of agreement in 1669 for the colonization of Port Royal. They provided shipping, arms, ammunition, tools and provisions for the colony (Proprietors 1669:91). A constitution was drafted by the philosopher John Locke, secretary to Lord Shaftesbury (Locke 1669:93-117). Officials were appointed and a fleet of three ships assembled (Proprietors 1669:117-132).

When the Port Royal expedition reached Barbados it reported that there was much interest there in the colonization of Carolina (West

1669:157). Old Caribbean hands on Bermuda, learning of the plans to colonize Port Royal, advised against settlement of that harbor. They said that the Spanish could collect a fleet at New Providence (in the Bahamas), wait for a prevailing southeast wind and in three days "be in the River of Port Royal on the back of your people" (Dorrell and Wentworth 1670:161). Part of the reason for this argument was to persuade the Proprietors to aid in the English colonization of New Providence to add to the security of the mainland colony of Carolina (Dorrell and Wentworth 1670).

The fleet made separate landfalls on the mainland coast because of a storm and the experiences of each led to a reassessment of the prospective location. Two vessels made land near Seewee Bay northeast of Ashley River and Port Royal. There they found Indians who warned them that Port Royal had recently been inhabited by the Westos, a violent group of invading Indians. The Cassique said that Port Royal was extremely dangerous and recommended that the English locate in his territory of Kiawah (Ashley River). These ships sailed down to Port Royal where Indians there also warned against the Westos and asked for protection. A sloop was sent to investigate Kiawah and returned with a favorable report. The decision was made to establish on Ashley River, although some still favored Port Royal (Carteret 1670:165-168).

The third vessel made landfall at about 31 degrees North latitude and came to anchor at St. Catherine's Island to take on wood and water. A group of seven men and two women went ashore and did not return. The next day an armed party of Spanish marching to a drum came to the shore and demanded the surrender of the vessel. The English in turn demanded the return of their people, at which the ship "received a volley of

musket shott and a cloud of Arrows which ye Indians shott upright, & soe they continued for an howre & a half" (Mathews 1670:169).

The English had blundered into the Spanish mission at St. Catherine's in Guale. This exchange began a conflict which characterized competition for southern territorial expansion on the continent. At first wind, the vessel weighed anchor and departed under a fierce fire from shore, joining their expedition at Kiawah (Mathews 1670:169-171).

Description of the Port

After establishing themselves at Ashley River the colonists began communicating their appraisal of the port to the Proprietors in England. The climate was described as "sweet", with enough good land for millions of people to live and work on, and the Proprietors were asked to send more colonists (Sayle 1670:175-176). One colonist observed that they were "settled in the very chaps of the Spaniard" (Dalton 1670:183). The harbor and the settlement were described as having a good inlet when properly understood. The town was on a point defended by the main river on one side with a marsh on the other. The point joined to the mainland by a neck of approximately fifty yards which was to be fortified. The colonist's main objective was security because they were so near "a jealous and potent neighbor" (Owen 1670:197).

Fortification

The significance assigned to ordnance and fortification in this enterprise is reflected in bureaucratic and personal communications. In 1669, Whitehall issued a warrant to the English Commissioners of Ordnance to deliver cannon and equipment "for the defence of the plantation called Carolina in the West Indies" (Whitehall 1669:93).

The Governor was ordered to choose a fitting place to build a fort for the protection of the first town so that the guns of the fort could command all of the streets (Proprietors 1669:120). Storage houses to contain the stores of war, food, clothing, tools, etc., were to be located within the fort (Proprietors 1669:127-128).

The Carolina Constitutions created a High Constable's Court to order and determine all military affairs. All land forces, arms, ammunition, artillery, garrisons, forts and "whatever belongs unto warr" were to come under the jurisdiction of the High Constable. In time of actual war he was to become the General of the Army, his twelve assistants becoming Lieutenant Generals. A corresponding Admiral's Court oversaw ports, navigable rivers and maritime affairs (Locke 1669:103).

By March 1670 the point of land had been palisaded and seven great guns mounted. Additional guns were on hand but their carriages had been lost in a wreck (Carolina Council 1670:283). These defenses were soon tested when Spanish vessels and thirty piraguas of Spaniards and Indians were reported at Santa Elena. The ships lay off the coast at Charles Town to cut off English supplies, and the piragua force positioned itself at the mouth of the Stono, intending to force a surrender. The English supply ship managed to get through and the colonists believed that the firing of the great guns in the town frightened off the Spanish Indians (Woodward 1670:186-188). The people of Carolina felt more like soldiers in a garrison than planters due to alarms of Spanish attack (Dalton 1670:183-184).

The Rivers

Item. That ye Inhabitants of ye said Country
have free passage throughe or by any Seas
bounds Creeks Rivers Rivelets &c in ye sd
Pvince of Carolina through or by wch they

must necessarily pass to come from ye mayne
Ocean to ye Countyes aforesd or any part of
ye Province aforesaid (Yeamans 1664:48-49)

As the fortified town became established "discoveries" were initiated on the river systems to determine the nature of these important features. A shallop was sent up the Ashley River in the spring of 1671 and reported it navigable for that vessel twenty to thirty miles upstream. A smaller boat went another thirty miles into the interior (Mathews 1671:335). The north river (the Cooper) was explored in the same period but had not been examined above fifteen miles by boat and twenty or thirty by land. Many resources were noted in association with both systems (Mathews 1671:335-336). To the southwest the Stono-Edisto systems had previously been noted for ease of water travel (Sandford 1666:75).

In June of 1672 Lord Shaftesbury requested his agent to choose a "Signiory" for him

either on the Ashley or Cooper River in
a place of the greatest pleasantness and
advantage for health and profit which
must be where there is high Ground neare
a navigable River and if it be above the
tydes flowing tis the better (Shaftesbury
1672:406).

In 1983, archaeologists discovered the site described by Shaftesbury. It was designated 38DR83 (Hartley 1984:23,25,36,73-75).

Trade, Indians, and the Spanish

The Proprietors instructed their agent in the colony to take a variety of seeds, roots, sets, and vines in the first fleet, and on arrival select a convenient location at the new town with as many soil types as possible. This was to be an experimental plantation testing varieties of plants in different types of soil. The "natives" were to be

asked the proper season to plant corn, beans, and peas. The primary interest was to develop a crop which would provide provisions for the colony, "ye foundation of yor Plantacon", while at the same time experimenting with crops such as grapes, ginger, cotton, and indigo to develop a marketable commodity (Proprietors 1669:125-127). By March of 1671, thirty acres of ground were cleared for the experimental plantation, concentrating on provisions but also experimenting with commodities (West 1671:267). This site was visited in 1983 and designated 38CH680 (Hartley 1984:51-52).

The proximity of the Spanish and the immediate conflict between the two groups disrupted these procedures. Faced with the need for marketable commodities, the colony then turned to the Indians as a solution to both problems. In anticipation of this need, the English had earlier left Henry Woodward in Carolina to establish contact with the Indians prior to the arrival of the colonists.

Dr. Woodward had remained "some considerable time" with the Indians after Sandford departed the coast, until his presence at Santa Elena reached the notice of the Spanish and he was taken to St. Augustine. He did not remain a prisoner, for the buccaneer Captain Robert Serle raided the town, freeing Woodward in the process. Woodward was taken by Serle to the Leeward Islands where he shipped as surgeon on a privateer. This ship wrecked on Nevis, where the Carolina fleet found him and he returned to Carolina with the expedition (Carolina Council 1670:190-191).

This strange mixture of preplanning and romantic happenstance resulted in a resource which the Council in Carolina regarded as invaluable. Woodward had been extremely useful in the initial time of scarce food, dealing with the Indians for needed provisions. Although he

expressed a desire to return to England to report directly to the Proprietors, the Charles Town Council argued that they could not do without his knowledge of the Indians and their languages (Carolina Council 1670:191-192).

Shaftesbury instructed the government in Carolina that Woodward's presence there was necessary to maintain the communication between the colony and the Indians, and that Woodward should be "perswaded to stay there where wee shall be sure to be mindfull of him" (Shaftesbury 1671a:314-315). To Woodward, Shaftesbury wrote that no one else could be so helpful to the new colony until the planters had learned the Indian's languages and ways. Further, Woodward could expect financial rewards for his contributions to the colony (Shaftesbury:1671b:315-316).

In addition to providing for immediate subsistence needs of the colony, Woodward's knowledge allowed him to initiate the military alliances with the Indians which the Carolinians needed to defend against and then to move offensively on the Spanish. Woodward met Westo emisaries at Shaftesbury's plantation on the upper Ashley River (38DR83) and accompanied them to their village, believed to have been on the Savannah River, where he negotiated a treaty with them (Woodward 1674:456-462; Hartley 1984). The treaty Woodward concluded with this feared and armed warrior group (Bull 1670:194) initiated the use of alliances with such powerful Indians to oppose the Spanish in the contested lands of Port Royal, Savannah River, and Guale.

