
1998

A Memoir of the Archaeological Excavation of Fort Prince George, Pickens County, South Carolina Along with Pertinent Historical Documentation

Marshall W. Williams

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Keywords

Excavations, Duke Power Company, Fort Prince George, Pickens County, South Carolina, Archeology

Disciplines

Anthropology

Publisher

The South Carolina Institute of Archeology and Anthropology--University of South Carolina

Comments

In USC online Library catalog at: <http://www.sc.edu/library/>

A Memoir of the Archaeological Excavation of
FORT PRINCE GEORGE

Pickens County, South Carolina

along with Pertinent Historical Documentation

by

Marshall W. Williams

Madison, Georgia

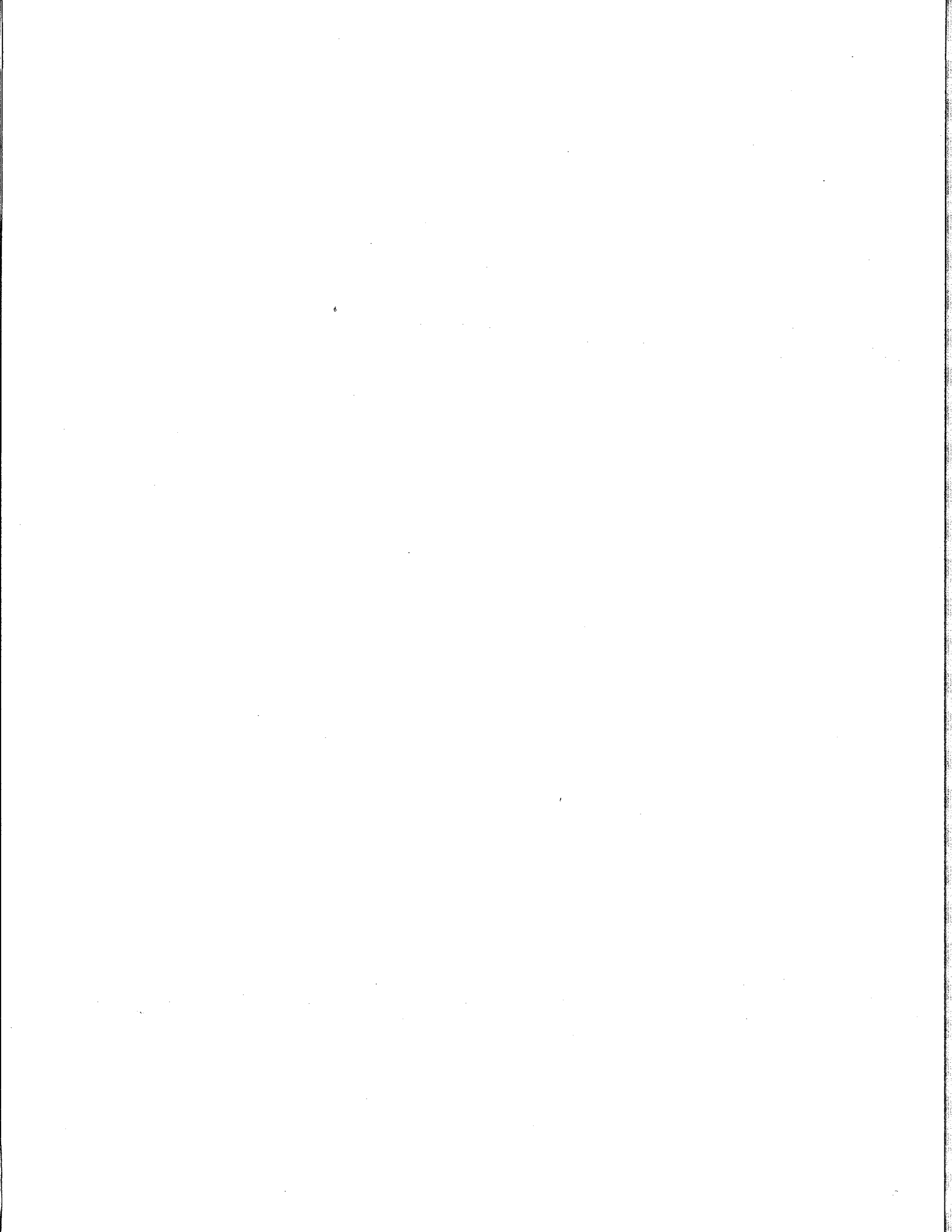
Technical Editor

Lisa R. Hudgins

**South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology
Research Manuscript Series 226**

**College of Liberal Arts
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina**

1998



Preface

Those of us familiar with the history of the colonial frontier of South Carolina in the eighteenth century know of the role played by British Fort Prince George on the border of the Cherokee Nation. It is particularly rewarding, therefore, that Marshall "Woody" Williams has produced this volume reporting on the archaeological work done on that site thirty years ago.

When I first met Archaeologist John Combes at the Conference on Historic Site Archaeology meeting a couple of years before I came to South Carolina, to work at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, we excitedly discussed the field work he was doing at Fort Prince George. During the years after I came to the Institute in 1969, I saw photographs of the excavated northwest bastion (Figure 34 herein) and the remarkable aerial view of the excavated fort (Figure 38). These, the archaeological plan and interpretive fort drawing, and the model made by Woody Williams (Figures 11-13), impressed me with the quality of the field work and the interpretations resulting from the work done there.

The plan view of Fort Prince George engraved on a 1761 powder horn is a fascinating material culture clue to the fort once so important to British and Cherokee interaction. In this volume, Woody has pulled together from diverse sources valuable clues to the archaeological work done at Fort Prince George when he was a member of the crew. In so doing, he has filled a major gap in the archaeological record of one of the most important eighteenth century sites in South Carolina.

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January 14, 1998

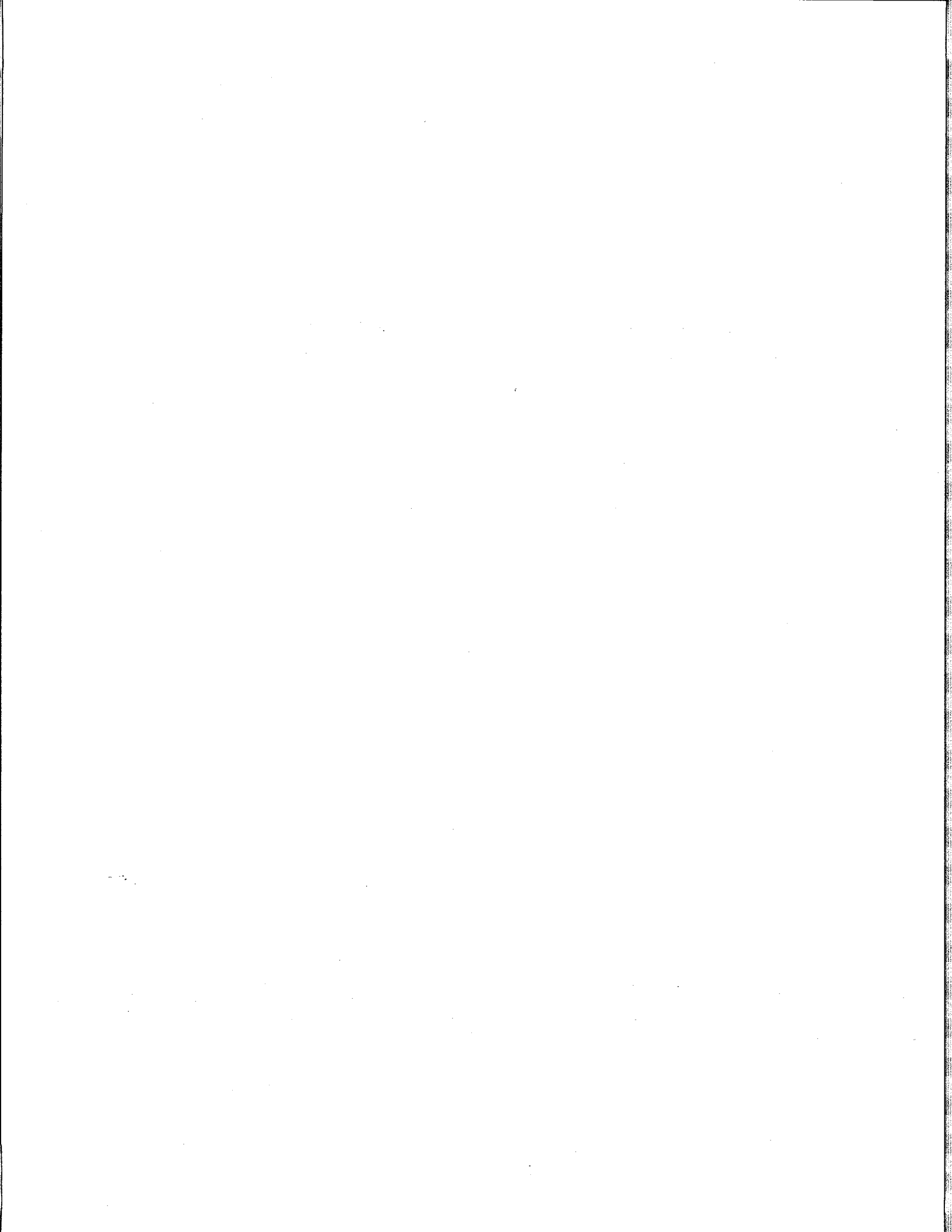
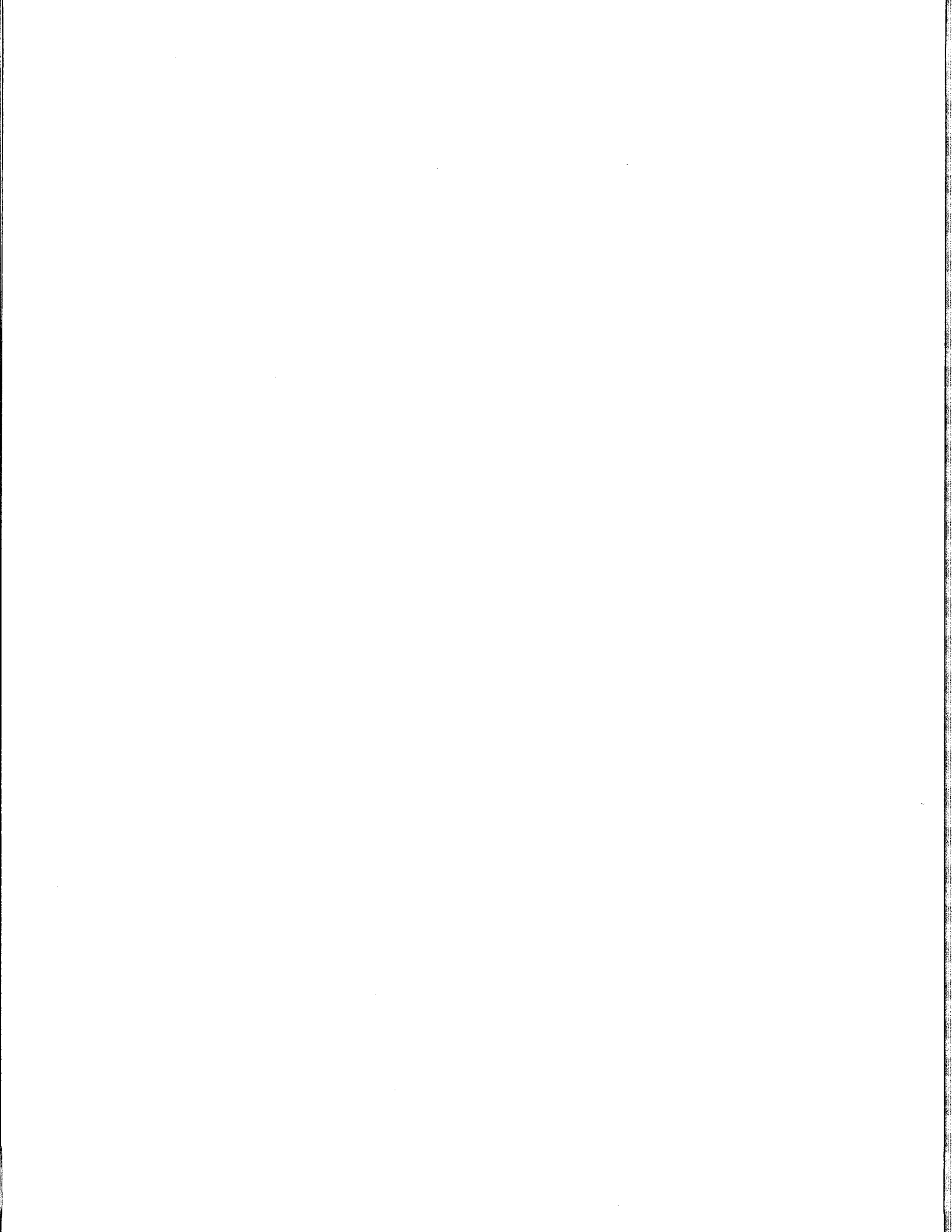


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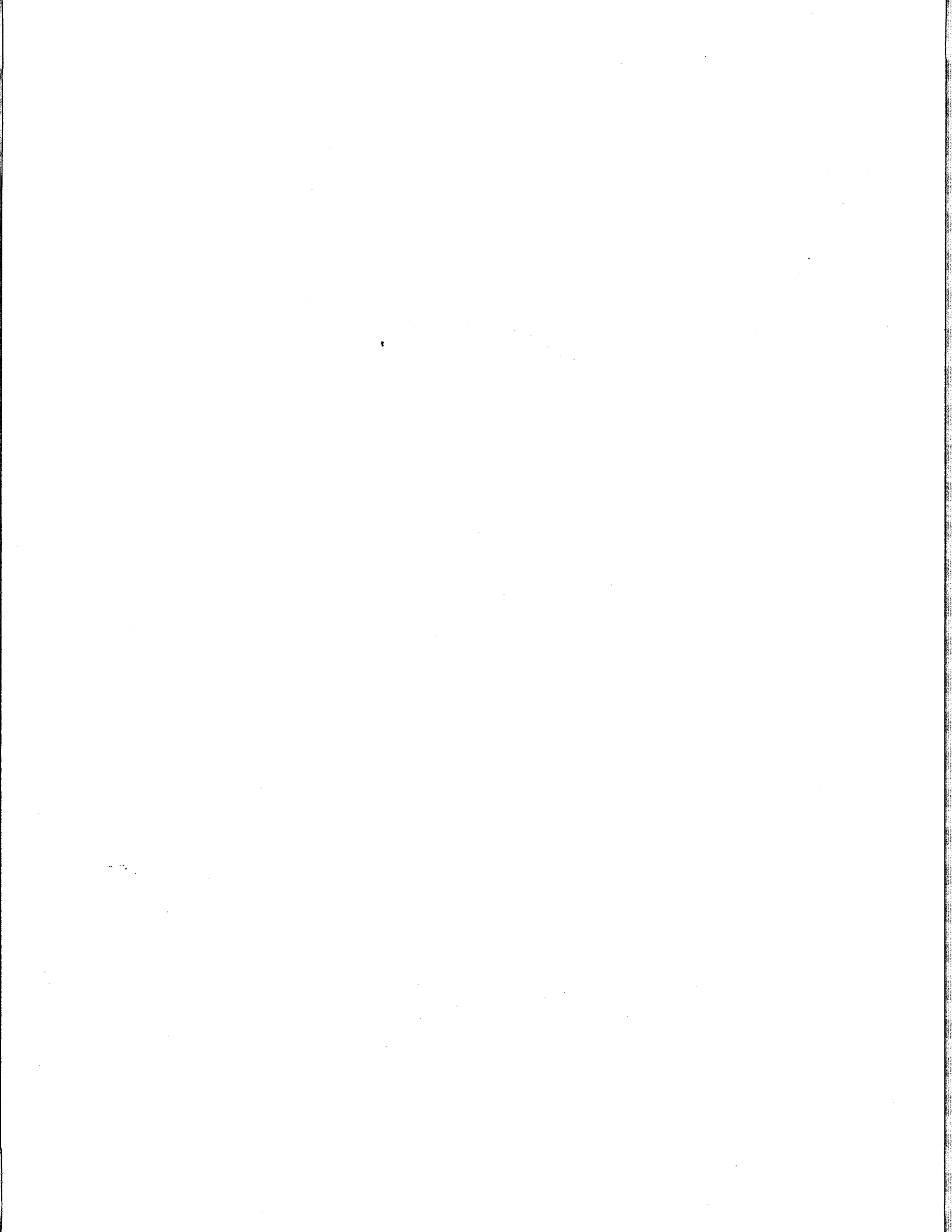
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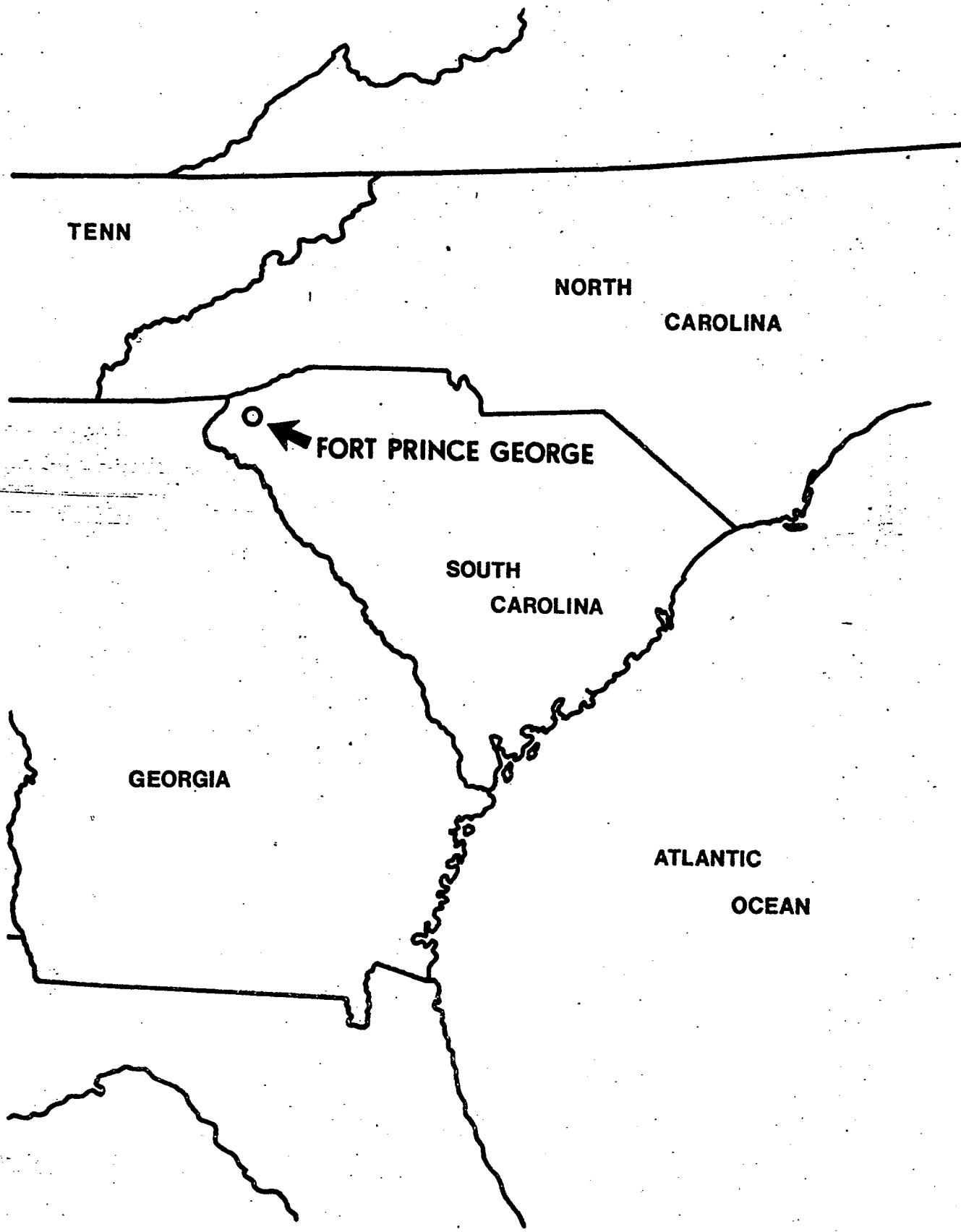


Foreword

The site of Fort Prince George was never really lost, though some doubted the truth of the local tradition that it was located in a cultivated field near Nimmons Bridge, the old iron bridge which spanned the Keowee River, connecting present-day Oconee and Pickens Counties, in South Carolina. In the early 1960s, when it became known that Duke Power Company planned a large nuclear power plant to be built on the Keowee River at the site of the Old Pickens Court House, local interest in the historical sites flared anew. Dr. William Edwards, the State Archaeologist, held a "town meeting" style gathering in Clemson, S.C., to reassure all those interested parties that a great deal would be done to salvage from the earth any archaeological information retained there. Thus assured, all concerned waited patiently for work to begin. Nothing happened. Finally, in the fall of the year 1966, Mr. John D. Combes became Assistant State Archaeologist, and with his new wife, Joan, moved into the former home of Mr. Isaac Few, which was situated only about a hundred yards from the presumed site of the fort. In addition to the fort site there were in the same river bottom Indian sites which needed examination. These sites, too, became the responsibility of Mr. Combes. The actual work on these Indian sites was contracted out to others, and thus Combes himself took on the job of excavation of Fort Prince George. His field assistant was Mr. Don Robertson.

Throughout the next eighteen months many volunteers worked at the site, the writer being one of them. Others included boys and girls involved in the Office of Economic Opportunity program, students from The University of South Carolina, my sons Mark and Philip Williams, Ms. Diane Pallas, and many others whose memory the passing years have made the names too dim to recall. My wife, Ruth, became an "archaeology widow" for a year, for I spent virtually every weekend (Friday through Sunday) digging. She has forgiven me (I think) for spending the twenty-second anniversary of our marriage digging at the fort!

It has now been twenty-nine years since the excavations ended, and as yet there is no report on our work there other than the completed drawing of the site map and an occasional summary of the findings. I, now in my 74th year, feel that I must leave for posterity, in some manner, my data and memories of that long-ago dig. This is not, nor will it attempt to be, a report in the style of the professional archaeologist (which I am not). Rather, it is simply a compilation of documentary research, my notes, photographs, drawings, and ancient memories of that long neglected dig.



Location of Fort Prince George in Pickens County, South Carolina

Introduction

Fort Prince George was a British frontier fort situated on the Keowee River in what is now Pickens County, South Carolina. It was located in the flood plain of the river which, in later years, after the fort's demise, became prime bottom land for growing corn. The site of this fort was about twelve and a half miles upstream from present-day Clemson University, and lay just a few hundred yards north of where Crow Creek emptied into the Keowee River. On the west side of the river, and downstream below the mouth of Crow Creek, was the Cherokee town of Keowee. Other Cherokee towns lay within fifteen miles of the fort, and in the eighteenth century the valley and surrounding areas were subjected to great turmoil in the form of an Indian war, massacres, and invading armies.

This fort was built in 1753, and was garrisoned by the British and by American troops in British service until 1768, when rumblings of the discontent leading to the American Revolution caused the garrison to be withdrawn and sent northward toward New York and Boston. After this, the fort became a trading post for a time, and then, in 1784, William Tate purchased the fort site and 640 acres surrounding it (Figure 21).

This report will not be primarily concerned with the historical or political events associated with the relations of the British and the Cherokee Indians. The history of this relationship is covered in many historical documents and books. However, as certain events had a direct bearing on the physical structure of the fort these will, of necessity, be touched on. During the fifteen year existence of Fort Prince George there was a continuing change in its appearance, from Governor Glen's first construction in late 1753 to its final dissolution after 1768. There are periods of time during which we have virtually no information about the fort; at other times we are overwhelmed with descriptive information. The archaeological findings present a composite picture of the fifteen year occupation of the fort. For temporal construction data we are almost totally dependent on the accounts left by those who took part in the events at that place.

This report does not include a detailed artifact study. My priority has been to present data concerning the archaeological findings as they relate to structures found on the site - buildings, moat ditch, stockade ditch, well, cannon mounts, and the like. The artifact catalog has long since disappeared, as has also the faunal material found in several trash pits within the fort. The artifacts discovered in the process of excavation are curated at the Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, S.C.

The measurements between the posts of the various buildings shown within this report are from my own notes, such measurements having been made by me during the latter days of the excavation. The photographs are generally from my own collection, with exceptions noted. The artifact drawings and the site map are courtesy of the South Carolina Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology. There will be some repetition in the subsequent accounts, for a number of these sections were done at various times through the years, and some notes were simply repeated. For this, you must forgive.

A DOCUMENTARY VIEW OF THE FORT'S HISTORY

The decision by the British Government to build a fort among the Cherokee Indians is first noted in a letter dated 9 June, 1748:

"To the Right Honble the Lords of the Committee of His Majesty's most Honble Privy Council. My Lords, Pursuant to your Lordship's Order of the 20th of last Month, we have prepared for the Draught of an Additional Instruction for James Glen, Esq., His Majesty's Governor of the Province of South Carolina, conformable to our Representation to His Majesty dated 13th of August, 1747 upon a proposal made by the Cherokee Nation of Indians bordering upon that Province that a Fort might be built & Garrisoned in their Country..."¹

The letter goes on to authorize Glen to enter into a treaty with the Cherokees for securing land to build the fort, though several years elapsed between this letter and the first efforts actually made to build the fort. Thus, we find in a letter from Glen to "My Lords," dated October 25th, 1753:

"..This present letter is written in the woods above two hundred miles from Charles Town on my way to the Cherrockee Nation where I propose to build a small Fort that I have been solicited to do for seven years past by the Indians.....Before the Council advised me to take this step they examined all the traders and they all agreed that unless it [the fort] were built this Fall it would never be in the power of the Government to do it again for that all the Lower Town Indians declared that they would never plant more on this side of the Mountains unless it were built .."²

The Governor, determined to do everything by the book, had a "deed" drawn up for the acquisition of the land upon which to build the fort. This document, dated 24 November, 1753, at Fort Prince George, is signed by Corane, The Raven of Toxawa, Canacaught, the Great Conjurer of Keowa [probably Keowee], Sinnawa, the Hawk Head Warrior of Toxawa, Nettowagetche of Toxawa, Yahomasa of Keowee, Cannasaita of Keowee, Yorhatche of Toxawa, and Oswasta, The Head Beloved Man of Toxawa. Present for the British and Americans were Raymond Demere, James McKay, White Outerbridge, Thomas Glen, James Francis, Ludowick Grant, James Beamer, and John Elliott. The Indians offered to donate the land for the fort, but Glen, mindful of the legalities of a contract, declined the gift and paid for the land with trade goods [bullets, guns, blankets, knives, flints, powder, and the like].

Governor Glen, in a letter dated August 26, 1754, stated that

"I immediately laid out the fort, having carried instruments with me for that purpose. It is a square with regular bastions and four ravelins. It is near two hundred feet from salient angle to salient angle, and is made of earth taken from the ditch, secured with fascines and well-rammed, with a banquet on the inside for the men to stand on when they fire over the

¹ British Public Records Office (BPRO), Vol. 27, p. 147.

² BPRO, Vol 25, p. 347.

ravelins made with posts of Lightwood, which is very durable; they are ten feet in length, sharp pointed, three foot and a half in the ground."³

Raymond Demere, writing to Governor Lyttelton in 1756 added "Fort Prince George was first erected by digging a Ditch two Feet wide at the Top, and five wide at the Bottom, and five Feet deep, and a Parapet or Breast Work raised five Feet high, ten Feet wide at Bottom, and five Feet at Top, and a Banquet, or Foot Bank on the outside of the Parapet...."⁴

Of course, it is impossible to dig a ditch two feet wide at the top and five feet wide at the bottom, as the letter suggests. Thus, it is obvious that a simple transposition of these dimensions occurred when Demere wrote his letter, or perhaps in a later copyist's error.. If we can accept Demere's account (and he was one of the witnesses to the Fort Prince George deed), then it is easy to understand why a soldier wrote, in 1756, that the

"ramparts are daily falling with the least rain and has already rendered the ditch capable of being leaped over by Indian children who with ease also climb the ramparts at any part."⁵

The "ramparts" were apparently the parapet; the dirt taken from the ditch was thrown up on the inside edge of the ditch. From Demere's account this parapet was five feet high, and by Glen's account the stockade ("ravelins") was put into this "well-rammed" parapet only three feet. In other words, the stockade was set into loose dirt taken from the ditch. Thus, each time it rained the walls would collapse as the loose earth would wash back into the ditch. Raymond Demere, in a letter to Governor Lyttelton dated 12 July, 1756, described repairs to the parapet which were then taking place, and then wrote:

"And as additional strength to the Gateway, the Bridge being fallen down, there is one built with rails along the same, and the inside of the fort is repairing with Pickets and Fascines, and four Swivels being mounted one in each Bastion."⁶

The maintenance of the fort was a continual occupation of the soldiers and hired carpenters. The stockades, of "light wood" (yellow pine), had to be replaced every four years during the life of the fort. In referring to Fort Loudoun, Demere wrote that the palisades should last six years instead of the previous estimate of three or four, since the trees were cut before the sap was up.⁷ Every commander had his own ideas about where the swivel guns should be placed, how the buildings were to be situated, how repairs should be made to the bridge, the gates, and similar structural items. The workmen who did the building and the repairs had to be entertained, drummers being hired at seven shillings six pence per day to beat the drum for them.⁸ There is continual reference to a draw bridge being needed, but the soldiers apparently could not make one, and a skilled carpenter was never sent up to do it. Even so, a letter from Lachlan Shaw to Lyttelton listed items needed at the fort, these including "a small barrel of nails 8d, 10d, and 20d," and "two stout chains for a drawbridge." However, there is no evidence that a drawbridge to the fort was ever made.

³ BPRO

⁴ South Carolina Indian Affairs Documents (SCIAD), 1754-1765, p. 135.

⁵ BPRO, Vol 27, p. 312.

⁶ SCIAD, 1754-1765, p. 135.

⁷ SCIAD, 1754-1765, p. 347

⁸ SCIAD, 1754-1765 p. 176.

