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## Congerries In the Backcountry

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Congeries in the Backcountry

by

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Bachelor of Arts  
University of South Carolina, 2007

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## Abstract

The early 18<sup>th</sup> century Public Monopoly employed a unique form of labor organization to facilitate an administered deerskin trade. This study examines ethnohistoric and archaeological data as a means to evaluate subaltern laborers' participation in a commercializing colonial economy. It utilizes a practice based political-economic framework to situate their activities within the deerskin commodity chain. Activities identified through ethnohistoric research are evaluated through material and spatial analysis of the Fort Congaree, 38LX30/319, site. This trading factory and garrison played a central part in the articulation of the government deerskin trade. Material correlates of hide production, procurement, and transportation activities contextualize Fort Congaree activities and indicate the outpost was principally oriented towards Public Monopoly transportation activities.

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## List of Abbreviations

ASSC ..... Archaeological Society of South Carolina

The Board ..... Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade

JCHA ..... Journal of the Commons House of Assembly

JCIT ..... Journal of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade

SCIAA ..... South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology

Statutes ..... Statutes at Large of South Carolina

## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

"The Frontier transformations of the early colonial Southeast unfolded simultaneously on a number of levels, from the deeply personal to the utterly mysterious" (Oatis 2004:8).

The Commons House of South Carolina erected Fort Congaree following the cessation of Yemasee War hostilities in 1718. The war's erasure of Indian trade debt combined with agricultural losses and hyperinflation to strain the colony's economy and relations with Native American communities were raw following decades of exploitative Indian trade practices (Yonge 1726). In 1716, the Commons House formed a monopoly over the Indian trade. This Public Monopoly was incorporated to supply revenue to the colonial administration and renew trade relations with indigenous communities. This enterprise acquired deerskins through bartering exchanges at publically managed indigenous stores and frontier ports of trade called factories. One of these factories, Fort Congaree, was constructed in 1718 at the request of Cherokee allies. This frontier outpost was populated by a multi-ethnic community organized within a unique labor regime to support trade and military activities in the interior southeast. During the Public Monopoly period, 1716 through 1719, the fort functioned as a distribution and trading center for South Carolina's administered deerskin trade and provisioned backcountry rangers patrolling the frontier.

This study explores the organization of Public Monopoly Indian trade labor through an evaluation of ethnohistoric and archaeological data. The ethnohistoric analysis incorporates official records of the provincial assembly (The Commons House) and the Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade (the Board) with first-hand accounts of early 18<sup>th</sup> century indigenous deerskin trade practices. These practices, performed by marginalized or subaltern indigenous, African, and indentured European people, form a commodity chain organized into production, exchange, and transportation categories.

Since 1974, three archaeological projects have collected artifacts and data from 38LX30/319, the site of Fort Congaree. Motor-grading, backhoe trenching, and hand excavations identified several artifact clusters and subsurface features within or near Fort Congaree's defensive enclosure. This analysis evaluates data from the 1989 and 2011-2012 field seasons to presence Public Monopoly deerskin trade practices attributable to marginalized peoples laboring within the trading factory.

The late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century Indian trade was a synthesis of proto-capitalist commercially-scaled colonial enterprise and pre-Colonial indigenous practices. It played a significant part in the economic development of the Carolina colony and its diplomatic implications were a central concern for colonial and imperial geopolitical aspirations. The Indian trade was the third most significant economic activity in proprietary South Carolina, following behind naval stores and the sale of food stuffs to Caribbean sugar plantations. Until the Yemasee War, the chief commodities of the trade were indigenous captives and deerskins. Charles Towne merchants and their

backers annually invested of £10,000 sterling and an average yearly export of 54,000 skins between 1699 and 1714 (Clowse 1971; Haan 1981).

The Indian trade collapsed on April 15<sup>th</sup> 1715 when the Yemasee town of Pocataligo set upon and killed a resident trader and Thomas Nairne, the colony's Indian Agent. Their action triggered a general Native American uprising which targeted Indian traders and settlers living in outlying communities. War parties operating on the southwestern and northern fringes of the colony won several engagements in 1715 and early 1716. They succeeded in ambushing militia parties and routed several fortified plantations. Fearing for their lives, many colonists abandoned their plantations and retreated to Charles Town's defensive perimeter (Ramsey 2008). Their forced evacuation and concurrent eradication of Indian traders erased Indian trade debts valued at more than £10,000 (Yonge 1726).

