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Exploratory Archeology at the Site of 1670 - 1680 Charles Towne on Albemarle Point in South Carolina

Stanley South

University of South Carolina - Columbia, stansouth@sc.edu

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Exploratory Archeology at the Site of 1670 - 1680 Charles Towne on Albemarle Point in South Carolina

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EXPLORATORY ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE SITE OF
1670 - 1680 CHARLES TOWNE ON ALBEMARLE POINT
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

by

Stanley South

NO MAP

RMS # 1

Prepared by the
INSTITUTE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
March 21, 1969

PREFACE

This preliminary report of research carried out at the site of Charles Towne on Albemarle Point is the result of the efforts of many people. It really began with the first plans for the Tricentennial Year in South Carolina when the Tricentennial Commission decided to purchase and develop the land where the state's first settlers had established a colony in 1670.--the birthplace of South Carolina. Early in the planning the Commission and its Executive Director, Mr. James M. Barnett, realized the importance of making any such development as accurate and as faithful to history as possible. They recognized the need for a thorough search of the written records and a thorough search of the ground itself. With this in mind they asked Mr. Emmett Robinson of Charleston and Mrs. Agnes Baldwin of Summerville to begin a compilation of the documentary records. They also asked Mr. John Miller of Charleston to begin test excavations of the ground to provide an archeological record.

Shortly after I assumed the Directorship of the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina, in September 1968, Mr. Barnett began discussions with me concerning the project. Mrs. Baldwin and Mr. Robinson had made an excellent start on the documentary record, based especially upon the Shaftsbury Papers, and Mr. Miller had conducted his test excavations. It was obvious that both directions of research must continue until all possible sources of information were exhausted. Some kinds of information could only be obtained from the written records and would never be found in the ground. Other kinds of information could only be recovered from the ground and would not appear in the documents.

I developed a plan of more intensive exploratory archeology at the site and the Tricentennial Commission then entered into an agreement with the University of South Carolina to undertake the work. Meanwhile the documentary search was continued. The Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, representing the University, hired Mr. Stanley South, then of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, to direct the project and assigned Mr. John D. Combes, Assistant Director of the Institute, to be co-director of the field work. Excavations began on November 12, 1968 with a small crew and continued until December 20. Since then Mr. South has been analysing the results of the excavations and coordinating that information with the documentary record provided by Mrs. Baldwin and Mr. Robinson.

The following pages report the progress thus far made on the project. This is in no sense a final report but simply a progress report, as the work on this project is continuing. As will be seen, the documentary records and the archeological records compliment each other repeatedly. I particularly call attention to the large map of the site that so well illustrates how these two kinds of data compliment each other. This is essentially an archeological base map but upon it have been superimposed numerous notations from the written records that clearly support the findings in the ground and are in turn borne out by the archeology.

The Commission has asked the Institute to continue the archeological work for another season and has again provided the support for this work. This will be a more intensive excavation of the site based upon the exploratory excavations reported here. Mr. South will again be in charge of the project and will be joining the permanent staff of the Institute on April 1, 1969. The excavations will begin early in April and will continue into the latter part of June. This will be followed by three months of laboratory analyses of the data and the writing of a definitive report of the entire study of the site.

The Tricentennial Commission and its Executive Director are to be commended upon the perceptive and far-sighted approach that they have taken to the development of a sound, realistic interpretation of this most important of the historic sites in the state. It is indeed a pleasure to work with these people.

Robert L. Stephenson, Director
Institute of Archeology & Anthropology
and State Archeologist
March 25, 1969

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In carrying out the archaeological field work on the site, the association with John Combes, Assistant Director of the Institute, was a most valuable one. The archaeology was a joint venture of considerable stimulation and pleasure, with the resulting interaction a valuable one for the project.

Throughout the project the historical research of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin and, her daughter, Susan Solomons was a significant contribution to the endeavor. Susan was also a helpful field assistant throughout the project.

Access to his carefully sorted collection of historical research notes was freely provided by Emmett Robinson, for which the archaeologists are most grateful.

We would like to thank Dr. J. I. Waring and Mrs. Waring for their many kindnesses and hospitality while we were in the process of digging holes throughout their beautiful plantation. We are also grateful to Dr. Waring for allowing us to copy his map of the Jonathan Lucas Plantation of 1836.

During and following the excavations Mr. Neil Colvard, manager of the Waring property, extended many kinds of assistance for which the archeologists are most grateful.

Appreciation is also expressed to Mr. William Tarlton and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, for allowing a leave of absence for me so that this project could be carried out for the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina.

Thanks are also expressed to Dr. Robert L. Stephenson, Director of the Institute for his encouragement and support throughout and for his critical review of this manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

From the pages of the earth the historical archaeologist gathers bits and pieces representing past human activity, and relates these to the shreds and patches surviving as the worn documents and faded words of history. On this collection of essentially meaningless, unique fragments of the past, he strives to press a meaning.

The following report is an attempt to derive a meaning from the fragments of history and archaeology that have survived the three centuries since the first landing of the Charles Towne settlers on Albemarle Point in 1670. This summary results from an exploratory project in historical archaeology carried out between November 12, and December 20, 1968, designed to locate the site of Charles Towne. The project was sponsored by the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission, and was carried out through the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina.

A second project of more extensive scope is planned on the site beginning April first, 1969, and the report on that project will also include detailed information on the present project which was not included in this report. This second report will be completed by October, 1969.

A visual understanding of the work carried out during this exploratory project can be seen in the Archaeological Base Map accompanying this report. In reading the archaeological section frequent reference to this map will assist in understanding the features described.

"WE BUILD OUR TOWNE UPON A POINT OF LAND CALLED ALBEMARLE POINT"

The settlement of Carolina was planned as a planting and trading province by the Lords Proprieter, and the success of the venture came about through the efforts of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, after a 1664 settlement on the Cape Fear had failed. (Langdon Cheves, (ed.), Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society; "The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676," (The South Carolina Historical Society. Charleston: 1897, V, Preface 3-4. Hereinafter cited as S.P.). After a stormy voyage during which the vessels Albermarle and Port Royal were lost, the Carolina anchored off the Carolina coast where a discussion as to whether to plant at Port Royal or Kayawah was carried out by the settlers.

...the Gouverno^r adhearing for Kayawah & most of us...
 cryed out for Kayawah yet some dissented...those that
 inclyned for Port royall were looked upon straingly
 soe thus wee came to Kayawah....(S.P., V, 168).

They arrived early in April, 1670. (S.P., V, 167). This group was joined on May 23, by a sloop The Three Brothers, that had come by way of Virginia, and these people began the settlement that was to be referred to as "Albemarle poynt at Kyawah." (S.P., V, 169, 174).

In September, the surveyor for the colony, Florence O'Sullivan, wrote to Lord Ashley and described the country in which they had planted.

The Country proves good beyond expectation and abounds in all things as good Oake, Ash, Deare Turkies, part-ridges rabbitts turtle and fish the land produceth anything that is putt in it for wee have tried itt with Corne Cotton and tobacco and other provisions, which proves very well the lateness of the season considered, the country is stored with severall pleasant fruits as peaches strawberrys and other sorts we are settled at Kaaway near 20 leagues to the Northward of Port Royall it not prouving according to report we build our towne upon a point of land called Albemarle point seated upon the River that leads in from the sea called by us Ashley river where we are afortifieing ourselves...(S.P., V, 188).

In the same month William Owen also wrote to Lord Ashley giving a more particular description of the site of the settlement on Albemarle Point.

...we haue made choise for ye better, hauing pitcht on a pointe defended by ye maine riuer with a brooke on ye one side, and inaccessible Marshe one ye other w^{ch} att high tides is euer ouerflowne: ioyning itself to ye mainland in a small neck not exceeding fiftie yards which now is pallizadoed, and with a verye small charg might be

made Impregnable: for neither by water on ye one side nor by land on ye other cann ye enemie make any considerable attack but yt a handfull of men may defend with securietie, if this neck of land would be seuered from the Continent. (S.P., V, 196-197).

From these descriptions we learn that the settlement was located on Ashley River in country known by the Indians as Kayawah, and that it was on a point of land having the river on one side and a marsh on the other, known as Albermarle Point. In November, 1670, the colonists were informed that the town in which they were settled was to be known as Charles Towne.* (S.P., V, 210). The frontispiece of Volume V, of the Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society is a map showing "Charles Towne" on "Ashley River" which was made by John Culpeper in July or August, 1671, and which allows the location of the settlement on Albermarle Point to be pinpointed. (S.P., V, 332, 339, 354, frontispiece).**

By using the Charleston Quadrangle of the United States Geological Survey, and comparing this with the 1671 Culpeper map, it becomes clear that the site of Charles Towne is located on the point formed by the junction of Old Town Creek and Orangegroove Creek on the west bank of the Ashley River, where "Old Town" is written to designate the name of the plantation on the site in 1958. This plantation is the traditional site of the location of Charles Towne of 1670, now owned by Dr. J. I. Waring, and known as "Old Town Plantation." Thus, through the correlation of the 1671 map with the 1958 map, plus tradition, we come quickly to the pinpointing of the location of the earliest English settlement in South Carolina.

*The historically correct seventeenth century spelling of Charles Towne with an "e" on the end of Towne, has been used throughout this report. We should no more think of modernizing the name of the town to "Charles Town," any more than we would think of changing "Jamestown" to James Town, or "Hillsborough" to Hillsboro to modernize these names. Also, in the seventeenth century Charles Towne was not known as "Old Town", so why call it by this post-Charles Towne name? "Old Town Plantation" is a proper name for the plantation since this refers to a post-Charles Towne phenomenon, but Charles Towne itself should not be called "Old Town." To do so is to attach a modern name to venerable Charles Towne.

**The microfilm of this map shows some important differences between the original and the copy used as the frontispiece. (N. C. Dept. of Archives and History Microfilm). One of these is the fact that the handwriting on this unsigned map is not the same as that on the signed Culpeper map of the Lord Proprietors plantation dated 167. (S.P., V, 371). However, there seems to be no doubt that the Ashley River draft is also Culpeper's work, for the map maker mentions his lack of a boat, and John Locke says that Culpeper has sent a draft of Ashley River, and also mentions the lack of a boat; thus Locke provides the proof that this draft is by Culpeper, (S.P., V, 354).

"THE SPANYARD WATCHETH ONELY FOR AN OPPORTUNY TO DESTROY VS"

In a letter to Governor William Sayle at Charles Town, Lord Ashley stated that the purpose of the settlement was planting and trade, and that if Sayle would follow his directions the way would be open to:

...gett all the Spaniards riches in that Country with their consent, and without any hazard to yourselves.... (S.P., V, 327).

Thus we see some of the motivation for the Carolina enterprise. In order to provide protection for the Carolina settlement Joseph West, before he left for the Carolina venture in 1669, was provided with:

...four iron demi-culverin and eight sacres, with ship carriages, ladies, sponges and linstocks & 12 rounds of shot for each....(S.P., V, 93).

Instructions to the governor and council in July, 1669, stated:

You & yo^r Councill are to choose some fitting place whereon to build a Fort under ye protection of w^{ch} is to be yo^r first Towne, placeing yo^r houses soe as ye Gunns of y^r Fortes may command all yo^r Streets. Within this Forte is to be kept all yo^r Stores of all sorts. (S.P., V, 120).

Further directions to Mr. West stated that he was to erect within the fort two houses which were not to be thatched:

...in one of w^{ch} you are to putt o^r Stores of Warr, in the other, the Victualls, Cloathes, Toolles &c. (S.P., V, 127).

Thus we see that advance preparation for defence of the colony was being made even before the fleet set sail from England. Within three months after their arrival, Governor Sayle wrote to Lord Ashley telling of an effort to recover from the Spanish at St. Katherina some Englishmen detained there, during which effort two others were lost to the Spaniards. He also reported that there was only seven weeks of provisions left and that food was being rationed at a pint of peas per day for each man. (S.P., V, 174). This shortage became so serious that a daily supply of food was received from friendly

Indians, who also brought word, in August, that the Spaniards had sent out parties of Indians against the English. (S.P., V, 179). Before this alarm the Albemarle Point residents had mounted their great guns and had fortified themselves. (S.P., V, 179). Stephen Bull wrote to Lord Ashley and explained the situation to him in a letter of September 12, 1670:

About the 18th of August last wee received newes that the Spaniard wth all the Indians about S^{te} Augustine & the Spanishe Keyes was come to a River about 6 miles from vs & vpon the recepcon of the Larum having continuall notice for 7 or 8 dayes before of their comings wee had putt our selves in reasonable good Posture to defend ourselves ag^t an Enemy the Indians informeth vs that there was about 200 Spaniards & 300 Indians & one as wee conceived to bee A ffryer & thanke god for itt our Menn nottwth standinge hard workinge in ffortification shortnesse of Provision & stricte dutyes in watchinge yett they were possesst wth good courrage & were very ready and desirous to fight the Enemy & all the Indians about va came in wth their full strength to our Ayde ... (S.P., V, 194). Our Indians Informeth vs that the Spanishe Indians seeing the scalinge of our great gunns & seeinge the shipp that they possesst wth such feare that the Spaniard could nott bring them vp nor gett them to staye our Indians alsoe Informeth vs that they had 3 shippes & 12 Perriaugers... (S.P., V, 195).

From the time of this alarm in August, for the next several months, fortification seemed to be uppermost in the minds of the settlers on Albemarle Point. Governor Sayle writing to Lord Ashley in September, 1670, requested more supplies and people so as to be strengthened against the enemy:

...for the Spanyard watcheth onely for an oportuny to destroy vs.... (S.P., V, 185).