In 1757 a massive rebuilding of the fort took place at the instigation of the then commander, Lachlan Shaw. In a letter to Lyttelton dated 19 October, 1757, Shaw gave one of our best descriptions of the fort:

".....The large stockades have been planted above ten days, and the Lynings will be finished in two days. I have a very strong gate framed ready to put up tomorrow, and think it intirely unnecessary to have a Draw Bridge as I will make the gate the strongest part of the fort besides I had not people proper to make a Draw Bridge. However, if yr. Excalencie thinks it absolutely necessary it may be done yet when Carpenters and proper materials arive here. I have been very hardly put to it for Rum for without Rum there could be no worke I was obliged at last to give them what I had for my own use for ther is nothing arrived of what the Commissary sent from Charles Town, either Rum, tools, or materials.....The following is description of the fort when finished: The whole works stocaded with large puncheons 16 foot long four foot in the ground and 8 foot above the parapet which covers the inside of the fort intirely from the Neighboring Hills the crevices between the stocades covered with smaller pieces of wood made fitting for them and nail'd to the stocades with large Iron Spickes, the loop holes in the Courtains [curtains] and faces of the Bastions in every Sise [six] feet and in the Shoulders of the Bastions in every three foot....Four Swivels mounted on four large oak trees [posts] in the middle of the four Bastions, the Swivels raised two foot above the top of the Stokades so that they can bear upon anything that is without the fort and within ther Reach even to the bottom of the ditches along the Courtains. Scaffolds 12 feet square erected on four strong suporters Round the Swivel Stockes for the men that works the Swivel and a Centurie [sentry] to stand upon. Two Swivels on Iron Carriages placed oposite to the Gates.....The Gates will be made very strong with two inch plank doubled and Strong oak Stands and Stiles, with a stage inside for a Centurie..."⁹

Nearly a year later the fort had a new commander, Lachlan Mackintosh. He, too, made reports to Governor Lyttelton concerning the status of Fort Prince George. On August 21, 1758, he wrote:

".....We are at a great loss for Barracks to house the men for the old Command had no other than little Hutts they had build for themselves. I have given (them) [some newly arrived troops]---?-- of these little houses and two tents I had here, and crowded our own people with the restI intend with your Excellency's consent to build a long Barrack on Each side of the fort that may contain the the command, but these houses cannot be Build but slightly by Reason we have Neither Horses nor Waggons to carry us Home Timmer [timber] and therefore we must build them of Clapboards and in the light manner as the men must carry home the wood....."¹⁰

⁹ Lyttelton Papers, Clements Library, The University of Michigan.

¹⁰ Lyttelton Papers.

Then, less than a month later, Mackintosh writes again to Lyttelton, on 18 September, 1758:

.".... I have ...build two log Houses, one on Each side of the fort Each House divided into three rooms and Every rooms holds well ten men so that both Houses Holds Sixty Men and a House at each End of the Fort Holds Twenty Men Each I have been obliged to buy from the Traders here a great Quantity of Nails for the Houses I have sunk the well 12 feet deeper than it was and now have good water. What we want now Most of all is a Magazine and that we cannot build without a Waggon to carry us home Stone as Clay...."11

Then, on 16 October, Mackintosh informed Lyttelton that

"I have the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency that at last I have got a good Strong Magazine build the length of it is 15 feet the Breadth 6 1/2 feet the walls 18 inches thick and cover't all over with Large Sclat [slate] with a Double Doors and two locks...."12

On 9 April, 1759, a new commander arrived, one Lt. Richard Coytmore, who was to die there a few months later in the opening phase of the Cherokee War. Coytmore's letter to the Governor stated that "I found this fort in good repair and Barracks within it lately built by Ens. Mackintosh Sufficient for the command; a good magazine, a well, and centry [sentry] boxes, also the Provisions, Ammunition, and (ass't'd?) Presents & I gave Ens. Mackintosh Receipt for them."13 However, Coytmore decided to lower the position of the swivel guns, and on August 3, 1759, wrote that "as the swivel guns are mounted so high above the stockades as to be of very little service if required I am going to put them on carriages and make a small platform in every Bastion." Provisions at Fort Prince George seemed always to be in short supply, as witness a letter from Coytmore on 17 May, 1759:

"I shall write [of the provisions] now in this Fort as we have but three weeks of Meat kind here I am now according to their desire building a storehouse which hope will soon be completed."14

Among the list of items received by Coytmore from Mackintosh were six swivel guns with two iron carriages, twelve brick layer's trowels, a whipsaw, handsaws, crosscut saws, broad axes, adz, four chains for a drawbridge, two bags of nails, and eighty spikes.

II

On November 21, 1759, Coytmore wrote to Lyttelton "I intend tomorrow to pull down all the houses without the fort, and everyone to lie within, which though attended with many inconveniences I am obliged to guard against the worst." The bad feelings between the British and the Cherokees were heating up, and it was directly affecting the situation at the fort. In January, 1760, Coytmore again issued an order to pull down any remaining houses outside the fort to be used for firewood. Then, on January 28, as white knuckle time approached, he ordered spikes to be driven into the tops of the pickets. The

11 Lyttleton Papers

12 Lyttleton Papers

13 Lyttleton Papers

14 Lyttleton Papers

weather had deteriorated, the rains came down in torrents, and at the end of January the well collapsed, causing a water crisis.

On the 16th of February, 1760, Coytmore, Bell, and Daugherty were ambushed by Oconostota at the river's edge, and Coytmore was fatally wounded. Lyttelton's Cherokee hostages were then put to death, and one soldier was killed in the fray. (See "The Fort Prince George Hostages," p. 61).

The garrison was now under siege, and ventured out of the fort at their peril. On February 21 the two remaining officers in the fort, Miln and Bell, wrote to Lyttelton that they may have to pull down the barracks for firewood. On the 22nd the Indians started firing again from the hills, putting holes in the roofs of the barracks and the store door. Then, on February 25, Lieutenant Richard Coytmore died of his chest wound.

Three days later, Miln wrote to Lyttelton:

"I have taken all the loose boards I could find about the fort and made blinds to shelter the sentries and men as they walk the curtain lines..... not having a port hole [through which to fire the cannons at Keowee Town] I took a proper observation on every bastion and found at the corner of one it would answer."¹⁵

III

The summer passed, and the siege continued sporadically. In September, 1760, a soldier stationed at the fort got a letter though to someone in Charles Town, and the letter was published in the Gazette:

"....we should not have been reduced as we now are to nearly as wretched a situation as the garrison at Fort Loudoun, to subsist on a scant allowance of horse flesh and sour flour.....whereas now invited by the fine fields around us, & convinced there is no force to give them check, all theIndians are come down to the Lower Towns, having actually blockaded and pent us up like a parcel of cattle for the slaughter... [unless help has been sent] I may bid you and my friends an Eternal Adieu....As I came hither to serve my king and Country, which I am conscious of having faithfully done so; if it is my lot to die by inches here, I shall only regret that I can serve them no longer....For God's sake! What are they about? Have they no compassion for us, for themselves, or for their posterity?...Oh, my Country!....Mr. Milne, our commanding officer seems resolved to defend [the post] to the last extremity or perish with it."¹⁶

Montgomery's army came and went, leaving the situation no better than it was before. Then, in the spring of 1761, another army, commanded by Col. James Grant, was on its way. Grant brought a great many wagons of supplies and provisions, and many soldiers - along with a determination that the Cherokees would, this time, be punished severely. Leaving 150 wagons at Fort Prince George was necessary, since they could not be taken into the mountains. Thus, Grant caused to be built on the north side of the fort a sort of "corral" for these wagons. Major Alexander Money Penny, an officer on the Grant

¹⁵ SCIAD 1754-1765, p. 503.

¹⁶ South Carolina Gazette, September 20-27, 1760.

expedition, left an account of this "wagon cover" in his journal, a portion of which is presented in the appendix of this report.

IV

Grant virtually rebuilt Fort Prince George during his stay there. The papers of Henry Laurens, a soldier on the expedition, records that all new barracks, new store houses, and a new "stone well" were among the structures built (see excerpts from Laurens Papers in the appendix). It seems rather certain that it was at this time that the stone-lined cellar house was built (discussed later). After the end of the Cherokee War there is a decided absence of specific data concerning the physical layout of the fort. We know that the fort was re-stockaded every four years during its entire life, that being the apparent life of the pine ("lightwood") pickets. Oddly enough, no post molds were visible at the excavated surface of the palisade trench. A section cut through one place in the trench did show a post mold in vertical section, however.

After the garrison was withdrawn in 1768 there is virtually no information about the fort, although William Bartram, writing in 1776, tells of his visit to the site, and notes that the trading post there no longer bears any resemblance to a fort. After the Revolutionary War the site was appropriated for cultivation, and remained so until the mid 1960s, when it was purchased by Duke Power Company for inclusion in the lake called *Keowee*.

A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT FORT PRINCE GEORGE IN THE YEARS 1967 AND 1968.

The work of excavation at the presumed site of Fort Prince George began late in 1966. Local tradition placed the site of the fort in the bottomland of the Keowee River, virtually touching part of the road which crossed the river at Nimmons Bridge. Based on this traditional location John Combes put down his first test trenches, coming down squarely on the moat ditch which adjoined the northeastern bastion of the fort. The mottled soil of the moat fill contrasted well with the surrounding sterile soil. Just beside the moat ditch was another ditch, also with contrasting fill, which turned out to be the palisade trench. Thus, it was simple matter to follow this trench to get a complete outline of the fort. All of this was done by Combes in a minimal time span. Since the field where the fort lay had been under cultivation for nearly two hundred years, and was subject to periodic flooding of the Keowee River, the top soil was quite deep. The palisade ditch was not excavated except for two small sections. It was exposed simply to outline the fort. However, the area where the moat ditch was first found was completely excavated.

The nature and time period of the structure became evident when mid-eighteenth century artifacts began to appear in the excavations. Then, however, the winter of 1966-67 was at hand, and work was suspended until the following Spring of 1967. At that time, Combes was able to obtain a number of youths from the Economic Opportunity Program, and these helped him at the site through July of that year. This help, of course, was primarily in moving the vast amount of overburden soil from portions of the fort interior.

The work done that Spring of 1967 consisted of sectioning the outer ditch (the "moat") in two places (one on the west, one on the east), utilizing a motor grader to remove the topmost six or seven inches of soil from the fort area, and in the discovery and initial excavation of the well, which lay almost in the center of the fort. This initial excavation of the well took it down eight feet (which, of course, was not near the bottom of the well). During the winter, when excavations were suspended, Combes had set students to searching the literature for any information which would prove helpful in interpreting the results of the digging.

I went to work at the site in August, 1967, and at time the three of us were the crew (Combes, his field assistant, Don Robertson, and me). From time to time other volunteers worked with us, and at a later date students from the University of South Carolina came up to assist. We began work in August by removal of the remaining portion of the plow zone from the western-most ten feet of the fort, working against the inner edge of the palisade ditch and moving eastward. The excavation units were ten foot squares. Even though the motor grader had removed perhaps six or seven inches of plow zone soil, there remained perhaps another six or so inches to be removed by hand. As the squares were dug we removed the soil to the huge backdirt pile on the south side of the fort, well outside the moat ditch. We did not screen this dirt (topsoil), for time would not permit it. Any excavated features were screened, of course, though with a half inch screen.

As work progressed features began to appear as we got down to undisturbed earth. As it turned out, these first features were post-molds, with their excavations, for the west barracks. Every post set in the ground was inserted by first digging a larger hole, then placing the post in the hole against an edge. The dirt was then packed around the post. Thus, every post-mold was found inside a larger feature.

Work progressed from the southwestern corner of the fort (at first not including the southwest bastion) eastward. August and September of 1967 passed, and October was upon us. By then we had removed the plow zone from about half the fort. It was then, just to the east of the gate (which was on the south side of the fort, in the center of the southern curtain) that we found a large area of rock. What appeared at first to be just a pile of rock, after more dirt removal, assumed the shape of a nearly square house. There were neatly laid out rock walls on the periphery, but within these walls there was a jumble of rock.

Exposing, drawing and photographing this rock feature consumed much time. It seemed evident that what we had was a stone lined cellar, one that had been filled up with a great many randomly tossed in rocks. Our conjecture then, and finally, was that some early occupier of the post-fort site had tossed in a great many of the chimney rocks which no doubt were found after the buildings were destroyed. Before the entire area of the inner fort was dug we decided to remove the loose rock from the cellar. We started in the northwest corner and began pulling rocks and hauling them via wheelbarrow to the side of the road on the north side of the fort. We made good progress, with five men working. In about two hours I noticed my son Philip walking back from the roadside carrying a rather large rock in his arms. It was inscribed with a date, 1761, the only such rock we were to find on the entire site. It had been dumped beside the road so that when the sun shone obliquely on its inscribed face the date stood out. We had not been looking for such a rock, and thus missed it when it was removed from the cellar. Also, in fainter inscription below the 1761 date were the initials H S, and the date 1770. After this we went back to the roadside and examined every rock that had been pulled, and all others we pulled later. No further inscriptions of any kind were found. All of the rocks we had pulled thus far came from the northwest corner of the cellar, and thus this is where the 1761 rock was located. (See Figures 26 and 27 for details and dimensions).

The clearing of the rocks from the cellar now proceeded with much back-breaking work, and in this we were assisted at times by the crew of students from the University of South Carolina. The work took four consecutive weekends to accomplish, but finally all the rocks were out, leaving, of course, the neatly laid rock walls. Remaining on the cellar floor was about a foot of dirt which had sifted down through the interstices of the many rocks.

By now the rainy season was upon us, as was the chill of the coming winter. On one occasion we built a plastic tent over the cellar and proceeded, in a driving rain, to remove the dirt from the cellar. Of course, every inch was troweled, and most of it sifted. As we got to the bottom of the cellar I got the distinct impression that the house had burned, for charred plank remains seemed to lie ever so lightly on the dirt floor, crumbling at the slightest touch. These charred stains ran north and south on the floor. A great many nails, parts of muskets, and other iron blob type artifacts turned up. A fine sledge hammer was found, but was left in situ too long, and some yahoo stole it. The site, being on the main thoroughfare, was visited on several occasions by vandals and pothunters. This sledge was never drawn or photographed. Other artifacts found in the cellar included an iron hatchet and a green-stone pipe of Indian manufacture (it was later stolen from the site lab, which was in the nearby Few house). Sherds of a large clay vessel of Indian make were also found, the paste of this pot being very coarse and sandy, and almost white.

After the excavation of the cellar we got back to the job of removing the plow zone with shovels. Post molds were showing up regularly, each having its own larger excavation hole. At this time there was no discernible pattern to the post-molds. Then, one bright, crisp morning, after the molds had had time to age a bit, John Combes and I were

standing there just looking at the mass of post-molds, when suddenly two buildings jumped out at us! These were the west barracks and the small building on the left of the entrance gates.

As we continued to shovel out the plow zone nails, crockery, musket balls of Indian trade caliber as well as Brown Bess ones, buttons, kaolin pipe fragments, and other such material showed up in the dirt.

As we excavated a large area around the well we kept looking for anything which might offer a clue as to the type of superstructure for the well. However, we found no post-molds, rocks, or anything else which might answer the question. We did, however, find out that a beautiful rock lining had been inserted into the well. A large hole had been dug around the place where the well was located, the rock lining built as a free standing wall, and then the outside of the lining filled back in with dirt (Figure 17).

We also found, on the south side of the well, a grating made of iron bars (see drawing). At the time we had no idea what this could have been, but as we continued to remove the overburden soil it became apparent that a square wooden pipe ran from the "moat," under the gates, up to this grill. Its obvious use was for disposal of excess water, either from the well itself or as a drain for the central part of the fort. The pipe itself was ten inches square (outside measurement), and was made of two inch thick plank. The pipe had filled up with sand, and there was evidence that there had been an earlier pipe which also emptied into the moat.

The shape of the bastions of the fort offered a surprise, because the actual shapes differed rather drastically from certain historical accounts. Some nineteenth century historians called the bastions *square*, when in reality they were diamond shaped. In 1758 a letter to Governor Lyttelton gave a detailed description of the swivel gun mounts in each bastion. Our excavation findings in the northwest bastion corresponded amazingly well with this description, even to the depth of central gun mount post. There was a 12 foot square platform mounted on four support posts, mounted high enough when first built so that the guns could fire over the pickets. This central post was 12 inches in diameter, and was planted four feet in the ground.

The southwestern bastion was unique in one respect, for at its entrance was found the first human burial. Our considered opinion was, and mine still is, that this was the grave of Lt. Richard Coytmore, the fort commander who was ambushed at riverside on February 16, 1760 by Oconostota. Coytmore died on the 25th February. There were no grave goods of any kind with the burial, not even any buttons. There was no evidence of any coffin, no nails, nothing. Yet, the body was laid out ever so neatly, with the hands folded across the lower abdomen. The man was a tall one, for the grave measured six and a half feet long, and the corpse still had to be pressed into it. My own examination showed no shovel-shaped incisors, though a hole-digging varmint of the four legged variety made off with these incisors before the bones were removed from the ground. Placing a body in a walkway was a standard method of keeping an opponent from finding it - in this case, Cherokee Indians. The second burial cache was found just to the right of the gate, between the rock cellar and the south curtain. The skeletons were incomplete, but it was obvious that there were three individuals in the same grave, all seemingly tossed in with little care. My personal opinion is that these were three of the hostages who were killed by Coytmore's soldiers after the February 16, 1760, ambush by Oconostota. Since no other mass grave was found within the fort, I feel that these had to be associated with the hostages. The only building which was not in the fort on that day (16 February) was the rock cellar building. My opinion is that the hostages were all buried there beside the gate, inside the fort, and later removed to another location outside the fort. The mass grave of

eleven people (fourteen hostages, less the three found) became the cellar for the new house. The three graves found just beside the cellar were simply missed when the others were exhumed. This, of course, is my own conjecture, but it fits the evidence.

The southwestern bastion was unique in another way: there were several grave-sized rectangular holes in the ground, and before excavation they looked exactly like burials. Yet, when they were excavated there was nothing in any of them. No bones, not one tooth. The sides of the holes were militarily vertical, the corners square. Just to make sure that one could hold a body I climbed into one and stretched out. I fit! My own opinion is that these were graves dug to be used, but never were occupied, and were backfilled. If bodies had been removed from them there is little likelihood that the walls and corners would have been so perfect.

The area between the northern end of the western barracks and the entrance to the northwestern bastion was singularly free of features. No posts, no pits, no intrusive anomaly. We therefore used "negative" logic to place the stone powder magazine there. According to the description given in the Lyttelton papers the magazine was made of stone, with little dug-in footing. The fort was so full of other structures there simply was nowhere else in the fort for the magazine to be located!

The building against the northern curtain wall posed some interpretation problems as to its uses. The eastern end of the building had a large stone chimney, for the base of it was still in place. During excavation of this building much food bone and many kitchen-type artifacts were found, and we therefore dubbed it the "mess hall." Incidentally, some of the post-molds for this building were composed simply of wood powder, no dirt intermixed in it. As we excavated in front of this building we came across three enigmatic post-molds (set in their usual post excavations). Their unusual symmetrical placement (see drawing) caused us to interpret them as flag poles. There was simply no other logical answer. [Please note that the official map of the site (in this report) does not place these posts nearly as symmetrical as my own measurements indicate that they were. I was very careful in measuring these, and I stand by my measurements].

There is documentation (see letter quotations from various sources included in this report) that before the barrack buildings which were found archaeologically were made the men of the garrison had to provide their own housing, generally little huts. Numerous ill-defined stains found around the fort may have been associated with these small huts.

The gate to the fort was in the center of the south curtain, and was, in the 1758 rebuilding, "made the strongest part of the fort." It is described as having "strong stands and stiles," with the gate itself being made of "two inch plank, doubled." By my measurements the gate was about nine feet wide - much too wide for a single gate; therefore, there were surely two 4 1/2 foot doors. Several instances in the literature refer to "the gates," not just "the gate." I have never found any reference to a sally port anywhere, nor was there any indication archaeologically. I found the remains of a sizable fire in front of the gates, which appeared to have been just that - a fire to keep a sentry warm! They had burned old wood full of nails, for the nails were still there, in quantity.

The last building in the fort we excavated was the east barracks, and it was the most perplexing of all. Post molds kept showing up, seemingly without end. The building stretched almost the entire depth of the fort - 80 feet! It was hard to believe they had made a building that size, but there it was. Years later, I read in the journal of Money Penny a description of just such a building, which was built by Grant on the northern side of the fort during his 1761 expedition (see his description in this report).

When the excavation for this east barracks was complete we noted that a large, irregular feature had preceded the barracks in the ground, for one of the barracks post-molds went down through the feature. When we at last excavated this feature we found, as Winston Churchill said of the USSR, a mystery wrapped in an enigma. There were a number of squarish black features in the bottom of it, at the northern end. I took a sample of this black material, and a couple of years later had Dr. Charles Melton, a research chemist at the University of Georgia, to run a sample in his mass spectrograph. The predominant elements were nitrogen, oxygen, sulfur, and carbon. This pointed to one conclusion: this had been black gun powder, apparently stored in a dug-out depression, or hole. We therefore interpreted this feature as an early powder magazine. We removed only one square of this material, which rested on a rounded bottom. All the rest were left in situ, and were drowned in the lake which now covers the site.

In Chapman J. Milling's book, *Red Carolinians*, there is a photograph of a tree which he calls an English mulberry, and he says that it was traditionally associated with the treaty which ended the Cherokee War of 1759-1761. This tree was hit by lightning several years before the fort excavations were begun, and the farmer who tilled the soil dug out the stump and leveled the area. However, a number of the radiating roots of the tree were still in place, and it was easy enough to identify the exact spot where the tree stood. The tree was in a very narrow space between the back side of the east barracks and the east curtain. The roots intruded into the palisade ditch and into the early powder magazine. Couple these facts with the fact that during the terrible privations of the 1759-1760 winter when they were burning planks from houses for firewood, it seems most unlikely that this tree could have been here during the time of the fort's existence. The inescapable conclusion is that the tree story is spurious, with no basis in fact.

Several large trash or garbage pits were found in the fort, the contents of which mostly were food bone. These were carefully excavated in the last days of the dig, but to my knowledge they were never analyzed.

A valiant effort was made to deepen the excavation of the well, which was initially taken down about 8 feet (see drawing of the well). A hand operated winch and a bucket were obtained, and my son, Mark Williams, was lowered into the well. This dangerous operation was finally terminated when water began coming into the well faster than it could be hauled out. The well had been filled with rock, and the walls were of well-laid rock. We never did reach the bottom of the well. This well was built by Grant in his 1761 rebuilding of the fort. In January, 1760, the old well, which apparently did not have rock-shored walls, collapsed from excessive amounts of rainfall.

The sterile soil at Fort Prince George was of a yellowish, sandy, generally uniform texture. The post excavations, the palisade trench, the moat ditch, and other features were very easy to see because of the invariable mottling of the fill dirt with black, gray, yellow, and reddish inclusions. The very sandy nature of the soil has been remarked upon a number of times by those who repaired the fort, with comments that the soil simply would not bind because it was so sandy. Near the end of the project a back hoe cut through the moat at the northwest bastion revealed that this sandy nature went down over seven feet, and was still going (and at this seven foot depth I found lodged in the cut wall a worked piece of flint!). There were giants in those days - well, giants of ignorance, because I was down inside at a seven foot depth and a single blade width back hoe cut, with unshored sand walls.

All artifacts were located in the site grid by square only. (The grid unit was ten foot square). Artifacts from features were located with reference to feature number. An artifact catalog was maintained, though conversation with John Combes indicates that he left it at

the Institute when he departed. The Institute has no knowledge of it. I do not know if a profile of the moat ditch was ever made, and there is none on file at the Institute in Columbia. The rock cellar wall was pulled out by Combes and hauled to a nearby State Park. Park managers later claimed no knowledge of these rocks.

As a sop to sentiment (my own) I prepared a "time capsule" to be placed in the fort for some future archaeologist to find. This capsule consisted of 1/8 inch brass plate soldered into a square box, four inches square, and in it were placed the following: two thick lead plates, two stainless steel plates, a plastic envelope, and two coins. Stamped with a die tool into the lead and steel plates was this message:

"This marks the site of Fort Prince George, built by the British in 1753. Excavated in 1968 by John Combes, Don Robertson, and Marshall Williams."

The coins were a 1968 nickel and a 1968 penny. I buried this capsule in the southeast bastion, on the south side of a large rock which was in the center of the bastion. I buried the capsule at a depth of about 18 inches.

The Keowee River covered the site on May 12, 1968 - Mother's Day.

DISCUSSION CONCERNING VARIOUS FACETS OF FORT CONSTRUCTION

The Buildings

Archaeological evidence of five buildings were found inside the fort. These buildings were constructed by inserting posts into the ground and using them for support for a framework. Based on the September 18, 1758, Lachlan Mackintosh letter to Governor Lyttelton we know of four buildings built by him. He indicates that he has built four buildings: "two long Houses one in each side of the fort Each House divided into three rooms and Every room holds well ten men so that both Houses Holds Sixty Men and a House at each End of the Fort Holds twenty Men..." However, we also know that in 1761 Col. James Grant, in his rebuilding of Fort Prince George, built new barracks.

Building Number 1

Whether the post-molds for the buildings found archaeologically were from the 1758 period or the 1761 period cannot be stated with certainty. However, the spacing of the posts in the west barracks (Building Number 1) certainly fits the division of the building into three rooms, as described by Mackintosh. The other buildings similarly use the three foot spacing for probable doors as well. There were no spurious post-molds to confuse the issue, so the posts fall well into place for a specific building. The illustrations on the next two pages show the spacing and configuration of this Building 1. Note that the side of the building facing the east (opening onto the "square") shows two post spacings of 3.58 feet and one of 3.16 feet. These are in the center of wider-spaced posts on each side. These are almost certainly placed for door openings. Thus, in this building, partitions placed at the fourth and seventh posts from the south end (east side) would provide three rooms of approximately equal size, 16 feet deep and 17 feet wide.

Building Number 5

The east barracks, designated Building Number 5, initially caused an interpretation problem, because as excavation proceeded no "closure" posts for the north end could be found, if the building were to mirror Building 1. (See next two pages of drawings with post-mold spacing, and an estimate of the door and partition placements). Beginning at the south end of the building, and counting northward on the west side, the posts seemed to indicate that it would be a building similar to Building 1. The doors would be 3+ feet wide, and were at the correct intervals. However, since no interior posts were found to end the building at the 52 foot mark, excavation northward proceeded until, at last, the exterior closure posts were found 29 feet past the earlier postulated end of the building. This gave a total length for the building of about 80 feet, and left only about eleven or twelve feet between the ends of the building and the curtains, and about ten feet to the inner edge of the curtain ditch.

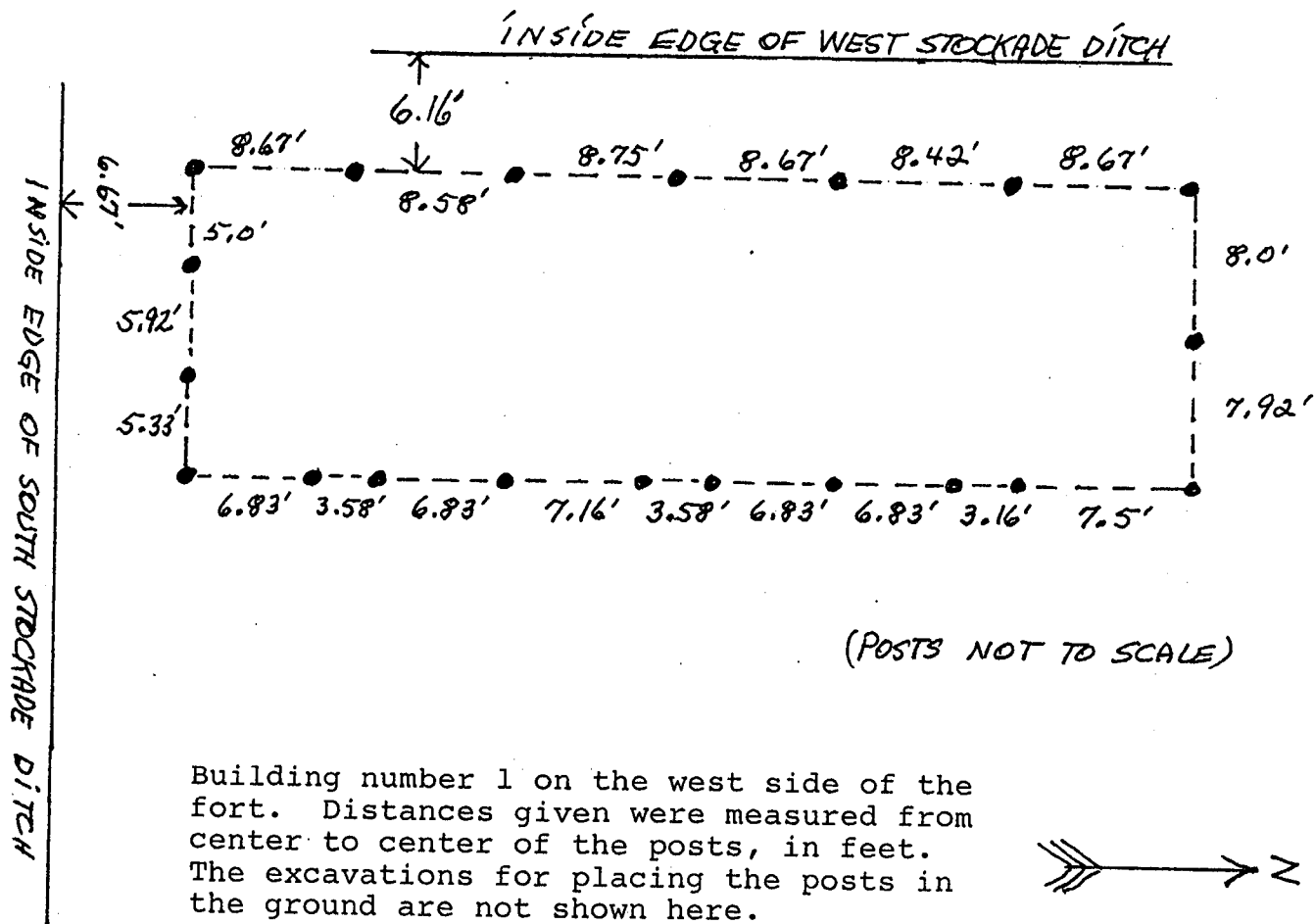
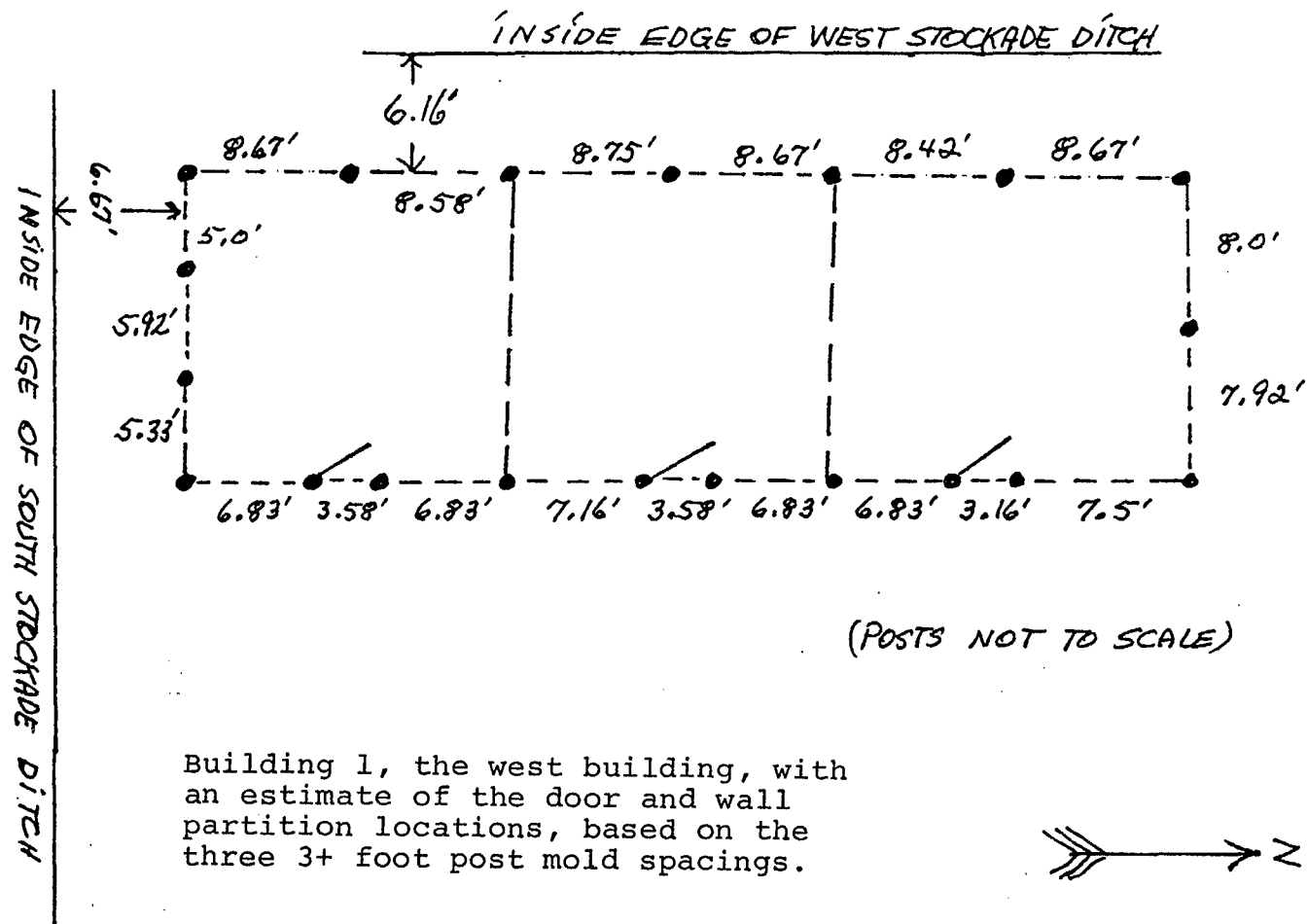


Figure 1.