While Woodward was negotiating with the Westos, two Savannah Indians who lived twenty days to the southwest came into the Westo town. They brought Spanish beads and other trade and told Woodward they had engaged in commerce with Whites "whom were not good" (Woodward 1674:461). Seven

years later, when the Westos became too recalcitrant for the English, the colony allied with the Savannahs and destroyed the Westos. The Savannahs then became the buffer tribe (Milling 1940:84).

Although the English colonists continued experimentation to establish a marketable agricultural commodity, none emerged between 1670 and the 1690s. As the colony searched for an economic base Indians began to be exploited as a commodity.

In September, 1671, Carolina officials reported that the Kussoe and other southward Indians threatened the colony by the great quantity of corn they were removing from the plantations. The government said that the Kussoe refused to live quietly and peaceably, threatened the lives of colonists, insolently invaded the plantations in the night time, and threatened to join with the Spanish to destroy the colony. As a result the colony declared open war against the Kussoes (Carolina Council Journal 1671a:341-342).

These Indians lived close to the harbor at Charles Town and had villages on the Ashley, Stono, and Edisto Rivers (Cheves 1897:456-457) so there were many occasions for conflict as the English established themselves on the same rivers. The conflict developed into a brief "Kussoe war", and the colonists sent out an expedition which resulted in a number of Indian prisoners. The decision was made to either transport them or sell them back to their tribe for ransom, to be divided equally among the company that had taken the prisoners (Carolina Council Journals 1671b:344-345). This documents the beginnings of the infamous Indian slave trade which was to provide support for Carolina for many years to come. Only in South Carolina did traffic in Indian slaves taken in war reach commercial proportions, drawing from the tribes on the frontiers of

Florida and Louisiana (Crane 1981:109). The events of the Kussoe war indicate that this trade began close to the colony.

These Indian wars were part of the conflict between the Charles Town English and the Florida Spanish in a competition which the Indians would lose no matter which European power won. The conflict was an extension of a traditional West Indian confrontation and took place on sea as well as land. Pirates used Charles Town and other colonies as a base to raid Spanish shipping to the extent that the English crown issued an official act against piracy (Salley 1946:24-25), and the Spanish retaliated with pirates encouraged and harbored on their West Indian islands, according to the English (Randolf 1700:186).

In 1686, in part as a retaliation against piracies, the Spanish attacked and destroyed the newly established English town at Port Royal, Stuart Town. Leaving the ruin of Stuart Town the Spanish force continued the raid into the Edisto area within thirty miles of Charles Town harbor. They raided and sacked the plantation and house of Governor Morton (38CH238) and of Secretary Grimball (Salley 1904:108; South and Hartley 1980:66).

English-Indian raiding parties in turn forced the Spanish farther south as the Charles Town colonists attempted to open a trade route south of the Appalachians into the Mississippi (Nairn 1708:193-202; Crane 1981:39) (Figure 1). The Carolinians saw the colony as

a Frontier to the English settlements on the Continent of America...also frequently menaced by the Governors of St. Augustine and the Havanna, with an invasion (Carolina 1706:171)

Skins

The second major commodity passing through the Charles Town port, deerskin leather obtained in trade from allied, subjugated or friendly Indians stimulated expansion toward Mississippi. In contrast with the New York trade, which was for furs, Charles Town sent great quantities of deerskins to London each year (Crane 1981:108-109). This commodity was supplemented by the manufacture of pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, and beef and pork, products which could be produced in the areas near the port (Randolph 1699:92; Wilson 1682:29-31). Local subsistence was achieved through the agricultural production of subsistence crops and the taking of wild game and fish (Wilson 1682:27-28).

In the 1690s rice began to be produced in quantities sufficient to become the agricultural staple commodity the colony had been searching for (Randolph 1699:91-92). By 1699, the Black population of the colony was counted at "above 5000 slaves", who were to be employed in the production of rice. This developing commercial capability was termed "of the greatest concern to the English Navigation" and the need for additional vessels for the transportation of the Carolina commodities was reported to England (Randolph 1699:91-92).

As the war on the border escalated into the war of Spanish Succession in the first years of the eighteenth century there were mass migrations of Indians into and out of the contested area. Whole groups of Indians were taken as slaves or slain. Under this pressure the Spanish mission system collapsed and in 1708 the garrison at St. Augustine was

Reduced to the bare wall their cattle and
Indian towns all consumed Either by us in our
Invasion of that place or by our Indian Subjects
since who in quest of Booty are now obliged to

goe down as farr on the point of Florida as the firm land will permit they have drove the Floridians to the Islands of the Cape, have brought in and sold many Hundreds of them, and Dayly now continue that trade so that in some few years thay'le reduce these Barbarians to a farr less number, there is not one Indian Town betwixt Charles Town and Mowila Bay except what are prickt, in the map (Nairn 1708:196-197)

The successful introduction of rice culture coupled with the expansion of trade, set the Carolina colony on a growing economic foundation as it entered the eighteenth century (Sirmans 1966:55). New populations of Europeans began to move into the protected area, between Charles Town and Virginia, and the towns of Bath (1690), New Berne (1710) and Edenton (1710) (Figure 2), as well as dispersed settlements began to be seen in North Carolina (Powell 1968).

In 1711 the seaport of Beaufort, South Carolina was established in Port Royal and the disputed area began to fill with settlers. Advertisements of the location in England pointed out its convenience in carrying on the Indian trade (Crane 1981:165). The colony seemed to have achieved stability, now secured in the Port Royal area by the heavily armed Yamasee Indians.

The Yamasee Indians viewed the movement of settlers into the frontier zone with alarm, complaining to the Indian Trade Commissioners in Charles Town that they were afraid of their lands being taken away (J.C.I.T. June 20, 1712:28). Instructions were given to the Port Royal agent to confirm Yamasee rights to the land and to take the names of all English who were improperly settled there (J.C.I.T July 9, 1712:31). The agent was instructed about the Yamasee:

You know they are the Bulwark of this Settlement and persuant to your Instructions, suffer not the Traders to cheat and use them with Insolence inconsistent

with the Amity we profess and unbecoming
the Dignity of the Government (J.C.I.T.
July 17, 1713:47)

The abuses were not resolved to the satisfaction of the Yamasee, and the Creeks to the west were also angry at the practices of the Carolina traders. In April 1715, the Creeks were reported ready to kill the traders and attack the settlement. On April 16, 1715 Indians of various nations along the border and to the west had "shaken of their fidelity, treacherously murdering many of His Majesty's subjects" (Boston News June 13, 1715; J.C.I.T. April 12, 1715:65).

In the war, nearly four hundred inhabitants of Carolina were killed, including many slaves. Many houses and great numbers of cattle were destroyed, this destruction heaviest near Port Royal. The inhabitants of that area were entirely driven out and forced into settlements near Charles Town (Yonge 1720:145). A ring of plantation garrisons was established on a thirty-mile radius of Charles Town, including The Ponds (38DR87) near the head of the Ashley River. This plantation was used as a mustering ground for a successful counter attack on June 13, 1715 (Crane 1981:171-172; Hartley 1984:36-37, 94-95).

The Yamasee War reopened unrest on the Carolina-Florida border which lasted approximately fifteen years and changed the nature of the colony and the border. The events of the war, and the heightened awareness of Carolina as the frontier of English colonial enterprise, resulted in it becoming a Crown colony (Yonge 1720:141-192). With the assistance of Virginia, the Carolinians forced the Yamasee into Guale and began the heavy fortification of the Port Royal-Savannah boundary between the mountains and the sea (Yonge 1720:145,192).

The English occupation of Guale in 1721 (Crane 1981:233) and the subsequent creation of the colony of Georgia in 1733 (Sirmans 1966:169-170) allowed the rotation of the English-Spanish boundary toward an east-west line lying just above 30 degree North latitude. This isolated the Spanish in peninsular Florida with the exception of a rim of control along the northern Gulf coast (Figure 2). In so doing the English achieved the goal of the Hakluyts and laid the foundation for the drive to the Mississippi where they would encounter the French.

Archaeology

Archaeology of the seventeenth-century colony at Charles Town is being conducted in ongoing surveys which rest on a primary document, the 1695 Thornton-Morden map of Carolina (South and Hartley 1980; Hartley 1984). The 1695 map is a revision of the 1685 Mathews map of Carolina and presents a perspective of the colony ranging over more than a decade (Cumming 1962:162, 166; South and Hartley 1980:2-6).

The surveys are in part a test of the accuracy of the 1695 map and its usefulness in locating archaeological sites of the period (South and Hartley 1980). The accuracy of the map has been demonstrated in two surveys where archaeologists have been able to locate approximately thirty percent of the sites through simple surface search and no subsurface testing. Comparison with current United States Geodetic Survey maps revealed a strong correlation between current physiographic features and those recorded on the seventeenth-century document. This made the location of the sites shown on the 1695 map possible (South and Hartley 1980; Hartley 1984) (Figures 3 & 4).