From Spanish records we learn that three vessels with infantry were sent out from St. Augustine under orders from the governor, Don Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega, to dislodge the English from their settlement on the Ashley River, but that due to a storm they were forced to drift to sea, and the expedition was called off. (Jose Miguel Gallardo, "The Spaniards and the English Settlement in Charles Town," The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, XXXVII, No. 2, (April, 1936), 57. Hereinafter cited as S.C.H.G.M.). No date for this expedition was given, but we might suspect that it was the August effort mentioned by Stephen Bull and Governor Sayle which had caused the alarm in the English settlement. The exact date of the expedition can perhaps be fixed as August 6 and 7, 1670, on the report of Captain Henry Brayne, who said that on those days his vessel:

...rid out a Hurry Cane being verie ill provided for such purposes but God be thanked I saved my shipp.... (S.P., V, 226).

He further reported that on the 23rd of August, he arrived at:

...the towne now called Albemarle poynt where we found them all in armes. (S.P., V, 227). ...I consulted with the Governer and Captain West as to my farther proceeding eyther to take in timber for Barbadoes or what else they could think on better for the Countreyes good and their owne safty whereupon they answered mee that all the time I was absent thay was faine to put the people to a pint of pease a day by which sharp allowance was the cause that there was little worke don and noe timber ready or fitt to be shipped off and the distraction that they ware in about those spaniards; they thought it better to fortifie themselves as strong as thay could and to send me away emediately to Barbadoes that I might come time enough to gett in before the weather did come in...(S.P., V, 228).

It appears that the intervention of the "Hurry Cane" which almost cost Captain Brayne his ship may have prevented the Spanish from carrying out their planned attack against Albemarle Point, and although the settlers could not know it, no such expedition would again be launched by the Spanish.

By March, 1671, Governor Sayle was dead, and Joseph West had been elected governor. (S.P., V, 282). The colony had grown by over one hundred people who had arrived on two ships, the John and Thomas, and the Carolina, but relatively few provisions were brought to alleviate the shortage of food. (S.P., V, 282). The Council reported the situation to the Lords Proprietor on March 21, 1671:

We have with much adoe, our people being weake by reason of scarcity of provisions, pallsadoed about 9: Acres of land, being a point, whereon we first set downe for our better security, and mounted seaven great Gunns, all the other carriages haveing been lost with the ship Port Royall. (S.P., V, 283).

From this reference we learn something of the nature of the fortification which had commanded so much effort in the fall and winter after the failure of the Spanish expedition; a palisade enclosing about nine acres, including the point. In another letter, apparently written before the fortification was carried out, a broad trench was mentioned as the type of fortification that

might likely be used:

Our towne called Albemarle point is scituate on a point w^{ch} is almost encompassed wth a large March & may easily be strongly fortified wth a broad trench, it contains about 10* acres of Land. (S.P., V, 309).

*"The Shaftsbury Papers" (S.P., V), of 1897 has 80 acres here instead of 10 acres, but Emmett Robinson in examining the microfilm of the original document has discovered that the original document mentions 10 acres, not 80.

Although at the time of writing of this letter the fortification had not been completed, the means of accomplishing this was said to be through "a broad trench," and the land contained within the area about ten acres. From these sources it would appear then, that both a broad ditch and a palisade may likely have been used.

Although their expedition against the settlement of the English had failed in 1670, the Spaniards at St. Augustine had by no means forgotten their unwanted neighbors. The governor of St. Augustine, Don Manuel de Cendoya, sent a spy named Camunas, (who could speak ten Indian languages), to the settlement on Albemarle Point, called San Jorge by the Spanish. The purpose of the long land journey was to find out what he could about the fortification and other details of the English town. Camunas returned from his assignment to St. Augustine and reported in a deposition dated July 12, 1672. (Enclosure in a letter of Cendoya dated December 15, 1672, translated by Dr. St. Julien Childs from documents in the Library of Congress designated as A.G.I. 61-1-18, Mexico; hereinafter cited as A.G.I. 61-1-18).

Camunas traveled overland to the English settlement, assisted by some men and a canoe. At the Indian village of Osao he met a female Casica who had been at St. Augustine, who insisted on accompanying him to within a short distance of the English town. He was met by six Englishmen, "all with military insignia," who escorted him to the village and to the governor's house. The governor received him cordially, and Camunas presented the governor with a packet of letters, and was shown the garden plots of the town while the letters were being read. After this tour of the vegetable garden the governor offered wine in a silver cup, and toasts were exchanged for the kings of England and Spain.

While enjoying the hospitality of the English governor, Camunas was observing all around him with more than a tourist's eye, and later was to report:

...at the entrance to the said village on the land side a matter of a quarter of a league in the woods, [from the governor's home] they have a strong house of wood roofed with shingles. Around & within this wooden fort, fifty men are stationed with an infantry captain in

charge, as appeared to him, and in the said house were many firearms, shot-guns & naked cutlasses. (A.G.I. 61-1-18).

This wooden fort covered with shingles would appear to have a striking resemblance to the structure which Joseph West was supposed to build when he arrived in Carolina. He was instructed to build two houses within the fort protecting the town, both of which were not to be thatched, i.e., they were to be covered with a more secure and permanent roof; shingles. One was to contain the food, clothing, tools, etc., while the other was to house the stores of war. (S.P., V, 127). It is apparently this shingled building, located on the land side of the village, and housing the stores of war, that Camunas saw and described. It was constructed to protect, not against the Spaniards, but against the Indians and whoever might want to harm them on this land side of the village. (A.G.I. 61-1-18).

After passing the wooden fort at the land side of the village, Camunas says he saw about ninety houses in the village, without any formal streets. His description apparently then continues as he moves toward the tip end of Albemarle Point:

And from the village along the edge of the river some houses continue, all of wood & disposed with much regularity, until one comes near the Castle [fort] which also is of wood made into a sort of wall of heavy logs & its height & elevation is about two and a half varas [7 feet] with twenty-eight pieces of artillery of iron & bronze, twelve of which are pointed toward the river & the port by which the ships enter, and the rest, from their low embrasure, toward different points on the mainland. And inside of this fortification there are some lodgings and others of the same sort outside of it which, as he was informed, were built at first when they began to settle for fear of the Indians. (A.G.I. 61-1-18).

From this description of the protective "castle" or fortification for the settlement, we learn that it has a protective heavy log wall, and that twelve guns are mounted on a low embrasure pointed toward the river and the port where the ships enter to load and unload, no doubt, at the end of Albemarle Point. The embrasure was likely accompanied by a ditch from which the soil was likely obtained for the embrasure on which the guns were mounted. We can conclude from this account, therefore, that there was a defensive ditch with accompanying parapet and palisade or cribbed log wall, along which twelve guns were mounted.

A most important additional fact is that inside of this fortification, as well as outside, were "some lodgings," which were "built at first when they began to settle for fear of the Indians." Having previously described the village, Camunas then describes this fortification on what is apparently the tip end of Albemarle Point, as having only "some lodgings," clearly indicating that the village of 1672 was located, not on this point, but further inland! All that was near or inside the fortified area were "some lodgings," built when they first landed in 1670.

The location of this fortified "castle" was some distance from the village, as indicated by his statement that "from the village along the edge of the river some houses continue...until one comes near the Castle..." definitely revealing a separation of some distance "along the edge of the river" between the village and the fortified area.

From the references it becomes clear that fortifications against the Spanish were in the form of a strong wall of logs, with from seven to twelve "great Gunns" mounted on a low embrasure or platform, and a broad trench, with marshland acting as an additional protection. The guns were pointed toward the river and the deep water channel of the creek whereby any ships gaining access to the point must enter. Behind this fortification were a few lodgings, probably for those men charged with the responsibility of standing watch and manning the artillery if necessary. Outside of this fortification were a few other lodgings, and further along the river, away from these structures which were "built at first when they began to settle," the village itself was located.

From Spanish sources we learn also that the plan of attack on the settlement was indeed by way of the water. In a letter to the queen of Spain dated July 8, 1673, Don Nicolas Ponce de Leon discussed the prospects of attacking the English on Albemarle Point, using no doubt, information provided by the spy Camunas.

The enterprise is further made difficult by the conditions of the coastland, made up of lowlands with many shoals and sandbars. The ebb and flow of the sea through the various estuaries and inlets flood the ground, making it swampy, and thus inaccessible to infantry on the march and for the transportation of artillery. It is, therefore, necessary to reach the enemy's port sailing on small craft within the shoals and estuaries.
(S.C.H.G.M., XXXVII, No. 2, 58).

From this we learn that an attack by the Spanish would likely come from the direction of the water. The English on Albemarle Point had come to the same conclusion, and had placed their fortification facing the river, between the tip of the point and the village.

Other Spanish documents reveal details as to the type of fortification

present at the English settlement. In February, 1674, four Englishmen from the Ashley River settlement arrived at St. Augustine and said they had been mistreated, and has suffered from lack of supplies at Albemarle Point, and had come as refugees to the Spanish. (S.C.H.G.M., XXXVII, No. 3, 93). These men were questioned by the Spanish as to the type of fortification then existing at the Charles Towne settlement.

James Fleming reported that the settlement:

...contained probably a hundred men, that there was no paid infantry and that there was only a fort built with stakes and fascines, and equipped with five iron artillery pieces. He knew of no other forts. (S.C.H.G.M., XXXVII, No. 3, 95).

Thomas Vide reported that he had lived in Charles Towne about two years and had seen no fortifications except:

...a platform with a stockade and fascines, which was practically demolished, and which contained about thirty pieces of artillery. He estimated that there were about ten pieces of iron artillery, large and small, mounted on the platform, and said there were no other fortifications. (S.C.H.G.M., XXXVII, No. 3, 96).

Hugh Jordan reported that:

...the only fort in existence was a platform surrounded by stakes and fascines, with about twenty pieces of artillery, only four of which were mounted. (S.C.H.G.M., XXXVII, No. 3, 97).

Charles Miller stated that the settlement:

...had only a platform with stakes and fascines, and that although it (the platform) had about thirty artillery pieces, only eight of them were mounted and ready for action. He stated that it seemed to him that there were about one hundred men in the town capable of bearing arms. (S.C.H.G.M., XXXVII, No. 3, 98).

From these reports it becomes evident that there was a platform on which eight to ten pieces of artillery were mounted, which was additionally protected with a stockade and fascines, correlating with what Camunas had seen earlier, with the addition of the fascines. The type of artillery present we can judge from the 1669 list of:

...four iron demi-culverin and eight sacres, with ship carriages, ladles, sponges and linstocks & 12 rounds of shot for each....(S.P., V, 93).

These were taken to Carolina with the first settlers, or were at least ordered to be taken. Later, in May, 1671, Captain Halstead was given instructions to deliver four minons and four drakes with ship carriages to Charles Towne on board the ship Blessing. (S.P., V, 310, 318).

Along with the fortification of the town by palisades and through artillery positioned on an earth platform accompanied by palisades and fascines, the people of the colony were ordered in October, 1671, to appear in arms ready to be fitted into companies for the better defence of the settlement. (S.P., V, 346).

On May 16, 1672, Stephen Bull was commissioned Master of the Ordinance and Captain of the Fort at Charles Towne. (S.P., V, 393). From a deed record dated four days later we learn that a three pole lot in Charles Towne bordered, "Westerly on the Towne fortificac'on or Palisadoes...", indicating that the west palisade for the town ran in a north-south direction. (A.S. Salley, (ed.), Records of the Secretary of the Province and the Register of the Province of South Carolina 1671-1675. (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia: 1944), 27. Hereinafter cited as Records of the Secretary).

By July, 1672, the town watch was cut in half because the:

...constant and diligent watches among the people the continuation whereof may not only hazard their healthes but will prove altogether destructive of their improvements....(S.P., V, 406).

By February, 1674, the original palisade around the town had apparently fallen into ruin as witnessed by Thomas Vide who said at that time, apparently in reference to the stockades and fascines, that they were "practically demolished." (S.C.H.G.M., XXXVII, No. 3, 96). The Grand Council at Charles Towne was also taking notice of this situation at the same time, for on February 9, 1674, they advised:

...upon the erecting of a new fortification about Charles Towne It is resolved that Capt Stephen Bull be present at the Councill upon Friday next with his surveying instruments to run the line of the said fortification as shall then be advised. (S.P., V, 462).

From this it becomes clear that a new palisade was built "about Charles Towne" in 1674, likely as a result, not only of disrepair of the old one, but from the fact that a larger area was very likely needed due to expansion of the village.

IV

"WE WERE FORCED TO GRANT THEM TOWNE LOTTIS"

In the original planning for the Carolina settlement a town site was to be selected after they arrived and looked over the various possible sites. However, in March, 1671, the Council at Ashley River wrote to the Lords Proprietor explaining that:

When we arrived here, we thought it most conducing to our safety, to build a town where we are now settled, it being a point with a very convenient landing, and safely fortified, being almost surrounded with a large Marsh, and Creek....(S.P., V, 284).

This was in the way of explaining why they had begun to build a town on Albemarle Point. The reference to the town site being surrounded by a marsh, however apparently misled Ashley, for in a letter to Sir John Yeamans in September, 1671, he said that:

The Place they are now planted in is so Moorish that it must needs be unhealthy and bring great Disrepute upon our new settlement where as a Towne in a healthy Place will give more Reputation, Security and Advantage to us then ten times that number of People scattered about the countrey When you have chosen a Place for the Towne....(S.P., V, 343).

From this we see that Ashley was not impressed with the accounts he had received of the first town site, and thought it too marshy, and spoke of selecting another site for a port town. However, in December, 1671, Ashley wrote that the Proprietors had changed their minds about the site on the Ashley River, and said that the Albemarle Point settlement should be the port town, and:

...though through the little care was taken to lay it out into Convenient Streets at their first coming it cannot be made soe exactly regular and beautiful as wee wish, yet wee desire you would use your Endeavor to have the Streets layd out as large orderly and convenient as possibly may be, and when that is done the houses which shall hereafter be built on each side those designed Streets, will grow in beauty with the Trade and Riches of the Towne. To prevent the like inconvenience hereafter I desire you would bee early enough in choosing a place and laying out the Modell of an exact regular Towne on the Next River and thereof to send us the Draught. (S.P., V, 360).