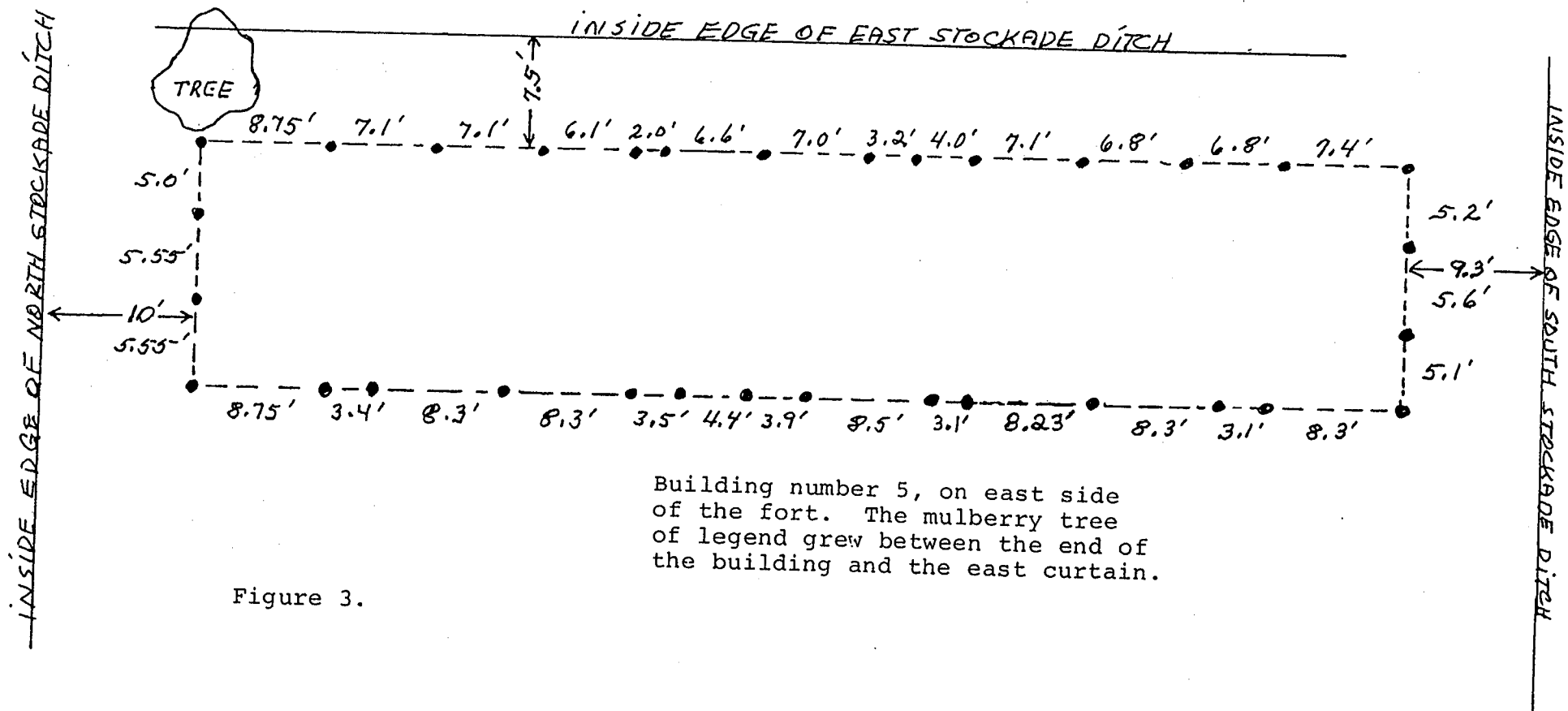
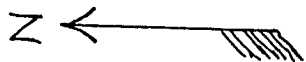
SCALE: 1 INCH = 10 FEET



Building 1, the west building, with an estimate of the door and wall partition locations, based on the three 3+ foot post mold spacings.

Figure 2.

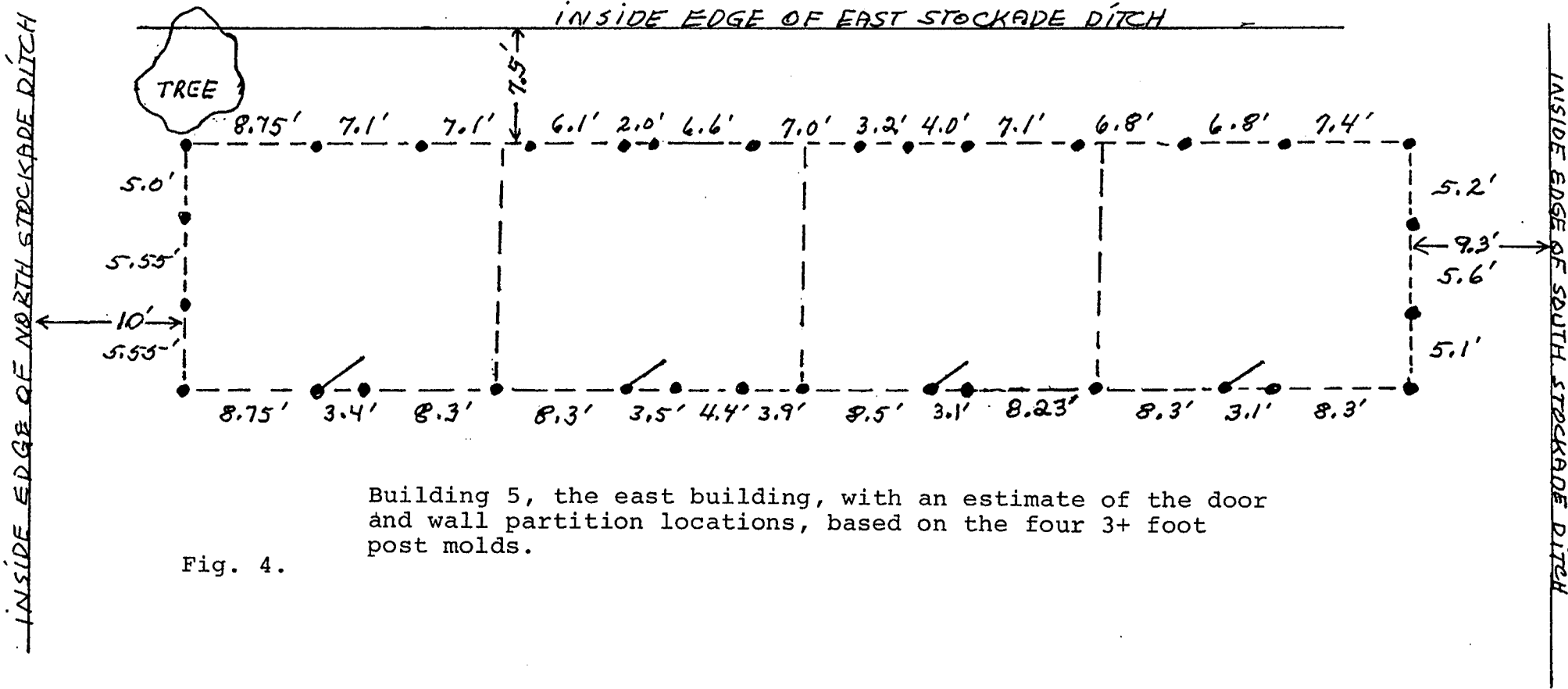
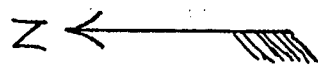
Scale: 1 INCH = 10 FEET
(POSTS NOT TO SCALE.)



Building number 5, on east side of the fort. The mulberry tree of legend grew between the end of the building and the east curtain.

Figure 3.

Scale: 1 INCH = 10 FEET
 (POSTS NOT TO SCALE.)



Building 5, the east building, with an estimate of the door and wall partition locations, based on the four 3+ foot post molds.

Fig. 4.

Building Number 4

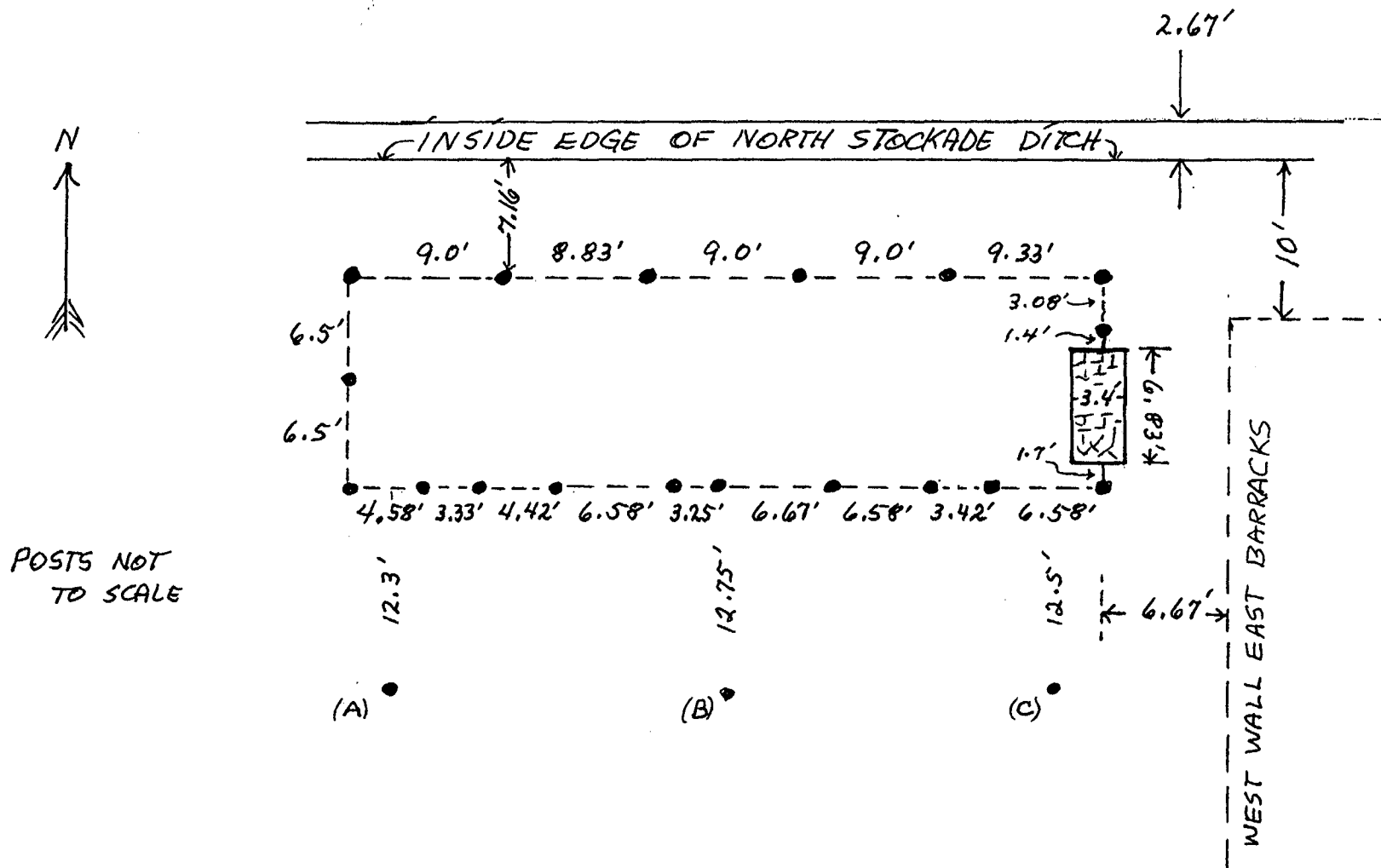
The "house at each end of the fort" mentioned in Mackintosh's 1758 letter to Lyttelton, without doubt refers to buildings at the north and south side of the fort. Building Number 4, the north building, may have served as an officer's quarters and as post headquarters, since what we think are flag poles were mounted in front of the building. These three post-molds, smaller than the usual building posts, were mounted about 12 feet in front of the building, regularly spaced. A goodly number of what appeared to be kitchen artifacts were found during the excavation of this structure, which at the time caused it to be dubbed the "mess hall." And of course, this could have been true at some time or other. At the east end of the house the base to a large chimney was still in place, though offset from the center of the end. We conjectured that the reason for this was so that a door could be beside the fireplace for the purpose of bringing in firewood. (This feature is often seen in early 19th century houses).

Building Number 3

Mackintosh also indicated that he had placed a house at the south end of the fort which would hold twenty men, though no such structure was found. Instead, there was the small house designated Number 3, and the one with the rock cellar, designated Number 2. The path from the gate ran up between these two structures. It is certainly possible that house 3 is the western end of an earlier structure, and that the rock cellar house occupied what was the east end of the house. Building 4, the north building, was 45 feet long. The 19.25 foot cellar house, the 9 foot pathway between buildings 2 and 3, and the 16.9 foot building 3 all together total 45 feet - the same as house 4. Again, there was a 3+ foot pair of post-molds on the side of building 3 which, if a door, opened onto the fort "square." See Figure 7 for the distances between the post-molds for this building.

Building Number 2

I have mentioned in the previous chapter concerning my recollections of the excavations that this building was no doubt built by Col. James Grant in 1761, and that the cellar space was probably occupied previously by the missing eleven bodies of the slain Indian hostages. Whether or not the house was of rock or just the foundation is an unknown. The two offsets on the fort "square" side have been interpreted as chimney bases, though the bottom of these offsets were open, for it was in the westernmost one that we found a trade (iron) tomahawk, a greenstone Indian-make pipe, and the remains of a pewter vessel. The dated rock ("1761") was found in the northwest corner of the cellar, adjacent to this offset. A large, broken Indian manufacture vessel was found in the southeastern corner of the cellar. Many nails, iron blobs, a sledge hammer, a froe, and various gun parts were also found here. The cellar, from the top layer of the wall to the bottom of the cellar, measured 3.8 feet deep. The floor was of dirt. A cache of rocks at the southwestern corner of the cellar gave a hint that this may have been a stairway into the cellar from the floor above, though this cannot be proved. The cellar diagram is shown in Figure 8.



POSTS NOT TO SCALE

Figure 5.

Building number 4. Post excavations not shown. Distances are from post center to post center. All dimensions in feet. A, B, and C are interpreted to be flag poles.

SCALE: 1 INCH = 10 FEET

POSTS NOT TO SCALE

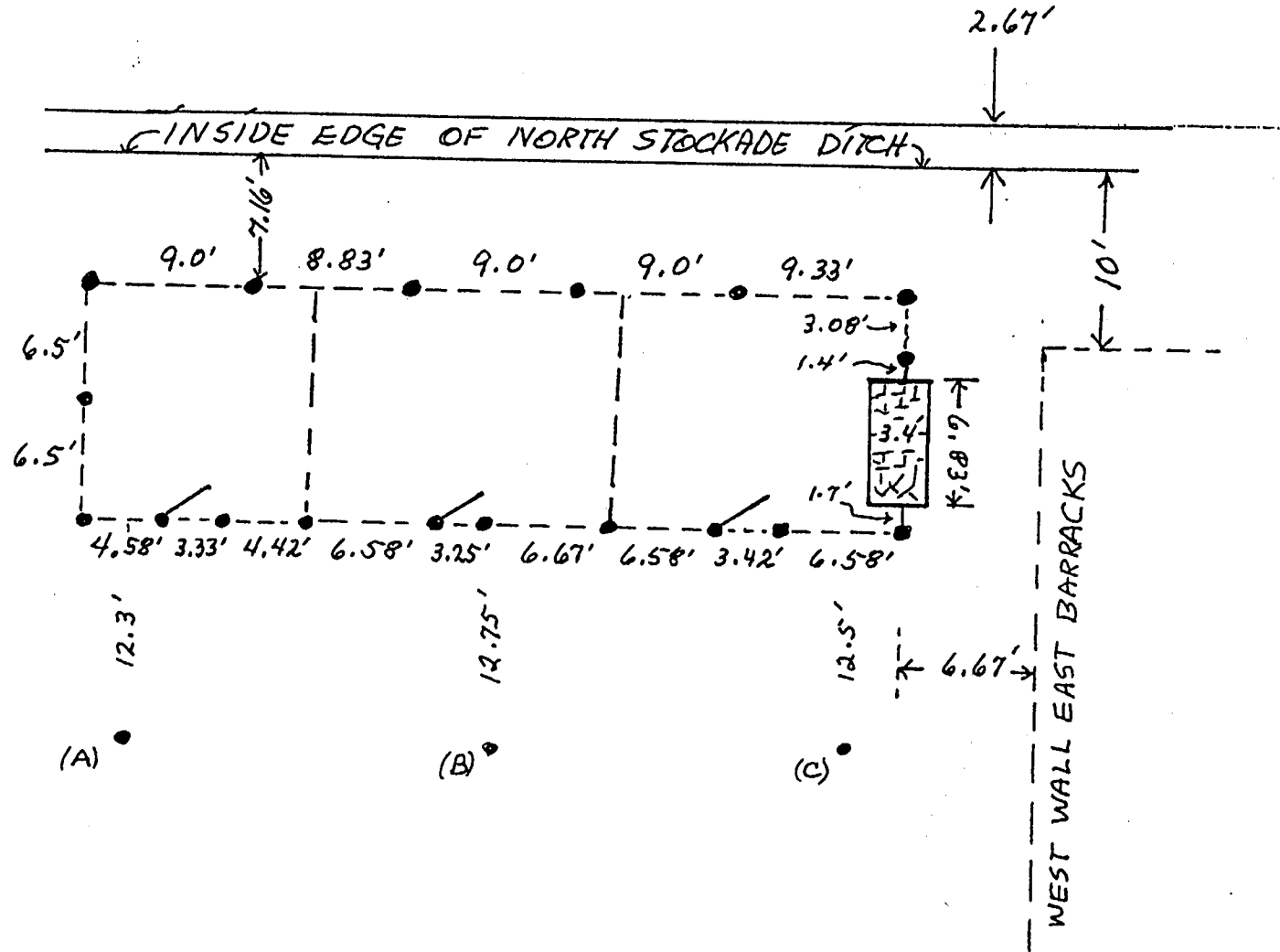
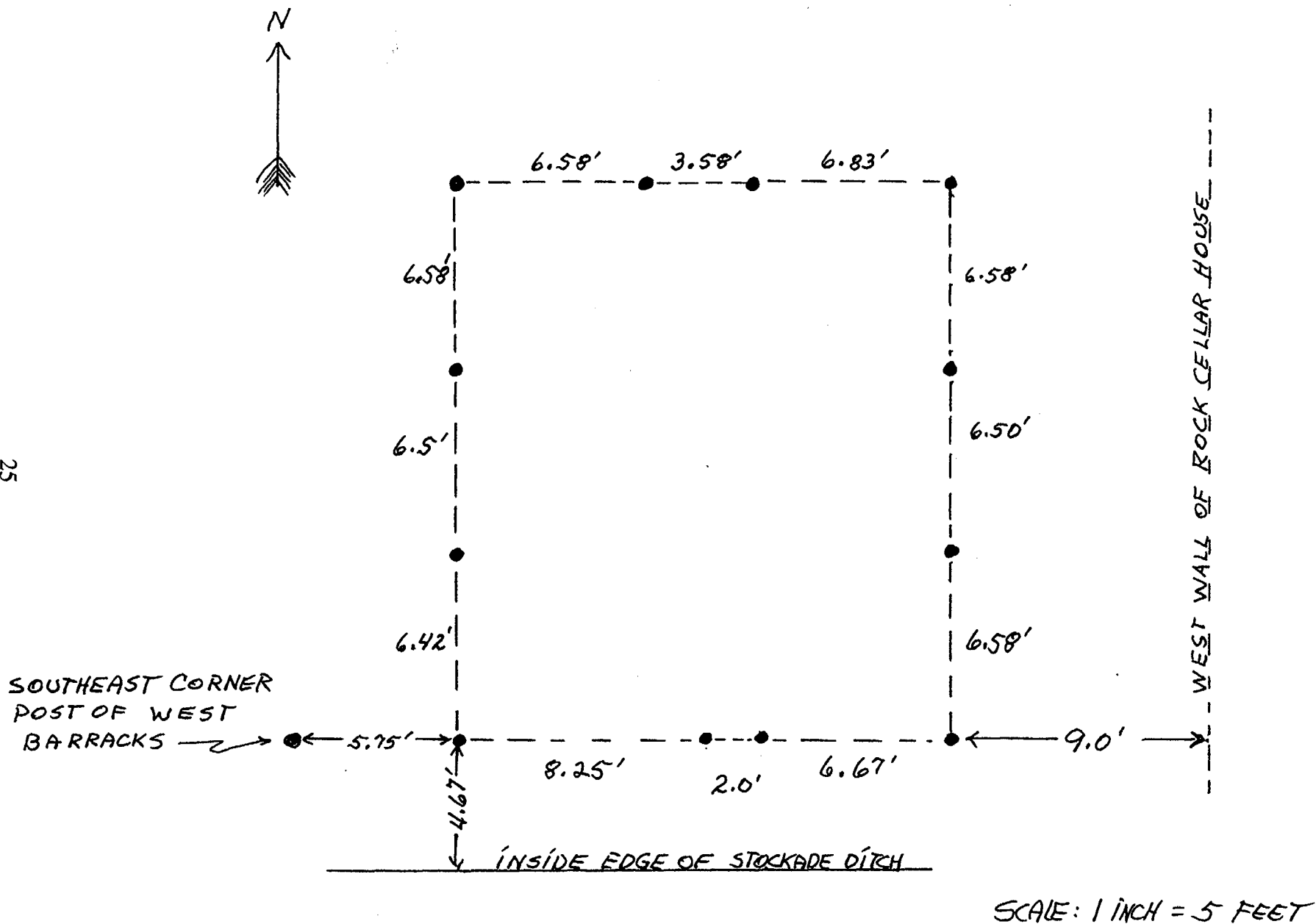


Fig. 6.

Building 4, the north building, with an estimate of the door and wall partition locations, based on the three 3+ foot post mold spacing.

SCALE: 1 INCH = 10 FEET



Building number 3. Distances measured from center to center of the posts. Post excavations not shown.

Fig. 7.

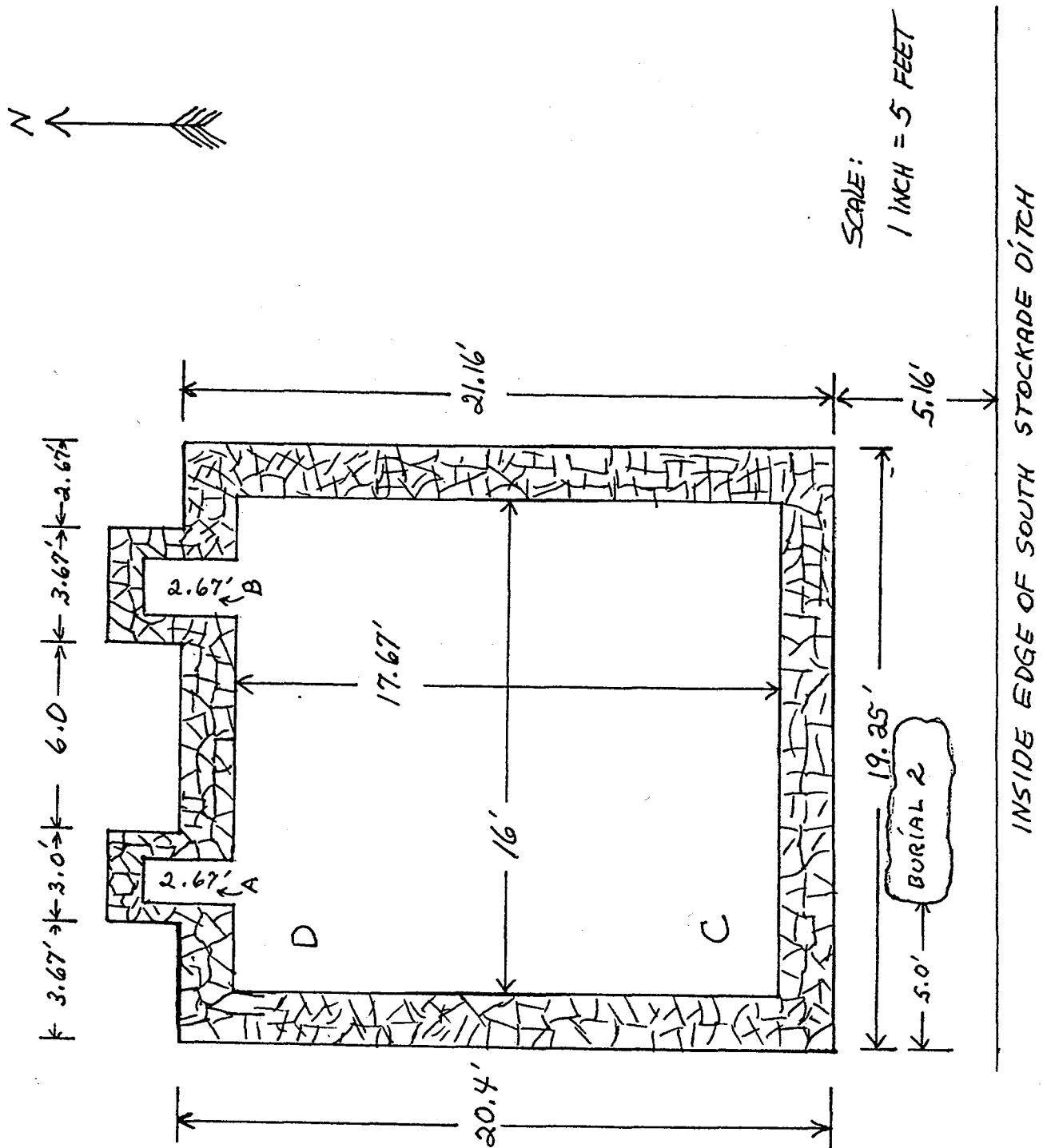


Fig. 8.

Building number 2. The lines of the rock wall are stylized, since the walls were not as straight as this; however, the dimensions are accurate. A is where a greenstone pipe and a hatchet were found, and A and B are interpreted as chimneys. D is where the rock dated 1761 was found, and C may have been where the entry into the cellar was located.

We know that Col. James Grant built all new barracks in the fort, and we are certain that he built the rock cellar house. The other structures, built upon posts inserted into the ground, may have been built by him, but they seem to fit the Mackintosh constructions better. The posts found archaeologically had not been pulled from the ground, for wood powder and in a few cases, bark, were still to be found upon excavation of some of these posts. One post for Building 5 still had the bark on it, and it appeared to be an oak post. Another post-mold, in Building 4, was still full of rotted wood. Every building had posts in perfect positions for the construction of that building, and there appeared to be no rebuilding. Thus, if the posts represent Mackintosh's structures, then Grant perhaps used stone pillars on which to mount his houses. My opinion is that the archaeologically found buildings represent the Mackintosh phase, and that Grant in 1761 built more sophisticated structures.

The Powder Magazine

I cannot give this building a number since there was no evidence of it archaeologically. Mackintosh, in his August 8, 1758, letter to the Governor, states that they keep powder in a house in the fort, along with their "Indian presents," but that it was very dangerous to do so, for fear of explosion. He wanted the governor's permission to build a proper powder magazine, and that he needed stone and clay and a strong lock for the door. By October 16 he informed the governor that he now had a good, strong powder magazine, 15 feet long, 6.5 feet deep, and walls 18 inches thick and covered with "large sclat" and with double doors and two locks. "Sclat" was his spelling for slate, but it wasn't really true slate, since none of this stone was to be found in the area. What he no doubt used was the abundant schist type rock, which did have a fairly good horizontal cleavage. As I said, there was no evidence of this structure, but the fort was so full of other buildings that there was only one place it could have been put, and that was at the north end of Building 1, which placed the magazine between that building and the entrance to the northwest bastion. No post-molds or other features were found in this spot. [It was here I placed it on the model of the fort].