The Yemasee War was a pivotal point in the history of the Indian trade (Crane 1959; McDowell 1992). At its close, the focus of trading swung away from western Coastal Plain tribes to newly allied Cherokees living in the Appalachian Mountains and Piedmont (Haan 1981; McDowell 1992). The war also resulted in the political overthrow of Proprietary control in 1719, and precipitated an economic collapse within the colony (Ramsay 2003; Yonge 1726). An emergent planter class eclipsed the power of merchants in the provincial Commons House when European merchants and backers, fearful of the colony's destruction, called in their debts (Clowse 1971; Yonge 1726). Governor Archdale originally proposed a monopolized Indian trade in 1695 to curb the

power of an influential group of planters called the Goose Creek men. When it was eventually established in 1716, merchants and planters supported the incorporation of the Public Monopoly. It was organized with the intent to repair diplomatic ties between the colony and neighboring indigenous communities, repay colonial debts incurred while organizing the colony's defense, and limit Native American travel through the colony (Cooper 1837; Haan 1981).

Alliances with the Cherokee and Creek were essential to colony's frontier defense against competing European colonies and their indigenous confederates. South Carolina's January 1716 Tugaloo treaty with the Cherokee exchanged military support for preferential trading status and improvements to Indian trade logistics (Reid 1976). These improvements included the construction of a trading factory at the Congarees and the use of packhorses instead of indigenous porters (McDowell 1992).

The Commons House incorporated the Public Monopoly to re-establish colonial-indigenous relations and foster their dependence on South Carolina trade for textiles, firearms, metal tools, and other trade goods. This government-operated corporation was an experiment with an administered trade where goods were exchanged at fixed and sometimes subsidized rates (Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010; Ponasik 1977). Merchants continued to play a role in the Indian trade as suppliers of trade goods and provisions. This arrangement limited merchants' exposure to the economic and physical risks of the post-Yemasee War landscape. It was also profitable as merchant-suppliers typically charged the Commons House double the customary percentage for profits on

trade goods (JCHA 1734:164). The provincial government absorbed the costs of operating an expansive, and formerly private, trading network and was legally obligated to sell skins at public auction frequented by the same merchants profiting as suppliers.

This study will use a social labor framework to situate interconnected relations of power and performance within the 1716 – 1722 Public Monopoly deerskin trade. Performance of labor roles during this period were complexly interwoven with concurrent processes of social identity construction and indigenous ethnogenesis. A variety of peoples residing in an innovative colonial frontier setting performed deerskin commodity production, acquisition, and transportation activities. Physical distance and historical circumstance enabled novel modes of labor organization and individualized performances of labor activities. The next chapter will elaborate upon this analytical framework and discuss the significance of layered contextualization to the study of colonial labor organization.

Chapter 2 outlines an activities-based approach to investigating colonial labor roles. Labor activities at frontier colonial occupations like Fort Congaree overlapped in space and the use of material culture (Silliman 2010). In addition, an individual's labor activities were not confined within specific locations. Public Monopoly servants and employees participated in an array of activities in hunting grounds, Native American communities, along trails and streams, and in the port of Charles Towne. This confusion of objects and spaces nullifies attempts to delineate specific activity areas. Rather than focus on the archaeological correlates of activities for a single site, this analysis

examines the range of activities and labor roles present in the Public Monopoly Indian trade. Since these roles were oriented towards deerskin commodity production and exchange; they are organized through a commodity chain model defined through an examination of archival and ethnohistorical resources.

The organization of the Public Monopoly deerskin commodity chain is presented in the third chapter. This Historical Context chapter also describes the construction and operation of Fort Congaree and colonial developments affecting the Indian trade. These descriptions were collected from the Journals of the Commons House of Assembly (JCHA), the Commissioners of the Indian Trade (JCIT), other primary sources, and ethnohistorical research.

These references indicate a variety of power relations affected the trade's operation. Whether involving individuals, communities or colonial administrations, these relations were contextualized in events. Given the personal scale of trade interactions, idiosyncratic events greatly affected the Indian Trade. The deaths of a group of Creek ambassadors in January of 1716, for example, had far reaching effects for trade and political alliances. These deaths incited a retaliatory war between the Creek and Cherokee which necessitated an alliance between the Cherokee and the colony. That alliance gave rise to the Public Monopoly and the establishment of Fort Congaree in 1718.