From this we see that the first town was carelessly laid out in an irregular manner, which agrees with the observation made by Camunas. The reason for the poorly laid out settlement should be examined.

Shortly after their arrival at Albemarle Point, the Council decided that in order:

...that we might keep as neer together as we could, for the better security of this place, we were forced to grant them towne lotts cont: eleven poles or thereabouts Pr. head, and Tenn acres Pr head to plant as afores'd; which tenn acre lotts were, and are laid out to them, & about the Towns from the South, westwards to ye North, by w^{ch} we humbly conceive, we shall p^rvent any sudden surprisall; this modell we were forced to exercise at first for our better defence....(S.P., V, 284).

This statement indicates that in order to keep the people together in a town, it was necessary to grant them town lots of eleven poles. The Surveyor General responsible for laying out these lots was Capt. Florence O'Sullivan, who, according to Stephen Bull:

...is a p'soun that doth acte very strangely & heere is nott any p'soun in the Collony butt complaines of his vnjust practices being A very dissencious troublesome Mann...wee finde in our smale towne lotts very strange & grosse Errors w^{ch} would much shame most People butt hee is of another nature shamed of nothings....(S.P., V, 195).

It is apparent, therefore, that "grosse Errors" were made in laying out the town lots on Albemarle Point. Henry Brayne complained to Lord Ashley in November, 1670, that:

Capt: O. Swilowvun our Surveyor Generall who doth by his absurd language abuse the Governor, Councill and Country and by his rash and base dealings he hath caused everie one in the Country allmost to be his Enimie and espetically he hath given the people a verie great Jelousie of him as to his act of surveying for I assure your Lordship all lands that he hath pretended to lay and run out is verie irregular not knowing how to give us any sattisfaction in things of plaine cases in soe much that we are everie day almost together by the ears and espetically with him pretending knowledg but acts nothing to make it out for at the verie day I came away hardly any person was sattisfied as to there small lotts....(S.P., V, 215).

In addition to the problems with O'Sullivan in matters of surveying, John Locke in his Carolina Memoranda states that O'Sullivan was a buggerer of children. (S.P., V, 248). It is apparent, therefore, that the Surveyor General was a focus for problems involving the irregular layout of Charles Towne, resulting in the re-survey of 1672.

On June 1, 1672, within six months after Lord Ashley had asked that the town be made more orderly, the Council passed an "Act for the uniforme building of Charles Towne." (S.P., V, 393). And as a result, in July, people owning lots in Charles Towne came before the Grand Council and turned them in, and were issued new ones according to the new plan of the town. (S.P., V, 408). The record of lots mentioned at this time indicates that there were at least 62 lots in the new plan. As a result of this action it becomes clear that a new arrangement for the town was laid out in 1672.

Although we find that the early record of the lots in the town referred to 11 pole lots, (S.P., V, 284), other records reveal that 12 pole lots* were most prevalent, with some 3 pole lots having been issued. (Records of the Secretary, 14, 18, 21, 27).

* One pole equals 272 1/4 sq. feet; 12 poles equal 3267 sq. feet; a lot 33 by 99 feet (for instance), would be a 12 pole lot.

In May, 1671, a model of an ideal town was sent to the Carolina settlement which showed:

...streets runing strait, whereof ye largest was 80 foot, ye back street to y^t 40 foot, ye next, 60 foot, & ye back street 30, w^{ch} streets divided the Towne into squares, each of whose sides was 600 foot. (S.P., V, 324).

Just how much attention was paid to this model plan when the town lots were re-issued in 1672, is not known, but we might suspect that it was used as a general guide in as far as was possible considering the already existing structures within the village.. Camunas states that:

...the place where they have the village built is a wooded village consisting of dwelling houses without having any formal streets although he could count about ninety houses, some higher than others apparently according to the means of each individual. (A.G.I. 61-1-18).

The street between the village and the fortified point running along the river's edge, was said to be more regular in appearance:

...along the edge of the river some houses continue, all of wood & disposed with much regularity... (A.G.I. 61-1-18)

At the same time that the act for the uniform building of Charles Towne was passed by the Grand Council, they also resolved that the governor live in town. (S.P., V, 393). The governor's plantation was located on the point of land across the creek to the south of Albemarle Point. Culpeper had made a draft of the plantation in 1671, showing the star palisade around the buildings, and indicated that the plantation consisted of 44 1/2 acres of land. (S.P., V, 421; S.C.H.G.M., XVI, No. 2, 51). In describing this plantation, which was set aside as Lords Proprietor land, Governor Joseph West reported to Lord Ashley on March 21, 1671:

I have taken up for present planting about 300 Akers and built convenient Houses for ourselves & serv^{ts} and Inclosed the Houses wth Pallisadoes, w^{ch} doth containe betweene 6 & 700 foote and have soe placed them y^t one Angle shall cleare another soe y^t wee doe

nōt feare all ye Indians y^t shall attempt us, w^{ch}
worke was all compleated before the Arriveall of
the 2 shippes. (S.P., V, 297).

At the same meeting in which the governor was asked to live in town, an act was also passed, "For the building of a bridge on the Southward part of Charles Towne," apparently to allow the governor to have an easier access to the town. (S.P., V, 393). In order that the bridge be speedily built each man in the province was to contribute 5 1/2 days work under the direction of Major Thomas Gray. (S.P., V, 409). By September, 1672, the bridge was apparently completed, for at that time the Council directed the Surveyor General to lay out a path or highway from the governor's house to the town. (S.P., V, 412). This directive is of interest in that it directs a path to be laid out from the end of the bridge on the southward part of Albemarle Point, "to the s^d Towne." This supports the observation made by Camunas, that the town lay at some distance from the end of Albemarle Point; so far, in fact, that a surveyor was needed to lay out a path or highway from the point to the town. If the town were located on the tip of Albemarle Point there would be no need to lay out a highway to the town from that point. In the directive of the Council stated that the bridge was to be built on the "Southward part of Charles Towne," indicating that the tip of Albemarle Point was considered the southern part of the town. (S.P., V, 393).

Although this summary of the property evidence within the town of Charles Towne has emphasized the town proper, in fact, most of the settlers on the Ashley River were scattered on individual tracts some distance from Albemarle Point. This tendency to spread out along the river is seen in the statement that in order to keep as near together as possible that, "we were forced to grant them towne lotts." (S.P., V, 284). Since planting and trade was the design and interest of the Lords Proprietor it was necessary to grant land in large enough tracts to encourage planting. (S.P., V, 327). When the Carolina arrived in February, 1671, with from 170 to 180 people, they were settled so that no family was seated, "lesse than 2 Miles Either up or down the River, from the Town." (S.P., V, 381). In a letter of instructions to Andrew Percivall, Lord Shaftsbury states that new townships should be settled, "not scatteringly as they have done at Ashley River," (S.P., V, 441), indicating again, the scattered nature of the settlement, and the fact that not many people likely lived inside the palisaded town itself. There is mention in the deed records of only five houses, but this does not mean that there were no more. Diacan, an Indian, questioned by the Spanish at St. Augustine, stated that there were 30 houses, and as we have seen, Camunas stated that there were 90 in the village. (Records of the Secretary, 14, 27, 46, 54, 65; S.C.H.G.M., XXXVII, No. 2, 55; A.G.I. 61-1-18). In January, 1677, Joseph Dalton reported over 250 people on Ashley River, but only a fraction of these likely lived inside the town. (S.P., V, 381).

On the Culpeper draft of 1671, three houses are shown as symbols for the location of Charles Towne.* Just north of these houses a series of eight narrow lots are shown abutting an angled line along their west end. The key accompanying the map states that :

The small division Betwixt ^twr & Towne are two acres & four acre lots belonging to Hugh Carterett George Beadon & others Cont: about 20 [acres] (S.P., V, frontispiece).

The t over wr does not make sense as applied to the map, but this becomes clearer when this description is compared with that printed in "The Shaftsbury Papers," where the sentence in question reads:

The small division betwixt wt^F & towne are two acre & 4 acre lotts....(S.P., V, 340).

This indicates that these two and four acre lots were between the water (Ashley River), and the town, which would be to the west of these lots, where "Charles Towne" is written on the map. However, in studying a print of the original map, Mrs. Susan Solomons has found that the wt^F is actually Mr, and proof of this is seen in other uses of Mr. on the draft itself. This interpretation would make the sentence read:

The small division betwixt Mr & Towne are two acre & 4 acre lotts...

The name of "Mr Thos Smith" and "Mr Will Owens," owners of larger tracts adjoining on the north, were likely intended to have been written in here, but were omitted. This interpretation would place the location of the town toward the southwest of these two acre lots. An additional piece of information indicating that this west property line for these two and four acre lots was also the property line for the town is seen in the deed record of October 25, 1672, whereon one of these two acre lots was sold by Ralph Marshall for six pounds to Thomas Butler of Charles Towne, a carpenter. The description for the lot states that the lot was near Charles Towne, and was bordered on the east by the Ashley River, on the north by William Owen, and

* Through a study of the original on microfilm from the N. C. Dept. of Archives and History, Emmett Robinson has found that these houses were not copied accurately in 1897 when "The Shaftsbury Papers" (S.P., V.), was published. The chimneys on the original are much longer, and therefore more accurate as to seventeenth century style architecture than those incorrect ones shown on the published draft.

on the south by Thomas Norris. (Records of the Secretary, 37-38). The significant fact here is that the boundry for the west end of the two acre lot is not mentioned, and we are left to assume that this line was the property line for Charles Towne, a not too dangerous assumption when we remember that the words "Charles Towne" were written in this area just west of these two acre lots on the 1671 map. This diagonal line along the west end of these two acre lots, therefore, is seen as the property line for the Charles Towne village. Later it will be seen that this line, with its 123° angle, was represented by a ditch, which also has a relationship of an angle of 123 degrees.

V

"WEE FOUND VERY GREAT ASSISTANCE FROM THE INDIANS"

On the 16th or 17th of March, 1670, "the ffirst Adventurers to the Province of Carolina, in America" arrived at what is now Bull Bay, South Carolina, north of their eventual settlement site on Ashley River, (S.P., V, 165-66, 288). Governor Sayle and a party went ashore and met the Indians and were royally entertained. They traded knives, beads, and tobacco for deer skins and meat. They learned of the Westoes, a group of Indians reputed to be man eaters, who had raided at Kayawah. The Casseeka of Kayawah came aboard the vessel where they found that he was "a uery Ingenious Indian & a great Linguist." (S.P., V, 166-67). This Indian leader was so ingenious, in fact, that, although the colonists found very attractive land at St. Helena, he was able to persuade them that the land at Kayaway was better, and they dispatched a sloop to investigate, resulting in the first settlement being made at Kayawah on the Ashley River. (S.P., V, 168).

The sloop The Three Brothers which arrived at the settlement site on May 23, 1670, also encountered Indians before arriving at Kayawah. They anchored off St. Catharines Island (Georgia), to take on wood and water, and the Indians came aboard and were entertained for three days, during which time:

...they traded with us for beads & old Clothes, & gaue our people bread of Indian Corne, Peas, Leakes, Onyons, deare skins, Hens, Earthen pots &c....(S.P., V, 169).

When they first arrived at Albemarle Point, therefore, the colonists had Indian pots and supplies brought with them from south of the Savannah River. Shortly after their arrival, Dr. Henry Woodward began dealing with the Indians in the area of Kayawah, and traveled far inland from May to July, 1670. He had been at St. Helena prior to joining the Carolina venture, and

had been captured by the Spanish who held him prisoner at St. Augustine until he was freed by the buccaneer Capt. Robert Searle. On his way to England he was shipwrecked by a hurricane at Nevis, in the West Indies, where he joined the Carolina adventurers. (S.P., V, 188, 190-91). He proved exceedingly useful to the settlement of Albemarle Point:

...in dealing with the Indian for our supplies who by his means have furnished us beyond our expectations(S.P., V, 191).

When Henry Woodward returned from his travel among the Indians he found that supplies were extremely low, and as a result made arrangements to receive help from the neighboring Indians. (S.P., V, 187). On September 12, 1670, Stephen Bull reported to Lord Ashley on the shortage of supplies and stated that:

...wee found very great Assistance from the Indians who shewed them selves very kinde & sould vs Provisions att very reasonable rates & takeinge notice of our necessitys did almost daylie bringe one thinge or another otherwise wee must vndoubtedly have binn putt to extreame hardships....(S.P., V, 194).

In return for their friendship the Indians expected protection against the feared Westoes who:

...doe strike a great feare in these Indians havinge gunns & powder & shott & doe come vpon these Indians heere in the tyme of their cropp & destroye all by killinge Caryinge awaye their Corne & Children & eat them & our neibouringe Indians doe promise Ayd all Exigencies w^{ch} they have manifested. (S.P., V, 194).

In a letter of William Owen to Lord Ashley written September 15, 1670, the friendly relations with the Indians during the Spanish alarm of the preceding month are described. These Indians reported that the Spanish planned an attack by Ship, with Indians friendly to the Spanish attacking the settlement by land. Owen states that the enemy encamped for six days at the mouth of the river:

...and hindered out correspondence with our freinds of Edistah, Asha-po and Combohe, yet ye more northerne Indians as those of Wando, Ituan, seweh and sehey, came to our assistance and I am persuaded y^t in 10 dayes time we might haue muster'd neere 1000 bowemen they seemed

verie zealous in our behalfe....(S.P., V, 199).

With the friendly Indians acting as scouts and offering military assistance, supplying the colonists with Indian pottery, food and supplies, we know that trade goods were also flowing into the hands of the Indians from the settlement. William Owen reveals some of the objects the Indians were receiving from the English when he reports that the Indian leaders would make speeches:

...inveigheing ag^t ye Spaniard & applauding ye English for the Hoes Axes beades and kniues w^{ch} they had brought them and shewing us with his bowe & arrowes and an ould sword we gaue him w^{tt} massacre he would doe. (S.P., V, 199).