The Stockade

I have used the terms stockade and palisade interchangeably, and they are used in contemporary documents in a similar manner. Both, of course, mean the wooden fence around the fort, the purpose of which is keep out intruders - and in the case of Fort Prince George, to keep in some prisoners (the Cherokee hostages). A curtain, properly, is the connecting link between two bastions, all being made of pine posts (see Figure 15). The first stockade, built in 1753 by Governor Glen, was apparently erected by placing pine posts in back-dirt from the moat ditch - which, of course, would fall down in due course with rain and wind. The parapet sub-base washed back into the ditch, and the posts would then collapse. It was said the Indian children would run back and forth across the ditch into the fort across these fallen posts. Then, in 1757, Commander Lachlan Shaw built a more substantial stockade, using 16 foot long "puncheons," as he called the upright posts. He planted each post 4 feet into the ground. There is some uncertainty about the banquette (a walkway around the inside of the curtain and bastions for the soldiers to stand on while delivering fire over the wall). This banquette structure may not have built by Shaw, but added later by Mackintosh, or even Coytmore. Shaw says that the stockade was "8 foot above the parapet." If the parapet was of dirt from the stockade trench (the posts were placed side by side in a continuous trench about 2 1/2 to 3 feet wide, 4 feet deep), then the parapet was 4 feet high inside the wall, and the banquette placed above that. Since this is not clear, in my model I simply placed the bankette high enough for a firing platform, to be reached by ladder.

Shaw then cut out smaller pieces of wood to cover the cracks in the not-perfectly-straight stockade posts, and nailed them to the posts with large spikes. He cut loopholes in the curtains and faces of the bastions, every six feet in the curtains and faces of the bastions, and every 3 feet in the shoulders of the bastions. I have presumed that these "loopholes" were cut off from the tops of the posts, rather than as actual holes in the curtain and bastions, though the latter is certainly possible.

As far as I have been able to tell, the stockade around Fort Prince George was replaced every four years during the life of the fort.

The Gate

The only real data we have on the gate, other than the archaeological data, is from the same 1757 letter by Shaw. Here he describes "the gates" (plural) as being very strong, with two inch plank doubled (making it four inches thick). He also describes making strong oak "stands and stiles" for the gate, which are supports and braces to support the gates. Since the archaeological data suggests that the gates may have been about 9.5 feet wide, then there would have been two individual gates doors, each 4.25 feet wide. If pine were used for the gates (which is probable), then each gate would have weighed about 675 pounds, more or less. To swing such gates would, indeed, take "strong stands and stiles." There was no evidence either historically or archaeologically for any other gate.

The Swivel Guns and Mounts

Shaw, too, is the authority for the gun mounts in each bastion. He is very clear about how he mounted these swivel cannon, or guns. He said that he mounted four swivels on four large oak "trees" in the middle of the four bastions, the gun support posts being raised two foot above the tops of the stockade, "so they can bear upon anything that is without the fort and within Reach even to the bottoms of the ditches along the courtainns." These "trees" were 12 inch diameter posts. The 12 foot square firing platforms were erected on four strong support posts around the swivel "tree." Mackintosh later needed "leathers" for the swivel set-up, and I really don't know what these refer to. I do know that iron bands were wanted to tie around the gun "oak tree" mounts because the wood was splitting badly. This, of course, is a fault of using oak in a weathering situation, for such splitting is a characteristic of oak. Shaw also mounted "swivels on iron carriages placed opposite to the gates." This, I assume, to blast anyone who managed to breach the gates. There was no archaeological evidence for these guns, however.

Coytmore, upon arriving to command the fort on April 9, 1759, wrote to Lyttelton that the fort was in good shape, as were Mackintosh's buildings. In a letter on August 3, however, Coytmore told Lyttelton that the swivels that Shaw mounted in the bastions were too high, and that he was going to put them on carriages and set them on a small platform in each bastion. In a situation like this, of course, he either had to cut low loopholes in the curtains, or fire them to arc over the walls in the manner of mortars. A clue to this dilemma is found on page 503 in the *Documents Relating To Indian Affairs, 1754-1765* (University of South Carolina Press), wherein Alexander Miln states that (after the Keowee River ambush on February 16, 1760) he cut a "Porthole" in the corner of a bastion so they could fire the cannon at Keowee Town (this was probably the southwest bastion).

The large swivel gun found at Chota, now located at the rebuilt Fort Loudoun, in Tennessee, was no doubt one of those brought up to that fort by John Elliott. This gun lay at Fort Prince George for a time before being carried overhills, and the ones in the bastions at Fort Prince George may have been of a similar size. A dimensional drawing of this gun is in Figure 16.

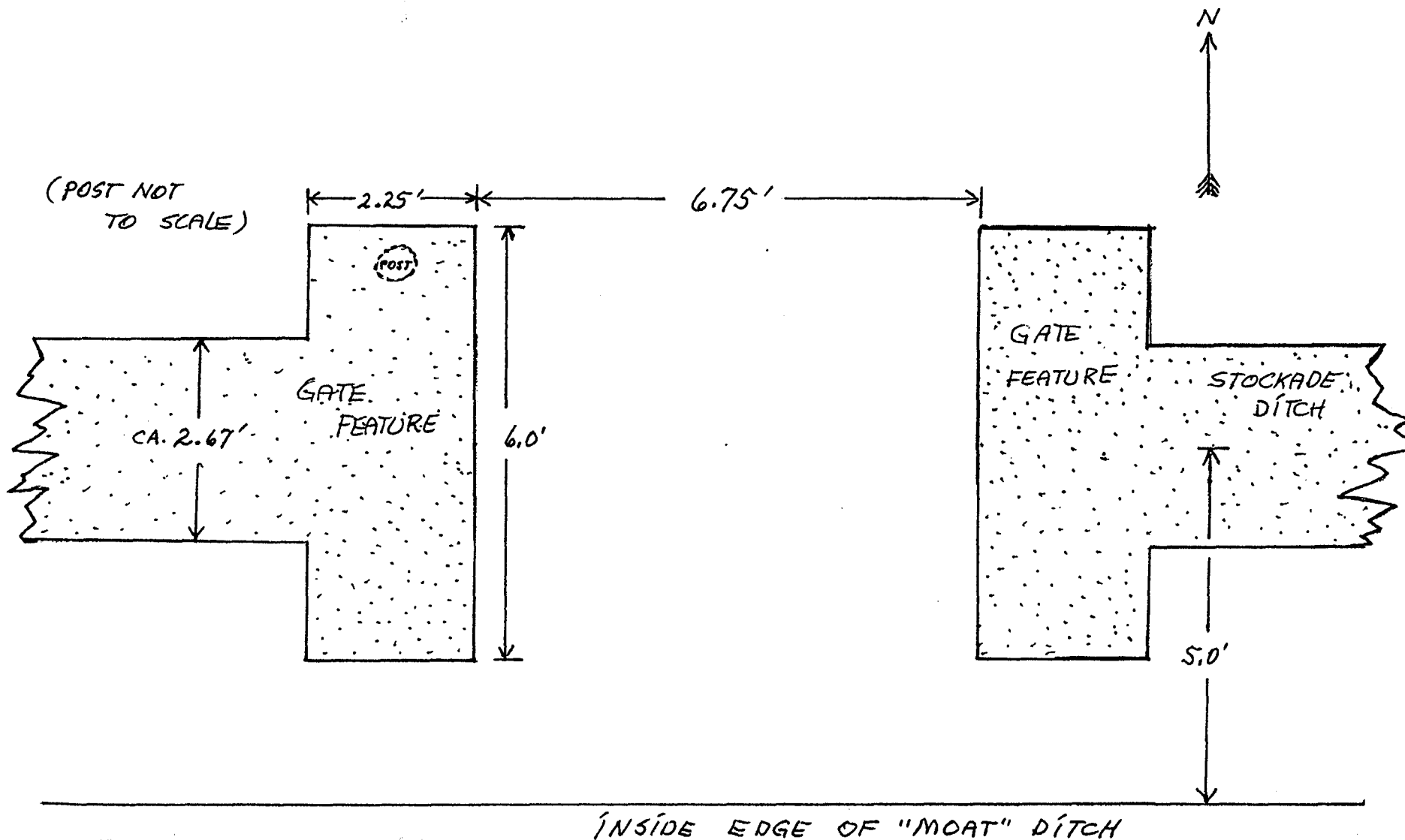
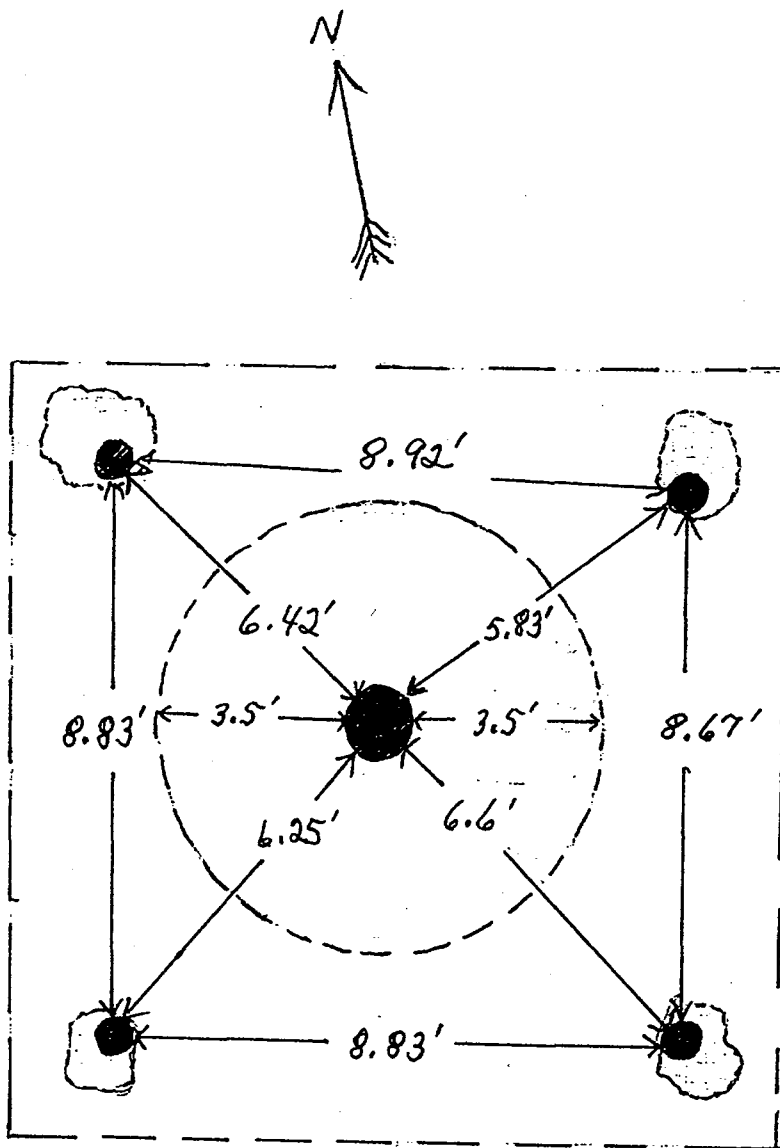


Figure 9.

The gate to the fort, situated on the South side of the fort. Lines are stylized, since originals were not as perfectly straight as this.

SCALE: 1 INCH = 2 FEET



The configuration of the gun platform in the Northwest Bastion. Distances are from center to center of post molds. The central post was twelve inches diameter, and the gun was mounted on this. The dotted circular line represents the post excavation. The outer dotted line is an estimate of the size of the gun platform, which was twelve feet square. (The approximate scale is one inch equals three feet).

Figure 10.

The Well

The well is mentioned only a few times in the contemporary material. Mackintosh mentions it in his 18 September letter to Lyttelton in 1758, that he has sunk the well 12 feet deeper, "and we now have good water." Coytmore mentions it when he took over the post in April, 1759, and again in a letter to Lyttelton dated 9 February, 1760, when he says the well fell in [on January 30] which was "occasioned by the vast rain we have had here." It is doubtful if the well walls were shored, and soil there was very sandy, not binding well. Then, in 1761, Col. James Grant, in his virtual rebuilding of the fort, made the rock-lined well which was found archaeologically. The well had, in the years after the site became a corn field, been filled with rock (as had also the moat ditch and the cellar of the rock foundation house). An effort was made to clean out the well to find its depth, but at 14 feet the project had to be abandoned because of lack of time, too much water entering, and the ever-present danger of wall collapse. The rock-lined well was left intact, and was flooded by Lake Keowee.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

**PASSAGES FROM THE LYTTTELTON PAPERS WHICH
PERTAIN TO STRUCTURE OR SIGNIFICANT EVENTS AT
FORT PRINCE GEORGE**

1. John Chevilette to Lyttelton, pays Henry Gallman for delivering "2,100 weight of iron and salt to Fort Prince George." 8/30/1756.
2. John Chevilette to Lyttelton: John and Henry Gallman delivered to FPG 5,888 pounds of Indian presents and salt, at the rate of 7 [pounds currency] per hundred weight, for a total of 412 pounds, 2s, 6d. 11/3/1756.
3. John Bogges to Lyttelton from FPG, dated 7/16/1757: wants a large pair of stillards "for the use of the publick". Need a pair to weigh 500 pounds. Also, they need "new mills to grind their corn, as the old ones are worn out."
4. Memorandum by John Bogges: They need gunpowder, balls, and musket cartridge paper to make bags for grape shot for the swivels.
5. Need "linseed oyl and paint..."
6. Need copper ladles to charge the powder [into the swivels].
7. Need matches for firing. (4 - 7 by John Bogges, who was commander at the time - July, 1757).
8. Lachlan Shaw to Lyttelton, FPG, 10/19/1757: "...I have kept them [the men] at work so constantly....that I hope the works will be finished in a very few days. The large stockades have been planted above ten days and the Lynings will be finished in two days. I have a very strong Gate framed and ready to put up tomorrow and think it entirely unnecessary to have a Draw Bridge as I will make the gate the strongest part of the fort besides I had not people proper to make a Drawbridge. However, if your excellency think it absolutely necessary it may be done yet when Carpenters and proper materials arrive here.

"I have been very hardly put to it for rum for without Rum there could be no worke I was obliged at last to give them what I had for my own use.... The following is description of the fort when finished: The whole works stocaded with large puncheons 16 foot long four foot in the ground and 8 foot above the parapet which covers the inside of the fort intirely from the neighboring hills the crevices between the stocades covered with smaller pieces of wood made fitting for them and nail'd to the stocades with large iron Spickes, the loop holes in the courtains and faces of the Bastions in every six feet and in the shoulders of the Bastions in every three foot if these be thought too few they may easilie make more if the Garison augmented. Four swivels mounted on four large oak trees in the middle of the four Bastions, the Swivels raised two foot above the tope of the Stocades so that they can bear on anything that is without the fort and within ther Reach even to the bottom of the ditches along the Courtains. Scaffolds 12 feet Square erected on four strong suporters Round the Swivel Stockes for the that works the Swivels and a Centurie [sentry] to stand upon. Two Swivels in Iron Cariages placed opposite to the

Gates. On my arrival here the guns had [neither] Aprons nor Tompkins. I had some bullets melted down for Aprons and loaded them with muskett Bullets as I have but nine round Shot for them. The Gates will be made very strong with two inch plank doubled and Strong Stands and Stiles with a Stage inside for a Centurie...."

9. Probably from Lachlan Mackintosh, 1758: "...there will be two Buckets and a Chain wanted for Draw Wells, as also two Carpenters from the Inhabitants to make a Draw Bridge as there is no Carpenter here, nor none sent down from Ft. Loudoun."

10. 26 May, 1758, Ensign Lachlan Mackintosh to Lyttelton: (Summary) He says that iron at FPG is very much needed for the swivel stocks and several other uses at the fort.

11. Mackintosh to L., 7/2/ 1758: William Asplin has deserted, and he is afraid more will follow, "few will like to stay in this remote part of the world..."

12. Same letter: Says that one half of the garrison at FPG is "superannuated old men and not fitt..."

13. August 1, 1758, Mackintosh to L., "This fort at Present is in very good order and Providing I have Ammunition and Provisions I presume I could keep this fort...."

14. August 5, 1758, Mackintosh to L., "...but I assure your Excellency more than one Half of the Men is not fitt to go 12 from this on any Emergency there is either old superannuated or worn out in the Service or has some other Empediment about them...."

15. Same letter: Says that sometimes he has a hundred [Indians] a day in the fort eating and drinking.

16. August 8, 1758, Mackintosh to Lyttelton, "There is but one house here for Provisions Indian presents and ammunition it is very dangerous to keep our powder in this house if your Excellency would approve Building a Magazine for the Powder it would be Necessary I should have the Liberty to press the first wagon that comes to the fort to carry us home Stone and Clay and we should fall too and Build a Magazine as soon as possible if your Excellency approves of this it would be Necessary to send a Strong Lock for the Door..."

17. August 21, 1758, Mackintosh to L., "We are at a great loss for barracks to house the men for the old Command had no other than little Hutts they had Build for themselves. I have given them (half?) of these little houses and two tents I had here, and crowded our own people with the rest....I intend with your Excellency's consent to Build a Long Barrack on Each side of the fort that may contain the Command but these houses cannot be Build bu slightly by Reason we have neither Horses nor Waggon to carry us Home Timmer [timber] and therefore we must Build them of Clapboards and in the light manner as the men must carry home the wood. We shall first build one of them and I hope that be the time thats finished I may have your Excellency's Instructions how to Build the Next.

18. 18 September, 1758. "...I have build a shade without the fort that when they [the Indians] come with a Talk or scalps they are to hold there meeting there.....I have likewise build two long houses one on each side of the fort Each House divided well into three rooms and Every room hold well ten men so that both houses Holds Sixty Men and a House at each End of the fort Holds Twenty Men Each I have been obliged to buy from the Traders here a great Quantity of Nails for the Houses(.) I have sunk the well 12 feet Deeper than it was and now we have good water. What we want Most of all is a Magazine and that we cannot Build without a Waggon to carry home Stone and Clay."

19. 16 October, 1758, Mackintosh to L., "I have the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency that at last I have got a good Strong Magazine build the length of it is 15 feet the Breadth 6 1/2 feet the walls 18 inches thick and cover't over with Large Sclat [slate] with a Double doors and two locks."

20. 10 January, 1759. Mackintosh to L. He says that the Provisions for both Ft. Loudoun and FPG are exposed to wind and weather at FPG, and that he needs "a stone [building?] here sufficient to hold the Provisions."

21. Same letter: "The first inst. 3 soldiers of the So. Carolina Reg't. Deserted they having gaurd and two of them centries one in on[e] of the angles the other upon the gaurd house Where Phacket the prisoner was. They let him out of the gaurd house to the angle broke his hand cuffs (or irons)...."

22. 31 January, 1759. Mackintosh to L. "Mr. Richardson the Missionary how your excellency was pleased to mention arrived here some time ago he stayed eight days and Preached to us..."

23. 31 March, 1759. Mackintosh to L., " I wrote your Excellency the 18th of last Sept'r. that I had Build two long Barrack or Houses one in each side of the fort Each house divided into three rooms and each room can well hold ten men. So that both Houses hold sixty men, beside a House in Each end of the fort that can hold twenty men each and these Houses (as well as the fort and everything about it) is in very good repair so that the moment the Provincials arrives they can be lodged [lodged]."

24. 15 April, 1759. Lt. Richard Coytmore to L., "On the 9th Inst. myself and the Party under my Command arrived here tho not without the loss of twenty men who notwithstanding the alacrity of the officers deserted from us. On my arrival here I [?] found this fort is good repair and Barracks within it lately built by Ens. MackIntosh Sufficient for the Command; a good magazine, a well, and Centry boxes also the Provisions Ammunition and asst'd Presents & I gave Ens. MackIntosh Receipt for them."

25. 17 May, 1759. Coytmore to L., " I shall likewise write ...of the Provision now in this Fort as we have but for three weeks of Meat kind here I am now according to their desire building a Storehouse which I hope will soon be completed."

26. 3 August, 1759. Coytmore to L., "as the swivel guns are mounted so high above the Stockades as to be of very little service if required I am going to put them on Carriages and make a small platform in every Bastion."

27. 17 August, 1759. Lachlan Shaw to L. (from Fort Moore?), "Mr. Creighton told me....that Mr. Coytmore had represented the swivels in that post [FPG] as useless by their planted so high. Therefore I must beg leave to acquaint yr. Exc. that I prove by the testimony of Col. Howorth and Ens. MackIntosh were my own to be doubted...that the swivels were planted upon stocks in such a manner that they could kill Blackbirds in the bottom of the ditch consequently the High situation must be an advantage to them..."

28. 24 August, 1759. Coytmore to L., " A few mornings ago we were a little alarmed by one of our Centinels Challenging some person lurking about the corn just at break of Day I was yesterday informed they were four Fellows of Sugar Town waiting there to catch some of our people and scalp them..."

29. 12 October, 1759, Resolutions of the Commons House Concerning the Cherokee Expedition: "That 6000 weight of musquet ball, of different sizes & swan shot, 6000 good flints, ten reams of cartridge paper, 400 camp kettles, painted cloths for flour waggons, working tools, viz., a dozen broad axes, six dozen Grubbing hoes, 6 doz. felling axes, 6 Frowers, six iron crows, some small tools for Carpenters with handsaws to the value of L100, two whip saws, four crosscut saws with handles, sets and files, small nails, sorted spikes...6 Horn Lanthorns and 150 bushels of salt be provided for the use of the Expedition."

30. 7 February, 1760. Coytmore to L., "We have been blocked up Day and Night by those Rascals... we have not a stick of Fire Wood but what our Out Houses which are all pulled down afford us neither dare anyone to go a hundred yards from the Fort to fetch any. Our well fell in about nine days ago [i.e., January 30] occasioned by the vast Rain we had here. I have lost four of my Garrison to the Smallpox and have eighteen now dangerously ill of it, beside four of the hostages...I send your Exc. a copy of a Journal, which I thought the most exact method of acquainting you with every circumstance we are now like Birds in a Cage..."

Fort Prince George Journal

31. January 22, 1760. "I had all the Out Houses pulled down, and put together for use of the fort as Fire Wood, and killed some of the Hogs. Indians [lurking?] round the hills."

32. January 28, 1760. "Ordered as we has plenty of Spike Nails, to have them drove all round the Fort on top of the Puncheons..."

33. February 1, 1760. "The rabbit, one of the Hostages, being in the Guard House, came and informed me that the Young fellow who came here 23rd ult. drunk from the Estatoe gang, and was confined in the Guard house, told him that he himself killed four of the white men that were at Elliott's; that the Hostages were afraid, and like women, or that before this time they might have killed the Sentries at the Fort Gate, and escaped, and he himself intended to do the first Opportunity. On this information he was immediately put in irons and the Sentries strict charge of him."

34. February 4th, 1760. "Tattoo beating, the Sentrise calling out all's well, were answered by twenty or thirty Indians from the Hills by this Fort. It rained so hard, and was so dark that it was impossible to see over the Ditch. Soon after the death Song was sung the back of the Hill and Hooping all round. The men were under Arms and remained at their alarum Posts all night. Four of our Garrison dead, eighteen sick, most of them with Smallpox...."

The Fort Prince George Journal, written by Coytmore, and which is primarily concerned with the doings of the Indians, ends with the February 7 entry. The Journal is signed by Richard Coytmore, Alexander Miln, and John Bell. However, a similar Journal is continued by Miln and Bell, and covers the period February 8 through February 24th, 1760. This addition to the journal is found in South Carolina Indian Affairs Documents, 1754-1765, pages 497 through 501. This document covers the killing of the hostages and one of the soldiers by the hostages.

Appendix B

**NOTES FROM THE SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE
CONCERNING THE LAST FOUR YEARS
OF FORT PRINCE GEORGE**

SC Gazette, Jan 14 - 28, 1764: "Lt. [Theodore Frederic] Winter and Ens. [George] Price of the Royal American Regiment are gone [from Charles Town]. The former to command at Fort Moore, the latter at Fort Prince George, Keehowee."

SCG, 3/24 - 31, 1764: "It is said that the garrison at Fort Prince George may possibly be soon under the necessity of quitting that post for want of provisions."

SCG, 4/27 - 5/4, 1765: "Mr. Price, who commands at Fort Prince George, Keehowee, is carrying on the repairs at that fort with great diligence; and the soldiers employed in that service exert themselves in work as the most proper manner of acknowledging their sense of favour shown them, in the sum which the assembly have advanced toward their pay."

SCG, 7/7/1766: "...Mr Price, with the industrious soldiers he has there....has put the fort under his command into such excellent order as does him great credit... His conduct at the same time has gained him among, and the good will of the Indians."

SCG, September 22, 1766: [Price is still C.O. at Fort Prince George].

SCG, December 15, 1766: "The gentleman from England [Mr. Hammerer] who came last year into the nation, upon the plan of civilizing and educating the Cherokees, has opened a school near the garrison of Fort Prince George, by the recommendation of George Price, Esq., Commandant of that Fort..."

SCG, Jan. 18, 1768: [Matthew Keough, Esq., is commandant at Fort Prince George.]

SCG, July 25, 1768: "...we are informed that orders have been received by the Commanding Officer of His Majesties Troops in this Province immediately to withdraw all the Garrisons from the Outposts; in consequence of which His Honour the Lt. Governor, we hear, has actually appointed Edward Wilkinson, Esq., to be Commandant of Fort Prince George - Keewohee. Barracks in Charles Town are being readied to receive the troops. It is determined to enforce the Revenue Acts."

SCG, Aug. 1, 1768: "Edward Wilkinson, Esq., is appointed to receive & take charge of the Stores, etc., at Fort Prince George, Kewohee...in consequence of the garrisons being withdrawn..." "George Price, Esq., some years past Commandant at Fort Prince George, embarked last Saturday for New York with the troops from this Town."

SCG, Aug. 22, 1768: "...Lt. Matthew Keough....arrived in Town from Fort Prince George with the detachments from His Majesty's 60th Regiment which [he] commanded, and tomorrow they embark for New York with Captain Lewis Valentine Fuser, Commander in Chief of the whole, in HMS Fowey, Mark Robinson, Cmdr."

SCG, July 29, 1768: The three Companies of Royal Americans [60th Regiment] in this province and Georgia, we hear, have received orders to embark for the Northward." [They

sailed on August 28, 1768, in HMS Fowey].

SCG, Sept. 13, 1768: The Indians are concerned about the sudden and unexpected withdrawal of troops from Fort Prince George.

SCG, Jan. 26, 1769: "The co-partnership of Edward Wilkinson & Co. will expire on the 10th of June next. At that time they propose to sell off on easy terms what goods they may have then at hand in the Cherokee Nation.... their main store at Fort Prince George, where there is a good store, and dwelling house, a kitchen, and other outbuildings, not above twelve or fifteen yards from the fort: Also, a dwelling house about 150 yards from the fort, with two good stone chimneys in it, and a large cellar..." Signed, Edward Wilkinson.

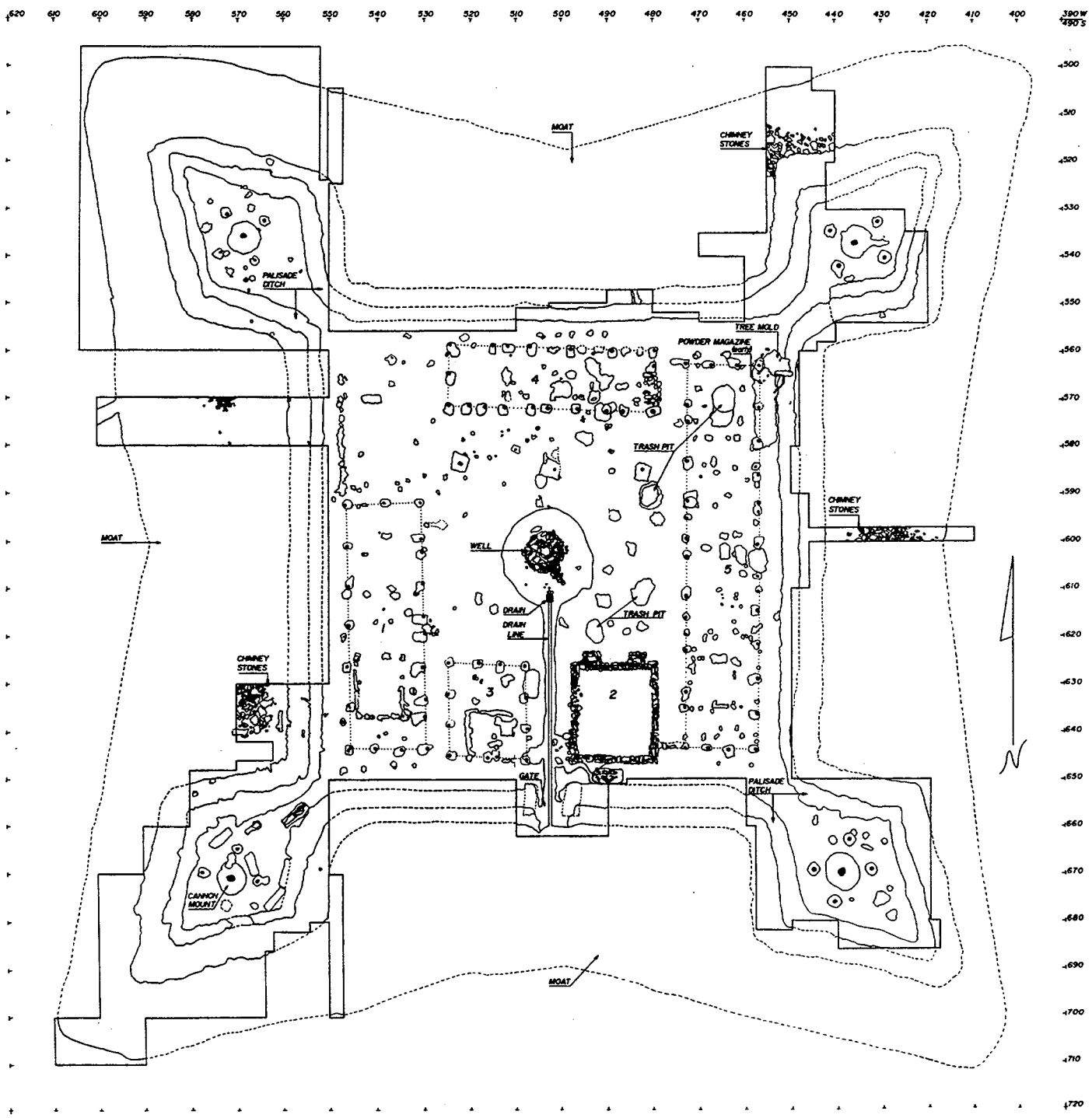


Figure 11. A composite map of the excavations at Fort Prince George. The scale indicated is in feet. Buildings are numbered for textual reference, and outlined with dotted lines. (Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, the University of South Carolina.)