The Thornton-Morden map can now be used as an accurate representation of the settlement pattern of higher-status groups of the

Carolina colony. Other groups, such as Blacks or poorer Whites, are not represented, but the location of landed colonist's home sites is useful as a point of departure in a search for remains of less visible and systemically related populations (Hartley 1984:35-36).

These archaeological surveys have been grounded in an appreciation of the general relationship between cultural needs of people and physiographic factors, as was demonstrated by Joffre Coe (1964) in his work on Yadkin River Archaic sites. This relationship between physiographic features and human behavior allows the anthropologist to hypothesize a predictable means for locating occupation sites, a principal applied here to colonization of Carolina. One point of the survey's design is to determine whether the sites shown on the map, believed to have been occupied by persons of high status, would conform to a hypothetical model of location on high ground contour adjacent to deep water channels (South and Hartley 1980:1-2,24).

In the survey area, this pattern was almost universal, so that the sites which fell outside this model require an explanation of why they were different (South and Hartley 1980; Hartley 1984). This hypothesis identifies a norm, which then allows the identification of variation from the norm (Hartley 1984:29). Variation from this norm keys certain sites for further questions and examination. These sites served purposes which fell outside the need for a navigable channel or high ground or were so necessary at a certain location that these requirements were overridden. The Ponds (38DR87), is such a site. It is located on the thirty mile boundary of the colony on a bluff above Ashley River headwater swamps, as recorded on the 1695 Thornton-Morden map. This site was used as a muster

ground for a counter attack against the Yamasee in 1715 which indicates its use as a point of communication back and forth across that boundary.

The archaeological surveys have revealed that the colony of Charles Town in the seventeenth century was a large and dispersed community lying within a half circle struck on a thirty-mile radius of Charles Town harbor (Figure 1). The settlement lay along the river systems that radiated outward from the harbor and that provided navigable roadways connecting the outlying neighborhoods with the central business district of the harbor. The majority of the sites located were within five-hundred feet of a landing and at least ten feet above the high water mark (South and Hartley 1980:24; Hartley 1984:29).

There are three major river roadways radiating out from Charles Town harbor. The Stono-Edisto system parallels the coast to the southwest for thirty miles where it then penetrates into the interior and also connects with Port Royal Sound. The Ashley River flows into the harbor from headwater swamps which begin some twenty-five to thirty miles inland to the northwest. A third river, the Cooper, runs into Charles Town harbor from the north. This system has not yet been surveyed.

To the northeast, an anomalous French Huguenot settlement is located on the Santee at a distance of thirty-five miles on the 1695 map. This is the only settlement not shown on a river with inland connections to Charles Town harbor (Hartley 1984:3). Although overland roadways are seen on the 1695 map within the thirty-mile radius, the pattern of settlement shown is almost entirely river oriented.

Charles Town was and is an excellent and well protected port, as evidenced by its continued use to the present. The archaeological examination of the first settlement at Charles Town on Old Towne Creek

revealed extensive fortification trenches, palisades, and earthworks (South 1969; 1971). Recommendations for excavation in the village area just north of these fortifications have not been followed (South 1969:48-49). This is a key site for understanding the initial 1670 English occupation (South 1969; Hartley 1984:38).

In the search for sites on both the Stono-Edisto and Ashley systems a number of seventeenth-century sites were located on which descendants of the original occupier were still living. This indicates the intention of permanent settlement on the part of the colonists as well as a cultural stability which has endured in the area for more than three hundred years (South and Hartley 1980:30; Hartley 1984:27-28). The completion of the Mark Clark expressway around the city of Charleston and into John's Island will terminate much of this stability as the Sea Islands begin to subdivide. The gross cultural change brought about by urbanization was readily seen on the Ashley River section of the survey (Hartley 1984:29-33).

A hypothesis formulated for the Ashley River survey was that neighboring Spanish populations should be archaeologically visible in material collections from seventeenth-century English sites. Of the sites located along the Ashley River, thirty percent were found to have at least one Spanish potsherd present (Hartley 1984:28).

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

In the above treatments two contexts, separate in time, have been prepared for the same culture. The first is a general model prepared by Elizabethan English in anticipation of colonization and frontier expansion in the New World. The second is a sketch drawn from information relating to the colonization and expansion of Charles Town, South Carolina in the seventeenth-early-eighteenth centuries. The purpose of this exercise was to determine if Charles Town fit the general Elizabethan plan. Such a fit would broaden understanding of English colonization to the level of generality, beyond a particularistic focus on Charles Town alone. Relating this colony to the broader context of English colonization should allow the application of data from Charles Town to processes of English settlement. Inherent in these considerations are questions of frontier expansion.

In comparing Charles Town with the Hakluyt's model contained in Notes On Colonization (1578) one finds that the location of the colony agrees with the physiographic and climatic characteristics of the model. The colonists immediately instituted recommended procedures of experimental planting to develop subsistence crops and a marketable staple. Specific measures were taken to derive information from the indigenous population. Non-agricultural staple commodities were exploited while an agricultural commodity was developed, as prescribed in the 1578 model. These commodities, non-agricultural and agricultural,

drew sea trade and increased English navigation. Using rivers and overland communication between the harbor and the outlying regions, Charles Town became the central port for a vast area of the South, as the Hakluyts had designed. The population of the colony consistently increased as excess populations of England, Europe, and the West Indies sought a new home in Carolina.

In the context of the Discourse On Western Planting (1584), Charles Town was a successful location of an English colony at the southern end of the stated area of English operation. This colony was a major expansion of English colonial activity to the south of Jamestown, Virginia, and directly onto the hostile Spanish threshold, another stated goal of the Hakluyts.

Also as proposed in the Discourse, the quickly fortified colony immediately engaged the Spanish and began to force the expansion of the English frontier and the collapse of the Spanish, a conflict which was constant in both times of peace and times of war. These findings indicate that the generalities recognized in the Discourse operated through time and independently of the formal political stances of England and Spain.

The predictions of the Discourse about the usefulness of the Florida Indians in a conflict against the Spanish were entirely accurate one hundred years after it was written. These groups were used effectively against the Spanish by the English, attracted to the English by trade and past Spanish abuses. The weakness of the Spanish in the West Indies and Florida, observed in 1584, was in effect in 1670 and was exploited by the English. Pirates, using Charles Town as a base of operations, preyed on Spanish shipping.

The effective occupation of Charles Town laid the foundation for the further occupation of Georgia, reducing Spanish holdings while expanding the English frontier to 30 degrees North latitude. This was a major goal specified in the Discourse.

This study demonstrates a close fit between the Elizabethan plan and the activities of the Charles Town colonists. This indicates durability of conscious processual plans over more than a century. There were cultural mechanisms in English society which could account for the durability of these ideas and a brief consideration of them is in order. First, these ideas were formulated on a policy level in the English state, which means that they were carried by high status individuals with the political power to implement them. These plans were initially put into operation by those who formulated them. The activities at Charles Town one hundred years later indicate that these plans were still in process, carried out by another generation of Englishmen.

The examination of the leadership of the Charles Town colony reveals that members of that group were in the same class and on the same political level as the formulators of the plans. Also, as evidenced by Shaftesbury, this group had family ties with the Elizabethans who originated England's colonial venture. Family, class, and political relations were strongly present as possible means for the transmission of plans and attitudes.

Second, England's literary traditions provided an institutional "memory" to insure the durability of these ideas, formalized into written documents. These documents were maintained in a variety of archives, both public and private, and were readily accessible to those acting on a policy level. Accessibility was coupled with a tradition of use of such

documents. Both Elizabethans and the subsequent Carolina colonizers used documents of this kind (Locke 1671:265-266).

This information also received a more popular dissemination in the form of poetry, drama, and works designed to stimulate the English public toward colonization. Through the literary tradition these ideas also became known to some extent among a broader public (Carroll 1836; Shafer 1944).

One of the aspects of archaeology is the durability of cultural information carried in the archaeological remains of human behavior. Literary retention of cultural information can have a similar and complementary durability. The combination of written and archaeological information, both from the same culture and relative to the same behavior, can yield more information than either data set taken individually. The same information is not uniformly present in both data sets, nor can the same insights be derived from both. Therefore there are additional insights which cannot be derived unless the unique properties of each data base are combined with one another. It is the production of these additional insights which renders value in the combination.

The Charles Town Model

Using information assembled in the above historiography, a model of English competitive intrusion into the sphere of a hostile colonial nation can be abstracted. This abstraction is derived from general statements of intention toward the North American continent by the English and from activities at the Charles Town colony in particular. For these reasons it is called the Charles Town model and its elements are:

1. A location is selected suitable for interfacing maritime technology with an interior area of desired strategic expansion (a seaport).
2. This seaport is secured tactically with fortifications, ordnance, and military/naval capability, the population of the seaport to be committed to long-term occupation.
3. This seaport is supported economically by the internal production of subsistence goods and by navigation drawn to it by an exportable commodity or commodities produced through agriculture or interior trade.
4. The indigenous population is regarded as a key element to:
 - (a). assist in militarily securing the colony, and
 - (b). assist in sustaining the colony through provision of commodities from the interior, provision of additional subsistence, and provision of information.
5. The indigenous population is held in a friendly relationship by a threat of superior arms, by supplying them with trade goods, and by their realization that the broader situation forces a relationship with some intrusive culture.
6. The seaport and colony provides a base for focusing militarily against competing cultures to extend the colony's area of influence and control. The zone of competition, or boundary, may move to a permanent new location as one side or the other gains superiority, may fluctuate on the basis of temporary successes or failures, may remain static if neither side gains superiority, or may disappear because of the failure of one or all of the competitors.