A further clue as to goods being received by the Indians is found in John Locke's memoranda dated November, 1671, mentioning the needs of the colony, which included one hundred pounds weight "For Indian trade hats and beades bleu and white some great ones..." (S.P., V, 353). From these records it becomes clear that rather than constituting a major problem for Charles Towne, the colonists "found very great Assistance from the Indians..." and returned the favor. (S.P., V, 194).

VI

"THE PROVISSIONS BOUGHT FOR THE EXPEDITION TO CAROLINA"

"The Shaftsbury Papers" provide a detailed picture of the inventories, men and "Apertinances" for the vessels of the Carolina Fleet, consisting of the Port Royall, Albemarle, and the Carolina. (S.P., V, 132-145). Of particular interest to an historical archaeology study are the lists of provisions, clothing, arms, tools, etc., taken to Carolina to begin the settlement. (S.P., V, 146-49). Although not all the provisions mentioned in these lists arrived in Carolina due to the loss of the Port Royall and Albemarle, they do provide a clue to what might be expected to be found through archaeology at Charles Towne. Other goods were brought in ships arriving at later times, but they too would likely be of a similar nature to those aboard the first fleet. "The Proviissions Bought for the Expedition to Carolina" were:

154^c 2 qrs
 112 qrs 6 bushells
 59 1/2 bush^{ls}
 58 bush^{ls}
 162^c 2 qrs
 43 bushells
 54 bushells
 10 firkins
 2 cwt
 48 Gallons
 400
 100 Couple
 13 tonn 1/2 of
 2 tonn & a barrell
 16 doz:

30 Gallons

biskt
 pease
 flower
 Oatmeale
 beefe
 white salt
 bay salte
 butter
 Cheese
 Oyle
 stock fish
 Haberdine fish
 beere
 beere
 Candles
 Garden seeds
 butter and cheese
 Brandy

(S.P., V, 146).

From this list of provisions only beefe and fish bones might survive the three centuries, to be found by the archaeologist, after they were discarded in pits or ditches by the colonists.

The "Cloathes Bought for the Present Expedition to Carolina" were:

100
 one
 30
 100
 20 doz:
 10 doz:
 10 doz:
 20 doz:

 10 doz:

Bedds, Ruggs & Pillows
 leather bed
 Hammocks
 Cloath suits
 Shierts
 drawers
 redd capps
 shoes
 a flagg for the Fort at Carolina
 Stockings
 needles and thred

(S.P., V, 146-47).

Of this list of clothes, the needles would likely survive, however, needles are very rarely found archaeologically. At the tailor shop ruin in the eighteenth century colonial town of Brunswick, North Carolina, for instance, over 5000 straight pins were recovered, but only one needle. This high value on needles is reflected in wills, where a needle will be passed on from parent to child as an inheritance. Besides the needles, the buckles and buttons accompanying the shirts, drawers, shoes, and suits would survive in pits and ditches. However, buttons were not the abundant item in seventeenth century clothing that they would come to be in the eighteenth century.

More likely to produce objects that would survive to be recovered by the archaeologist is the "Account of the Armes, Powder and Munition of Warr for the Expedition to Carolina."

200 French fyerlocks muskets
13 fouling peeces
58 swords
200 pike heads
200 Collers Bandeleers
30 barrells of powder
10 lbs 2 qrs of Muskett shott
30 barrells of small shott
6 paires of shott moulds
1000 of Flints
6 Chests to pack these goods in
100 of Match
sheet lead, paper Royall, tand hydes
powder hornes, 14 sheep skins,
and severall other things
belonging to the Guns
12 suits of Armour
a fother of lead to make shott
200 deale boards
a drum

(S.P., V, 147).

Of these objects the archaeologist would expect to find musket balls and small shot, as well as the gunflints which were present in some quantity. It would appear rather unlikely that the archaeologist would recover a sword, a shot mold, or other military objects present only in small quantity, though the possibility is always present.

A list of objects that by all means would survive to be found by the archaeologist are the "Tooles and Iron Ware Bought for the Present Expedition to Carolina." However, due to the fact that tools are not something that are frequently discarded, and even when broken are often repaired or turned to other uses, their appearance in an archaeological context is rarer than might be expected at first glance.

15 of Iron and 50 of Steele
a whole sett of smiths' tooles
a sett of stock makers tooles
6 sett of Carpenters and Joyners tooles
2 sett of Coopers tooles
10 Carpenters adzes
10 broad axes
2 doz. of hammers
20 cross cut saws
10 whipsaws

2 tennant saws & one Carpen^{rs} joynter
 10 steele hand saws
 4 setts of Iron Wedges
 3 doz. of ordinary Augers
 6 syeths and sneiths ffitted
 20 m of 20d nailes
 40 m of 10d nailes
 60 m of 8d nailes
 40 m of 6d nailes
 100m of 4d nailes
 80 m of 3d nailes
 3 doz. of strong eyed hows
 10 doz. of broad hoes
 7 doz. of Narrow hoes
 - doz. best narrow hoes
 10 doz. of felling azes
 6 doz. of Stockbills
 - doz. of Spades and Shovels
 18 Stock locks & 1 doz. of hooks & hinges
 17 barrells & 4 Fatts to pack them in
 9 English iron Potts
 one flemish iron Pott
 2 brasse Ketles
 6 frying pans
 10 of pothooks
 a brasse tind pott & stue pann
 3 steel mills
 2 of hand skrues
 12 iron crows
 4 chaind hooks, 2 fisgys & 2 harping Irons
 1000 bricks and 6 Grind stones
 2 pr of Cartwheeles and 12 wheelebarrow wheeles
 1/2 a Chatherne of Coales [stove]
 a pr of Stilliards

(S.P., V, 148-49).

Although any one of these objects or parts thereof would survive in the earth for three hundred years, it is not likely that many found their way into discarded garbage dumps in pits on the town site in the ten years from 1670 to 1680, when the settlement was located on Albemarle Point. Although the archaeologist would not expect to find many, if any, of the tools listed here, he would expect to find some of the 340,000 nails. The list of tools becomes, therefore, of primary interest in its reflection of the process involved in hacking a clearing in the wilderness, and establishing a toe-hold for civilization in the new world of Carolina.

Also of interest is the list of containers necessary for the expedition, and the contents some were to hold.

8 tunn 1/2 hhds for beefe

8 tunns of Great Butts for bread and pease
20 tunns of hhd
21 barrells for Oatmeale & flower
2 tunn of hhd to pack Cloathes
14 tunn of Water Caske
6 bucketts and 3 tunnells
trimming 4 tunns of Caske
420 Iron hoops
hooping 20 tunn of Caske
7 tunn 1/2 of beare Caske

(S.P., V, 149).

Of these items some of the 420 iron hoops for the casks would under certain conditions, survive three hundred years in the earth, and might be found by the archaeologist.

The needs for the fishing trade in Carolina were:

3 seanes one of 60 yds and 2 of 40
5 casting netts
17 doz. fishing lines of all sorts
63 doz. of fishing hooks of all sorts
107 lb of twine

(S.P., V, 149).

The only item the archaeologist might find to represent this industry would be one of the 756 fishhooks, or the bones of the fish caught with this list of tackle.

An important list of goods for the successful survival of the settlement in the Carolina wilderness was that destined for the Indian trade.

240 lbs of glasse beads
300 hatchets
100 hoes
100 hollowing adses
4 grose of knives
3 doz. of white hafts
2 grosse of sizzard
10 striped suits

(S.P., V, 150).

Of this list the archaeologist might expect to find none of the items, if they were indeed traded to the Indians. If some of them were in the hands of the settlers, the beads particularly, might show up in excavations on the town site. In September, 1671, the governor and the Council wrote to the Lords

Proprietor indicating other Indian trade items which included "Indian trade hats and beads bleu and white some great ones...." (S.P., V, 353). Langdon Cheves, editor of "The Shaftsbury Papers" says that in the 1880's a number of such beads were found in an Indian grave near the site of Charles Towne. (S.P., V, 150).

The final object listed for the expedition to Carolina was a surgeons chest and instruments, a most important item, (S.P., V, 150), though not one likely to be encountered by the archaeologist in his search on the town site.

In summarizing the preceding lists of goods for the Carolina expedition we find that the objects that might be recovered by the archaeologist would be:

- animal bone
- fish bone
- needles
- buckles
- buttons
- lead shot
- gunflints
- fragments of military arms
- tools
- nails
- barrel hoops
- fishhooks
- beads

The objects in this list that would, because of their large numbers, most likely be found archaeologically are:

- animal and fish bone
- lead shot
- gunflints
- nails

Most significantly absent from this list of supplies for the Carolina expedition is any reference to ceramics or glass bottles, and thus we would not expect these objects to appear in any great numbers on the Charles Towne site. However, since the lists of supplies included here are public in nature, objects individually owned might vary in nature from those seen here. A view of the individual possessions of the Charles Towne citizens of the 1670's, can be obtained from the inventories of personal property that are available. A number of these exist, but only two will be presented here as examples. One of these is an inventory of the division of goods from a business partnership between John Foster and Capt. Thomas Gray on January 13, 1672, and the other is the personal inventory of William Brett taken in 1679. The division of goods on the dissolution of the partnership of Foster and Gray is presented first:

Mr. John Foster

Capt. Thomas Gray

Land & House on North side
[of Charles Towne]

Land lying on South side
[of Charles Towne]

(Servants)

Thomas Witty
Wm Davis
Jno. Ratlife
James Powell

(Servants)

Richard Poore
Richard Barginer
Edw. Howell
Joan Burnett

2 tanned deer skins
6 ditto with hair on
2 bear skins

3 tanned deer skins
3 bear skins
4 deer skins with hair on

(Linen)

12 1/2 yds osandbriggs
6 1/2 yds blue linen

(Linen)

12 1/2 yds osandbriggs
6 1/2 yds blue linen

(Iron ware)

6 new Hows
1 iron square
1 hand saw
4 new falling axes
1 cooper Adge
3 Chissells
2 hammers
2 augers
1 adge
1 Iron candlestick

2 Iron wedges
1 whip saw
1 cross-cut saw
2 Hows helved
1 pitchin axe
1 Showell
1 Fill
2 Beetle rings
1 Iron Fro
1 Frying Pan
1 brass skillet
1 Iron sledge
1 Broad axe
1 Lattin Hammer
1 Fallin axe

(Iron Ware)

6 new Hows
1 iron square
1 hand saw
5 new axes

4 Chissells
1 hammer
2 augers
1 adge
1 Iron candlestick
1 Howell
2 Iron wedges
2 whip saws

1 How helved
1 pitchin axe

2 Beetle rings
1 Fro
1 Frying Pan
2 small skilletts

1 Broad axe

1 Fallin axe
1 Coopers axe

(Provisions)

2 barrells Beef
1 1/2 pint Oil
2 psis of Pork
1/3 barrel of Casado Biskett
4 bushels of peas
10 3/4 gals. Molasses
3 barrels & 1 hhd of Corn

(Living Stock)

6 hens, 2 Cokes
3 Hogs
6 Ducks, 1 Drake
1 Turkey Hen

1 Dunghill Fowl

6 firelocks, 4 p^s Bandolears

(Returned)

1 box Mediciments
30 pounds of powder
88 lb bullets & shot
1/2 doz. of Ivory & 1 doz. of other Combs
1 doz Scissors
1 Fussee
1 box of Medicins
100 of needles, yams

(William James Rivers, A Sketch of the History of South Carolina. Charleston: 1856, 383; List taken from notes of Emmett Robinson).

From this record of these merchants who apparently ran what might be called a general store, we have another cross-section of the goods available to the Charles Towne citizen of the 1670's. Of this list, tools also predominate, but as has been pointed out, such objects are kept for many years by an individual, and it is unlikely that many would have found their way into the discard piles in Charles Towne between 1670 and 1680. The most abundant object, and one that would most likely be found by the archaeologist, would be part of the 88 pounds of bullets and shot. Conspicuously absent again is any mention of ceramics, glass bottles, or kaolin tobacco pipes.

1 Auger
1 Iron square
1 Spaid
2 Iron Pots (Wm Gray payeth
the half of one)

(Provisions)

2 barrells beef
1 1/2 pint sweet oil
2 psis of Pork
1/3 barrel of Casado Biskett

10 3/4 gals Molasses
3 barrels & 1 hhd of Corn

(Living Stock)

6 hens, 2 Cokes
2 Hogs
5 Ducks, 1 Drake
1 Turkey Coke
2 Turkey Hens
1 sheep

6 firelocks, 4 p^s Bandolears

The personal inventory of William Brett taken in 1679, is typical of those of the period, and perhaps reflects the goods of an individual of more modest means than the merchants.

Inventory of William Brett

1 house and Plantation [valued at 20 pounds]
1 ould chest without a lock
4 falling axes
2 broad Hooes
1 hamar
1 larkge Hooe
1 Grubing hoe
1 Iron pott
1 old Ruulett
3 Pint ***
1 small Ooalo box
1 saus pan
1 Bible and 4 small books
1 drawing kinife
1 pewter chamber pott
1 frying pan
1 oorzo Shirt
3 old Towells
1 old black suit and coate
2 blue shirts and a pr of bleu drawers
* * *
1 pr Franch salles
1 stock lock and stappell
5 old napkins and a tabell cloth
1 old callico shirt
a parcells of collarred thread
1 old dowlas shirte
1 callico neckcloth
1 old Layne Jackett
1 old capp and 2 sea handcerchess
4 old towells and 2 " "
2 prs of old thread stockings
3 " " worsted stockings
4 Skaines of brown thread
400 of six penny nailes and 300 of 10 peney
1 pr of old gloves
5 small alls and 1 gimblett and one peginall
1 callico shirt and a pr of drawers
1 new coate
1 old black hatt
1 small remnant of white tape
1 old holland jacket
1 old hatt
1 old black suit

- 1 small trunk
- 1 corse old capp
- 1 pocket booke
- 2 pr of corse dimity drawers
- 1 callico neckcloth
- 1 pr of white dimity drawers
- 1 Red wescott
- 3 small fishing lines
- 1 pr of colored dimity drawers
- 1 iron pott
- 1 sea bed Rugg and pillow and blankett
- 1 pitching ax and ade
- 1 pr pot hooks
- 1 carineir

(Records of the Secretary of the Province,
 1675-95, 67. South Carolina Archives; From notes taken from the
 original by Mrs. Agnes Baldwin as transmitted to Emmett Robinson).