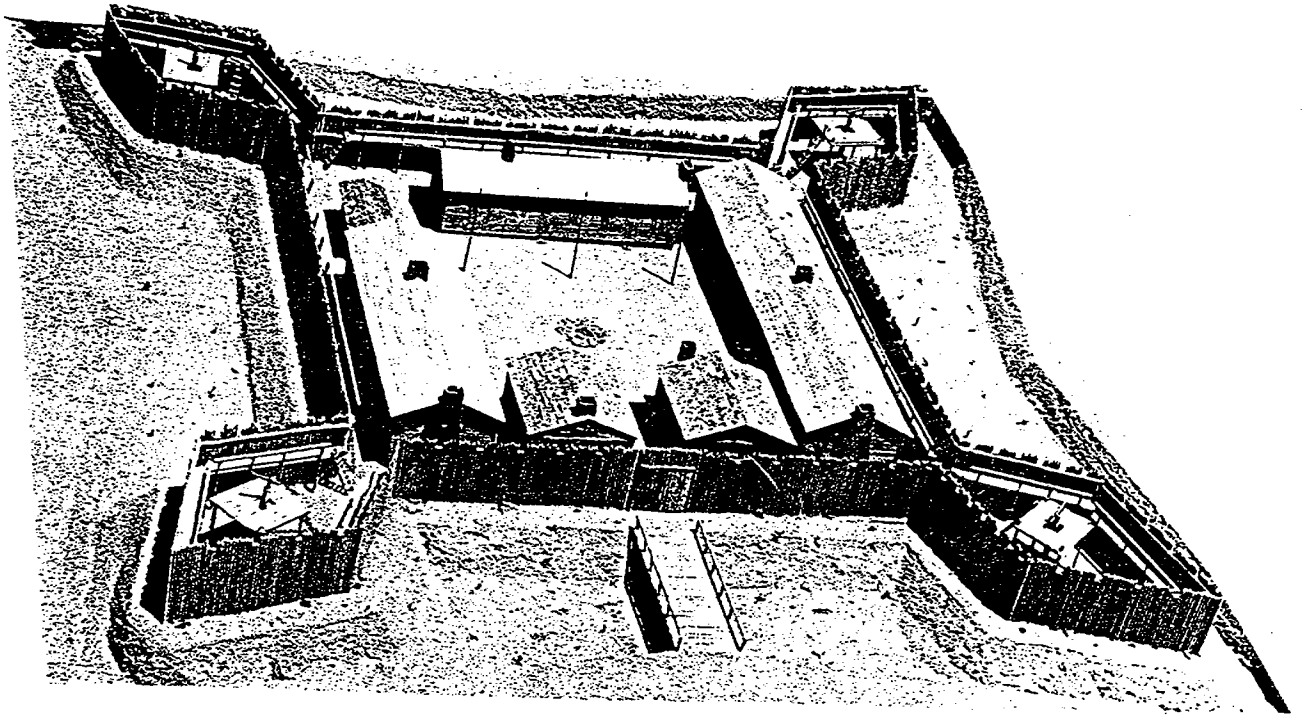
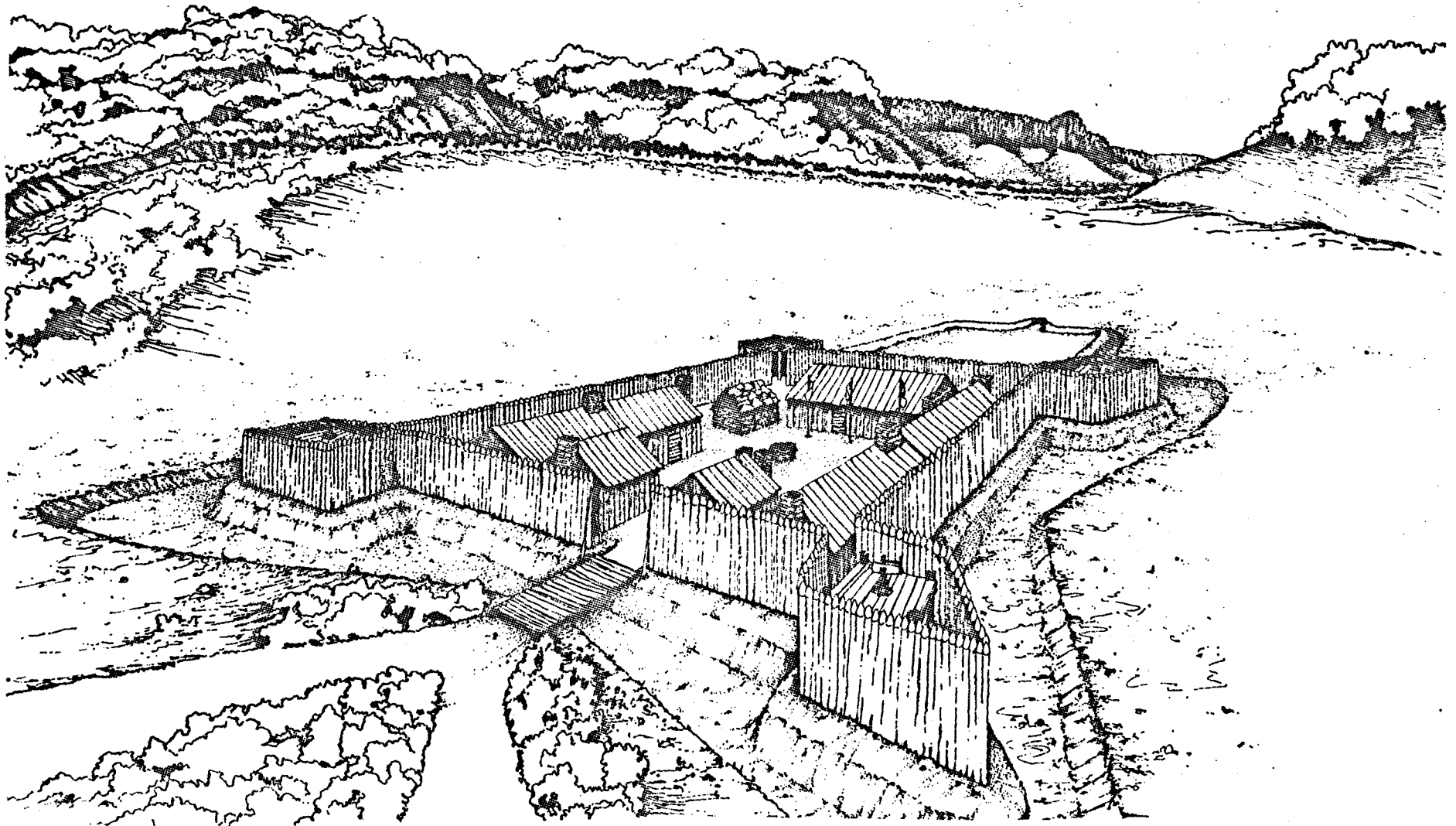


Figure 12. A model of Fort Prince George, based upon archaeological and documentary data. No flags were placed upon the poles, since no real consensus was made concerning what flags would have been flown. Placement of doors, windows, chimneys, and banquettes are conjectural, but based to some extent on post placement or documentary inferences. No well superstructure was installed because of lack of any data indicating what may have been used. Ten dirt used for covering the "ground" is actual soil from the Fort, as is the stones used to make the chimneys. This model, made by the author some three years after the excavations were completed, is at this time on display at the Keowee-Toxaway State Park in Pickens County, South Carolina.

Fig. 13 A student-drawn conception of Fort Prince George based on excavation data. (Courtesy of The Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology, The University of South Carolina).



revised to
to original
with sheet - hope
will help you out.
JC

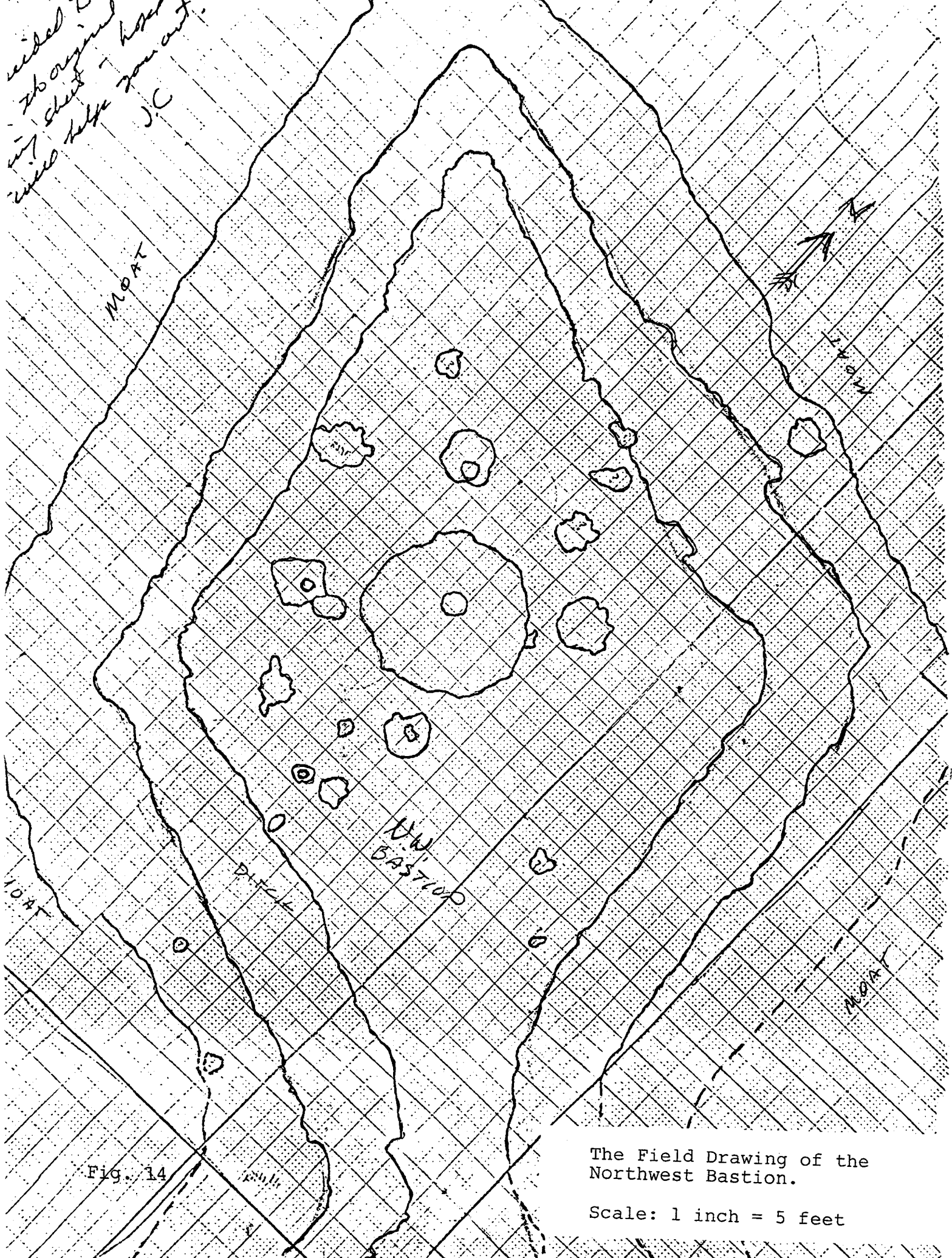
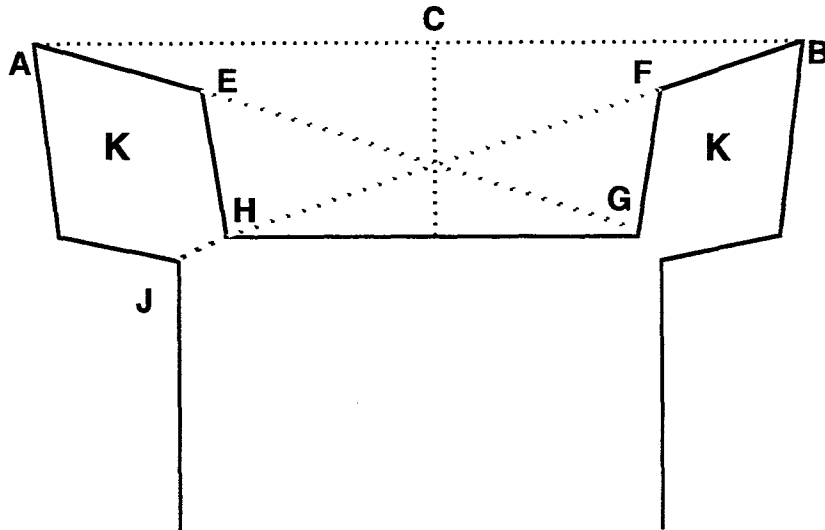


Fig. 14

The Field Drawing of the Northwest Bastion.

Scale: 1 inch = 5 feet

Bastion Fort Nomenclature



- A - B: The exterior side (ca. 170 feet)
- C - D: The perpendicular (ca. 18 feet)
- H - G: The curtain (ca. 105 feet)
- K: The bastion (ca. 25 feet by 45 feet)
- H - J: The bastion throat (ca. 12 feet)
- A: The salient angle (ca. 60 degrees)
- E: The shoulder angle (ca. 125 degrees)
- H: The curtain angle (ca. 100 degrees)
- A - E: The bastion face (ca. 30 feet)
- E - H: The bastion shoulder (ca. 25 feet)

Figure 15. The measurements given for Fort Prince George are approximate, since accurate measurements are not available. However, such measurements would vary for each bastion, since no two were exactly alike. The measurements are taken from the Northwest Bastion.

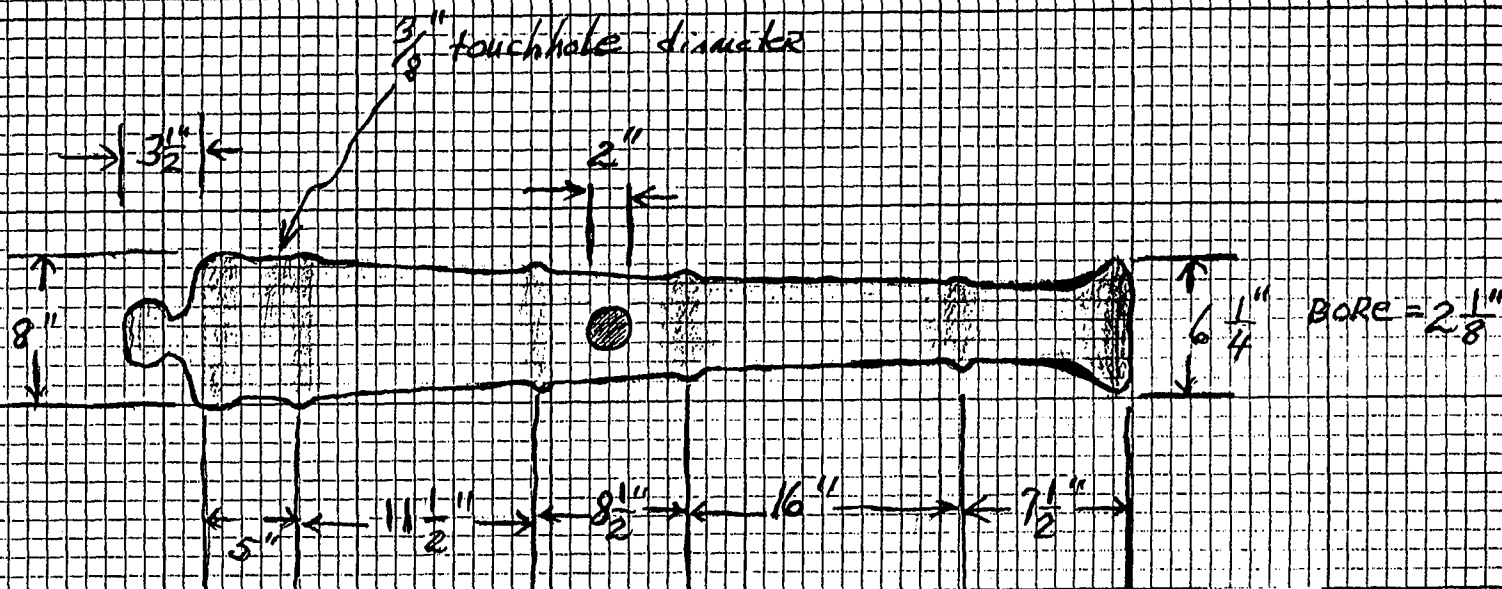


Fig. 16

MEASUREMENTS OF THE SWIVEL CANNON FOUND AT THE CHEROKEE SITE OF CHOTA, IN THE OVERHILLS. THIS PIECE WAS CARRIED FROM FORT PRINCE GEORGE, WHERE IT HAD BEEN STORED.

SCALE: One Tenth inch = 1 inch

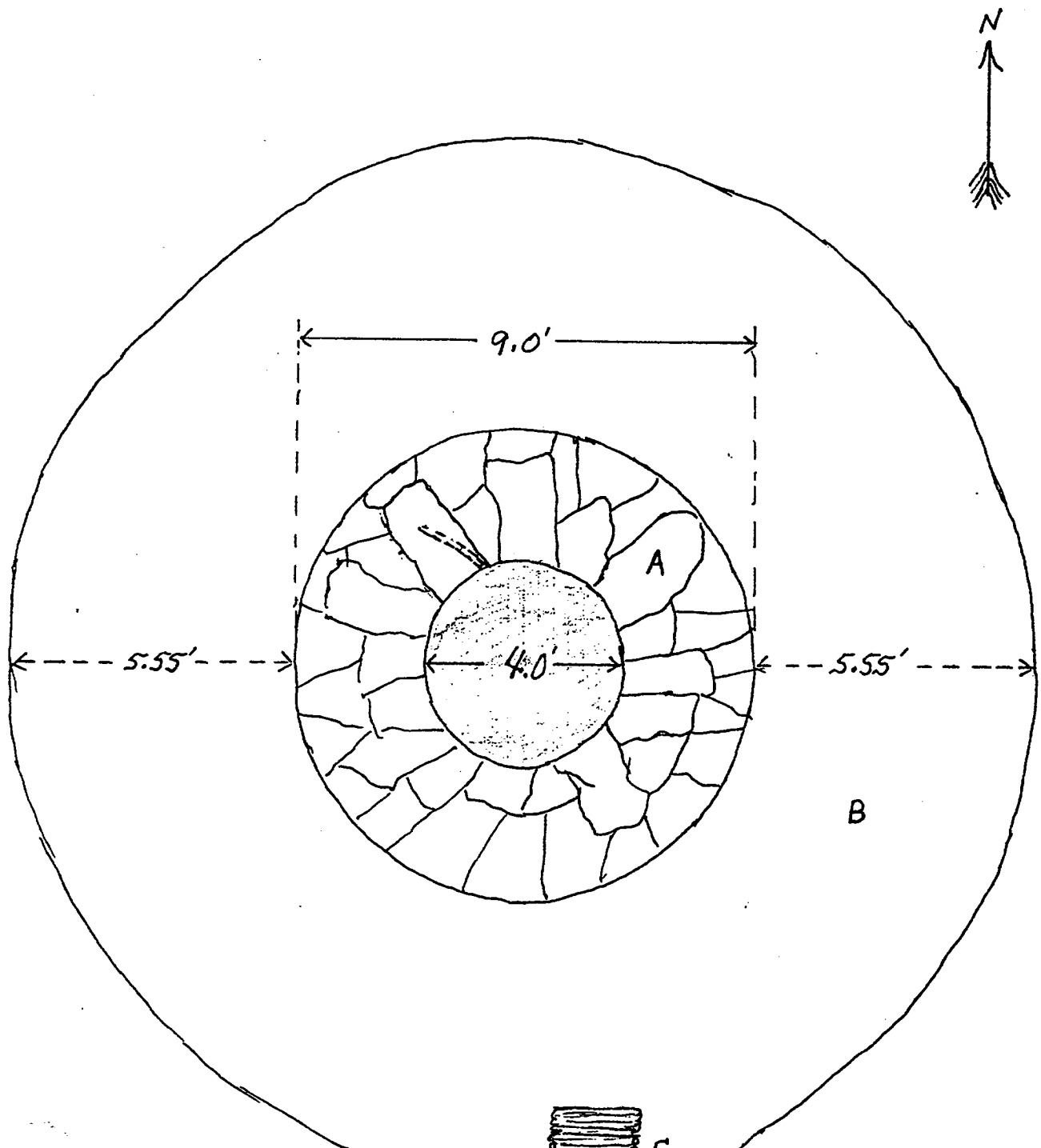
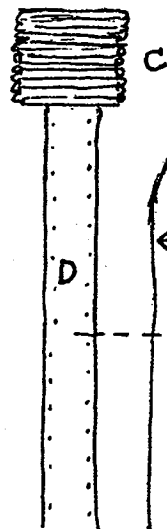


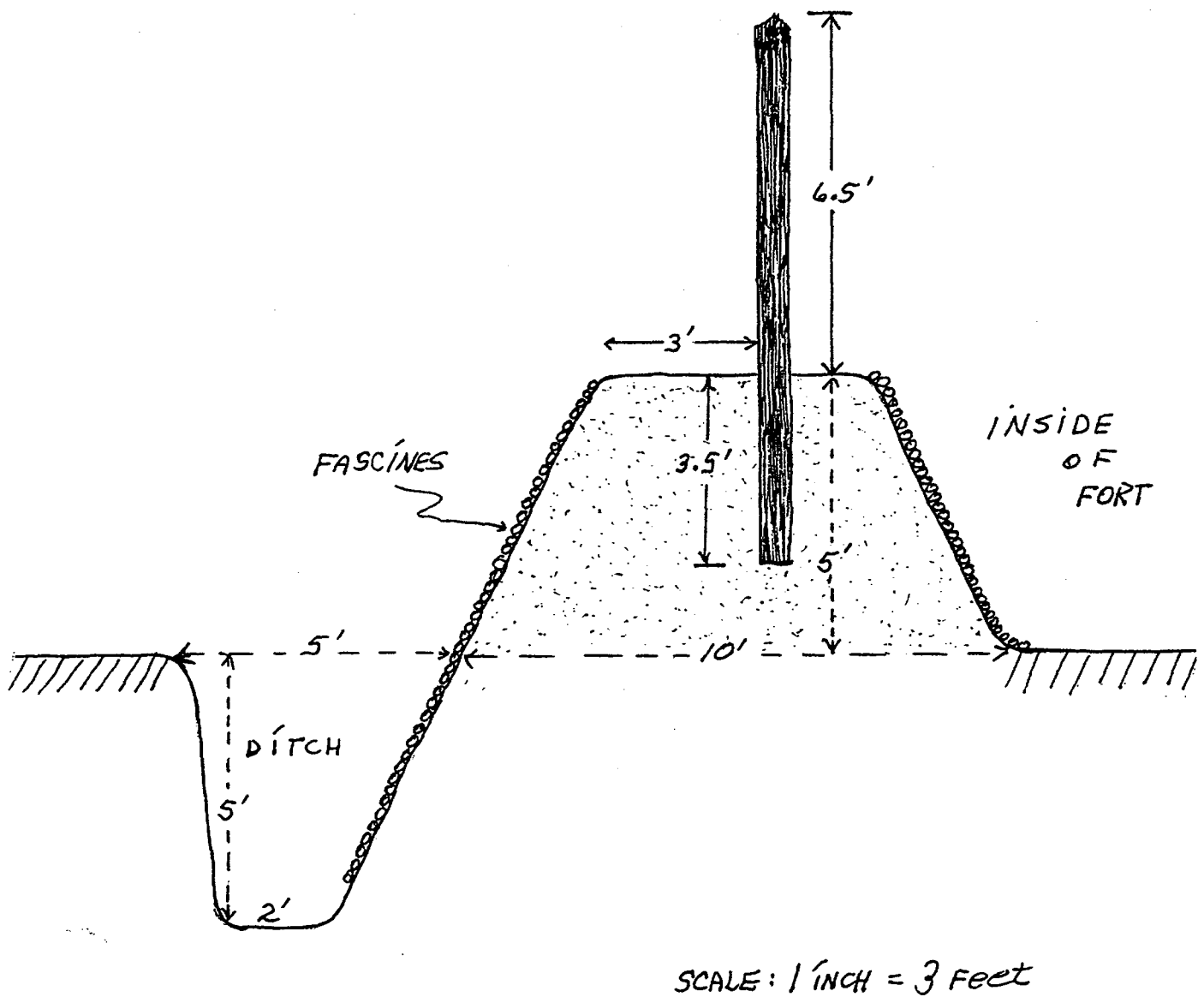
Fig. 17.

The well. A is the rock wall, B is the construction excavation, C is the drain grate, D is the wooden drain pipe.



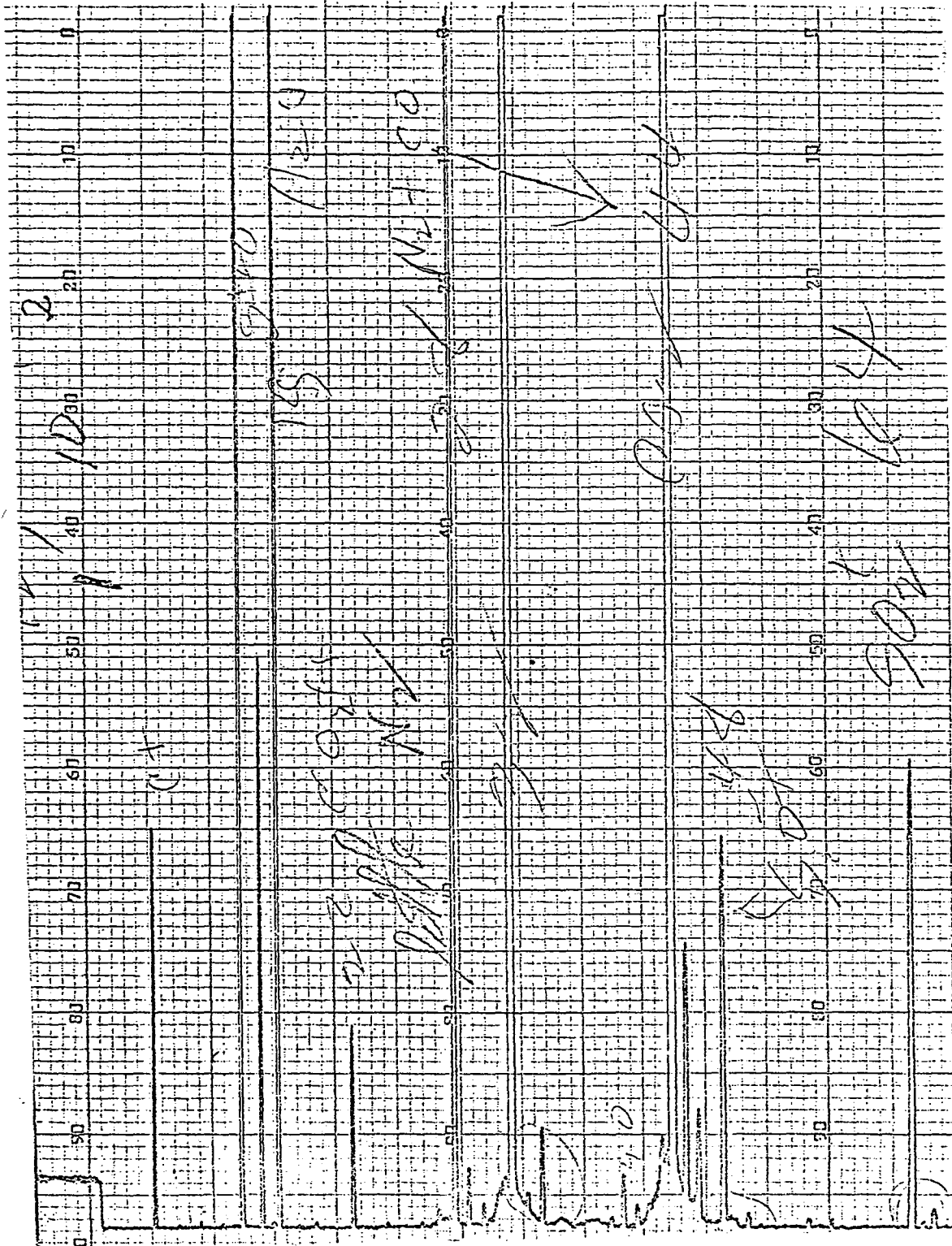
SCALE:
1 INCH = 3 FEET

←---2.6'
---PIPE: 10 1/2" SQUARE, O.D.