The construction and operation of this small frontier outpost coincided with the interregnum between South Carolina's periods of proprietary and royal administration.



Few documented details of activities at the fort are available for research and necessitate the use of archaeological methods for investigation of labor activities within the outpost's environs. Chapter 4 outlines efforts, beginning in 1974, to relocate and evaluate the Fort Congaree site. It also includes a discussion of several features, identified during 1989 and 2011-2013 fieldwork, associated with deerskin trade activities.

Chapter 5 identifies material and spatial correlates of deerskin commodity chain activities found within the Fort Congaree assemblage. Specific activity areas are not identifiable within the 38LX30/319 site; however, a comparison of artifacts from within and without the defensive enclosure indicates a separation of Native American and Public Monopoly spaces. Non-commodity chain evidence for marginalized labor is also present in the assemblage.

A synthesis of ethnohistoric and archaeological data is offered in the final chapter. Their integration expands contemporary understandings of proto-capitalist colonial projects in the American southeast while simultaneously unearthing evidence of undocumented marginalized peoples laboring in a government-operated trading post.

Before the Yemasee War, the Indian trade extended from the Atlantic Coastal Plain to the Yazoo and Tennessee River valleys. This exchange system, supplying slaves and skins to Charles Towne, influenced Native American and colonial settler communities. The trade drew Native Americans into a colonial consumer economy through the supply of metal and cloth goods (Spivey 2007). It enriched plantation

traders and merchants and financed commercial agriculture investment (Clowse 1971).

The Indian trade relied upon a number of labor roles to produce, acquire, and transport deerskin commodities. Enslaved, indentured, salaried, and wage laborers were present in the era of private trade and during the Public Monopoly period.

Labor is complexly interwoven with features of identity construction, personal experience and relationships of power. The examination of Fort Congaree labor roles and labor regimes facilitating Indian trade activities must account for historical developments in local, regional, and global processes. To this end, a multiscalar historical and archaeological analysis will place locally-enacted labor organization within patterns of historical and social change.

## **Chapter 2. Colonialism and Indian Trade Labor**

### **Introduction**

This study focuses on Public Monopoly labor organization as a means to evaluate processes of culture change occurring in the post Yemasee War Southeast. These labor performances were manifold and created within distinct social contexts. Their study can “inform us about the diversity of the processes clustered under the rubric of colonialism - the myriad ways that people try to make subjects of others in distinct historical circumstances” (Dietler 2010:52). An activities-based labor approach is well suited to this effort because it emphasizes economic and material connections of interaction occurring across a frontier of colonialism. Colonialism denotes:

...the dual process (1) of attempted domination by a colonial/settler population based on perceptions and actions of inequality, racism, oppression, labor control, economic marginalization, and dispossession and (2) of resistance, acquiescence, and living through these by indigenous people who never permit these processes to become final and complete and who frequently retain or remake identities and traditions in the face of often brutal conditions [Silliman 2005:59]

The Fort Congaree occupation was part of an Indian trade network that exploited Native American demand for European products to secure deerskins and Native American slaves (Gallay 2002). This trade is linked with several historic tribes' ethnogenesis, inter-indigenous conflicts, and the emergence of Native American consumerism (Boulware 2010; Braund 2008; Gallay 2002; Merrell 1991; Silliman and Witt 2010).