From this list of personal possessions the only item that appears in quantity enough to have a predictive value for archaeological recovery would be the 700 nails. Again the absence of a mention of ceramics, bottles or tobacco pipes is remarkable.

A reference of June 28, 1673, provides us with another view of the possessions of an individual. John Culpeper had been involved with Thomas Gray and others in a disturbance, and had fled the colony. Gray was trying to remove his wife and family and goods in a sloop when it was seized and her goods confiscated. She appealed to Governor West for the return of her goods, which were ordered returned to her "considering her great necessity...." She was allowed to have:

...the greiter kettle & necessary wearing apparell,
 her childrens cloths 3 pewter dishes 6 plates &c
 all her provis^{ns} aboard the sloop seized for the
 delinquency of her Husband & others. (S.P., V, 424).

From this we learn that at least some of the Charles Towne citizens had pewter dishes and plates. There is also a mention of platters and dishes in a reference of 1680, in which the household implements for a family and 6 persons are listed. (Microfilm #14, N. C. Dept. of Archives and History). However, the reference states "Platters, dishes, spoones of wood," which again does not include ceramics as among the possessions of the Charles Towne families.

In the inventory of the estate of John Hill, in 1682, which totalled over 88 pounds, "2 leather sives and nine trenchers" were mentioned, as well

as "three quart bottles." (Records of the Secretary of the Province, 1675-95, 111). It becomes clear from the documents, that platters, dishes and spoons of wood, and trenchers of leather were present, but not ceramics. The mention of "three quart bottles" is the only one yet found that could likely refer to glass bottles, though these could have been of stoneware or other ceramic material.

From the documentary evidence we begin to see that archaeological evidence would not likely take the form of fragments of glass or ceramics, but could very well be seen in the more numerous objects mentioned in the inventories; nails, lead musket balls, and gunflints, with an occasional gun part, broken tool, needle, or buckle or button. These potential archaeological objects present a pitifully small possibility for the interpretation of the Charles Towne settlement from archaeological evidence alone. It is here that the value of an interweaving of historical and archaeological data through the process of historical archaeology is most dramatically revealed; neither being able to present the complete fabric of understanding of the past without the interlocking of the woof of history with the weave of archaeology. How well the archaeological data will correlate with the documentary evidence, and how the interpretation of this will contribute to our understanding will depend on; the garbage disposal habits of the residents of Charles Towne; the preservation of the objects in the earth; the amount of erosion wrought by three hundred years of wind and rain; the violation of the earth by man; as well as the competence and technical skill of the archaeologist whose responsibility it is to find, record, recover, preserve and interpret these ephemeral clues to past human activity on the historic site.

From the pages of the earth the historical archaeologist gathers bits and pieces representing past human activity, and relates these to the shreds and patches surviving as the worn documents and faded words of history. On this collection of essentially meaningless, unique fragments of the past, he strives to press a meaning.

VII

"PLANTING AND TRADE IS BOTH OUR DESIGNE AND YOUR INTEREST"

Lord Ashley writing to Governor William Sayle at Charles Towne in May, 1671, stated that "Planting and Trade is both our designe and your interest ...," thus stating the purpose of the Carolina adventure. (S.P., V, 327). The country in which they had come to plant, according to Florence O'Sullivan:

...proves good beyond expectation and abounds in all things as good Oake, Ash, Deare Turkies, partridges

rabbitts turtle and fish the land produceth anything that is putt in it for we have tried itt with Corne Cotton and tobacco and other provisions, which proves very well the lateness of the season considered, the country is stored with severall pleasant fruits as peaches strawberries and other sorts....(S.P., V, 188).

This was written in September, 1670, and perhaps gives a too optimistic picture of the situation at the settlement, for in the same month Stephen Bull wrote that they had found great assistance from the Indians who almost daily brought food, and but for this help they would have been put to extreme hardship. (S.P., V, 194).

The Indians had apparently rescued the colonists during the summer while their crops were growing, and continued to do so during the winter, for the hoped-for crop was not to produce the expected return. In March, 1671, the leaders of the colony reported from Albemarle Point that shortly after their arrival:

...we did bestirr ourselves in Planting of Corne, Pease, pumpions, &c w^{ch} though somewhat unseasonably comitted to the Earth, yett itt pleased God, to give us the comforte of a promisinge Cropp, butt, before wee could come to taste of our hard Labours, our provisions failed vs, and the Spainard well knowing our Condison, besett vs: w^{ch} caused the losse of all our planted provisions,...having noe other thing to support vs, but a pint of pease, a mann a day,.... (S.P., V, 288).

We see then, that the goal of planting was not very well begun in that first season of 1670, when "all things blasted in October before they could come to perfection...." (S.P., V, 267). In describing the misfortune and hardship of that first winter the "ffirst Adventurers to the Province of Carolina, in America" compared their infant settlement to the birth of a child in a choice piece of metaphorical writing:

Wee cannott Imagine, butt that yo^r Hono^{rs} are very senceable of the grievous pangs, & many sorrowes, that all new Setten^s (wee meane the people concerned therein) doe sufferr, before that happy Issue (Hope) can bee brought forth, beinge only in the concepcon vpon arrivall: whereof wee have had a full, nay a double Share. Now after soe Painfull travells, wee doe heere p^rsent, an Infant Setlem^t to y^r Hono^{rs} (though in a meane dress) yett if cherrished by yo^r

Hono^{rs} favo^{rs}, may prove not less serviceable, than yo^r Hono^{rs} have designed; butt, such is our misery, that unlesse yo^r Hono^{rs} bountye doe Countermande, the after birth is likely to prove more fatall to us, than all our former troubles; w^{ch} have binn none of the Least. (S.P., V, 287).

Among those things which were killed by the frost (or "blasted") in October of 1670, were some of the plants brought to introduce into Carolina. In the instructions for Joseph West given him prior to sailing for Carolina was a list of specific plants he was to obtain in Barbados. He was directed to:

...furnish y^r selfe wth Cotton seed, Indigo Seed, Ginger Roots, w^{ch} roots yo^u are to carry planted in a tubb of earth, y^t they may not dye before yo^r arrivall...alsoe yo^u may in another tubb carry some Canes planted for a tryall--alsoe of ye severall sorts of vines of that Island & some Ollive setts....(S.P., V, 125).

As well as these instructions, West was advised to plant in sandy soil as well as in black mound, and on high ground as well as in the low ground, and to plant seeds and roots in March, April, May and June, in a kind of experimental agriculture project:

...by w^{ch} meanes yo^u will come to finde w^{ch} soyle agrees best wth every specie planted, & what is ye properest time to plant in. Yo^u are to doe ye same as to ye soyle wth yo^r vine & Ollive Plants, & this will be done wth a man or two; ye rest of yo^r people are to be employed about planting Indian Corne, Beanes, Pease, Turnipps, Carrotts & Potatoes for Provisions. (S.P., V, 126).

Specific instructions for grape vines were given:

Yo^r Grape vines plant in a Sandy mould & drye, & as soone as they will afford other Slipps plant them alsoe y^t yo^u may increase yo^r stock of plants. (S.P., V, 127).

Perhaps with this admonition in mind Joseph West in a letter of September 15, 1670, requested from Lord Ashley for planting, beans, Indian corn, ginger roots and grapevines. (S.P., V, 204, 259). In the following

January, Joseph Dalton also requested more vines, and stated that he hoped that they could:

...sett forward in the husbandry of Vines and Olive Trees which I judge to be the only profittable comodities wee can follow and most agreeable with our Climate Wee have indeed plenty of diverse sorts of grapes here some very pleasant and large but being prest the thickness of their outward skinn yeilds a kind of harshness which gives us reason to feare (though we intend to make tryall of them) that they will hardly ever be reclaymed or with very great difficulty. We must therefore recomend to yo^r Lo^p to furnish us with the Plants of good Vines and Olives with some persons who know the true husbandry of them herein yo^r Lo^p need not doubt the diversities of Vines for I doe verily beleeve we have gound suitable to all their varietie. Your Lo^p may further be pleased to add Almonds and Date stones agreeing with the place as well as any where. (S.P., V, 382).

From these references it is seen that among the variety of plants tried at Charles Towne, vineyards and olive groves were considered quite important. From Spanish documents we have another record of the growing of crops in Charles Towne. When Camunas came to spy on the town he reported on July 12, 1672, that he saw fields of maize, pumpkins, cow-peas, peas, and:

...in each house their trellises for grape vines of different sorts. And also a great quantity of sweet potatoes and some fig trees....(A.G.I. 61-1-18).

It is interesting to note, that grapes were reported being grown at each house in Charles Towne, and that they were of "different sorts," indicating that the "diversities of Vines" mentioned by Joseph Dalton the previous year were, by 1672, apparently being grown in the settlement.

One hundred years later growing of grapes at the Charles Towne site was still practiced, in fact, was "well known." In that year of 1772, a book on the growing of grapes in South Carolina was published by Louis de Saint Pierre. (Louis de Saint Pierre, The Art of Planting and Cultivating the Vine; as also, of Making, Fining, and Preserving Wines, etc. According to the Most Approved Methods in the Most Celebrated Wine-Countries in France, Compiled for the use of such as intend to prosecute that beneficial and National Branch of Commerce and Agriculture in America, and Particularly for that of the Colony at New Bourdeaux. Printed by J. Wilkie, London: 1772, xxvii. Hereinafter cited as The Art of Planting. Copy studied by

Susan Solomons at The Charleston Library Society, F66 RG. Sa 2). He was actively encouraging the growing of vineyards in South Carolina, particularly at New Bourdeaux, and stated that many families were ready to undertake the growing of vines:

They are all Vignerons to a man, experienced & trained in this sort of husbandry from their infancy. The promising aspect of the establishment was demonstrated to those on the spot. It was well known at Charles Towne. (The Art of Planting, xxvii).

The interest in the cultivation of vines in the first years of its settlement had apparently resulted in model vineyards by 1772, that were used to demonstrate what could be accomplished by vignerons.

In his book, St. Pierre provides us with a description of how vineyards were planted to form "arbors" or "palissadoes" in furrows 1 1/2 feet broad and the same depth, and "When we mean to train the plants for standards," they are planted in "small alleys in straight lines, six foot distant from each other." (The Art of Planting, 53).

St. Pierre was killed in an expedition against the Indians, and in 1798, the importance of his plans was recognized:

...there can be little doubt, but what Carolina would ere now be rich in her vineyards, had not the untimely end of M. de Saint Pierre overturned the establishment in its infancy. (W.P. Young and T.C. Cox, (printers) A Memorial on the Practicability of Growing Vineyards in the State of South Carolina. Read by the author to the Agricultural Society, at their extra meeting, on Wednesday, the 7th of November, 1798, and published under their patronage. Charleston: 1798, 5).

We have seen that the Charles Towne settlement was begun as a planting and trading enterprise, and almost immediately upon their arrival at Albemarle Point the colonists began planting, and trading with the Indians. They planted corn, cotton, tobacco, peas, pumpkins, indigo, ginger, sugar cane, beans, turnips, carrots, potatoes, sweet potatoes, almonds, dates and figs. Among those plants considered most important in the 1670's were grape vines and olives, both of which continued to be grown for many years in the area. We know that vineyards were still being grown at Charles Towne in the 1770's, and olives still flourished until 1837, when a severe frost killed most of the trees then growing. (A.S. Salley, Jr., Narratives of Early Carolina 1650-1708. New York: 1959, 144). Three hundred years after their introduction into the garden plots at the little village of Charles Towne, neither olives nor grapes have fulfilled the promise they once held

for the economy of the area.

VIII

"OLD TOWN PLANTATION" - A POSTSCRIPT

As early as 1670, Governor Sayle had set aside the land known as Oyster Point, between the Ashley and Wandoo River (Cooper) as a town site. (S.P., V, 378). As the 1670's passed, more people moved to this site across the river from the original settlement on Albemarle Point, and in 1679, the new Charles Towne was declared the port town. (S.P., V, 379). By the following year the old site was referred to in the minutes of the Grand Council as "Kaiawah sometimes called Charles Towne," and from this time on, Oyster Point and its settlement was to carry this name, eventually evolving to Charleston. (S.C.H.G.M., XVI, No. 1, January, 1915, 5).

Between 1694, and 1697, 760 acres of land known as "Old Town Plantation" was granted to James Le Sade. This included the site of the original Charles Towne, and no record survives revealing the transfer of the town lots or the adjoining two acre lots by the individual property owners. (S.C.H.G.M., XVI, No. 1, January 1915, 6-7). From James Le Sade the plantation went to his brother, Peter, in 1703, who passed it on to his wife, Ann, and his son, Peter, in 1716. (S.C.H.G.M., XVI, No. 1, January 1915, 6). In 1734, Daniel Cartwright conveyed Old Town Plantation to John Beresford, who passed it on to William Branford a few days later. From Branford it went to his son, William, in 1717, from whom it went to his son, William, who dies about 1772. From William it went to his daughters, Ann Branford Horry, and Elizabeth Branford Horry, and by 1774, it was owned entirely by Elizabeth and her husband, Elias Horry, Jr. It was sold in 1833, to Anthony Barbot, who, in 1835, conveyed it to Jonathan Lucas. (S.C.H.G.M., XVI, No. 1, 7-8).