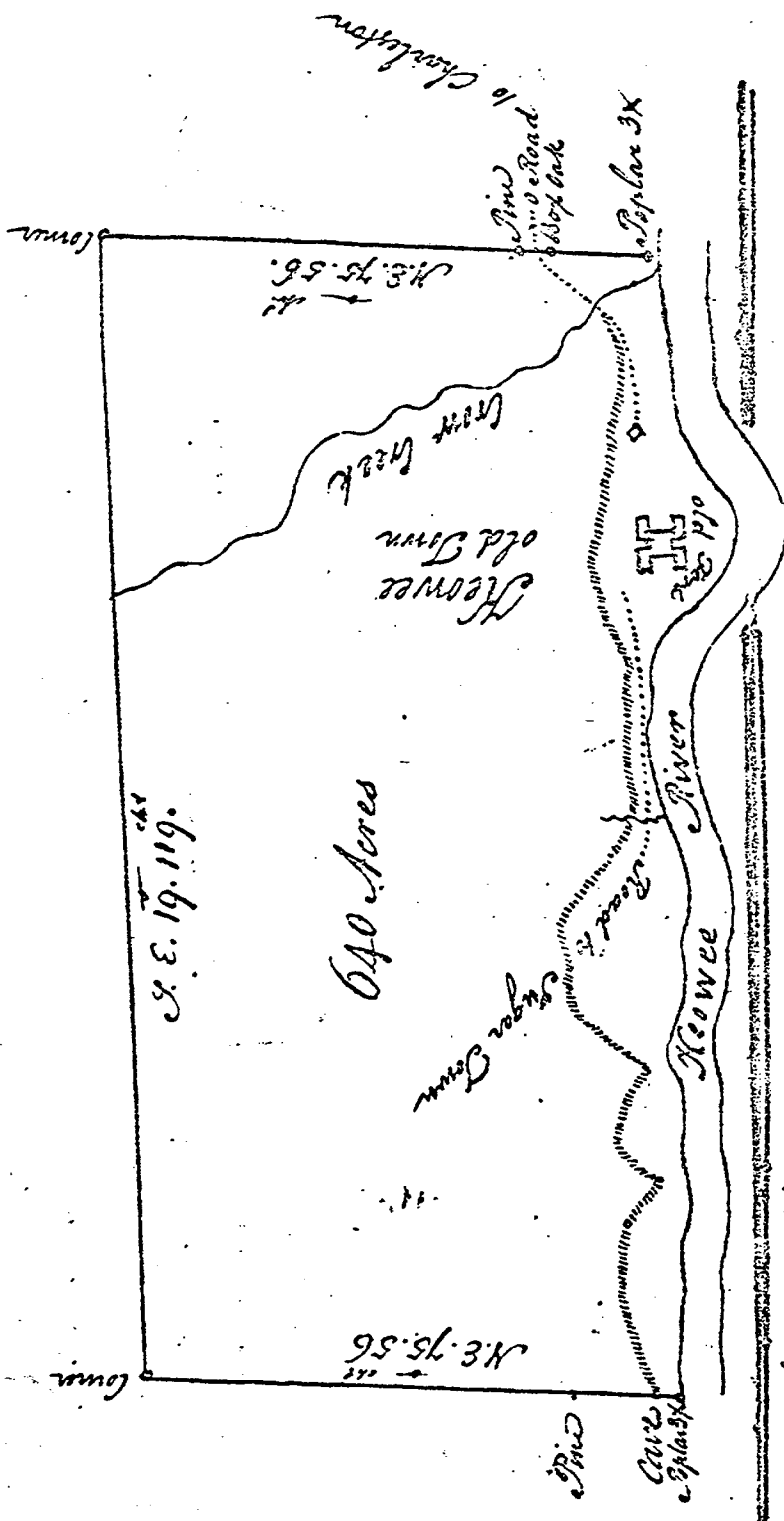


An interpretation of the profile of the original ditch and palisade made at Fort Prince George when it was built in 1753 (British Public Records Office documents, letters by Governor Glen and of Raymond Demere to Governor Lyttelton).

Fig. 19.



A copy of the original graph of the mass spectroscopic analysis of the black material from Pit Number 1, showing significant amounts of carbon, sulfur, nitrogen, and oxygen - the ingredients of black gunpowder. (Courtesy of Dr. Charles Melton, Professor of Chemistry, The University of Georgia).



South Carolina.

I have caused to be admeasured and laid out unto myself a Tract of land containing Six hundred and Forty Acres, situate in the District of Ninety Six on Keowee River including Keowee old Town, and both such Town and C. Marks, buildings and boundings as the above Plat represents.

Certified for the 29th Day of May 1784,

Ephraim Mitchell,

Surveyor General.

Wm Tate [Signature]

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Fig. 21

Plat of 640 acres of land in the Keowee Valley surveyed for William Tate, 1784. (South Carolina Archives, Plat Book 5, page 119).

Appendix C

GUN PARTS AND ASSOCIATED ITEMS FROM COLONIAL FORT PRINCE GEORGE, SOUTH CAROLINA (38PN1)

John D. Combes

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Colonial South Carolina had allied itself with the Cherokee Indians. The Cherokee were of importance to the colonists for several reasons. They provided a buffer between the colony and some of the French and Spanish holdings in the New World, they provided a very large force of fighting men to ward off other Indian groups thrust against the colony by the French, and they played a major role in the highly profitable fur and skin trade.

The Cherokee became highly dependent on the colonists in the 1730s and 1740s for trade items, and they were also especially hard hit by the Creeks. After ten to fifteen years of negotiating with Charles Town it was decided to erect a fort in the Cherokee country. The Cherokee desired it for prestige, protection, and trade, while the British felt it was necessary for the preservation of the alliance and to maintain a tighter control, on the Cherokee.

In the Fall of 1753 Governor Glen, with a military and Indian labor force, arrived at the Cherokee town of Keowee and commenced with the construction of Fort Prince George. This was described as follows:

. . . it was an insubstantial structure of earth and wood two hundred feet square. At each of its corners a bastion and ravelin of earth formed a salient. About the exterior ran a ditch, five feet deep and five feet wide at the bottom, its earth tossed up on the fort side forming an embankment five feet high. From ditch bottom to embankment top the elevation was ten feet. Along the top logs set vertically in the earth made a palisade six and one-half feet high. Within rose storehouses, a guard house, and barracks of log for a small garrison. The gate was on the south side, approached by a bridge over the ditch (S.C. Council Journals, 1755).

There were many modifications made to the fort during its nineteen years of occupancy. Of concern to us here were the following changes made a few years later:

...loop holes in the courtaines and faces of the bastions in every five feet and in the shoulders of the bastions in every three foot...four large sweivels mounted on four large oak trees in the middle of the four bastions. The sweivels raised two foot above th top of the stokades so that they can bear upon anything that is without the fort and within their reach even at the bottom of the ditch along the courtaines. Scaffolds 12 feet square erected on fourstrong supports around the swivel (Lyttelton 1757).

The construction was finished by December and was left garrisoned with sixteen men and a sergeant. It was, however, built to garrison one hundred men if needed. Little else was known about the fort.

In 1966 the Duke Power Company finalized their plans to construct a large hydroelectric project in the South Carolina Piedmont along the headwaters of the Savannah River. They negotiated with the Institute of Archaeology at the University of South Carolina for the purpose of salvaging the history and prehistory of the region that was placed in jeopardy by the construction. The writer became involved at that time and assumed directorship of the operation. For the next two years, with crews varying in size from one to twenty men, excavations were carried out at the site of Fort Prince George.

Many documents were inspected that were thought to be of use in locating the site. Eight maps were uncovered showing the location of the fort, all of which were different. By a very careful analysis of the area and the maps, the land plat of Capt. William Tate was used successfully.

Fort Prince George was excavated entirely, with the exception of the greatest portion of the moat. The entire fort (including bastion and ditch) covered an area 200 feet square. The interior living area was 100 feet square. The total collection of specimens of concern here numbered 322. This seems like a somewhat small amount, considering the fort was occupied for almost twenty years¹ and the site was almost completely excavated; however, a few items must be noted. First, the fort was the western frontier at the time of its construction and it was approximately 300 miles from the population center in Charles Town. It never was garrisoned at full strength, usually only occupied by 12 to 17 men. We may assume then that because of the difficulty in transporting items to the "back country" and the importance of firearms to the frontier soldier, extreme caution was observed in their use. The collection from Fort Prince George consists of 16 gun parts, 23 gun flints, 281 spherical lead balls, and 3 solid iron cannon balls. Included in this is one complete but very badly oxidized gun. It is necessary to describe briefly certain terms and nomenclature commonly used by students of firearms. The next two pages illustrate the terminology. The present study makes use of the following nomenclature of Carlyle S. Smith:

A muzzleloading firearm consists of an iron barrel and a lock (the ignition mechanism) mounted on a wooden stock. The buttplate is a metal piece which protects [the] lower end of [the] stock from damage. The trigger guard often has ornamental ends known as finials. The ramrod fits in a groove in the stock under the barrel. Brass tubular guides hold it in place. The lock is held in place by two or three screws which pass through the stock horizontally. An ornamental sideplate serves in place of washers. A gun worm similar to a cork screw was used to clean and unload the barrel...This mechanism [the flintlock] used a gunflint striking against a steel plate for ignition. On the outside of a complete lock one finds the cock holding the flint, the steel against which it strikes, the battery spring bearing against the steel, and the pan in which the priming powder is placed. On the interior of the lockplate is the tumbler fastened to the

¹ Fort Prince George was occupied as a military fort from 1753 to 1768 - a period of 15 years. MWW.

cock, the mainspring which actuates the tumbler, the sear which engages the notches in the tumbler, and the sear spring which holds the sear against the tumbler. On trade guns the bridle, which steadies the tumbler and strengthens the mechanism as a whole, was often omitted for reason of economy in manufacture. (Smith, MS).

The nature of all specimens recovered suggests that the only guns used at the site were flintlocks and small, solid projectile cannons called swivel guns.

Lockplates: 2 (fragmentary)

Only the center portion of one of the lockplates remains and it is badly oxidized; however, a few observations can be made. The pan is an integral part of the plate. The lower surface of the plate is slightly concave. Heavy oxidation will not allow a search for a manufacturer's mark. The distance from the center of the pan to the center of the tumbler hole is 45 mm, indicating the use of a large cock comparable to the one described elsewhere in this paper.

The lockplate on the complete gun is also in a very bad state of preservation. The lower surface of the plate is concave and the pan is part of the plate.

Cocks: 2

One of these cocks has a flat surface and is of the gooseneck style which is typical of the second quarter of the eighteenth century (Smith, MS). One upper jaw was also located in the excavations which appears to be about the proper size for the above cock. It is without the notch that slides on the projecting comb. This form is also typical of the first part of the eighteenth century. Gunsmiths usually speak of size by measuring the "throw," or distance from the center of the tumbler hole, to the lower lip of the jaw. This gives an indication of the lock size because it is about equal to the distance from the tumbler hole to the pan. The throw of the cock is 45 mm - the same as the aforementioned lockplate fragment.

The cock on the complete gun is the gooseneck style with a rounded face. The top jaw is not possible to analyze. The throw of the cock is also 45 mm.

Steels: 1

One steel (sometimes called a frizzen) is complete, though broken. It has a height of 44 mm, and a width at the pan cover of 24 mm.

Battery springs, Mainsprings, and Sear:

None of the above items were recovered or recognized in the collection. It must be pointed out that no gun screws were found, either. This remains a problem and archaeologists engaged in historical work must learn to recognize these items.

Triggers: 1

This trigger measures 45 mm and is oxidized in a trigger plate. The tip of the trigger is rolled.

Barrels: 2

One of these is only a 66 mm end portion of a barrel that appears to have been blown apart. The estimated bore of this specimen is 14 mm, or .55 caliber. The barrel on the gun measures 65 mm in length and has a bore of approximately 13 mm, or .52 caliber.

Butt plates: 2

Both of these specimens are complete except for the tang. One has been cast to the proper shape and represents the normal method of manufacture. The other is simply composed of a piece of sheet brass which was bent at right angles to form the heel. This represents an inexpensive way to manufacture a butt plate. The cast butt plate has a length of 138 mm and a maximum width of 45 mm. It has two screw holes, one just below the heel and the other near the toe. The screw hole nearest the toe is chamfered to receive a wood screw. On the inside surface, the "broad arrow" is present, indicating government ownership. Just below the arrow are some letters, a T and a W are clear. This probably is the word TOWER, which was usual for firearms of this period, and referred to the Tower of London (Thompson 1969). The inexpensive butt plate measures 105 mm in length and has a maximum width of 33 mm. There are five perforations in the specimen and it appears as if it were nailed onto the stock. Two broken brass tangs were also recovered.

Trigger guards: 2

These specimens represent a complete trigger guard and a flattened trigger guard bow. The guard bow is of brass and measures 21 mm at the maximum width. The complete guard is from the complete gun that was recovered and is also of brass. The maximum width of the bow is 16 mm, the forward finial maximum width is 13 mm, and the rear finial has a maximum width of 11 mm. There is a perforation at both finials for attaching to the stock.

Sideplates: 2

The sideplate collection is made up of one very small fragment and one almost complete specimen. The fragment is brass and consists only of an end portion of about 20 mm long, including a perforation and some incised lines. The complete sideplate is of brass and represents for the most part the "Northwest" gun counter-lockplate with the exception of it not having dragon scales. It is a relatively plain casting, with two screw holes remaining (probably a third), with a body loop. The dragon or serpent head faces forward. This specimen looks a great deal like T.M. Hamilton's type H, figure 11A, which he has tentatively assigned to a date of 1730 - 1740 (Hamilton 1968:17). There seems to be a tendency for the serpent head to face forward on the earlier guns and toward the rear on the later plates (C.S. Smith, personal communication).

Gunflints: 23

The total collection of gunflints appears to be of French origin. This is not surprising, since the French seemed to have a corner on the gunflint market until very late in the eighteenth century.

The French gunflints are, for the most part, blond in color, resembling beeswax, or honey. They have rounded backs and display secondary chipping. English flints are of a dark color, rectangular, without rounded backs, and do not exhibit the secondary chipping.

This collection can easily be broken down into two groups. Eight specimens represent the later period flint or conventional prismatic form discussed above and the remaining fifteen fall into an earlier category called "gun spalls." This is an older method of manufacture, dating from about 1675, and not given up completely until about 1775 (Hamilton 1960:78). Each gun spall seems to have been struck off individually. Size and shape of these is somewhat erratic but those that are measurable fall into two groups: muskets (5) range from 30 - 34 mm in width and 26 - 30 mm in length, while pistols (2) vary from 20 - 21 mm in width and 17 mm in length. The measurable prismatic flints (3) range in width from 32 - 35 mm and in length from 27 - 29 mm for muskets and 23 mm by 26 mm for pistols.

Bullets: 281

The larger of these lead balls fall into four categories, ranging from .50 to .68 caliber, seen below as group 1. This first group falls well within the known calibers in use during the period (Blackmore, 1961, p. 45-60). The second group was most likely used as shot.

	<i>Count</i>	<i>Diameter</i>	<i>Caliber</i>
Group 1	6	12.8 mm	ca.50
	36	14.1-15.3 mm	.55-.60
	17	15.4-16.3 mm	.61-.64
Group 2	35	11.6-12.6 mm	.65-.68
	38	5.1 mm	.20
	61	6.4-7.4 mm	.30-.34
	15	8.9-10.1 mm	.35-.40

This first group falls well within the known calibers in use during the period (Blackmore 1961:45-60). The second group was most likely used as shot.

The complete gun

The gun buried intact has been described along with the other parts; however, a few general remarks should be made. The barrel length remaining at the time of recovery was 65 cm, or 25.29 inches. It probably had been broken off. This length is too short, even for the carbine models of the period. The bore was approximately 13 mm (.52 caliber). The center ramrod pipe is still attached and is made of brass. It is 23 mm long and has a diameter of 8 mm. This specimen is without doubt a trade gun. It was very inexpensively made.

Cannon balls: 3

The three cannon balls recovered represent three different size cannons used at the fort. There was a one pounder, a two pounder, and a three pounder. The following table was used to calculate the bore and ball diameter for British guns late in the eighteenth century (Gooding 1965:18):

Pounds	1	2	3
Ball Diameter	1.92	2.42	2.77
Bore Caliber	2.01	2.54	2.91

For comparison, the following ball diameter size table is from a nineteenth century United States Army Ordnance Manual (1862:37):

Pounds	1	2	3
Ball Diameter	1.954	2.462	2.819

The one pounder recovered actually weighed .916 pounds and had a diameter of 1.95 inches. The two pounder weighed 1.933 pounds with a diameter of 2.354 inches, while the three pounder weighed 2.546 pounds and had a diameter of 2.653 inches.

Discussion

This collection includes many of the imperishable parts and related items associated with muzzle-loading guns. As mentioned earlier, many items are missing. It is difficult to believe that no screws, pins, tumblers, springs, sears, or gun worms were dropped or lost in this fort during its occupation. This is most likely due to the failure on the part of the archaeologist to recognize these items, or perhaps differentiate them from other bits and pieces of oxidized iron.

The material described here indicates clearly an occupation during the mid-1700s. The gun of this period is commonly referred to as the "Brown Bess," and reigned for the period between 1730 and 1780. Blackmore's discussion of the Brown Bess and its predecessor is presented in great detail along with some drawings and photographs (Blackmore 1961:Figure 8; Figures 10-12). These illustrations very closely resemble the material presented.

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This paper, GUN PARTS AND ASSOCIATED ITEMS FROM COLONIAL FORT GEORGE (38PN1), SOUTH CAROLINA, was written by Combes in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree.

Appendix D

THE FORT PRINCE GEORGE INDIAN HOSTAGES

Marshall W. Williams

In the fall of 1759 tensions between the Cherokees and the South Carolina colonists were escalating rapidly. Traders came into Fort Prince George from all the Cherokee towns, and groups of fire-brand warriors were ready to fall upon the frontier white settlements. Many scalps had already been taken by roving bands of Cherokees, who expected the Creeks to join them in attacking the exposed settlements.¹ For the moment, however, these plans were thwarted by certain headmen of the Cherokee Nation who felt that peace was in their best interests. Among these influential headmen was Oconostota who, upon the advice of Lieutenant Richard Coytmore of Fort Prince George, determined to lead a peace delegation to Charles Town for a meeting with Governor Lyttelton.

Arriving in Charles Town on October 17, 1759, this delegation attempted to seek an audience with Lyttelton, but he would not listen. Further information from the frontier caused Lyttelton to decide to lead an Army group to the Cherokee country himself. The Cherokee delegation was to return with him, but on the way up the headmen were seized as hostages for the delivery by the Cherokees of certain of them who had murdered some whites. Upon arrival at Fort Prince George on December 9, 1759, Lyttelton detained twenty-eight of these hostages to guarantee delivery of the killers. The rest of the Cherokees - about fifty of them - were released. On the 21st of December Lyttelton had a talk with the Little Carpenter, and at the end of this talk released two more hostages. The next day two of the killers of whites were delivered to Lyttelton, the Young Twin and the Slave Catcher of Conasatchee (Sugartown).²

Upon the petition of Little Carpenter Lyttelton released four more hostages: Oconostota, Kittagusta, Round O, and Killianca of Hiwassee. There now remained in custody twenty-two men. Corkran³ records that Round O returned to his captivity voluntarily to be with his son, who was still held. A careful reading of the Fort Prince George Journal,⁴ however, indicates that Round O was in no sense a hostage after his return, since he could come and go as he wished.

On January 7, 1760, Lt. Coytmore (the fort commander) wrote to Governor Lyttelton that Chiseannah of Estatoe "one of the hostages going toward the fort Gate rushed desperately by the sentry who caught him by the blanket which he quitted and ran off..."⁵ There were other escapes. On January 19th two hostages, "Tallahoo of Toka and the Yellow Bird of Wattagaw made their escape by passing the centry at the gate" with a throng of Indians who, after visiting the fort, were leaving. On February 1st Coytmore had Chistu ("the Rabbit") put in irons, for Chistu had expressed his intentions of escaping at the first opportunity, and called the other hostages "women" for not rushing the sentry at the gate and escaping.

¹*The Cherokee Frontier, Conflict and Survival, 1740-1762*: Corkran, David H., University of Oklahoma Press, Norman; 1962. Page 176ff.

² Corkran, p. 188.

³ Corkran, p. 190.

⁴ Lyttelton Papers, Clement Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: Microfilm. Fort Prince George Journal.

⁵ Ibid.

All of this seems to indicate that at this time the hostages were not locked in a guard house, but had the run of the fort, being detained only by the guard at the gate (and no doubt some on the walls). "Chiseannah of Estatoe" referred to in the Fort Prince George Journal is the one listed in the Treaty list as Chistanah; "Tallatahoo of Toka" is Tallitahe of the same list, and "the Yellow Bird of Wattagaw" is Otassite of Watago.

Smallpox was rampant within the fort. On February 1, Round O carried an Indian woman of Estatoe out of the fort to the parade ground (at the front of the fort), and there she died. Several soldiers died, and hostages were not spared. On February 8 the Warrior of Stickowee died (he is shown in the lists as Skiagusta of Stickowee); On February 10 Tony of "Chotee" (Chota) died; on February 11 Chisquatalone died, and on the 12th "Ouso- naletak" (Ousanolitah of Jore). The last to die of smallpox was Skalitoskee (in the Treaty list as Skaliloske).

On December 26, 1759, the Little Carpenter and Governor Lyttelton had concluded an ill-fated "treaty of peace and friendship." Article IV of this treaty gives the names of the twenty-two Cherokees who were detained as hostages. Another list appears in the South Carolina Gazette,⁶ and since there are some minor variations in spelling from these two sources both lists are given here:

<u>The Treaty</u>	<u>S.C. Gazette</u>
1. Chenohe	1. Chenohe
2. Ousanatah	2. Ousanatah
3. Tallachama	3. Tallichama
4. Tallitahe (escaped 1-19-1760)	4. Tellithe
5. Qu..(unreadable)	5. Quarrasache
6. Connaseratah	6. Cunnosoratah
7. Otassite of Watoago (escaped 1-19-1760)	7. Otacitte of Watago
8. Ousanolitah of Jore (died 2-12-1760)	8. Ousanolitah of Jore
9. Ousanolitah of Cowetche	9. Ousanolitah of Cowetche
10. Chisquatalone (died 2-11-1760)	10. Chisquatalone
11. Skiagusta of Stickowee (died 2-8-1760)	11. Skiagusta of Stickowee
12. Sandgeste	12. Sanoeste
13. Woahatchee of Sugartown	13. Woahatchee of Sugartown
14. Woeyah	14. Woeyah
15. Oucah	15. Oucah
16. Chistanah (escaped 1-7-1760)	16. Chistanah
17. Nicholehe	17. Nicholehe
18. Tony (of Chota) (died 2-10-1760)	18. Tony (of Chota)
19. Totaiah-boi	19. Totaiah-hoi
20. Skaliloske (died 2-14-1760)	20. Skololoske
21. Chistu	21. Chistu
22. (unreadable)	22. Kataetoi

⁶ S.C. Gazette, January 5 - 8, 1760; and January 31, 1760.

Of the original twenty-two hostages detained by Lyttelton three escaped and five died, leaving fourteen Cherokee headmen. These died on February 16, 1760, when the men of the Fort Prince George garrison put them to death in retaliation for the ambush shooting of Lt. Coytmore and Ensign Bell at the ford of the Keowee River. The idea of killing the hostages may not have been as spontaneous as Ensign Milne (Coytmore's second in command) later reported, for the month previously Coytmore himself had sent word to the Keowees that if any of his men were hurt the hostages would be put to the sword.⁷

During the excavations at the site of Fort Prince George in 1967 and 1968 the question naturally arose: where were these hostages buried? In the fort the garrison troops were, in effect prisoners within their own walls. One grave was found at the entrance to the Southwest bastion, but this lone individual was neatly laid out, hands folded across the abdomen. He was apparently buried without clothes, since no buttons or any other artifact of clothing was found. We finally concluded that this must have been Coytmore himself, not only because of the care with which he was buried, but that he was probably buried naked, or in a blanket. (Coytmore lived ten days after being wounded, dying February 25.) Burying one in a much-travelled path was one way of obliterating the evidence of burial, which must have been in the mind of the garrison in case the fort were overrun. The only other burials in the fort was a grave for three individuals found hard by the gate and the house with the rock-lined cellar. These had been tossed carelessly into a common grave, with no ceremony. We concluded that these were probably three of the hostages - but where were the other eleven?

There was no large mass grave in the fort. We excavated every inch of the interior of the fort. The fort being closely surrounded prevented a large burial party from leaving, and thus it seems to me that the hostages had to have been buried in the fort. There was only ONE structure found in the fort which had not been there that February of 1760: that was a stone lined cellar just inside the gate, and beside which the three skeletons were buried together. When we cleaned the rock out of this cellar we found a rock which had inscribed on it "1761." Now, it is my opinion that this rock was a chimney rock for this house, which was no doubt built by General Grant in 1761 when he made his expedition to chastise the Cherokee. We know that he virtually rebuilt the fort at that time. It is my opinion that the hostages were originally buried where we found this cellar; that they were dug up in 1761 and moved outside the fort, and the mass grave turned into a cellar for a new house. They simply missed the individuals which we found adjoining the south side of the rock cellar.

A few grave-sized features were found in the Southwest bastion, but there were no bodies in them. I suspect that they were dug in anticipation of use, but never filled. There were no archaeological excavations directly outside the fort walls except for some sampling of the moat. There was simply no time. Only two years was available for archaeology in the Keowee impoundment area. There should have been at least five years! The loss of Keowee Town with little research was a disaster of the first order, and the same may be said of Sugartown. Even the one summer's work at Toxaway barely scratched the surface.

The location of any reburied bodies of the hostages is now academic, since the construction of Lake Keowee makes this riddle unsolvable. Oconostota, leader of the ambush faction, died a peaceful death of old age, and was buried in the old town of Chota, in Tennessee, and his grave site also is now under a man-made lake.

⁷ Lyttelton Papers: Fort Prince George Journal.

Appendix E

THE DIARY OF REVEREND WILLIAM RICHARDSON
(An Excerpt)

"An account of my proceedings since I accepted the Indians Mission in October, 1758, to Go and Exercise My office as a Minister Among the Cherokees or any Other Indian Nation that would Allow me to Preach to them."

November 29, 1758. "Got to Fort Prince George about two hours into the night, was kindly received by Mr. McIntosh, the Commander of this Fort, to whom I gave the Governor's letters."

November 30. "At Fort Prince George preached to the Soldiers, who behaved well."

[Richardson then went to Fort Loudoun, staying until February 14, 1759. He returned by way of the Cherokee town of Tomassee, which he called a "very poor town, and could get nothing for men or horse." He spent February 15, 1759, at Fort Prince George, but was sick].

February 16, 1759. "They sent me to the Town house where they raised their colours..." [The town house at the Cherokee Town of Keowee, just across the river].

February 17, 1759. "Talked to Wahatchee, head man of five towns that I wanted to teach them the will of God. He seemed indifferent about it."

February 18, 1759, Sunday. "Preached to the Soldiers from Acts 17:30."

February 20, 1759. Spoke to Indians today concerning Divine things and they asked me if I could conjure for them to win at ball play. The Nequasse people lost almost all their clothes [they had bet them on the outcome of the game]. [Richardson said that he never spoke against the Indian conjurers, because it created bad feelings].

February 23, 1759. Talked to Wahatchee again, who demanded presents for their young people. When none was forthcoming he huffed off.

February 24, 1759, Saturday. Went to Keowee town house and preached [his subject being the certainty of a future state].

[Upon his return to Fort Prince George he heard that about 10 miles away the Indians had killed a white man; that this man in a "mad fit" had hurt an Indian boy, so the Cherokees had killed him].

February 25, 1759. Richardson preached to the soldiers, but "they don't regard it."

March 4, 1759. He preached again to the soldiers, and this time Indians were also present.

March 5, 1759. Richardson left the fort on this date, riding "42 miles", toward the Catawbas.

[Here ends the Richardson diary as it pertains to Fort Prince George].

Note: This account was taken from a typescript of the diary on file at the York County Public Library in Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Appendix F

THE FORT PRINCE GEORGE MODEL

The reconstruction model of Fort Prince George represents more than three years of archaeological and documentary research. Historically, there are a number of brief descriptions of the fort, though none in and of themselves were complete enough on which to base a reconstructed model. The purpose of creating this model was to bring together all the known facts concerning its structural details, and to lay to rest the various uninformed "artists conceptions" of its appearance.

The architectural and structural features interpreted here result from (a) archeological evidence (b) documentary evidence (c) inferences drawn from peripheral evidence, and (d), in some instances, pure conjecture. In many instances no inferential reasoning is needed, such as the lateral measurements, which are very specific, having been determined archaeologically. Many of the vertical measurements are documented, particularly in the Lyttelton papers, though some are inferred.

The appearance of the fort was constantly changing during the fifteen years of its existence. However, the model presents the probable appearance of the fort in the autumn of 1761, though a few reconstructed features may have by then become anachronistic. For instance, in 1757 the tall swivel cannon mounts in each bastion were erected by Lachlan Shaw, but in 1759 Commander Richard Coytmore said they were too high, and that he was going to lower them. It is apparent that he did this.

The scale of the model is 0.9 inch equals five feet, or 0.18 inch equals one foot. This scale was chosen because of the diameter of the available "palisade posts", and also to make the whole fit upon a base three feet square. The shape of the fort and the bastions derive from archaeological data, though the bastions are all copies of the northwest bastion, which was the best preserved of the four (none of the four bastions were identical). The height of the palisade is documented in Lachlan Shaw's letter to Governor Lyttelton dated October 19, 1757, as well as the description of the gun mounts. This same letter details the distances between the "loopholes" in the curtains and the bastions.

The buildings were made to fit the archaeologically determined sizes, and correspond to the buildings erected by Lachlan MacIntosh described in his letter to Lyttelton August 21, 1758. The base for the model is of inch thick styrofoam, and the surface has glued to it "scaled" (sifted) soil from the fort, which presents an authentic color. The buildings were made by applying balsa wood sheets to posts spaced to the actual relative position, and then "plugged" into "post holes" at the exactly correct positions in the fort. The chimneys were covered with crushed ("scaled") rock actually taken from the fort's original chimneys. The positions of the doors were determined by the positions of the post molds found in the ground for that particular building, though a few are conjectural.

The "banquette" walkway along the palisade is inferred in a number of documentary references, though no exact details of it are found. The swivel cannon dimensions are copied from the one found at Fort Loudoun, which we know at one time lay at Fort Prince George. There is good documentation for the bridge's existence, though not the exact details of it. No superstructure was made for the well in the center of the fort, for no archaeological evidence for such was found. We know that they had a chain for the well, and two buckets, and it is possible that a simple well-box sat atop the rock base. In the

absence of any concrete evidence, however, I simply chose to omit a well superstructure.

In 1761 Col James Grant, in his punitive expedition to punish the Cherokees, built a large addition to the the north end of the fort for the purpose of keeping their wagons "under cover" while the army went on foot and horseback to chastise the Indians. No evidence of this "wagon cover" was found during the excavations, which probably was destroyed when the road on the north side of the fort was built many years ago. Thus, I have not shown any part of this addition in the model.

This model of the fort is at present on display at the Keowee-Toxaway State Park in Pickens County, South Carolina, a few miles north of the original site.

Appendix G

DIARY OF MAJOR ALEXANDER MONEYPENNY

[Starts with march from Charles Town. Picked up here on May 14, 1761].

14th. March'd to Fort 96, were obliged to make two small bridges for the Waggon over two small creeks, but the cross Beams extended from side to side. This is a true American Fort, a ---- Palisade thrown around a barn; a kind of flank at two opposite angles, where a Sentry can stand. No Ditch. Moultrie had pulled down one & extended it about 30 Feet to make another Shedd for Provisions. Many of the Men have good rifled pieces, good horses, and are good Hunters.

27th. To Fort Prince George, 12 miles. Found it a tolerable stockade, a square with four bastions & two small guns, four and two pds. in each bastion. Situated low & commanded even ----- by the Hills around. The low situation is on account of the River. In the garrison about 70 men, & 70 more redeemed from the Cherokees, & 45 women & children redeemed. The Little Carpenter would not go away on receiving Coll Grants Talk, but waited to see him.