Hypotheses

Based on the information derived from the historiographies and the general Charles Town Model, the following hypothetical statements are posed.

The port and its contiguous area of occupation should show a distinct military and naval capability. The naval capability will extend inland along the river systems with a diminishing capacity as the depth of the river limits the draft of the vessels used. In the upper reaches, shallow draft lighters will articulate with individual plantation docks to bring goods to the seagoing capabilities of the harbor and imported goods from the harbor to the plantations. The military nature of the seaport will be most pronounced in the immediate harbor area and on a defensive perimeter some distance removed from the harbor. Although the area between the defensive perimeter and the harbor should be less militarized and more involved in commodity/subsistence production, some military capabilities will be present.

Points on the the defensive perimeter should exhibit capabilities for handling commodities coming to the harbor from the interior, particularly skins, as well as trade items bound from the harbor toward the interior. These capabilities should be reflected in storage houses, domiciles, and pens for pack animals. The compound would likely be palisaded and possible surrounded by ditches and earthworks. Heavy ordnance might be present as well as other arms.

The zone immediately along the contested boundary between the competing powers should also show a pronounced military and trade character with a heavy reflection of Indian populations and fortified Indian towns, particularly at points where routes of communication cross

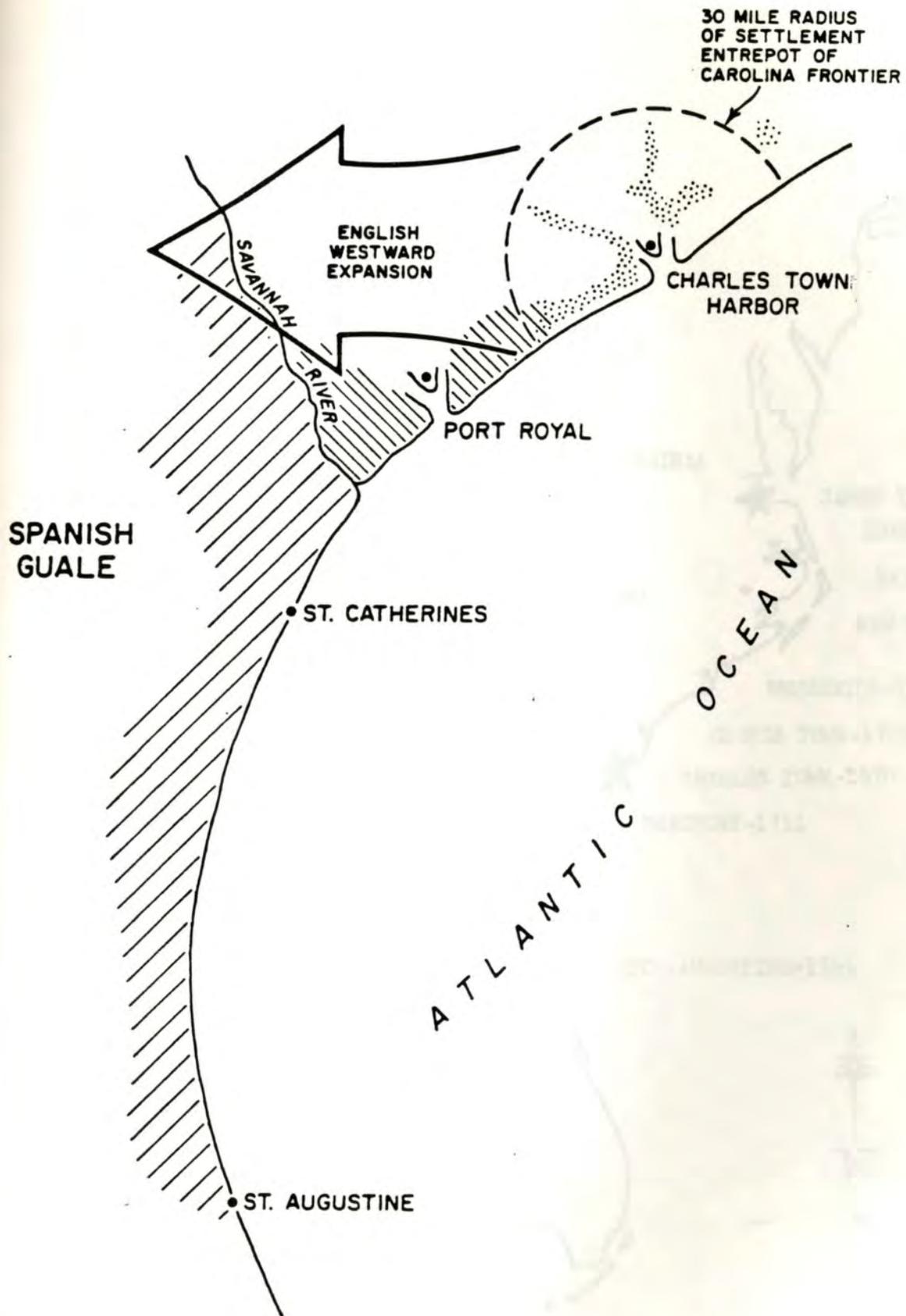


FIGURE 1: Charles Town in relation to the Spanish lands.