A map of 1836, shows the plantation house occupied by Jonathan Lucas, and the associated "Negro Settlement."* In 1850, the plantation went to William McKenzie Parker, and then into the Legare family. It is presently owned by Dr. J. I. Waring. (S.C.H.G.M., XVI, 8; Narratives of Early Carolina 1650-1708. New York: 1959, 167n). The South Carolina Tricentennial Commission, at the time this is written, is in the process of acquiring Old Town Plantation for the purpose of creating a major historical park for the benefit of the people of South Carolina.

*Copy of this map secured through the permission of Dr. J. I. Waring, present owner of Old Town Plantation.

THE EXPLORATORY PROJECT IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY
ON ALBEMARLE POINT

November 12 to December 20, 1968

Introductory Background

The exploratory project in historical archaeology on Albemarle Point to be described here was designed to discover specific information relative to the location of the site. Once this had been accomplished a further project was planned in which a more detailed look would be taken at the areas of the site on which more information was needed as indicated by the exploratory work. This more extensive project is planned to begin April first, 1969, and continue for ten weeks, after which research and analysis, and writing of the results of the project will continue into the fall, with a final report to be ready by October first. The time between these projects has not permitted a detailed analysis of the artifacts recovered, but since a more extensive excavation is to be undertaken, this research should properly await the revealing of more data from the earth. Therefore, this report includes a summary statement on artifacts, leaving this major work to be carried out in one operation after the second field season is completed.

This report includes the master Archaeological Base Map of the features located and the profiles of certain control areas, but the lack of darkroom facilities has prevented the inclusion of photographs taken of this first phase of the Charles Towne project. These will be included in the final report, along with those to be taken in the second field season on the site.

The Project Background

With the approach of the tricentennial year commemorating the first settlement of South Carolina by the English on Albemarle Point, interest began to focus on the site of Charles Towne, traditionally said to be located on Old Town Plantation. The first work was carried out on the site through the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission from December, 1967, to February, 1968, by John Miller, an enthusiastic amateur digger. Mr. Miller concentrated on exploratory trenches in the area of the narrow neck of land joining the tip of Albemarle Point to the mainland, in an effort to locate the palisade ditch which the references indicated should be in this area. Mr. Miller found a number of parallel ditches in a proper alignment between arms of the marsh on both sides of the neck, as well as a larger ditch roughly at a right angle to these. Other trenches in the area west of the neck revealed twenty-five parallel ditches, which he immediately interpreted as vineyard ditches. To the east of the neck, on the high ground bordering the Ashley River marsh, he located the ruin of a building which, due to the large number of wine bottle fragments present, he immediately interpreted as a tavern. China,

pipes and other objects from this ruin appeared to date from the early years of the eighteenth century, based on Mr. Miller's analysis.

In the area west of an old pond, several ruins were to be seen, and it was here that Mr. Miller felt the settlement of Charles Towne was located. The visible ruins in the area indicated by him as the likely site of the town were those from the Jonathan Lucas Plantation of the early nineteenth century. Since the notes made by Mr. Miller, as well as the material collected by him has been turned over to the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, a detailed examination of these artifacts will be included in the final report to be written on the Charles Towne project.

In the fall of 1968, the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission contracted with the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina to undertake an exploratory project in historical archaeology in order to determine clues for the location of Charles Towne. A one month project was outlined, and Stanley South (on leave from the North Carolina Department of Archives and History), and John Combes, Assistant Director of the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, were the archaeologists who were to execute the project. An additional week was later added to the field work in order to obtain additional data, making a total of five weeks for the field work.

The Surface Survey of the Albemarle Point Site

The site of particular interest was the point of land some twelve feet above sea level, at the tip of which flowed the stream now known as Old Town Creek. On both sides of this peninsula is tidal marsh, and from descriptions of the site in the seventeenth century, such was also the case at that time. A narrow neck of land not over fifty yards wide was all that connected this tip of Albemarle Point to the mainland in the seventeenth century, and the records indicate that this neck was palisaded. Today, however, fill dirt has been hauled into the west half of the neck and a part of the marsh in that area was filled to make a firm footing for an access road to the site. The site was farmed in the twentieth century, and signs of the old furrows can still be seen throughout the pine woods and undergrowth which now cover the site. The highest part of the site is down the center of the peninsula, as might be expected, with a slope toward the marshes on each side. As a result of this topography erosion through three centuries has been from the top of this ridge toward the marshes, with the greatest movement and cutting of soil taking place nearest the marshes. In the area of the narrow neck, erosion has been toward the marsh also, and consequently, before the west marsh at the neck was filled to make room for the access road, considerable soil had already been carried into the marsh from the adjoining higher ground through natural erosion.

To the north of the neck the ground rises and levels off at about six feet higher than the lower tip of Albemarle Point. At present a grassy field is located here, bordered by trees and flowering shrubs. It is on this higher ground that the proposed visitor center-museum is to be built

by the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission.

The soil profile of the site begins with a thin layer of woods mold on the top, with a plowed soil zone beneath, resulting from the farming of the land in the past. This, of course, is mixed soil consisting of a light brown sand. The remaining geological stratigraphy seen on the site was adequately described by Nicholas Carteret in 1670, and needs no elaboration:

...ye surface of the earth is a light blackish
mould under that is whiter & about 3: or 4: feet
is a clay some read wth blew vaines & some blew
wth read vaines soe is all ye Land I haue seen.
(S.P., V, 168).

A survey of the surface of a site will usually produce fragments of china and bottles, as well as bone and oyster shell discarded by the previous occupants of the area. With this in mind, a surface survey of the Albemarle Point site was conducted in order to recover any clues to its past use as a dwelling site. The ground had been scratched over by a bulldozer that had been brought in by the Charleston Tricentennial Committee to push down the undergrowth so the site would be accessible. Thus there were areas of the entire point of land where the surface had been disturbed enough to reveal any concentration of artifacts that might lie beneath the surface. However, the survey did not reveal any artifacts of the seventeenth century or of the eighteenth century, nor did it reveal quantities of oyster shell at any point that would provide a clue to previous habitation. Only one surface concentration of oyster shell was found near the tip of the point, and this was in association with twentieth century fragments of china, indicating a very recent deposit.

This absence of cultural material was most disconcerting throughout the exploratory project, and if the documents had not so specifically pinpointed Albemarle Point as the site of Charles Towne a search for it may have been made elsewhere. As excavation progressed, and trenches were opened on this point as well as on the high ground to the north, a clearer picture began to emerge. The tip of Albemarle Point still did not reveal any oyster shell deposit, which most certainly should have been present on the town site, but the high ground to the north of the point did reveal the presence of oysters. From this fact alone the archaeologists began to look toward this more northerly site as the major occupation area. The oyster shells, plus the fact that it was on higher, and likely healthier ground, made this location the prime suspect for the site of Charles Towne. Subsequently, after the archaeological project was completed, a document by a Spanish spy, Camunas, revealed that there were only a few lodgings on the tip of Albemarle Point, built shortly after they arrived, and that the village was located further to the north. Thus the observations on the ground, and the statement by an eye witness in 1672, combine to indicate that the town would be located on the high ground north of the neck of the point, not south of it as had previously been supposed.

The absence of china and wine bottle fragments on the site also became more understandable when seen in the light of the inventories of goods owned by the Charles Towne citizen, which revealed that wine bottles and ceramics were not among those items listed as having been brought in during those first years of the settlement. Since these two items are among the most numerous often seen on historic sites, when they are not present, there is very little else remaining to provide a clue to the occupation of the site, except in the case of coastal towns, where the presence of oyster shell midden provides an added clue.

X

THE METHOD OF ARCHAEOLOGICALLY APPROACHING THE SITE

The archaeologist is noted for using a system of excavation known as "the grid method," which is designed to specifically locate any object or feature in its horizontal position on the site. The devotion of archaeologists to this method is so strong that some archaeological practitioners refuse to excavate any square or trench that does not conform to this control grid, thus allowing the method to control the archaeologist rather than the other way around. Because of this sometimes extreme devotion to the grid, archaeologists have sometimes been accused of belonging to the "cult of the sacred square." However, when an archaeological search is underway for a site of a village somewhere on a thirty acre tract of land, to slavishly conform to a master grid system for the placement of every square or trench is so time consuming as to be the height of folly to pursue. This does not mean that a master control is not used, it just means that the archaeologist controls where a square should be dug, and not the grid. Setting up a tightly controlled grid system in a thick woods, for instance, can be a most frustrating and time consuming endeavor. Every line must be shot in an exact ninety degree angle to the others, and if a giant oak or ancient pine tree happen to be in the way, they must either be cut down or shot around; either method of overcoming this obstacle being most time consuming and wasteful; all in the name of the grid. Such involvement in a grid system immediately places the grid in the driver's seat, and the archaeologist as the tool of the grid.

In dealing with archaeological sites which involve large tracts of land, such as town sites, the quickest and most direct approach is to use the "base line" method, which allows the archaeologist to control the situation. The base line at the Charles Towne site was run down the length of the tip of Albemarle Point, and cement bench marks were poured at three points along the base line. Nails were positioned beside stakes at one hundred foot intervals along this line as temporary control positions. Establishing such a line takes very little time, and from it the relationship of any feature or trench

can be determined. The transit then is used to shoot a line to any desired position, with angles and tape readings in feet and tenths locating any point on the site by direct transit readings rather than by triangulation with tapes from stakes, as is usually the case with the grid system. Such direct transit recording of positions of trenches and features allows complete freedom for the archaeologist, and provides a means of accomplishing much more work in a fraction of the time necessary as opposed to the use of the grid system.

Once the broad picture is seen through the base line method, the grid system can well be used in limited areas, such as an individual house ruin. Even here, however, the most accurate means of recording horizontal and vertical position is by means of the transit, using angles and tape measurements from it rather than from a forest of stakes driven over the site. Such grid stakes cannot be trusted to produce accurate measurements, whereas a good transit can. The function of the grid on individual ruins for controlling artifact provenience is a most important one, but its use should not be expanded indiscriminately on large town sites, in woods and bush, many acres in extent. Such an expanded use is a waste of time and money when the same job can be done with the base line in much less time.

This explanation of the method used at Charles Towne is included here to answer questions that were raised by archaeologists and laymen visiting the Charles Towne site, as to where the grid was, and why some squares and trenches lay at odd angles to others, and how control could possibly be maintained without the use of the grid. The results of the base line method when used in a five week project can be seen in the Archaeological Base Map accompanying this report. The use of the grid method would have severely limited the amount of work that could have been accomplished, and the broad picture at Charles Towne would still have been in serious doubt, because only a limited area could have been examined in the allotted time, due to the involvement with the cumbersome mechanics of the sacred square and grid.

The Charles Towne site is in Charleston County, and site designation CH1 was assigned to it. This site number was used, separated from the area provenience number by a hyphen. Within each area specific features such as ditches, pits, etc., were assigned a letter designation as a further provenience control. Thus CH1-2C would have reference to site one in Charleston County, area 2, and feature C. Reference to these provenience numbers can be seen on the plan and profile drawings for the site.

XI

THE EXPLORATORY EXCAVATION

One of the first steps was to examine the trenches opened by John Miller, and to determine if the data revealed in his trenches had been destroyed through excavation, or if it was still intact. Fortunately, it was discovered, Mr. Miller had not removed the contents of the ditch outlines he had revealed, so these could be cleaned, photographed, and plotted, a situation which would not have been possible had the ditches been completely excavated. While this reopening and examination of the Miller trenches was underway, John Combes opened a ten foot wide exploratory trench extending from the neck toward the south along the center of the ridge of the point. This trench revealed a number of ditches varying from six to eight feet apart and running at a general right angle to those found by John Miller in the neck. A trench to the north of the neck and west of the old pond also revealed a series of fourteen ditches generally parallel, and crossed by an intrusive ditch of later date. The presence of so many parallel ditches was somewhat disconcerting since almost every trench revealed new ditches to be measured and interpreted. The presence of these in the high ground as well as in the swampy march tended to rule out any agricultural practice, since it was difficult to imagine what crop could survive both extreme conditions. With the idea that they may represent vineyard ditches Mrs. Baldwin was asked to conduct research with this in mind, with particular emphasis on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mrs. Baldwin and her daughter Susan Solomons found that a book published in 1772, dealt with vineyards in South Carolina, and indicated that vineyards at Charles Towne were well known at that time. This source also stated that vineyards were planted in parallel ditches, in straight lines, six feet apart, and that they were planted in furrows 1 1/2 feet broad and the same in depth. It was also said that grapes could be planted both in the marshy ground as well as on the higher land. (The Art of Planting, xxvii). From this information it became clear that what we were dealing with at Charles Towne were vineyard ditches, (just as Mr. Miller had indicated when he first saw them). Later the report of the spy Camunas, who visited the town in 1672, was found, which revealed that each lot in the town had a trellis for grapes at that time, providing evidence that the vineyard ditches could date anywhere from 1672, to 1772, and later. (A.G.I. 61-1-18).

In the area of the neck a section in which several vineyard ditches were seen, as well as the larger ditch, was examined in detail, and the ditches excavated in order to determine more fully their period of use through artifacts that might be recovered. This area was designated CH-1. At the western end of this area the soil above the ditches had not been removed by Mr. Miller, in a belief that this hard packed area containing kaolin pipe stems, Indian pottery, and wrought nails was a floor of a house. The area had indeed been packed harder than the soil in the adjoining area, but no further evidence for a house floor was found. One of the vineyard

ditches, Ditch CH1-1E, contained red filmed Indian pottery (a type not usually found locally), wrought nails, oyster shell midden, stamped and burnished Indian pottery, a kaolin pipe of seventeenth century form, impressed on the heel with the letters "EB". This is very likely the mark of Edward Battle, who received his freedom as a pipemaker in 1660.