28th. The carpenters at work in making frames of Packsaddles. The Taylors in making baggs to carry flour, and padds to put under the Pack Saddles. Saddlers, Harness makers, & collar makers at work cutting Hydes into thomgs for Cruppers and Breast pieces. They are cut put green into salt and water.

The waggon discharged ----150, whose horses are to carry packs. Capt. Dudgeon, engineer, sent to consider the proper method of ----- the 150 waggon & baggage to be left under the Fort. Found no wood near the Stockades or Fascines, & the ground Sandy & would not stand to make the work of earth. Resolved to make it so that the two sides were ---- s'coured [secured] by the Fort. The Rear open to the Fort, & a Redan closing the Front. To cut Piquets six feet long & place them at two feet distance in two Rows, two feet between each Row, 1 1/2 feet in the ground, to wattle them with small Brush, to keep in the Sand, & fill it up with Sand. To make four Logg houses for store houses, 20 feet long each 15 feet wide, or rather one House 4 rooms as above.

Whilst the Carpenter was at the Fort the express (returning?) to [the fort] with the answer to his talk was fir'd at by the Cherokees. This vexed him prodigiously. He knew that this Party was from Settico. He desired to talk with Coll Grant; told him a long tale in many sentences, as Indians and their interpreters contrive always to do. But what he urged was to beg the Troops would remain at Fort Prince George. ----- he could go to the Nation & re-----, when he would bring proofs of their sincerety. As to those People who fir'd at the Express he said, if he had any interest they should be put to death.

That the Creeks had brought a bloody hatchet to Heywassee a Cherokee Town in the Valley & offered to join them, in the war. But they had desired the Creeks to go home, for they would not go to War. That Oconnastota on his return from Mobile found a great meeting, resolving to go to War with us, & that he stoped them.

Coll Grant was very civil to him, said that he had already given his talk & would not alter it; gave Provisions to his Party & some Rum for himself.

This day the Indians of whom 40 more had joined, viz. 40 Chicasaws & 20 Catabaws, observed the civilities paid the to the Little Carpenter were not much pleased with them &

said the War was over; But the Head Man of the Chikesaws is said to have taken his young man aside & told him words are nothing, look at the Pack Saddles.

29 th May. Got the Forge up, repairing Arms, carrying on the Stockade & cutting timber for the Store houses; busy at the Pack Saddles & Making Flour Baggs. A Horse is to carry 150 [pounds] weight & no more over the Hills. Compleating the amunition, allowed the men who had conveniency to carry what they please above the comp_t.

An order given, recommending to the Officers to walk on the March over the Hills allowing only two (?) soldier_s tents per company, & three baggage Horses. Recommending to the Officers to carry their own Horse as Baggage Horses & allowing 2.5 (pounds) currency per day to each company on that acct. from this Day to our Return.

30 [th]. Tent (?) the weakly (?) into the Fort & brought out twelve of the Royal 12 of Montgomery_s left there last year by Coll Montgomery, about 40 of Middleton_s who were in the former Provincial Reg_t. taken at Fort Loudoun & just redeemed from the Indians.

Many of the Lower Towns Cherokees come in & are to be allowed to settle near the Fort; the Nation must be much inclined to Peace, as a Scalp has not been taken as yet, Tho_ our Waggoners & even Soldiers contrary to orders cross the River & ramble all Round the opposite hills picking strawberries unarmed. Till one is killed they never will believe there is any danger.

31st. A light Infantry Company of 70 men form_d out of Middleton_s joined out Light Infantry, Capt. Moultrie the Capt.

[Here Ends the Diary]

[The microfilm reel at the State Archives in Columbia, SC, was distributed by M. O. Blood & Co., 1314 So. Peoria, Tulsa, OK, 74120. A letter to this address was returned as undeliverable].

Appendix H

THE PAPERS OF HENRY LAURENS AS PERTAINS TO FORT PRINCE GEORGE

(Excerpts from The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 3. January 1, 1759, to August 31, 1761. Philip M. Hamer, Editor. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, S.C. 1972.)

Page 75. "We now wait to build a new fort here & lodge a stock of 12 months provision for the Garrison. This will employ five or six weeks."

Page 321. "The service hinted at some time ago....was the compleat rebuilding of Fort P. George, with intire New barracks & Store Houses, a New Stone Well, one New Magazine, etc. This was very heavy work in that Country, but it became absolutely necessary....& it was by great Labour & application of 150 men and upward, constantly at work for the space of a month or six weeks perfected under the inspection of Capt. [Richard] Dudgeon, Engineer.... This work could not have been carried on without the protection & cover of a considerable body of Troops & it was done at this favourable opportunity by particular advice & desire of the Governor, & notwithstanding His Honour expected & pointed out no other hands for the Labour but the Negro Pioneers & the Provincial Regiment. Col. Grant was too much of a Soldier & was influenced by principles too equitable to throw the burthen upon the shoulders of those poor, naked, deserted and deserting fellows.

The detail of Duty was fairly divided, in proportion to numbers, between the King's troops and Provincials. They work'd in rotation as if they had been one Corp, & if it happened that a useful hand or two from among the latter were call'd upon a Little out of turn to handle a Whip Saw, there was always a gratuity or acknowledgement made for their extra work, besides an exemption from ordinary Camp Duty.

The prospect of that heavy jobb did in the circumstances of those poor fellows cause some of them to despond & at all hazards face to the right about. Even the Blackies made some attempts to shun this disagreeable "branch of the trade" & had established regular sick days. But had that note from the Lt. Governors Letter been circulated & the Provincial Soldiers found that the Negroes & themselves were intended for Beasts of Burthen I am very certain that in a short time few or none would have remained on the spot but such as were too sick or lame to Leave it."

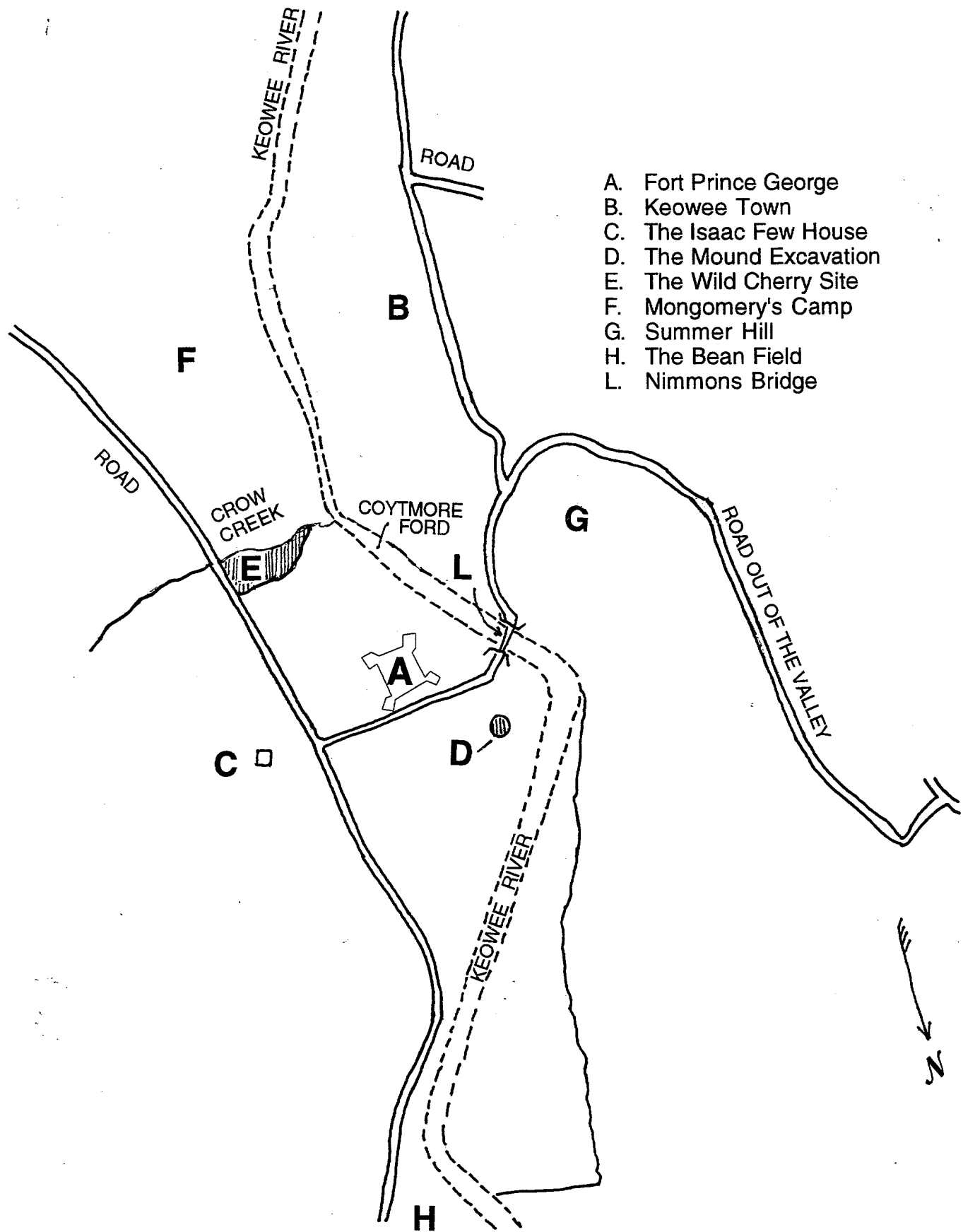
Page 329. A public order is issued 8 August, 1761, that, since there had been complaints against the Fort bakers an officer of the Corps "is to be sent tomorrow morning to be present at the delivery of the Bread. They are to order any Loaves they suspect to be cut up & if they are found to be bad they are to confine the bakers and report them."

Page 334. "The Lands thereabouts [at Fort Prince George] I do agree with Col. Grant are exceeding fine & I call that place & its environs the Paradise of America."

[This was in a letter by Laurens to Richard Oswald in Charles Town, dated 7 July, 1764].



Figure 22. An Aerial Photo of the Keowee Valley before
Preparation for the Lake.
(See next figure for explanation)



- A. Fort Prince George
- B. Keowee Town
- C. The Isaac Few House
- D. The Mound Excavation
- E. The Wild Cherry Site
- F. Mongomery's Camp
- G. Summer Hill
- H. The Bean Field
- L. Nimmons Bridge

Notes Concerning the Legend on the Previous Page

- A. Fort Prince George location in a bottom land adjoining the Keowee River.
- B. Keowee Town was a Cherokee village within range of the swivels guns at Fort Prince George. It was never adequately excavated because of re-lease agreement between Duke Power Company and the original land owner.
- C. The Few House became the site of the laboratory during the Fort Prince George dig.
- D. The "Mound" excavation refers to a probable Indian mound at this site which was excavated by Roger Grange. His report is on file at The Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of South Carolina. This site dates to about 1000 A.D., more or less.
- E. The "Wild Cherry" site was another early Indian occupation, not associated with the fort or even historic times.
- F. Montgomery's army evidently camped on this hillside, as may have Grant's army. Local people searching the area found a great many musket balls and lead fragments. The local name for it was "bullet hill".
- G. and M. "Summer Hill" and "Winter Hill" were names given to these two hills by local people. Mrs. Nora Nimmons Field, Seneca, S.C., explained by saying that there was always vegetation to Summer Hill, but that Winter Hill was always bare except for scrub trees and vegetation.
- H. "The Bean Field" was just that - at least at one time, a field of beans. A cursory examination of this field by the writer showed that it was the site of another very early Indian occupation, possibly as early as 500 A.D., judging from the pottery sherds found there.
- L. Nimmons Bridge was an iron girder type bridge with a plank floor, built around the turn of the twentieth century. It connected Oconee County, South Carolina to the west with Pickens County to the east, spanning the Keowee River. This bridge was destroyed during the construction of the Lake Keowee and iron hauled off. The supports and abutments remained in place, however.

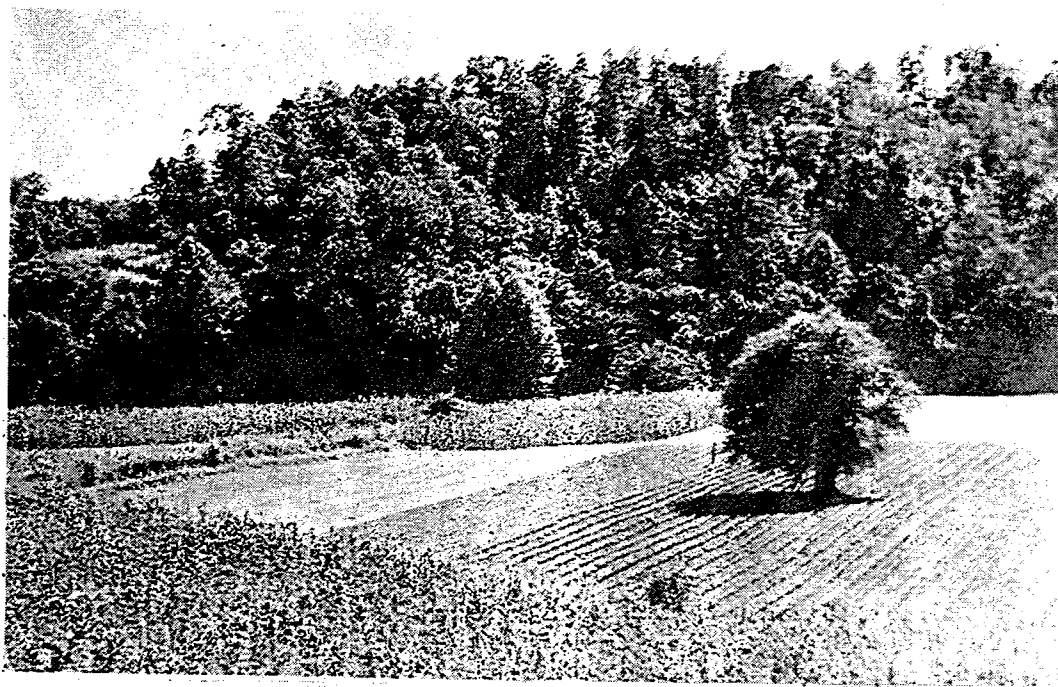


Figure 24. The Mulberry Tree at the site of the fort.
(Photo source unknown)



Figure 25. The Mulberry Tree Mold extending into Palisade trench on the left and early Powder Magazine on the right.



Figure 26. The rock-lined cellar before removal of fill rock.

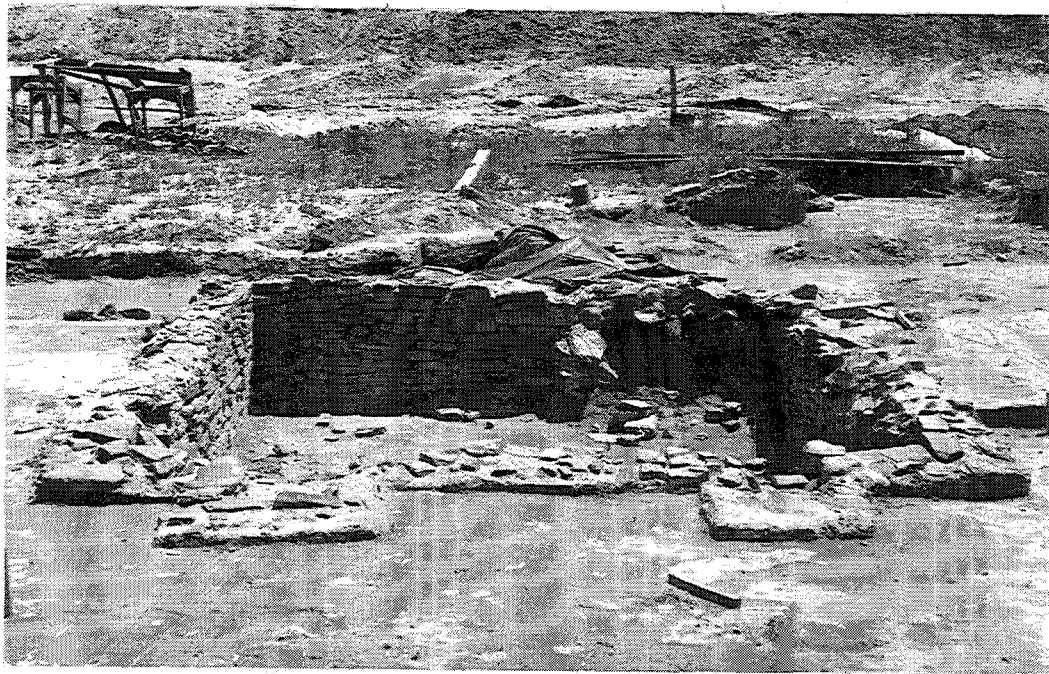


Figure 27. The rock-lined cellar after fill rock removed.

Figure 28 (right)

Skeletal remains
beside the
Cellar House

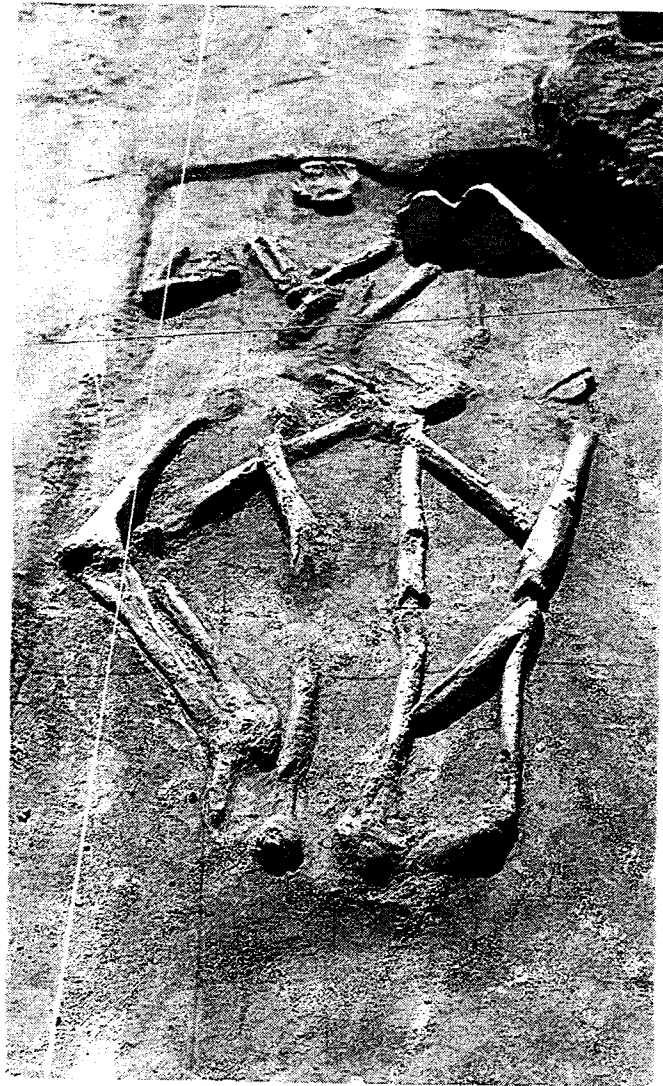


Figure 29 (below)

Showing relationship
to the Cellar.





Figure 30. The Rock-lined Well

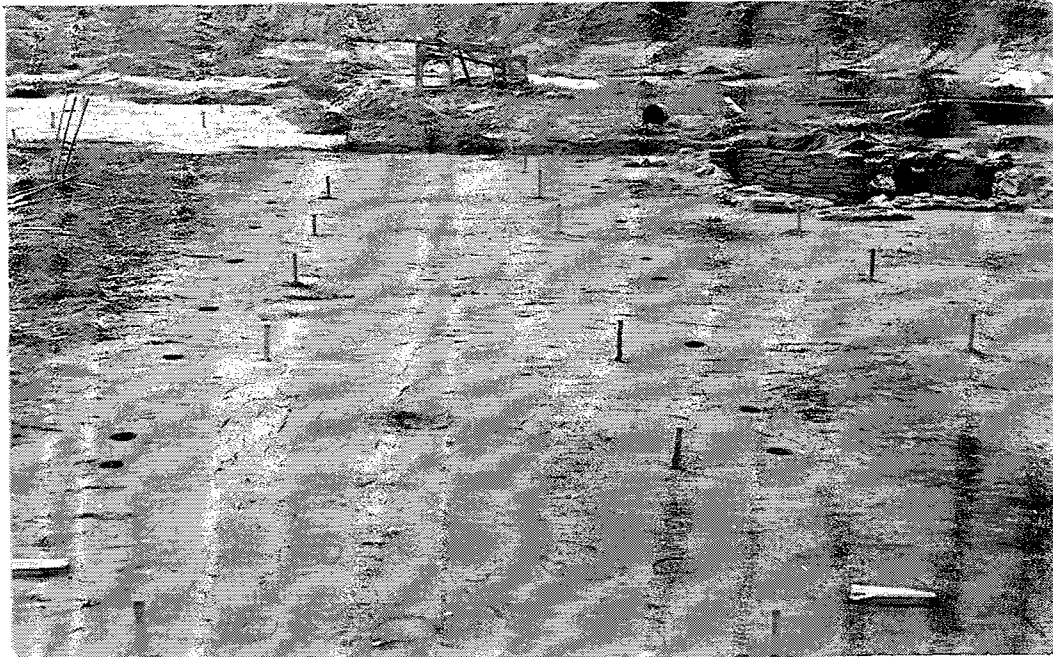


Figure 31. The East Barracks showing post molds. Cellar at upper right.

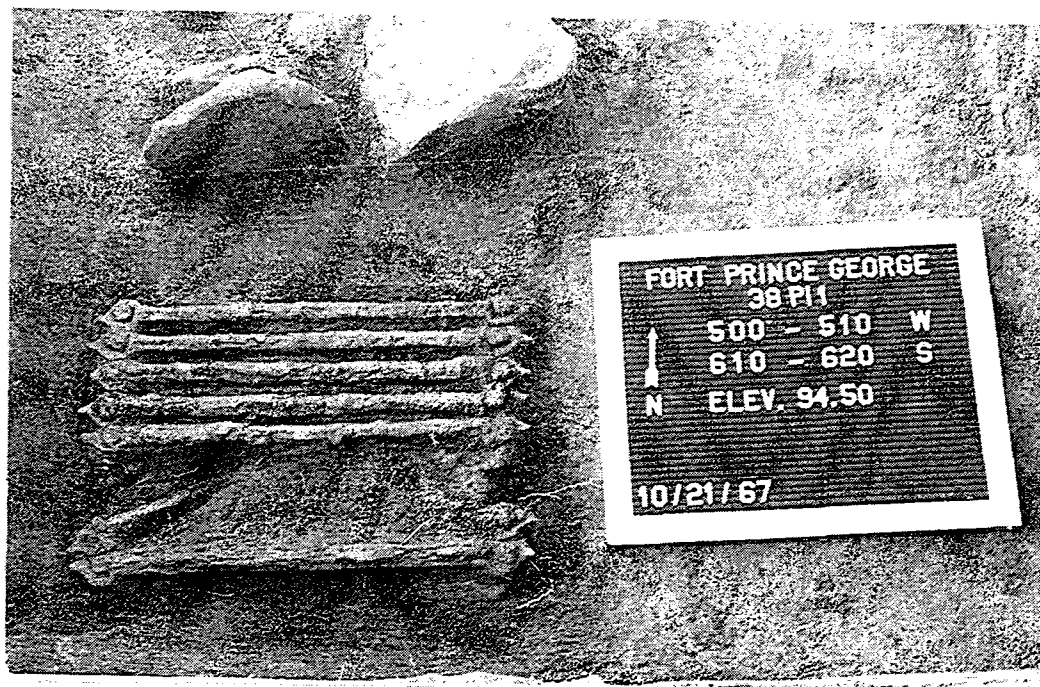


Figure 32. The iron bars over drain box near well.

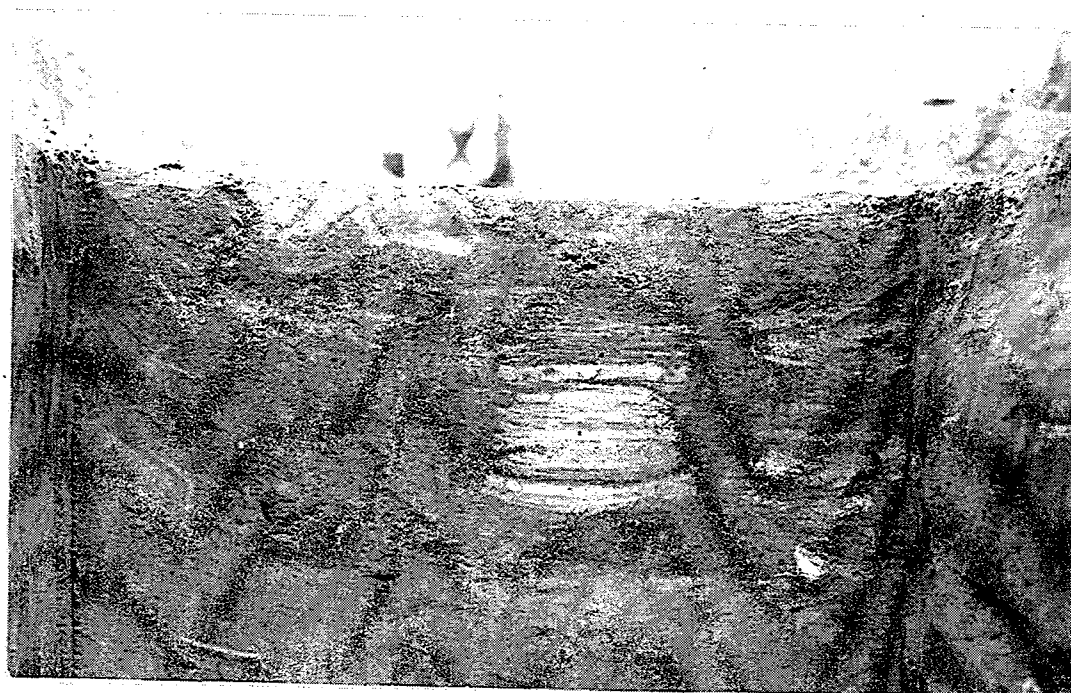


Figure 33. The sand-filled drain pipe at the moat end.

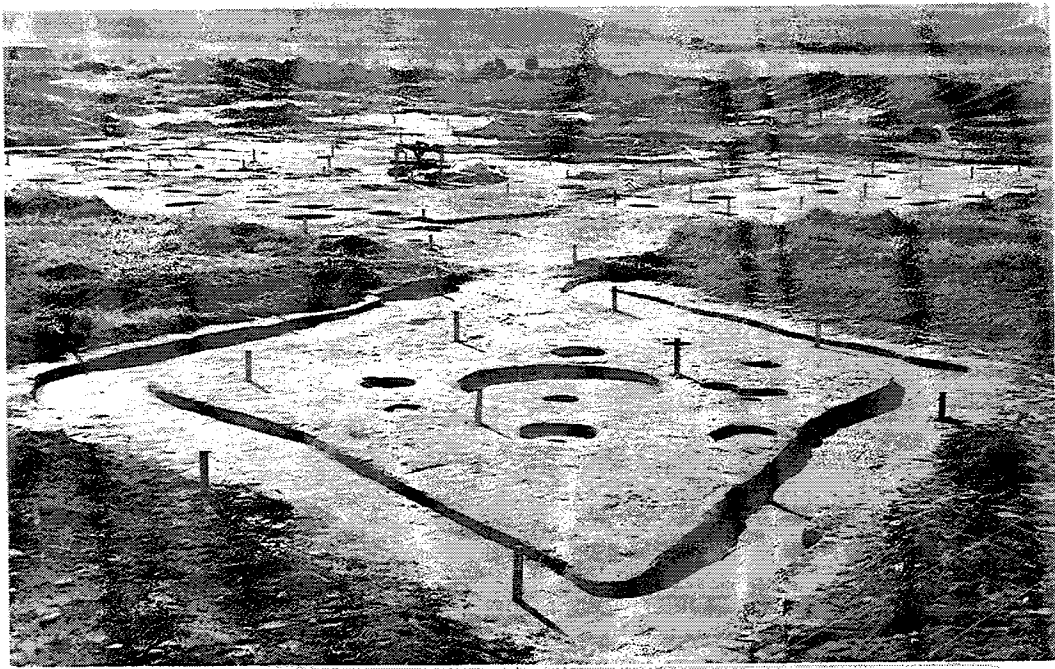


Figure 34. The partially excavated northwest bastion.



Figure 35. The East Barracks showing excavations for posts.



Figure 36. The early Powder Magazine, showing remains of powder, probably in boxes.

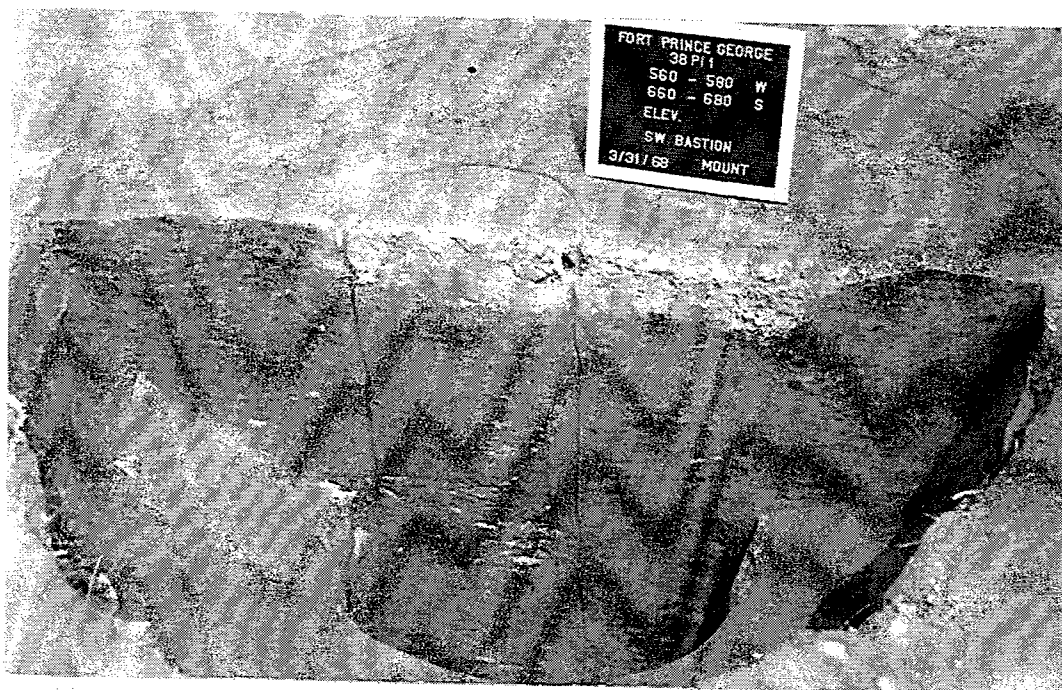


Figure 37. The sectioned excavation for the gun mount in the northwest bastion. Mount post outlined.