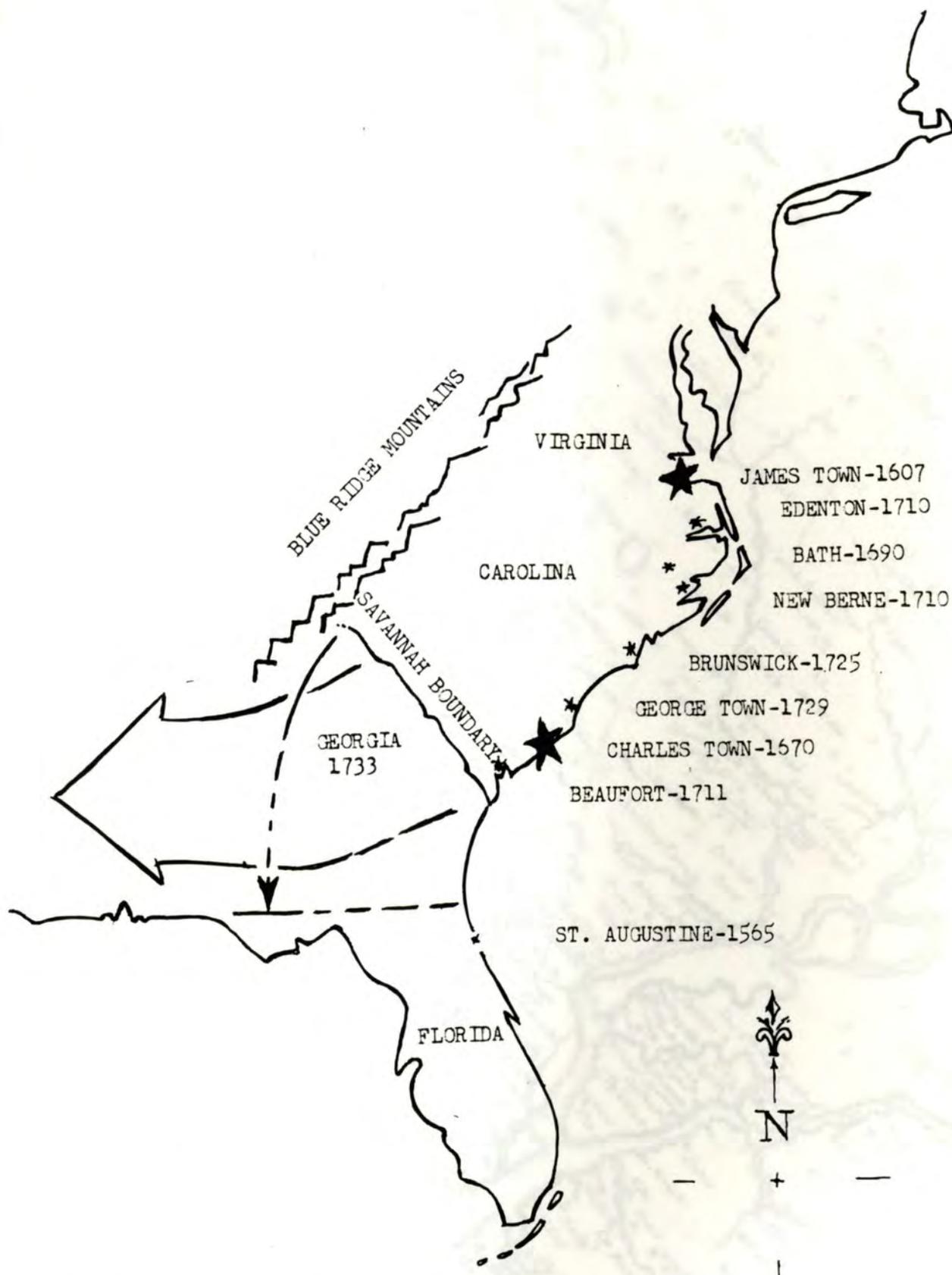
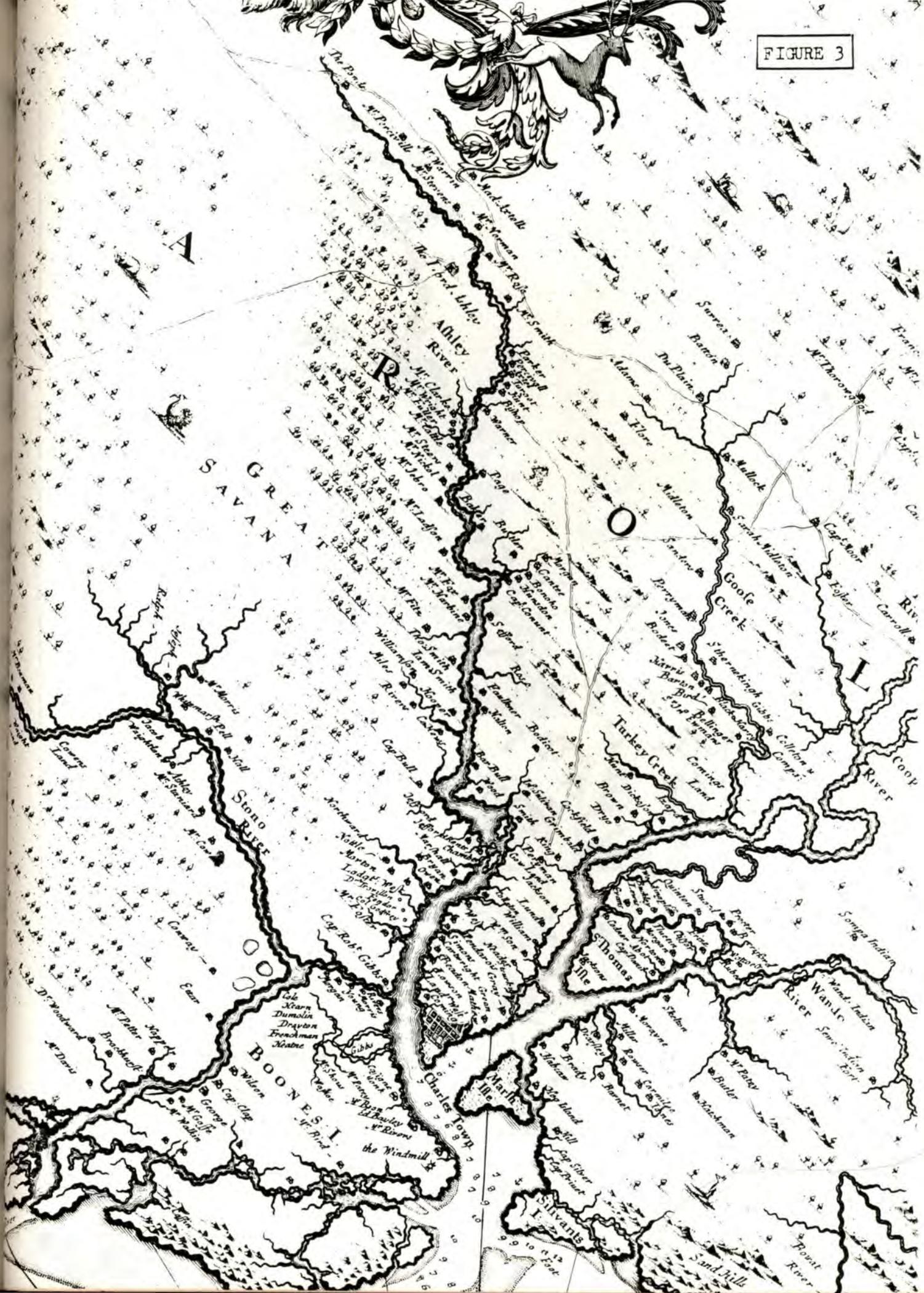


FIGURE 2: Infilling between James Town and Charles Town and expansion of the competitive boundary through Georgia.

FIGURE 3



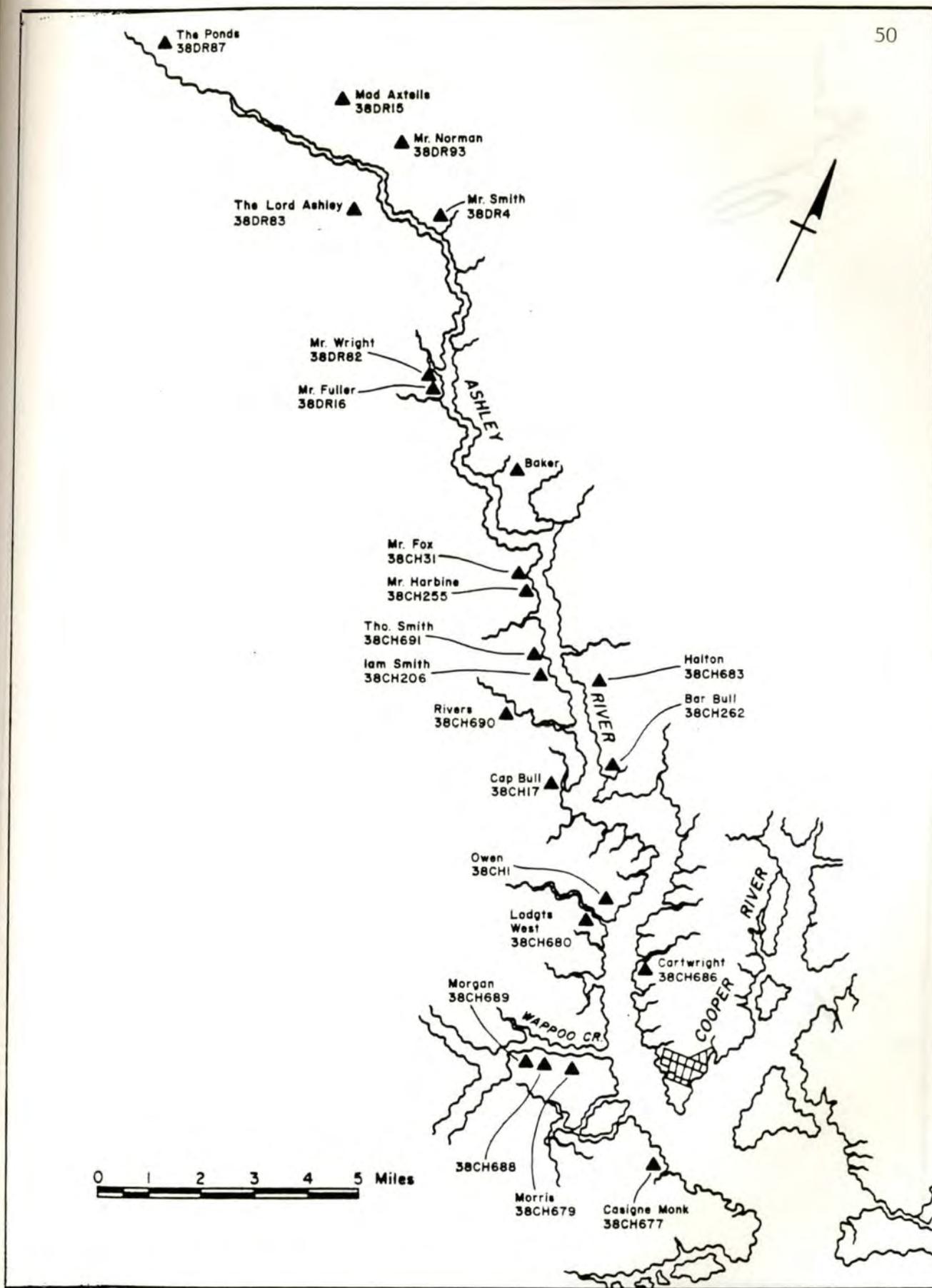


FIGURE 4: Seventeenth-century sites located in the Ashley River survey.