Pipes marked "EB" on the heel have been found in an Indian grave (in the late nineteenth century), by Mr. S. L. Frey of Palatine Bridge, New York¹; and by Mr. P. C. Hiller, of Conestoga, Pennsylvania, in Lancaster County; and by Mr. Lott Van De Water in Hempstead, Long Island, while digging a well.² They are not thought to have been made in Hull, England though one was found in excavations there.³ In discussing Phillip Edwards, (a Bristol pipemaker in 1649) John Pritchard says that he appears to have taught three lads the pipe making trade, one of whom was Edward Battle, who took his freedom in 1660.⁴ In regard to "EB" pipes, it is interesting to note that none were found in excavations at Jamestown, Virginia.⁵

¹ Edwin A. Barber, "Antiquity of the Tobacco-pipe in Europe," The American Antiquarian. Vol. II, 1880, 117.

² Edwin A. Barber, "Early European Pipes Found in the United States," The American Antiquarian. Vol. IV, 1882, No. 3, 198.

³ Thomas Sheppard, Early Hull Tobacco Pipes and Their Makers. Second Edition, September, 1912, 3-39. (Mr. Sheppard also states that the Hull "EB" pipe had a milled line below the rim, as does the Charles Towne specimen. He says it is a latter 17th century pipe.

⁴ John E. Pritchard, "Tobacco Pipes of Bristol of the XVII Century and Their Makers," Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society. Kendal: 1923, 165-191.

⁵ John L. Cotter, "Archeological Excavations at Jamestown Colonial National Historical Park and Jamestown National Historic Site, Virginia," Archaeological Research Series Number Four, National Park Service. Washington: 1958.

(The above notes are from a collection of papers owned by Elias Bull, and presented to the South Carolina Archaeological Society.)

From this evidence from the layer above the ditches, as well as the ditch contents themselves, it appears that the Indian pottery, nails and pipe fragments represent a seventeenth century deposit. As further exploratory trenches were opened it was found that Ditches CH1-1D, and CH1-1E appeared to extend much further than the other ditches in length, and very well may represent a double palisade, extending from the marsh on the east, past the marsh on the west of the neck, and abutting the marsh much farther to the west. (See Archaeological Base Map). A significant fact in terms of the evidence from the ditches is concerned is that nothing from the ditches in this area indicated that they had to date later than the seventeenth century; though further recovery of contents may change this picture.

In the bottom of one of the ditches in the swamp area of the neck was a triangular drain made of three boards fastened together. The fact that it was underwater made examination difficult, but it appears that this may represent a means of draining the water from the ditches in this area, insuring that the water level remains low enough to prevent damage to the grapes growing in the ditch fill above. However, this is only a theory, and further work needs to be done in these ditches to determine more about these drains.

CH1-2L Pit

In the long ten-foot wide exploratory trench down the length of the point (designated CH1-2), two dark pit outlines were excavated. Pit CH1-2L contained a quantity of bone midden, along with a pipe of seventeenth century form, a trigger from a musket, a large quantity of nails, and Indian pottery. From this group of artifacts, virtually identical with the group from Ditch CH1-1E, it appears that this pit represents a seventeenth century garbage dump.

CH1-2N Pit

This pit also contained a seventeenth century pipe, this one with the initials "EB" impressed into the heel; along with nails, Indian pottery and oyster shell and bone midden in small amounts. Again the components are similar, and represent a seventeenth century pit.

CH1-2X The Fortification Ditch

Near the south end of the exploratory trench CH1-2, a dark area seventeen feet wide was revealed as the topsoil was stripped away. This feature on excavation proved to be a ditch that had originally been perhaps twelve feet wide at the top, and five feet wide at the bottom. At present it is six feet deep. The west half of the exposed ditch was excavated to the bottom, revealing a piece of slipware and a piece of redware in the upper level of fill, with an "EB" pipe of the seventeenth century and a musket ball near

the bottom, along with nails and Indian pottery. This evidence tended to support a seventeenth century date of origin for this feature. The lensing within the fill of this feature indicated that it was allowed to stand open and that it gradually filled up as wind and rains carried soil into the ditch. The bottom layer resting on the undisturbed subsoil was a black humus lens one-half inch thick along the south side of the ditch, representing perhaps, the first winter's leaf fall after the ditch was constructed.

In order to determine the extent of the ditch, slot trenches were cut to the east, and a ten-foot wide trench (CH1-3) was cut at a diagonal angle toward the southwest. This trench revealed that the ditch had narrowed considerably as it approached the west, and that it turned toward the northwest just before striking the marsh. At the angle of this ditch a twentieth century shallow well had been dug to obtain water for the operation of a whiskey still, and this hole was still standing open when the archaeological work was done. Toward the east from trench CH1-2, slots were cut to locate the ditch position, and it was found to extend toward the southeast, forming an obtuse angle or chevron shaped feature. This would allow for a cross-fire against any enemy landing at the deep-water channel of Old Town Creek at the tip of Albemarle Point, if the ditch were indeed a fortification ditch. The shape of the feature, ideally suited for defending the land behind the ditch, the fact that seventeenth century objects were found near the bottom of the fill, and the fact that the documents mention a platform and embrasure for artillery, all point to the fact that this ditch represents a defensive work designed to protect against a landing at the deep water point of the land. Since we know from the documents that fortification against the Spaniards was being carried out in the late summer and fall of 1670, it appears quite obvious that this ditch is indeed part of that fortification or "castle" mentioned in the records. The fact that it tapers to a narrower width at both the east and west sides, and is deepest at the highest point of the present point of land, suggests that considerable erosion has occurred throughout the 440 foot length of the ditch, and any original surface would long since have been eroded away, leaving only the deepest intrusions into the subsoil. The fact that only a five-foot wide section of the ditch was excavated, and that a pipe and musket ball were found in this small sample, provides a clue that the remainder of the ditch should produce a considerable number of seventeenth century artifacts thrown into the ditch during the use of the site while the ditch stood open.

From the historical records we know that the ditch was accompanied by a platform on which guns were mounted, and that a heavy log "fence" was also part of the defensive work. The embankment forming the platform or parapet would have been on the north side of the ditch, with the palisade likely located between the platform and the ditch. Perhaps further excavation will reveal the location of this palisade, though erosion may have cut out any evidence that may have once been present.

The 1671 Property Line Ditch and Palisade

In the control excavation area of CH1-1, in the neck to the north of the tip of Albemarle Point, a wide ditch was found to be running almost up the center of the neck, not across it as had been expected. This ditch had been found and followed through a series of trenches toward the south by Mr. Miller, where it was found to end at the marsh. It had not been searched toward the north. Parallel ditches to the west of this large ditch were 33 feet apart, the distance of two poles, and the thought occurs that these parallel ditches may represent property line ditches in which the measurements would have been 33 by 99 feet, the size of the twelve pole lot used at Charles Towne. Another pair of ditches in trench CH1-2, also are 33 feet apart. However, further work should be done before these ditches could be identified as property lines for lots.

The wide ditch was followed toward the northwest by means of a series of slot trenches, and it was found that this ditch was parallel with the series of vineyard ditches reported by John Miller as having been revealed just to the north of this ditch (See Master Archaeological Base Map). The parallelism of the vineyard ditches with this larger ditch would tend to indicate a contemporary time period for the features.

The wide ditch was found to angle toward the north, extend another 270 feet, then angle again, producing a relationship between the projected lines an angle of 123° , correlating with the 123° angle shown on the Culpeper map of 1671, for the west end of the series of two and four acre lots adjoining Charles Towne. This west property line and the ditch under discussion, are apparently the same line. The fact that the tip of the ditch does not point just as Culpeper shows it on his map apparently indicates that his scale was such that he failed to include this detail on his small scale map. The significant point is the 123° correlation between the two major lines. Further verification of the 1671 date for this property line ditch will have to come through further work on removal of the contents of this ditch.

In areas CH1-6, and CH1-7, profiles were cut and small samples of the ditch were thereby taken. In CH1-7, a large quantity of oyster shell midden was found thrown into the upper level of the ditch, indicating its use as a garbage disposal area by people living nearby. The lower levels revealed the same type of lensing characteristic of erosion fill by wind and water that was seen in the large ditch found on the point, indicating that this ditch also stood open for many years. In association with this ditch, in area CH1-7, a series of postholes were found paralleling the ditch on the west side, in the position where a palisade line should have stood if the soil were thrown up from the ditch along the west to form an embankment or low parapet. This evidence (found at the widest and least eroded part of the ditch), would indicate that a palisade did indeed accompany this ditch. The fact that it narrows toward the south and toward the north from the angle at CH1-7, indicates that considerable erosion has apparently occurred here also; the ditch being seven feet wide here, and narrowing to two feet in places.

In area CH1-8, an intrusive ditch is seen to cross the 1671 property line ditch, and the fact that this ditch parallels the row of fairly recent trees, and that it parallels the Jonathan Lucas Plantation house ruin, known to have been standing in 1836, would point to a nineteenth century origin for the ditch. At the south end of this intrusive ditch, at CH1-9, a fragment of ironstone china was found, verifying the mid-19th century origin for this ditch.

CH1-6 The Western Palisade Ditch

At the northernmost angle of the 1671 property line ditch (Area CH1-6), a smaller ditch abuts this angle and continues toward the southwest until it ends at the edge of the high ground at the marsh along Old Town Creek. In one area of the ditch where a slot trench was cut, a large quantity of oyster shell midden was found, both in the ditch itself, and in an area on both sides of it. Further work needs to be done in this area to determine whether the ditch stood open or was dug to contain a line of palisade posts. An interesting fact is that the area of land between this ditch on the west, the 1671 property line ditch on the east, and the marsh and fortification ditch on the south, is ten acres, the same number of acres mentioned as being the approximate size of Charles Towne early in 1671. A later palisade is known to have been surveyed and built around the town in 1674, and if this ditch represents the 1671 palisade around the town, then that of 1674 would, no doubt, lay further toward the north, for it is assumed that by 1674, a larger area would have been needed. It should be noted that this western ditch is quite regular in width, and is somewhat smaller than the 1671 property line ditch to which it abuts at an angle. This fact would tend to indicate that this western palisade ditch was dug sometime later than the 1671 property line ditch, or the difference in width may only reflect the fact that one was a property line as well as a ditch accompanying a palisade, whereas the other may have been only for a palisade.

CH1-5 A Post-Vineyard Ditch

In the area west of the drained pond, and to the east of the 1671 property line ditch, a series of parallel vineyard ditches were found. Cutting across these was a later intrusive ditch that orients in a parallel manner with the ruin of the 1836 Jonathan Lucas Plantation House ruin, providing a clue that this intrusive ditch is quite likely a nineteenth century feature.

CH1-11 The Jonathan Lucas Plantation House Ruin

An exploratory trench was opened in a clump of bushes where recent bricks are stored by the present owners of Old Town Plantation. This trench revealed a walk made of oyster shells, mixed with objects of nineteenth century origin. The walk ended at a brick steps, partially standing above ground, which was

shaped like a trapezoid, and which is shown on the 1836 map of the Lucas Plantation. This house is said to have burned in the early twentieth century.

CH1-10 The Outbuildings for the Lucas Plantation House

Tabby foundation walls at the edge of the access road to the west of the Lucas Plantation House ruin were found, and represent nearby outbuildings for the plantation house, and were shown on the 1836 map.

CH1-4 The Ditch Depression and Cattle Dip Ruin

To the east of the Lucas Plantation House ruin, and south of the ruin of the outbuildings, a depression can still be seen in the surface of the ground where a ditch once stood open. A trench over this area revealed that the ditch once was several feet deep. Its parallel orientation to the Lucas Plantation house ruin would tend to indicate that this ditch was also of nineteenth century origin. This is very likely the ditch "still traceable" mentioned by Langdon Cheves as a footnote in "The Shaftsbury Papers" in 1897. (S.P., V, 173). An edge of a twentieth century cement structure was found in this trench, and is said by local informants to be the remains of a twentieth century cattle dip.

Examination of the Area of the "Negro Settlement" of 1836

To the west of the Waring House, on the point of land extending into the marsh of Old Town Creek, some exploratory trenches were opened. These revealed the presence of foundations accompanied by nineteenth century china, glass, iron, etc., representing the "Negro Settlement" shown on the 1836 map of the plantation. This settlement was occupied until the early years of the twentieth century. Excavation of the entire area of this settlement would reveal an interesting picture of such settlements as seen through archaeology. Too little archaeology on sites of this nature has been done, emphasis usually being placed on the more affluent representatives of a culture. Also found in this area were parallel ditches, indicating that the vineyard on Albemarle Point also extended this far to the west.

The Ditch to the South of the Waring House

Between two marshes to the south of the house now occupied by Dr. and Mrs. J. I. Waring, a ditch was found that apparently had been dug between the two marshes. No objects were recovered from the ditch since its contents were not excavated. This could possibly represent a palisade ditch, or a ditch of much later date than Charles Towne. Further work should be done on this feature to determine its date, and relationship to the Charles Towne site.

XII

THE ARTIFACTS

Time does not permit a thorough examination of the artifacts in this phase of the Charles Towne study. This will be included in the later report which will cover all the archeology carried out on the Charles Towne site. This report will be completed by October first, 1969. However, a brief summary of those objects recovered in the present exploratory project is presented.

Indian Artifacts of the Prehistoric Period

Throughout the exploratory excavation of the Charles Towne site sherds of Deptford type pottery were occasionally found in the yellow sand layer beneath the plowed soil zone on the site. This characteristically check stamped pottery would date from the Early Woodland Period, perhaps as early as 500 B.C. (Stephen Williams, (ed). "The Waring Papers." Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, LVIII, Cambridge: 1968, 316, 322).