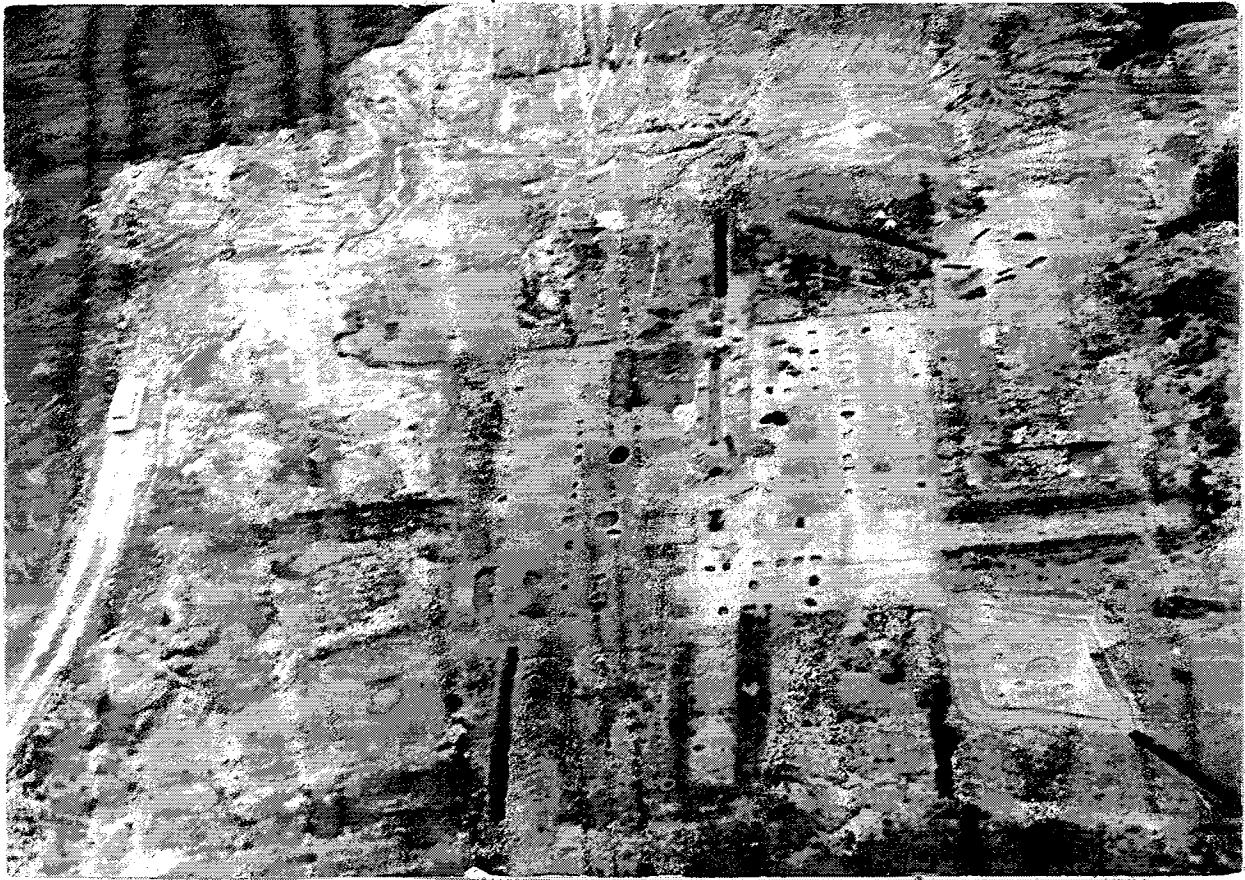


Figure 38. An aerial photo of the fort excavation, taken the day before water covered the site. Northwest bastion is at lower right. Note post excavations for buildings and cellar. (Photo courtesy of Reverend William E. Payne.)

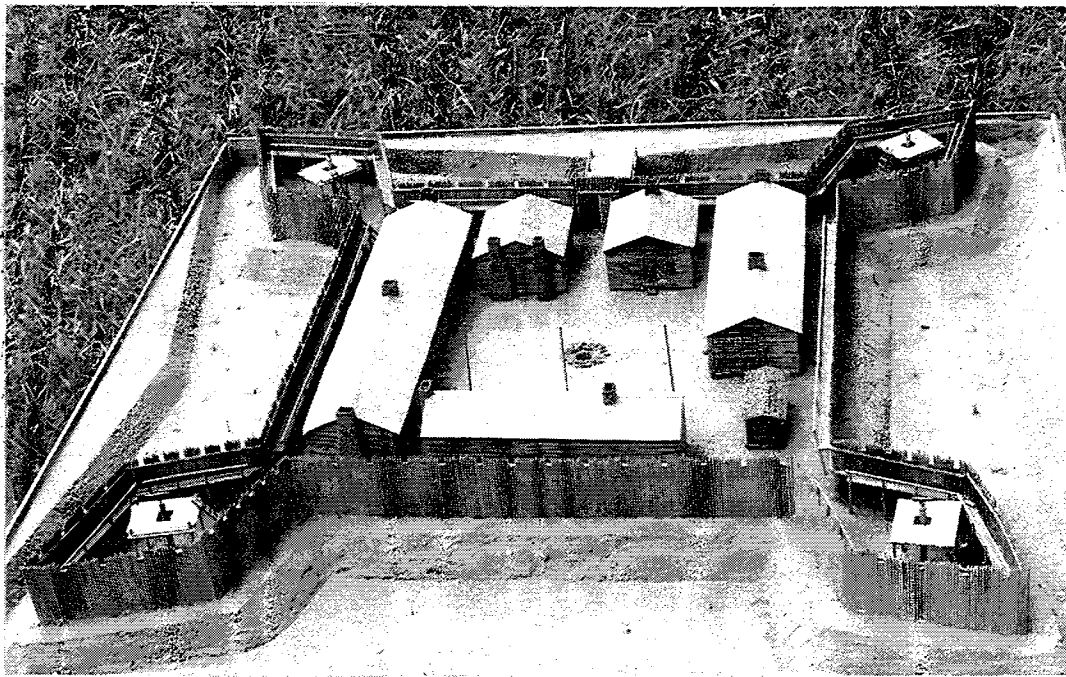


Figure 39. A view of the model from a similar perspective as the aerial photo above.

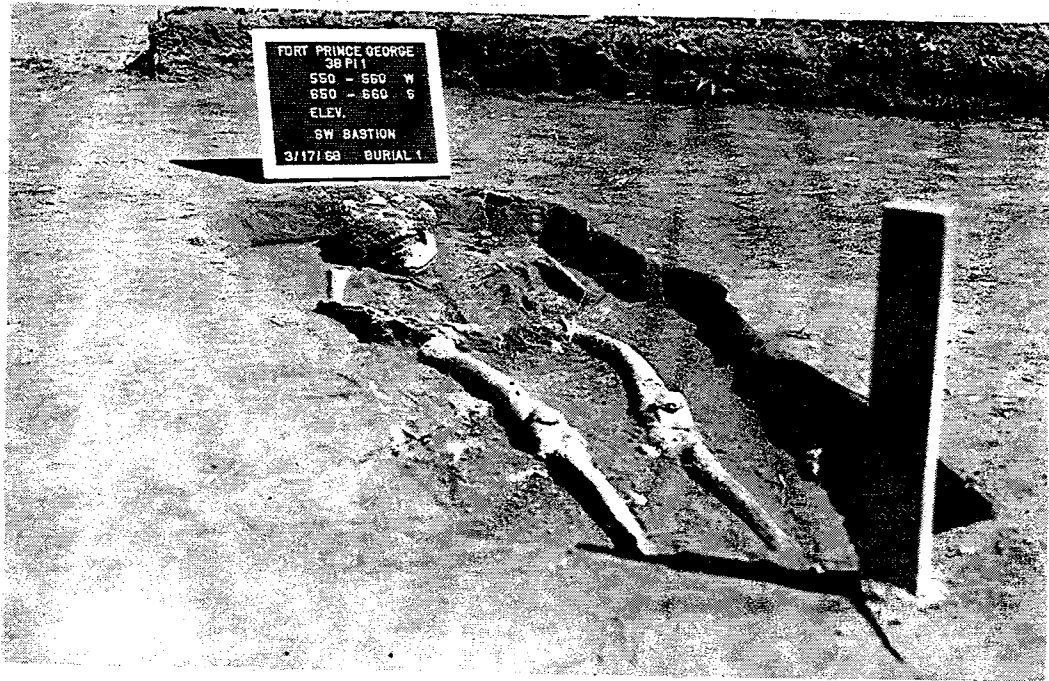


Figure 40. Burial at entrance to the southwest bastion.

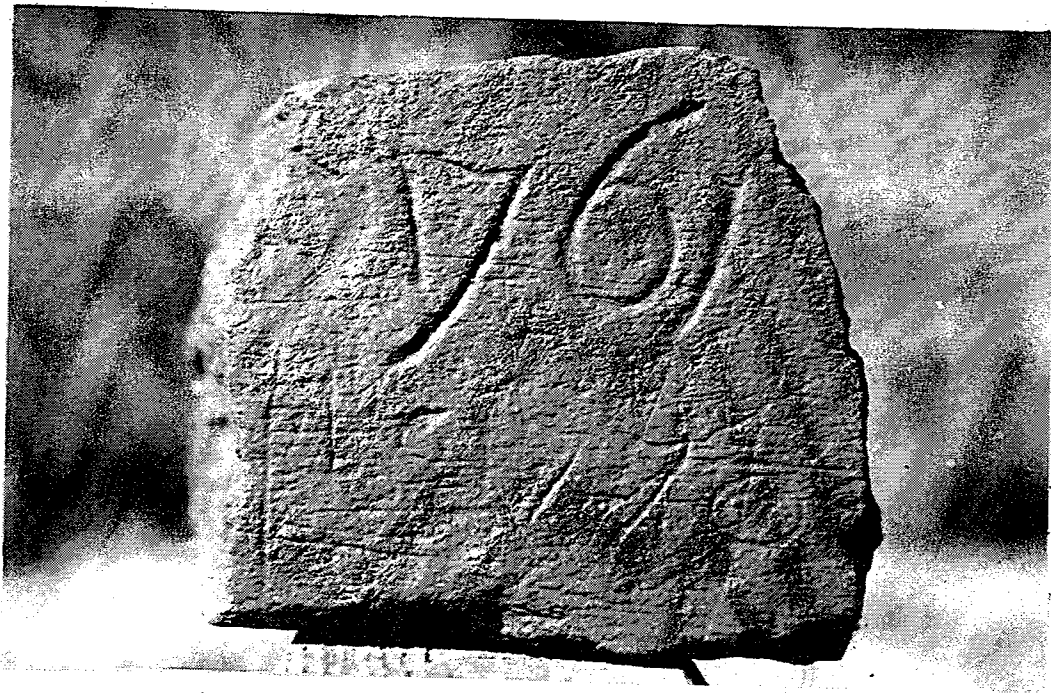


Figure 41. Dated rock found in cellar.

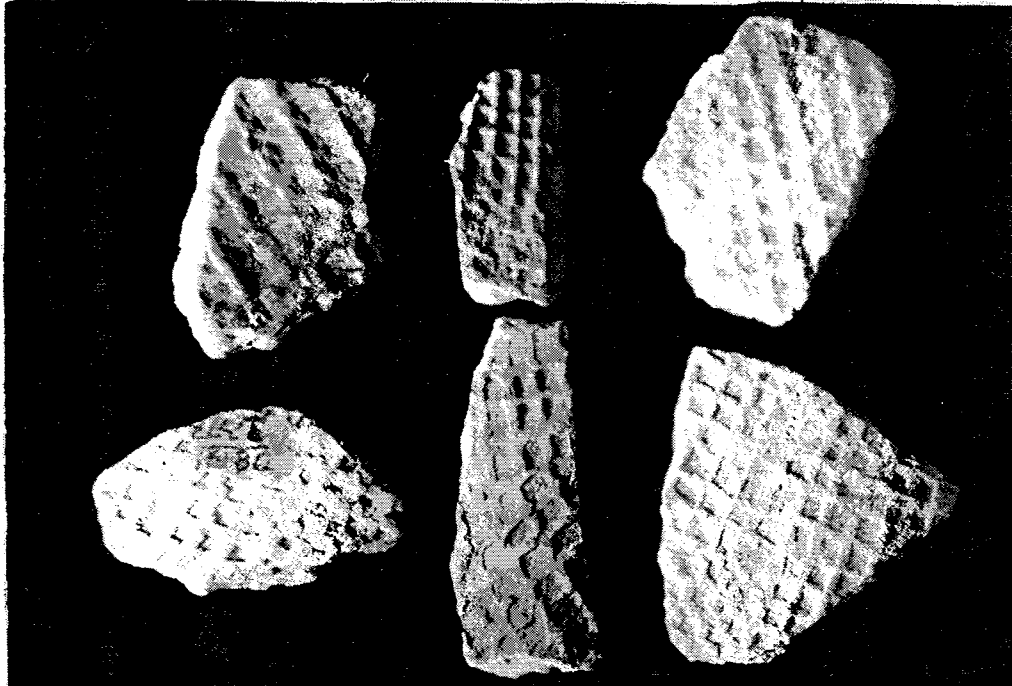
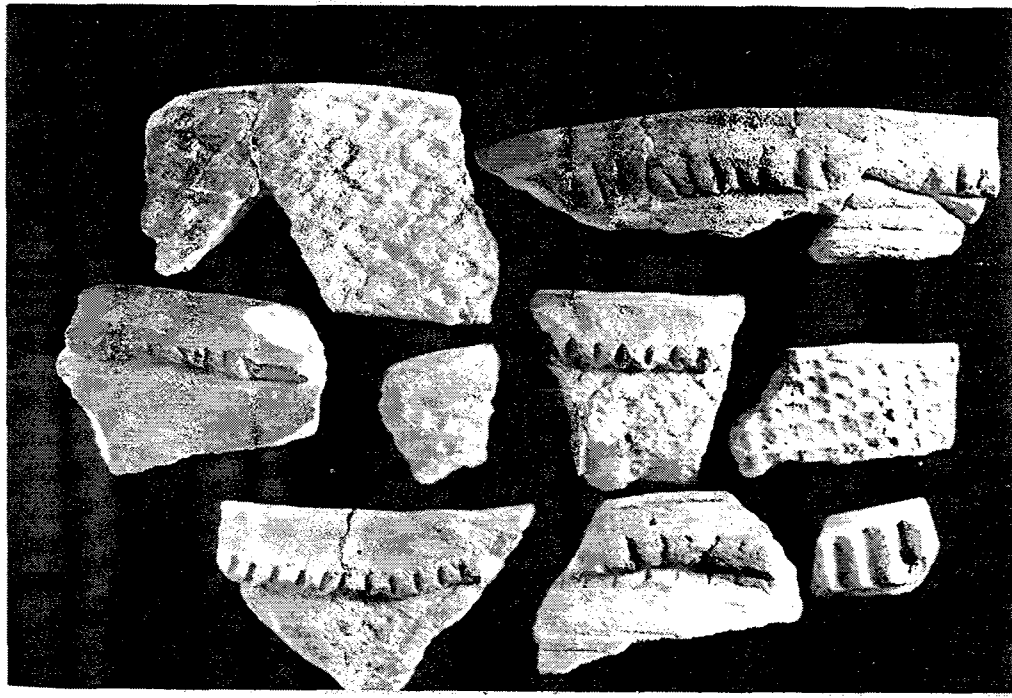
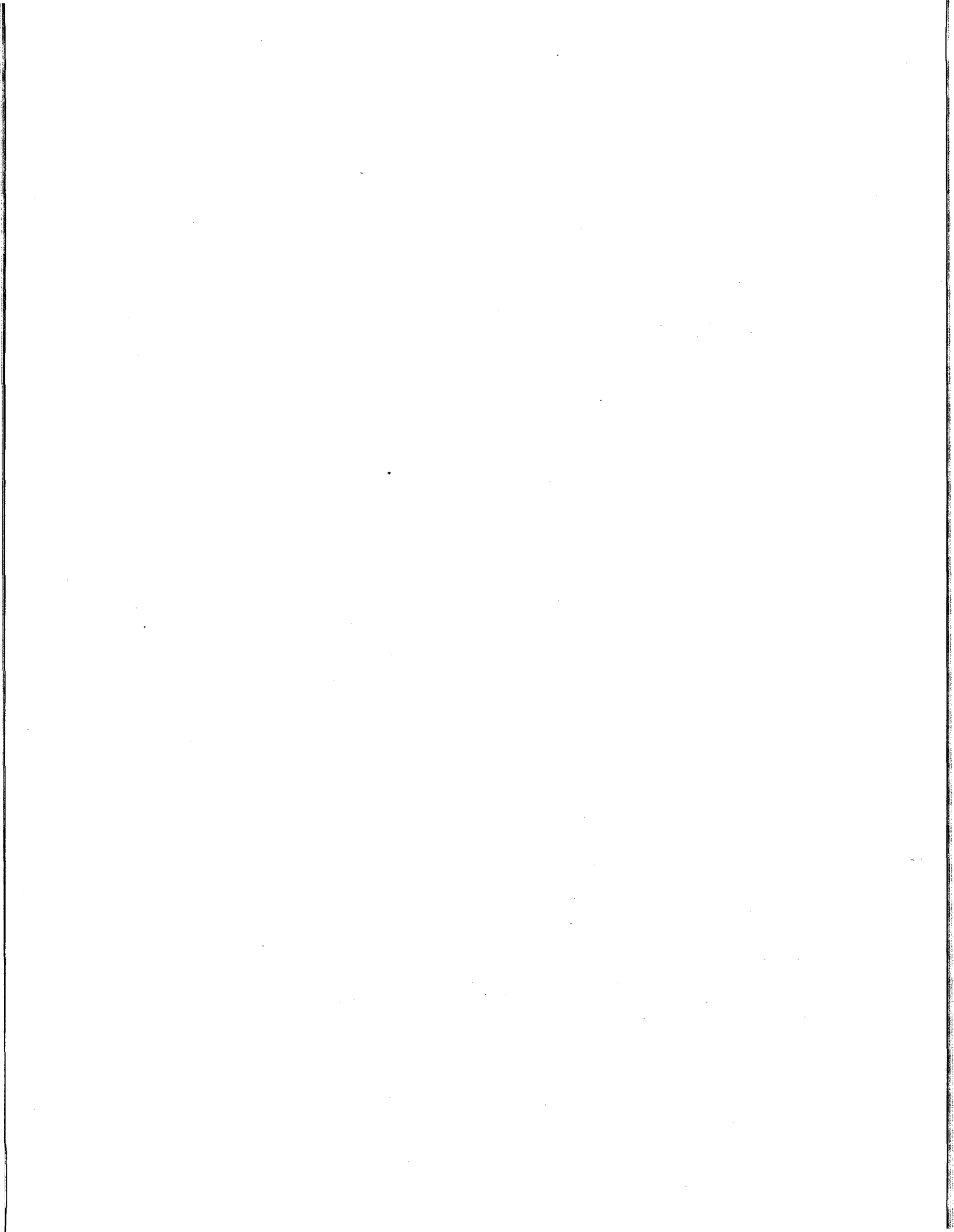


Figure 42. Historic Cherokee Pottery sherds from the excavations at Fort Prince George



ARTIFACTS FOUND DURING EXCAVATION

Bales Seals	2
Buckles	18
Buttons	33
Ceramics	764
Coins	2
Colon-Indian Pottery	2,583
Construction Hardware	8
Construction Tools	8
Door Lock Parts	3
Farms Tools	3
Glass Beads	11
Glassware	1
Gunflints, Spalls	38
Hook & Eye	1
Keys	1
Kitchenware	38
Lead Balls, Shot, Sprue	393
Nails	3,875
Pharmaceutical	75
Scissors	5
Spikes	126
Tableware	6
Tobacco Pipe	851
Toys	1
Tumbler	32
Window Glass	240
Wine Bottle	624

Source: *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, by Stanley South.



MEAN CERAMIC DATE ANALYSIS
Fort Prince George (38PN1)

Type No.	Ceramic type	Sherd count	Type Median	Product
54	Brown stoneware, other British	16	1733	27728
47	Buckley ware	2	1748	3496
26	Chinese overglazed porcelain	25	1730	43250
39	Chinese porcelain, underglaze blue	68	1730	117640
22	Creamware	255	1791	456705
49	Decorated delftware	123	(1750)	215250
31	English porcelain	78	1770	138060
45	Everted rim, plain delft ointment pot	72	1750	126000
33	Green-glazed, buff paste ware	1	1767	1767
29	Jackfield ware	12	1760	21120
56	Lead-glazed slipware (combed yellow)	21	1733	36393
46	Nottingham stoneware	10	1755	17550
28	Red stoneware, unglazed	2	1769	3538
21	Rouen faience	12	1788	21456
34	Scratch blue white salt-glazed stoneware	2	1760	3520
36	Tortoiseshell ware	6	1755	10530
44	Westerwald ware	15	1738	26070
40	White salt-glazed stoneware	4	1763	7052
43	White salt-glazed stoneware plates	<u>127</u>	1758	<u>223266</u>
		851		1500391

Mean Ceramic date = $1,500,0391 \div 851 = 1763.1$

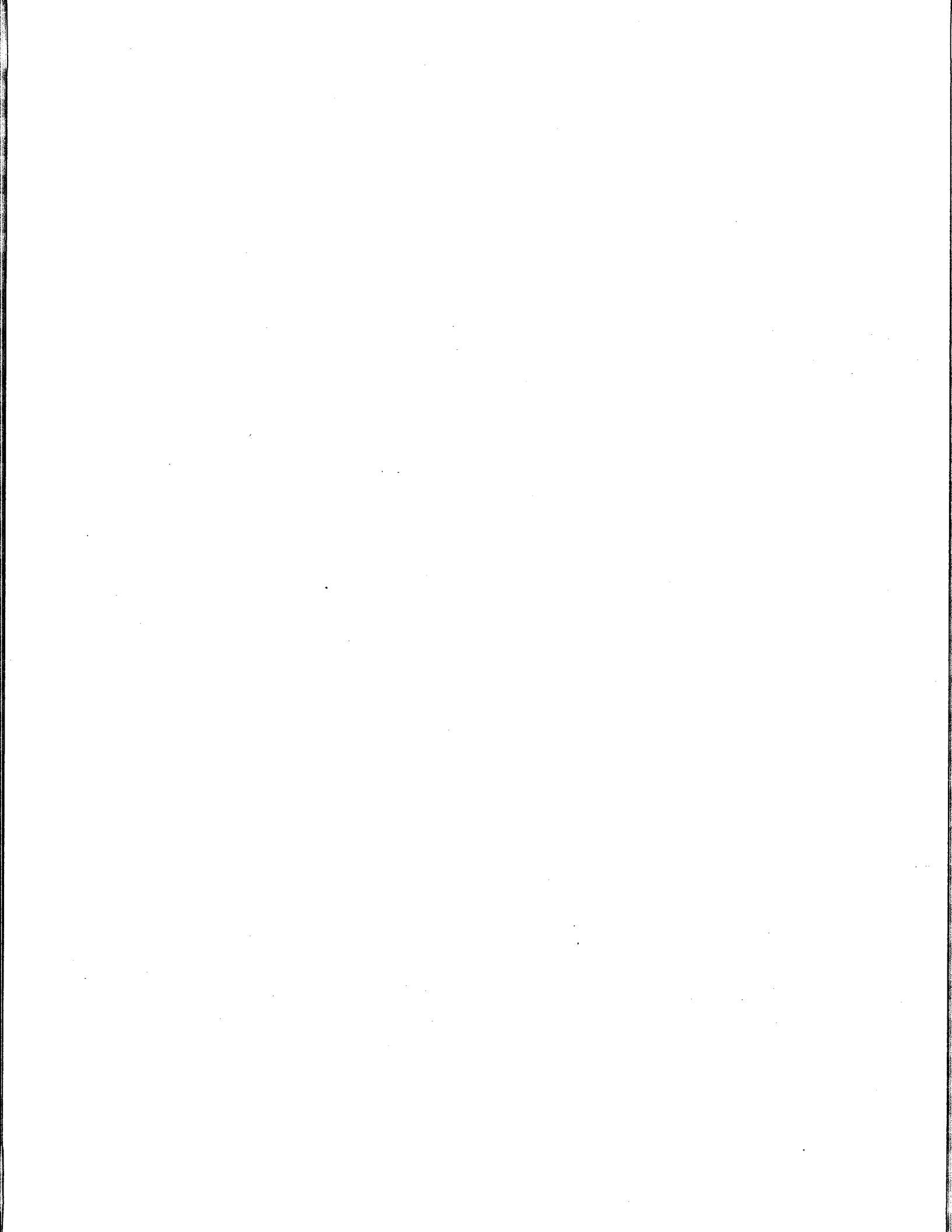
*Reprinted from Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology by Stanley South
with permission from the author*

ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

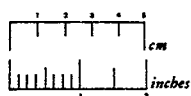
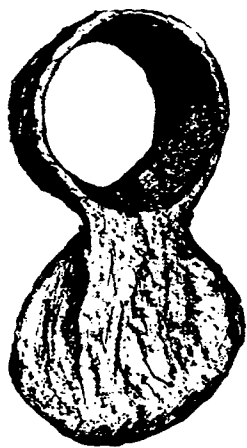
Fort Prince George (38PN1)

<i>Artifact class no. and description</i>	Count	Percent
Kitchen group		
Ceramics	764	
Wine Bottle	624	
Case bottle	139	
Tumbler	32	
Pharmaceutical	75	
Glassware	1	
Tableware	6	
Kitchenware	38	
Total Kitchen	1679	16.8
<hr/>		
Bone	(2644)	
<hr/>		
Architecture group		
Window glass	3875	
Nails	126	
Spikes	8	
Construction Hdwe.	3	
Door Lock Parts		
Total Architecture	4252	42.6
<hr/>		
Furniture group	6	0.1
<hr/>		
Arms Group		
Balls, shot, sprue	393	
Gunflints, spalls	40	
Gun parts	38	
Total Arms	471	4.7
<hr/>		
Personal Group		
Coins	2	
Keys	1	
Personal	6	
Total Personal	9	0.1
<hr/>		
Tobacco pipe group	851	8.5

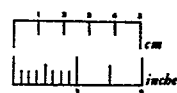
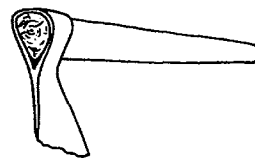
	Count	Percent
Clothing group		
Buckles	18	
Thimbles		
Buttons	33	
Scissors	5	
Straight pins		
Hook and eye	1	
Bale seals	2	
Glass beads	11	
Total Clothing	70	0.7
<hr/>		
Activities group		
Construction tools	8	
Farm tools	3	
Toys	1	
Fishing gear		
Stub-stemmed pipes		
Colono-Indian pottery	2583	
Storage Items	6	
Botanical		
Horse tack	24	
Misc. Hardware	4	
Other		
Military Objects	4	
Total Activities	2633	26.4
<hr/>		
TOTAL (without bone)	9971	100



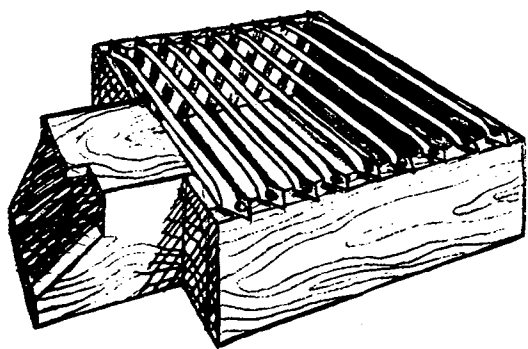
ARTIFACT DRAWINGS FROM EXCAVATIONS
Fort Prince George (38PN1)



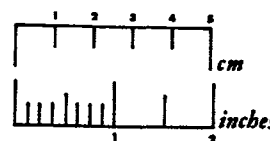
Grubbing Hoe



Iron Tomahawk

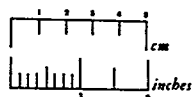


Drainage box with Iron Bars

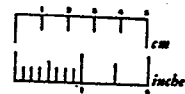
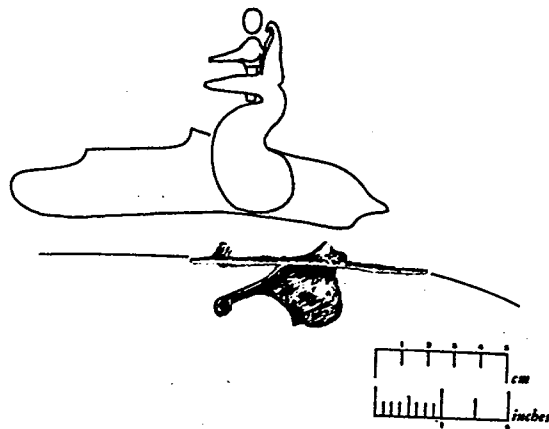


Jew's Harp

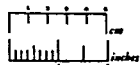
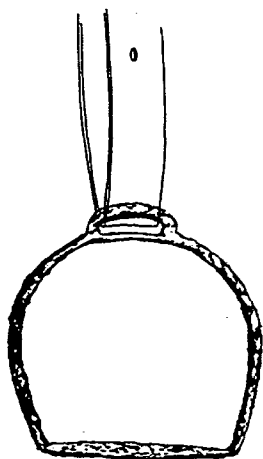
Artifacts from Excavations [cont.]



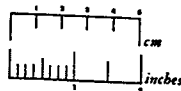
Brown Bess
Butt Plate



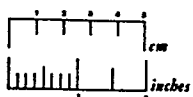
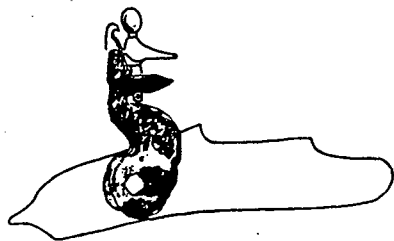
Trigger from Flintlock



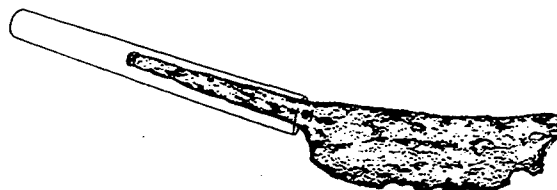
Stirrup



Glass
stemware



Hammer from Flintlock



Froe