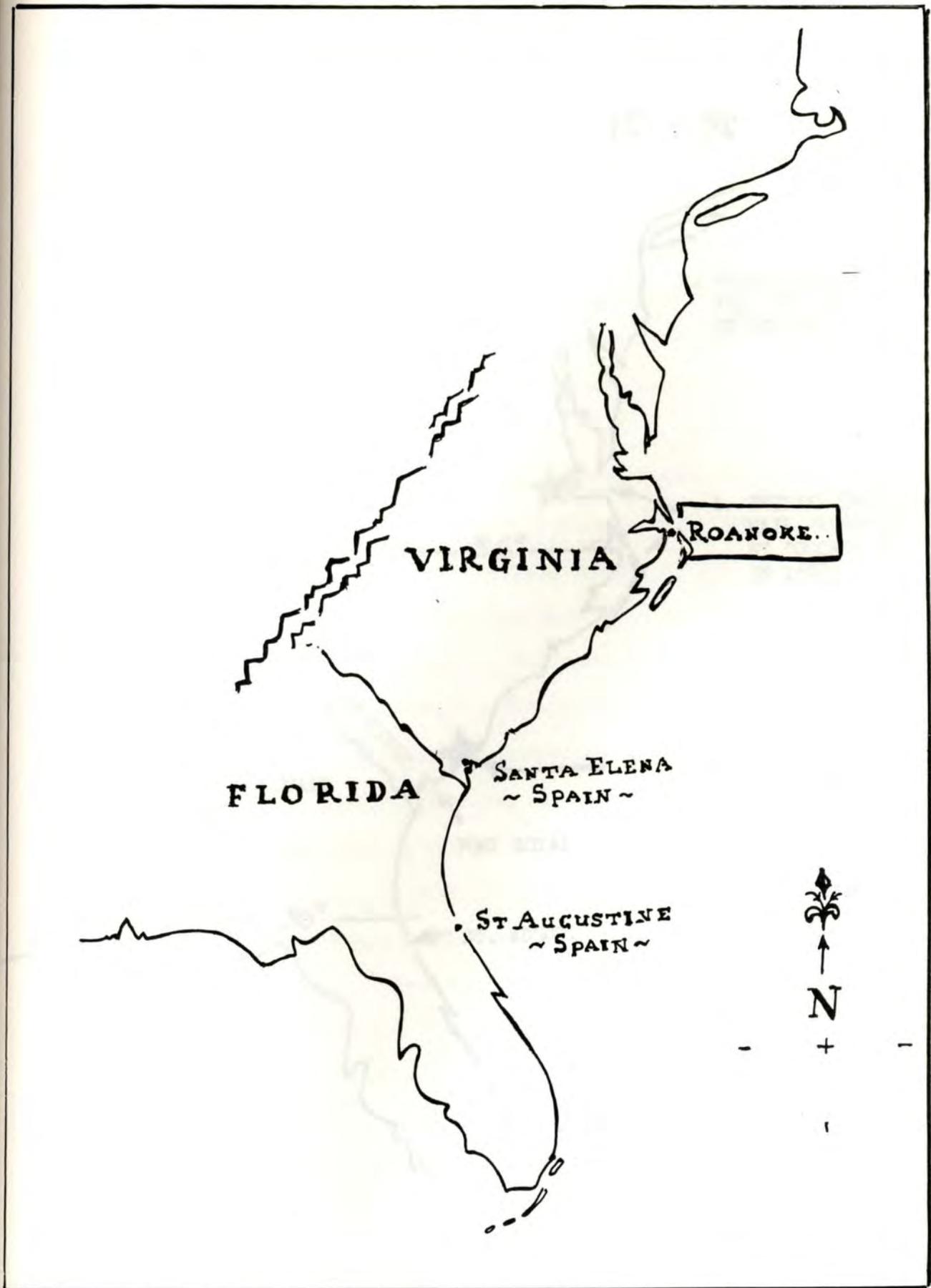


FIGURE 5: Initial English attempts to colonize, circa 1585.
The "Lost Colony".

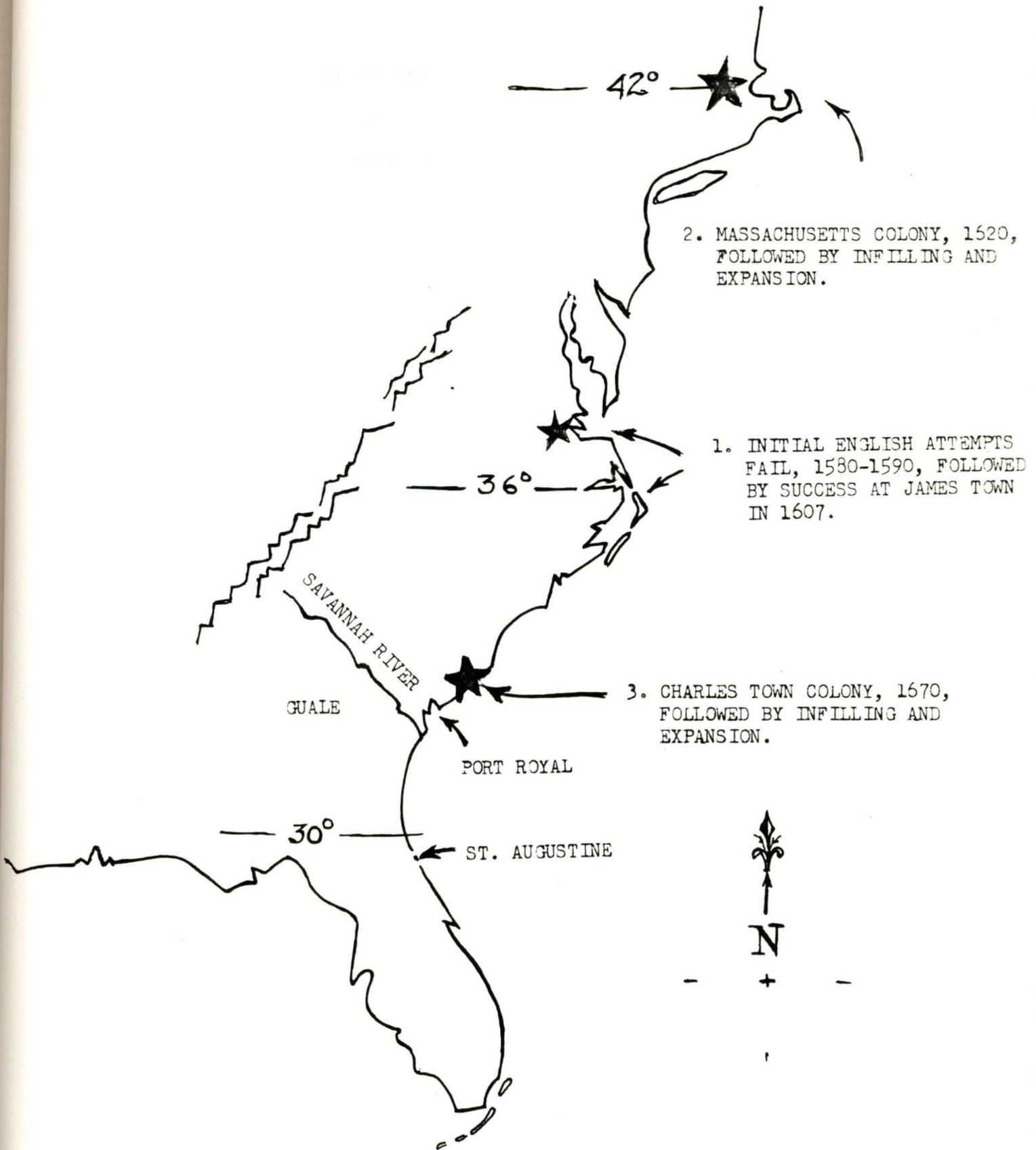


FIGURE 6: Stages of the English model.

the boundary. The width and changes in extent of the zone through time should be examined with archaeological techniques to determine its nature and use. Sites on this boundary during the English period should contain materials of Spanish origin that reflect raiding behaviors into Spanish territory. In addition to secular goods in this inventory, there should be religious materials from attacks on Spanish missions. Materials resulting from trade with populations in the Spanish territories will also be present.

Within the fabric of military capability, the residents of the colony would have become involved in the production of livestock, naval stores and subsistence crops. Since certain members of the population most involved in these behaviors may only be visible in the archaeological record, (and missing in documents), research designs for the discernment of seventeenth-century Blacks, Indian slaves, and poor Whites should be created to locate sites pertinent to their behaviors.

Although the deep water-high ground nexus is an important predictive tool for locating and examining certain aspects of the colony, focusing too heavily on this model will bias the archaeological data return toward the activities of upper-class members of the society and economic activities centering on the river systems of communication. This nexus may be used as a point of departure for the systematic location and examination of other areas of activity away from high ground and deep water.

On a fluctuating boundary such as existed in the Edisto-Port-Royal-Savannah area it is expected that archaeological remains will reflect interrupted occupations, multiple components, and successive occupations of the same site by various representative of the cultural

mix present in this zone during the period of disruption. This instability and fluctuation should be visible within the whole zone of the boundary.