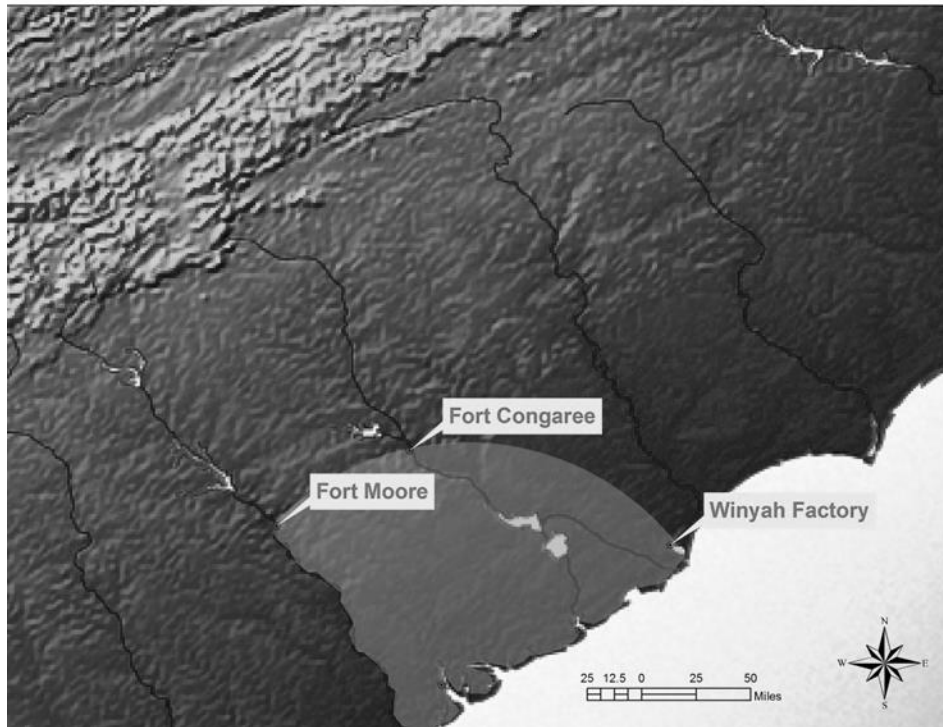
The Indian trade's concurrent intensification of deerskin procurement, introduction of European technologies and market mentalities also wrought dramatic changes on the social patterning of indigenous communities (Ramsey 2003). Drawing from the theoretical frameworks of political-economic anthropology, the current examination envisions contemporary deerskin trade labor within a synthetic, multilayered, relational model of performance and identity construction. This chapter defines a practice-based synthetic labor model useful for interpreting colonial modes of economic organization. This economic focus is significant to understanding the inception of an administered trade Public Monopoly during an era of historically low economic regulation and free enterprise.

The Indian trade had expanded the periphery of the southeastern colonial economy as far west as the Mississippi River valley by the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Part of a broader pan-Atlantic economy developing novel social configurations accommodating the development of a market-based economy which "...entailed a progressive loosening of traditional social and intellectual restraints on land, labor, and capital and a

concomitant individuation, articulation and commercialization of these factors of production” (Coclanis 1991:13).

Charles Towne, established in 1670 and the principal port of the Southeastern colonial economy, relied upon participant indigenous communities for the production of deerskins and captive labor. When, in 1715, the Yemasee War nearly ruined the colonial economy, the South Carolina Commons House moved quickly to ameliorate Indian trade complaints. Their action was motivated by economic and political exigencies. The colonial economy required Indian trade capital to rebuild plantations and the Commons House needed a source of revenue to defray debts accrued in the uprising (Hewatt 1776; Yonge 1726). Native American client communities produced a vital commodity and buffered the colony from attack by imperial rivals in Florida and Louisiana (Oatis 2004). The Commons House created the Public Monopoly apparatus in 1716 as a means to “... keep a good correspondence with our Indians and prevent all abuse among them for the future...” (JCHA 1716:149).

Formed through an “Act for the Better Regulation of the Indian Trade”, the Public Monopoly was controlled by a Board of Commissioners authorized to: regulate deerskin exchange rates; acquire goods; purchase skins and slaves; designate official trade locations; and appoint trading factors (Cooper 1837; JCHA 1716; McDowell 1992).



**Figure 1.1 The General Locations of Public Monopoly Trading Factories.**  
The shaded area denotes the nominal boundaries of the colonial settlement

This board operated three factories at Fort Moore, Winyah Bay, and Fort Congaree. Their trading factors were personally responsible for the behavior of subordinates and the observance of codified trade regulations.