Of particular interest in terms of the prehistoric Indian occupation of the Albemarle Point site is the discovery of a number of fragments of baked clay objects that apparently had holes shaped into them before firing. These were found in the yellow sand below the plowed soil as were the Deptford sherds, but were also found in the seventeenth century features as well (as were the Deptford sherds on occasion). A partial understanding of these fragments came with the discovery of a small pit (CH1-1K), which contained nothing but a baked clay object shaped generally like a cylinder, about the size of a fist, roughly finger impressed on the exterior, with a smooth hole through the center from end to end. This object (along with the other fragments from similar objects found on the site), may relate to the clay objects found on Indian sites on the Georgia coast at the Bilbo site, and at the shell ring on Sapelo Island, where clay balls were found in association with fiber-tempered pottery (the earliest known pottery found in the area). These in turn are thought to relate to the Jaketown site, and the Poverty Point site in Louisiana. The definitive relationship of these objects awaits further research, (as Stephen Williams has pointed out), but he suggests that they "may serve as a broad-gauge horizon marker in the second millennium B.C." (Stephen Williams, (ed.), "The Waring Papers." Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, LVIII, Cambridge: 1968, 155, 182, 235, 273, 278, 320, 321). Although clay objects are by no means plentiful, their presence on the Charles Towne site is not so surprising as the fact that the one found there has a hole through the center. The hole may have served for mounting the object to a shaft, in which case it may have functioned as a clay version of a spear-thrower (or atlatl) weight. This function might seem more plausible than that this unique form of clay object was used as a substitute boiling stone or bola weight, the sometimes suggested function for the typical clay ball objects. The discovery of the clay objects on the Charles Towne site represents the northernmost known

occurrence of these objects on the east coast. The discovery of the large specimen with a central hole certainly represents a most unique form.

When the makers of the Deptford pottery left the Charles Towne site, there is no evidence that Indians again occupied the site for the next two thousand years, until the seventeenth century.

Seventeenth Century Artifacts

In the vineyard ditches, and in the pits and the large fortification ditch dug by the seventeenth century settlers at Charles Towne, Indian pottery was found, but this was burnished or stamped ware of the seventeenth century period. One type was red-filmed and shell tempered, probably from Indians much further south in Georgia, possibly related to the wares being made by Indians at the Spanish missions. Further research on the pottery of this period must be done to clarify these relationships. We do know that "Earthen pots" were brought aboard the sloop The Three Brothers in May, 1670, before the arrival at Albemarle Point. Trade with the Indians began almost immediately after their arrival at the Albemarle Point site, the Indians bringing almost daily food and other supplies for the short-rationed colonists. It is not too unlikely that this food was brought in clay pots made by the Indians. Since the inventories do not reveal the presence of quantities of European ceramics and glass, and since the scarcity of these objects has been supported by archaeological work, it is reasonable to assume that some of the need for ceramics would have been met by the utilization of Indian vessels. The association of Indian ceramic materials with kaolin pipes and nails in seventeenth century Charles Towne pits is not too surprising; in fact, it might be expected.

The only European ceramics found on the Charles Towne site thus far dating from the seventeenth century are two pieces of a Bellarmine type, brown, salt-glazed jug found on the surface.

The pipes found in the pits and ditches were probably made by Edward Battle in the 1670's, and are time markers for seventeenth century deposits, along with the nails, musket balls, and bone and oyster shell midden. The rouletting of the rim of these pipes suggests a possible Dutch relationship, but more research will be done on this point. From the archaeological components found in context on the site we see that the rich inventory of objects representing the way of life of the Charles Towne citizen is reflected in the pitifully meager collection of nails, musket balls, bone and oyster shell, kaolin pipes and Indian pottery. When these components are present, the deposit represents the seventeenth century period of 1670 to 1680 at Charles Towne. Further archaeology will help to clarify and refine this situation.

Since the major work on the site has been carried out on the tip of Albemarle Point, and not in the area of the village on the high ground to the north of the narrow neck, more archaeological work on the town site will

no doubt produce more artifacts than has the fortified point where only a few lodgings are known to have been built. The presence of oyster shell in some abundance on the high ground to the north of the neck, as opposed to its virtual absence in the plowed soil on the tip of Albemarle Point, points strongly toward this northern part of the area as the village site. As has been seen, Camunas also indicated this situation in his report on the town in 1672. Future archaeological work will concentrate on this northern area which is apparently the village site, with the fortification protecting it located on the tip of land where the first landing was made.

Eighteenth Century Artifacts

The house ruin located by John Miller near the Ashley River marsh at the eastern edge of the site, revealed ceramics and bottle glass in considerable quantity, apparently representing a dwelling of the early part of the eighteenth century. Since this ruin was known to be eighteenth century in origin it was avoided in the present survey. Further work will be done in this area and on the artifacts from the ruin.

In the roadway around the Jonathan Lucas Plantation site fragments of eighteenth century ceramics have been found, along with more numerous nineteenth century objects. These fragments may represent heirloom pieces within the nineteenth century households, or it may indicate that the plantation house was constructed in the latter years of the eighteenth century.

Nineteenth Century Artifacts

As has been mentioned, the Lucas Plantation site reveals nineteenth century materials, as well as does the area of the "Negro Settlement" associated with it. A small amount of nineteenth century material has been seen scattered on the tip of Albemarle Point near the present landing, indicating some occupation and use of the landing at that time.

The eastern end of the defensive ditch near the tip of the point has a small tabby ruin which may represent a nineteenth century structure intruding onto the seventeenth century ditch. Further work here will be necessary to arrive at a construction date for this ruin.

Twentieth Century Occupation of the Site

The present Waring house and Old Town Plantation represent the twentieth century on the site, and the fact that the land is still held in a vast tract as a plantation, reflects the tradition of the use of the land that extends into the seventeenth century when the plantation concept of the utilization of land was first begun with those first settlers to make Albemarle Point their home. This fact should not be overlooked in the interpretation of the Charles Towne site; rather than looking on the present plantation house as

a product of the twentieth century, it should more properly be seen as the end product of a long period of utilization of the land by man, beginning with the first occupation on the site some four thousand years ago.

Summary

The exploratory project in historical archaeology at the Charles Towne site, designed to reveal specific clues to the location of the town site, and to relate these to the background history known from the documents that have survived, has been successful in accomplishing this goal. Through the discovery of the major fortification ditch at the south end of the site, and the 1671 property line ditch and palisade along the north side of the town, and the ditch for the west palisade, the bounds of the Charles Towne site from 1670 to 1674 are now known. The area inside of this group of features comprises ten acres, the estimate for the size of the town made at the time of its existence. Vineyard ditches and pits and the fortification ditch have revealed objects of the seventeenth century which came from the homes of the colonists who lived on the site between 1670 and 1680 in the area of the "castle" or fortification on the southern part of town. The limited amount of archaeology done on the northern part of town where the main village was located has failed to reveal the location of particular houses, but more work is to be done in this area.

One fact has emerged from the present study both from archaeological work and from the historical documents, and that is the understanding that the village known as Charles Towne was not located on the site of the southern tip of Albemarle Point as has long been thought, but was farther north, with the town fortification standing between the landing on Old Town Creek and the Village. This arrangement allowed for the maximum protection of the town against a possible Spanish attack by way of the water. Only a few lodgings were built on the southern tip of Albemarle Point during the first months of the settlement, and these were likely used by those involved in standing watches and manning the fortification. The building for storage of arms and military supplies was located near the northern boundary of the town, where a palisade and ditch protected against a possible Indian attack. By 1674, the town had apparently outgrown its earlier limits, and a new palisade was constructed at that time, very likely much farther toward the north than had previously been the case. A better understanding of the town site itself is expected to emerge through further archaeology.

INTERPRETING THE CHARLES TOWNE SITE

From the pages of the earth the historical archaeologist gathers bits and pieces representing past human activity, and relates these to the shreds and patches surviving as the worn documents and faded words of history. On this collection of essentially meaningless, unique fragments of the past, he strives to press a meaning.

Through reference to history the Charles Towne story would logically be told from the viewpoint of the 1670 settlement by Europeans, but through the longer view into the past as revealed through archaeology on the site, extending to 2000 B.C., when the first Indians likely began using the tip of Albemarle Point as a stopping place, a much broader interpretive statement can be made. Such a broad view would bring the evolutionary development of the use of the site by man from this period of two millenia B.C., to the seventeenth century landing by Europeans; through the use of the site as a vineyard of some considerable extent and importance by the time of the American Revolution; to its use as a plantation site by Jonathan Lucas and others in the nineteenth century, all utilizing the archaeological clues that have survived, as well as the historical record. The interpretation should not stop with the nineteenth century, but should continue on to the present, when a dramatic change is about to take place from the plantation tradition of three centuries duration, to a major historic site open to the public. With this change will come the end of the plantation tradition on the site, only to be known as it is interpreted to the public through the story the exhibits will tell in the visitor center-museum to be built on the site. This museum will be built, by the way, directly over the site of the Jonathan Lucas Plantation, thus successfully erasing one of the milestones along the road that began one April day in 1670, when the plantation concept first began, which was to be so important to the history of the land that was to come to be known as South Carolina.

The story of Charles Towne as revealed through historical research and historical archaeology will be told in the visitor center-museum to be built on the site. Through documents, artifacts, exhibits and dioramas the Charles Towne story will be unfolded to those who have come to learn of the significant first settlement of South Carolina on this historic spot.

The museum statement will serve to introduce the visitor to the hallowed ground of the historic site, where the spade and axe were first used to carve a clearing for civilization in the Carolina wilderness. Although the exhibits will aid the visitor in the understanding of history, this cannot match the site itself for casting an aura of respect for our heritage within the witness who views for himself the clues to the past revealed through archaeology. As he stands in the shade of the lofty pines that cover the historic spot today, the visitor, in this scene of quiet natural beauty, is

transported in his inner mind through the centuries, and as he views the grass covered fortification ditch and platform where the artillery once sat, and the reconstructed palisade fence marking the boundry of the town, there is a chance for him to gain a deeper understanding of the pangs endured on this spot by those men and women bringing a new nation to birth. Such an understanding of our heritage is the priceless treasure an historic site has the potential of bringing to those of us today who set foot on the paths once trod by those who went before. To desecrate such a site through modern construction, or reconstruction, is unthinkable.

For three hundred years the site of the first landing at Charles Towne, the site of the fortification on the point, and the site of the village itself to the north, has remained protected and untouched by the violence of progress, while all around the bulldozer, housing developments, and tourist attractions are scarring the face of the earth, which will forever remain as violated ground. Fortunately, nothing more serious than the farmer's plow and the natural erosion of wind and rain have disturbed the integrity of the historic site on Albemarle Point, thus allowing history and archaeology to bring a new meaning to the past. As plans are being made for the development of Albemarle Point as a significant historic site, hope is held high that the site will remain inviolate as sacred soil. It is hoped that those charged with the responsibility of preserving and interpreting the heritage of this spot, will have the good taste to allow the site to retain its integrity. A spot where quiet beauty combined with physical remains from yesterday's fears and hopes, creates within the individual a renewed sense of awareness of the past, and refreshed values for today's action.

In developing an historic site a marker beside the highway is no longer considered sufficient recognition and tribute to those people and events that make up the fabric we call our heritage. As a result of this greater appreciation for the past, new interpretive tools have been developed. In the 1930's this manifested itself in restorations, many of which were carried out with abundant enthusiasm, dedication, and funds, but with little consideration for archaeological, historical, or site integrity or authenticity. The history of Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island, North Carolina is a good example; a stockade was built to mark the site of the fort in the 1930's, which later had to be torn down when archaeology revealed the gross error in this type of interpretation. Meanwhile, for twenty years visitors to the site received the wrong notion of history regarding this significant site. How much warped thinking occurred as a result of this interpretation based on a lack of thorough research and examination of the site, we will never know. (J. C. Harrington, "Search for the Cittie of Raleigh," Archaeological Research Series No. 6, National Park Service, Washington: 1962). To make a similar misjudgment in interpretation today in the face of over thirty years progress in the development of historic sites is unforgivable.

An example of an historic site on which the clues from the past have been left inviolate is Jamestown Colonial National Historic Site in Virginia. Here, after visiting the museum housing the interpretive exhibits, the visitor is guided along trails among the ruins of the town revealed through

archaeology. Voice recorders tell in a few short sentences the significance of that particular spot on the site. Nearby, but not on historic ground, a reconstructed village is used to bring an immediate sense of scale and rapport with the past. Such an interpretation could be carried out at the Charles Towne site in a similar double feature manner. The historic site could remain inviolate with voice recorders unfolding the Albemarle Point story revealed through history and archaeology; while on a nearby point, an imaginative reconstruction of a village could be built, just as was done at Jamestown.

For guidance in the means of paying proper tribute and respect in the development of historic sites such as Charles Towne, we are no longer forced to rely on intuition and local pride as to the proper course of action. Many agencies have been created whereby those involved in interpreting the past can be advised and assisted with their decisions involving their projects. Those wishing to interpret historic sites today should not think of proceeding without the consultation of representatives of these agencies, thus benefiting from their wide experience in such efforts. Agencies whose efforts are oriented toward research, development, and interpretation of historic sites are as follows:

The National Trust for Historic Preservation
James Biddle, President
748 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

The American Association for State and Local History
William T. Alderson, Jr., Director
132 Ninth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

The American Historical Association
400 A Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C.

The Society for Historical Archaeology
John Rick, President
National Historic Sites Division
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

The Southern Historical Association
Dr. Bennett H. Wall, President
Department of History
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Individuals with broad experience in the interpretation and development of historic sites are:

Ivor Noel Hume, Chief Archaeologist
Colonial Williamsburg
Williamsburg, Virginia

J. C. Harrington, Chief of Interpretation
National Park Service (Retired)
5614 Crenshaw Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. John L. Cotter, Chief Archaeologist
Northeast Region - National Park Service
143 South Third Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

William Murtagh, Keeper of the National Register
Historic Sites and Landmarks
Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation
801 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

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