The successful establishment of such a boundary by the English to protect Carolina lands not yet populated by colonists should have permitted an infilling of the area between Virginia and Charles Town. This process of infilling should be visible in the archaeological record, and the establishment of the North Carolina towns for Bath (1690), New Berne (1710) and Brunswick (1725) indicates that this is, in fact, the case (Powell 1968:26,348,66). A colony on a competitive frontier stimulates settlement expansion well beyond its immediate confines.

The English Model

The historiographic construction provides useful data for extending consideration to other areas of English colonization on the North American continent. After examining the structure of Carolina as a competitive boundary on the southern extent of English colonial activity, it can be hypothesized that a similar boundary should have existed on the northern extremity of English colonial activity as well.

On returning to the strategic model of colonization presented by Hakluyt (1584) one finds that the northern boundary of English colonization was set at Cape Briton (47 degrees North latitude). Initial English colonizing attempts focused on the coast in the neighborhood of 36 degrees North latitude to 37 degrees North latitude, somewhat south of the center of the proposed range. Two distinct attempts in seven expeditions failed to establish a colony on the coast of North Carolina at 36 degrees North latitude in the decade of 1580-1590 (Humber 1962) (Figure 5). The English were eventually successful in securing a

foothold at this approximate latitude in 1607, establishing Jamestown at 37 degrees North latitude on the more suitable Virginia riverine system (Cotter and Hudson 1957).

At approximately the same date, (1608), the French established Quebec colony near 46 degrees North latitude. In 1620, the Massachusetts colony, at 42 degrees North latitude, provided a competitive boundary between the English and the French in the area of Maine, outstripping and absorbing the 1618 Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. In this competition both the English and the French made large overlapping claims (McNeil 1967:304-305; Meinig 1985).

Massachusetts, 5 degrees north of Jamestown, provides the northern boundary of the region of seventeenth-century English activity. The 1670 establishment of Carolina and the contested Port Royal-Savannah area approximately 5 degrees south of Jamestown forms the southern boundary.

Therefore, the English Model can be stated: The English procedure was to establish a colony to provide an occupation of the center, extend a flanking colony to the north and secure the boundary followed by extending a flanking colony to the south and securing the boundary. A dual process of infilling between the boundaries and the center coupled with outward expansion of the boundaries then followed (Figure 6).

If the preceding construction is correct, Jamestown formed the pivotal center of English colonization, and 1620 Massachusetts and 1670 Carolina anchored the right and left wings as flanking bulwark colonies. In this context Massachusetts should provide a data base to compare against the Carolina data to address questions of colonial expansion on a competitive boundary.

This extends the anthropological and archaeological implications of Charles Town and Carolina beyond those of particularistic and local interest, to a consideration of broad patterns of English colonial strategy. Knowledge of this level of English activity may then be applied to comparative examinations of successful and unsuccessful strategies of other nations who competed for territories in the New World.

Other Pertinent Models

A necessary step remaining in these considerations is a comparison of these historiographically derived models with other proposals from the field of archaeology designed to address frontier expansion in Carolina on a general level.

Recently, Kenneth Lewis (1984) has presented a model of frontier expansion based on archaeological data from colonial South Carolina. The study explores processes of frontier change in complex societies, concentrating specifically on the relationship of such processes to the broader expanding system containing the colonizing society (Lewis 1984:1). The study focuses on the evolution of intrusive groups which, according to the author, offer the advantages of having documentary records that can be used to establish a baseline, and of exhibiting processes of rapid adaptation (Lewis 1984:2).

Lewis constructs a general model designed to define the nature of processes, identify common characteristics of colonial activity, and reconstruct past processes of change. The model is said to be "necessarily" economic and must deal with change resulting from the expansion of an intrusive society into a new territory over a period of time, using the region as a frame of reference (Lewis 1984:2-3, italics

added). A major task of the study is to construct and examine a comparative model of frontier change resulting from overseas expansion of a complex society intent on permanent agricultural colonization (Lewis 1984:5).

Lewis elaborates on the concepts of "insular frontier" and "agricultural frontier".

Insular frontier settlement is essentially a process of agricultural expansion associated with overseas colonization in a world economy. Its existence is a result of the deliberate movement by foreign colonists into a new area to use its resources to produce commercial crops and other commodities. Because of the permanent nature of agricultural settlement, the insular frontier process involves long-term occupation and growth which require an increasingly complex level of organization. Emphasis on the production of commercial exports and the development of an internal economy are the key elements inherent in insular frontier settlement (Lewis 1984:19).

Lewis states further that the process of expansion is a general phenomenon associated with long-term agricultural colonization (Lewis 1984:24).

Briefly summarized, the "agricultural frontier" operates in this manner, according to Lewis. Increases in demand for an agricultural commodity permits the distance at which a crop can be profitably grown to be increased, producing a larger total agricultural supply area. If coupled with advances in transport technology which reduce costs imposed by distance, crop zones expand as volume of supply increases (Lewis 1984:20). This expansion is keyed to increasing demand for frontier products from previously settled areas. If these demands regularly exceed agricultural output, sustained colonization will result (Lewis 1984:20-21).

Lewis presents an additional concept--Cosmopolitan Frontier change (Lewis 1984:264-292). Cosmopolitan Frontiers are characterized by

specialized, extractive economic activities in peripheral areas of the world economy. The limited nature of these frontiers make them short-term and impermanent with close economic ties to the homeland. As a result the model predicts an absence of insularity found in frontiers characterized by permanent settlement (Lewis 1984:264). Success of the Cosmopolitan Frontier is dependent solely on the ability to produce a marketable commodity for export to a settled region. The specialized nature of this frontier requires that it "heavily" depends on outside support and attempts need not be made to establish a subsistence base in the colony (Lewis 1984:265; italics added). It is characteristic of the cosmopolitan model that colonists reside there only as wealth seekers or agents of state institutions (Lewis 1984:18).

Lewis then moves to the establishment of South Carolina as a data base, stating that the existence of insular frontier processes

may be observed on the Eastern Seaboard by studying South Carolina as a more-or-less typical example of British colonization (Lewis 1984:32).

Lewis establishes South Carolina as an insular frontier, saying,

Initially, south Carolina was established as a permanent settlement to be sustained by the production of export staples. In these respects, the colonization of South Carolina was already typical of insular frontier settlement. The remaining attributes of this type of colonization: the production of staples, local reinvestment of capital and the development of a distinct colonial society, would appear later as the colony evolved over the next century (Lewis 1984:37; italics added).

There are some basic problems in applying Lewis's model to the whole period of frontier expansion in South Carolina, which Lewis feels one should be able to do.

Lewis assumes that South Carolina is typical of British colonization on the Eastern Seaboard, whereas a historiography of the colony indicates

that it was one of two flanking bulwarks of the entire scope of English colonial enterprise. Rather than being "typical", the colony provided a fortified boundary behind which an infilling process could take place on the Seaboard.

Additionally, although South Carolina is insular in terms of Lewis' definition, the model cannot address the activities of the seventeenth century because they do not rest on the agricultural production of export commodities. The commodities produced for export were instead those which Lewis categorically assigns to the model of exploitation by impermanent intrusion, the Cosmopolitan model (Lewis 1984:16-18, 263-292).

The Charles Town colony of the seventeenth century cannot be fully comprehended by or forced into either model, creating a theoretical dilemma which Lewis resolves by applying the insular model of frontier expansion primarily to post-1731 conditions (Lewis 1984:51). Although strategic considerations of the seventeenth century are alluded to in passing (Lewis 1984:46) and the formation of trade routes cited as the foundation for the post-1731 expansion of the colony (Lewis 1984:50-51,53), this model is not able to account for or explain the primary processes of frontier expansion in seventeenth-century South Carolina. Additionally, the model is not able to address the seventeenth-century economic base of the colony.

In the context of the present discussion, Lewis' model helps to explain the post-1731 infilling process. This took place after the successful securing of the lower South Carolina boundary, a 1721 movement of the buffer into the Guale-Georgia area, which was in turn followed by the formation of the Oglethorpe colony in 1733. While the model does

address aspects of frontier expansion it does not possess the comprehensive level of general application through the whole period of colonial intrusion as Lewis proposes.

The model's narrow applicability is lessened if it is not bound to production of an agricultural staple but is allowed to include the use of other types of staple commodities by an insular colony. This would allow the model to consider seventeenth-century activities of the South Carolina insular colony and to address the use of indigenous populations by permanent settlers.

Other tools available for considering Carolina archaeological data are the methods of quantification and pattern recognition developed by Stanley South (1977). The application of these methods allows the comparison of data derived from archaeological contexts across space and time. Additionally, South has derived a formula for dating and identifying periods of occupation through the use of ceramic types (South 1977:201-271). These methods greatly increase the capabilities of archaeologists to address English archaeological sites in the Carolinas and on the Eastern Seaboard.

Leland Ferguson has been working with colonoware found on southern colonial sites from the perspective that these wares were produced by Black people living in a colonial plantation environment (Ferguson 1978). This work is improving archaeologist's capability of using the archaeological record to learn about this important but little understood group.