When the Commons House circumscribed the Indian trade within a government-held monopoly, an administered trade system of exchange was created. Administered trade is a form of economic exchange controlled through socially embedded institutions (Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010). “The basic factors of administered trade were strict price control, ports of trade, and the use of intermediaries” (Ponasik 1977:195). The Public Monopoly: adhered to standardized exchange rate for trade goods, restricted

trade to interior stores and frontier factories and relied upon trading factors to represent the interests of the colony during exchange. The Public Monopoly Indian trade contrasts with *market* trade. This describes an economy operating under complimentary principles of personal wealth accumulation and free market behavior (Bauer and Agbe-Davies 2010). From 1719 until 1722, these forms of trade operated interdependently and Charles Towne merchants continued to supply trade goods to and acquire deerskins from throughout the government's administration of the Indian trade, from 1716 until 1719 (McDowell 1992).

"In order to purchase goods for trade, the commission received bids from the Charleston merchants for contracts to supply specific items. Payment would be made in deer skins, in cash, or for especially large orders, notes for future payment in deer skins. Surplus deer skins or furs would be sold at public auction" (Stumpf 1971:103). These organizational factors were significant to development of labor roles because they embedded Native American *and* Public Monopoly servants within multilayered webs of interaction. Early 18<sup>th</sup> century Indian trade labor roles were structured through interactions with the market, shifts in legislative policy, dynamic colonial political landscapes, and personal relationships (Haan 1981; Ramsay 2003).

Fort Congaree position within the government-controlled Indian trade was also linked with these factors. As a Public Monopoly outpost, this facility was part of a network of stores and trading factories established as "one body politick and corporate... for carrying on a trade with the Indians, for the sole use, benefit and behoof

of the publick” (Cooper 1837:677). The Board of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade staffed these outposts with slaves, indentured servants, and part time militia. They were organized through local and institutional labor regimes to acquire and transport goods and commodities from Charles Towne to interior Native American communities.

Public Monopoly employees and servants, along with indigenous clients and sojourning militia patrols formed a multi-ethnic frontier community oriented towards Indian trade labor activities. Marx defined labor as a social process of interaction between man and nature that purposefully manifests a mentally conceived object or activity (Marx 1906). This definition is improved through a model synthesizing relational distributions of power and concomitant identity construction (Silliman 2006). “Labor is a multiply experienced relation and a multiply relational experience” (Silliman 2006:161). Individual and collective identity constructions are formed through tensioned relations and experiences. Tensioning, in contrast to *influence*, conveys an interrelationship of counterpoised factors within a matrix of indeterminate asymmetrical strengths. Within this matrix, the distribution of power between engaged social identities is fluid. Factors like gender, class, and economic status are socially conceived/perceived dimensions of this process and their performance occurs within specific contexts. They resonate in the manifestation of labor roles and work. Work represents the activities of individuals, singly or in groups, expending energy to produce energy. “Labor and the labor process are ... social phenomenon, carried by human beings bonded to one another in society” (Wolf 2010:74). Labor roles embody descriptions of work. The negotiation of labor roles occurs between individuals and between individuals and groups or institutions.



Since Public Monopoly Indian trade servants and employees worked within a geographically extensive network, these negotiations form a layered network of relations that were locally enacted and multi-sited (Silliman 2010).

The relationships constraining the embodiment and performance of labor are distance-dependent. As transportation costs rise with distance or difficulty, structural power deteriorates and asymmetrical relations are upended (Stein 1998). Following Stein's distance-parity principle, Public Monopoly employees had enjoyed greater access to agency and creativity at Fort Congaree on the Carolina frontier than under the watchful eyes of authority in Charles Town.

Porters and Public Monopoly employees were mobile. Their activities carried them along rivers and pathways interacting with Native American communities and colonial settlements. This mobility enhanced their ability to "alter structures of colonialism to ... accommodate new notions of identity and social order" (Silliman 2004:3). Cherokee porters manipulated the Public Monopoly mode of compensation for transporting deerskins through creative repackaging of bundles. At the start of their travel these bundles consisted of approximately sixty deerskins. Before arrival in Charles Towne, the porters divided their freight amongst additional porters. The arrival of an expanded party of porters irritated the Board, who were obligated to pay each porter presenting themselves at the government warehouse the rate negotiated for the party starting out from the interior store. From that point forward storekeepers were

instructed to send a roster of porters along with each shipment of deerskins (McDowell 1992).

Another example of frontier-enhanced agency occurred in the first expedition to Fort Congaree when every member of the expeditionary party save the appointed factor, Lieutenant James How, abandoned their mission and carried away the stock of provisions and trade goods (McDowell 1992). The weakening of structural power through distance-parity does not imply Fort Congaree public servants were unfettered by broader social constraints. The militia structure in particular exerted some measure of institutional authority over outpost activity through personal incentives and control of provisions.