The work of many prehistoric archaeologists focusing on Southeastern Indian groups provides a baseline for the consideration of these peoples during the time of contact. The complex period of contact provides a

fertile field for study of these processes in the South and elsewhere. More work is needed in this area, following the example set at University of North Carolina excavations in Hillsborough, N.C. on a ca. 1700 Indian village (Dickens, Ward & Davis 1984; 1985).

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Archaeology, within American Anthropology, has recently begun to consider literate, historic cultures. There has, however, been a lag in the joining of archaeology with anthropological use of documentary data from historic contexts. Although some archaeologists are exploring the use of documentation as cultural data, others contend that the use of documentation does not change the results of archaeological study.

The central theme of this thesis is that an analytical combination of written communications originating within a literate society with a study of the archaeological remains of that society can increase the understanding of both data bases. An increase in the understanding of the data bases leads to an increase in an understanding of the culture being studied. This is accomplished by using both types of data in a complementary way to create a culture context, or historiography. The historiography can be used to derive anthropological interpretations.

I have illustrated this by combining primary documentation relating to the processes of English sixteenth-eighteenth century colonization and archaeological evidence of these processes observed on the Carolina landscape.

I have argued in this thesis that the English consciously planned their entry into New World colonization by formulating policy statements of intention, method, and process at the highest English political levels. The Elizabethan documentation cited in this thesis to illustrate

this was formulated by advisors to Queen Elizabeth and the English Secretary of State as the nation entered into competition for the New World. The Elizabethan plan focused English interest on the temperate Eastern Seaboard of North America, between 30 degrees North latitude and 47 degrees North latitude.

The plan specifically elaborated on competition with the Spanish for territory, called for the use of Indians against the Spanish, and emphasized the development of maritime trade between England and the potential colonies. English occupation was to be accomplished by establishing two to three strong English forts between Florida and Cape Briton (30 degrees North latitude to 47 degree North latitude). The Elizabethan plan specifically described the characteristics of these fortified colonies. They were to be located on a good harbor, and have navigable rivers connecting with the interior to be used for trade and expansion. The harbor should become the central port for the commodities of a large territory and the seat of government for all the surrounding provinces. The colony should have a temperate climate, good water, and good soil for the development of commodities. The native peoples should be used to gain information about the place, for trade, and for alliances.

Since these Elizabethan plans state the specific geographical focus of English colonial activity and formulate a specific model of behavior relative to that area, the specificity of these plans is testable against subsequent English colonial behavior. I have proposed the following hypothesis for testing: Elizabethan policy makers formulated an explicit model for English colonization of the New World. If this model was

implemented, examination of subsequent English colonial activity on the Eastern Seaboard of North America should reveal a closeness of fit between actual activity on the landscape and the behavior called for in the Elizabethan plan.

This hypothesis was tested by comparing documentary and archaeological data from seventeenth-early -eighteenth-century Charles Town, South Carolina with the Elizabethan plan. Through the use of primary documentation and archaeological data I have demonstrated a close agreement between the structure and function of the Charles Town colony and the Elizabethan plan.

As required in the sixteenth-century plan the colony was located on a good harbor with river communications into the interior. Charles Town harbor became the trade center for a huge segment of Southeastern North America and was the political center for a substantial portion of that area. The colony met the requirements of climate, water and soil, developing subsistence resources and agricultural commodities while supporting itself with trade commodities. This drew ocean navigation to the colony and its population increased.

As a heavily fortified port, Charles Town was the foundation of a competition boundary against the Spanish along the Savannah River. Colonists from Charles Town, in alliance with Indians, operated militarily against the Spanish to expand English control into Georgia. At the same time the area between Charles Town and Virginia began to fill with colonists, protected by the South Carolina buffer. As expansion continued into Georgia the English gained control of the southeastern corner of North America, a major goal of the Elizabethan plan. This isolated the Spanish in peninsular Florida and set the stage for westward

colonization through Alabama and Louisiana in competition with the French.

Archaeological examination of the Charles Town colony has demonstrated the accuracy of seventeenth-century maps as well as providing new data. These surveys have shown a strong relationship between desirable deep water-high ground locations and occupation by high status individuals (South and Hartley 1980; Hartley 1984). These studies have shown that these populations were located along the navigable river systems radiating from the harbor. I have pointed out, however, that the exclusive use of the deep water-high ground model for the location of sites will skew observations toward high-status individuals. In addition to further study of sites following this model, I have recommended their use as a point of departure for the location and study of less visible but systemically related poor White, Black and Indian populations.

Archaeology has also demonstrated that the competing Spanish population is visible in material remains from Charles Town sites.

From these results I have derived the Charles Town model. This is a general model of English competitive intrusion into the sphere of a hostile colonial nation, abstracted from the Elizabethan plan and the behaviors of the Charles Town colony. This model treats the use of such a colony as a seaport, the relations of the colony with the indigenous population, and the use of the colony in expansion against a hostile and competing colonial nation. A number of hypotheses were proposed, based on the historiography and the Charles Town model.

One hypothesis was that a counterpart of the southern boundary colony should exist on a northern range of proposed English activity. This was tested through a further examination of historical data, which

showed that the first colony of Jamestown (1607) established the center of the zone of English activity, followed by the establishment of Massachusetts to the north in 1620. This created a northern competitive boundary against the French in the area of Maine. This boundary is a potential source of data to test the generality of the Charles Town model.

I have proposed the English model as a statement of these broad processes on the Eastern Seaboard of North America, which states: The English colonial procedure in North America was to establish a colony at the center of the proposed range of activity (Jamestown), extend a competitive boundary to the north (Massachusetts) and secure it. This was followed by extending a second boundary to the south (Charles Town) and securing it. The establishment of the center colony and the two flanking boundary colonies allowed a dual process of (1) infilling between the boundaries and the center, and (2) continued expansion of the boundaries outward. In this process of frontier expansion the English gained control of the zone established as a goal in the Elizabethan policy statements. This control of the Eastern Seaboard laid the foundation for a westward movement across the North American continent.

I have compared these models with a recent model of frontier expansion proposed by Kenneth Lewis (1984) from South Carolina data. Lewis's model assumes that frontier expansion is based on increasing demand for colonially produced agricultural staples in the homeland and previously settled areas (Lewis 1984:19-20). The "insular frontier" concept is bound to the "agricultural frontier" and is defined by Lewis as the deliberate and permanent movement of foreign colonists into a new area to produce commercial crops. According to this model, it is the

permanent nature of agricultural settlement which produces long-term occupation and growth, requiring an increasingly complex level of organization. Lewis contends that emphasis on the production of commercial exports and the development of an internal economy are the key elements in insular frontier settlement (Lewis 1984:2-5;20-25).

Lewis contends that a model of colonization must deal with change resulting from the expansion of an intrusive society into a new territory over a period of time (Lewis 1984:3).

Lewis assumes that South Carolina is typical of British colonization on the Eastern Seaboard (Lewis 1984:32), whereas a historiography of the colony indicates that it was one of two flanking bulwarks of the entire scope of English colonial enterprise. Rather than being "typical", the colony provided a fortified boundary behind which an infilling process could take place on the Seaboard.

Additionally, although seventeenth-century South Carolina had basic elements of "insularity" in terms of Lewis' definition (Lewis 1984:37), the model cannot address important processes of frontier expansion in seventeenth-century South Carolina because they do not rest on the agricultural production of an export commodity. The commodities produced for export in that time were those which Lewis categorically assigns to a model of impermanent intrusion, called the Cosmopolitan model (Lewis 1984:16-18,163-292). This model does not address expanding permanent settlement behind a military frontier, sustained by subsistence agriculture, although this was an important pattern in seventeenth-century South Carolina (Proprietors 1669:125-127; West 1671:267; Wilson 1682:27-28). Lewis primarily applies this model to

post-1731 conditions (Lewis 1984:51) and it helps explain certain infilling processes behind a militarily expanded frontier.

In conclusion, I have proposed that a combination of documentation and archaeological data is suitable for the application of the hypothetico-deductive method in addressing anthropological questions. This thesis has illustrated this. In accomplishing this task, insights have been gained concerning processes of English colonization on the Eastern Seaboard of North America. These perceptions occur on a number of levels, from the activities of a particular colony to the broad range of English activity on the Seaboard. These processes are also seen to have durability across time. They were observed as untested proposals of processual behavior and were subsequently observed being successfully continued a generation later. The far-reaching scope of these processes can be seen in the structure of the present day United States. This nation lies, basically, between the limits of English colonial activity proposed by the Elizabethans, 30 degrees North latitude and 47 degrees North latitude. The first frontier was the shoreline of the East Coast, but the declared western limits were the extent of the continent, and this to was accomplished.

Oh! let our voice his praise exalt,
Till it arrive at heaven's vault,
Which, thence (perhaps) rebounding, may
Echo beyond the Mexique Bay

Thus sung they, in the English boat,
A holy and a cheerful note,
And all the way, to guide their chime,
With falling ears they kept the time.

from
BERMUDAS

(Andrew Marvell 1621-1678) (Shafer 1944)

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