## **Labor Patterns**

Before identifying labor patterns within Fort Congaree, it is first necessary to identify the variety of labor statuses found there. A 1718 revision to the Indian trade regulations stated:

That the number of men to be employed by the publick trade, and in pay in those garrisons shall not exceed the number of sixty men, one half whereof to be free men, under a pay of not exceeding the value of one hundred weight of deerskins per annum, each of them, and the other half to be servants that are already bought, or which shall hereafter be purchased by the said commissioners for the public service, if servants are to be had, and in case there can be no servants had, then the number to be supplied by hired free men; which number of men shall be placed in the said respective garrisons in such numbers as the commissioners shall think proper, and they shall be under the command of three factors and three subfactors, who shall be recommended by the said commissioners, to have the commission of the honorable the Governour for the time-being, the chief factor as Captain and the sub-factors as Lieutenant of the

said garrisons, which sub-factors shall likewise be obliged to go & come in the publick perriagos with the effects of the public trade [Cooper 1837:401]

Government ‘owned’ and impressed indentured servants and slaves were categorized as public *servants* in a 1721 excerpt of the JCHA. However, aside from general statements identifying them as servants, discussions of labor statuses within the Public Monopoly were infrequent. These statuses were not completely racially determined and were ill-defined in the interior Southeast. Armed African slaves accompanied Colonel Moore’s expedition to the Cherokees in the winter of 1715 and at least two companies of African slaves remained with the Cherokees in case of attack by the Creek. These men had minimal supervision and yet none used the opportunity to flee their bondage (Chicken 1894). In the following spring, the governor purchased the indentures of 32 Scottish Jacobite rebels expelled from Great Britain. These men were “to be employed as soldiers in defending this Province against our enemies for an indenture of four years” (Cooper 1837:683). Upon arrival, they joined an indeterminate number of servants already engaged in the Public Monopoly’s service. These servants were given significant responsibilities and often entrusted with transportation of valuable cargos. One indentured servant even served as the garrison doctor for Fort Moore (JCHA 1716).

The official trade representatives for the Public Monopoly were known as factors. Each operated a trading factory with an aide holding the title of subfactor. Compensation for factors, subfactors, and militia accumulated on a quarterly schedule.

Factors were obliged to provide financial securities and proclaim an oath of obedience to the Board and the Commons House (McDowell 1992). Labor outside normal militia responsibilities was compensated through goods and measures of alcohol. Labor used in the construction of a storehouse at Fort Moore, for example, was paid for in rum (McDowell 1992). Compensation for labor invested in deerskin production was tied to the commodity's economic worth. Public Monopoly trading posts exchanged deerskins according to a uniform rate regardless of the amount of energy and time invested in procurement and preparation (McDowell 1992). Subaltern servants received no wages for their toil. If they were impressed from their bond holders' for government service, compensatory wages were paid to that person.

The social and geographic setting of the outpost weakened structural constraints even though the local context was embedded in a layered network of interactions. Weakened structural constraints are significant to the development of the local labor regime as distance from Charles Towne strengthened the community's reliance on personal interactions (Stein 1998). This labor regime was socially contextualized and constructed through a synthetic interweaving of relations with embodied and performed identities (Silliman 2010). Fort Congaree labor activities were coordinated through a mixed organizational strategy marked by the interweaving of indentured, enslaved, and less exploitive wage labor (JCHA 1716; McDowell 1992). "To address colonial labor relations, we do not need only to find deposits segregated spatially by their ethnic or colonial identities... we need to rethink how to investigate the *mixed*

colonial deposits of interaction and daily life, particularly when documents offer some insight..." (Silliman 2010:38-19).

## **The Materiality of Frontier Labor**

The Indian trade was tangible in the colonial landscape and economy. It was apparent in contemporary attire, procurement and preparation of deerskins and captive-taking. It was attached to stores and factories exchanging skins for trade goods. The Indian trade was present in the port of Charles Towne where deerskins and captives were auctioned and shipped abroad. Deerskins were graded and sold by fellmongers in the London markets of Bermondsey and Leadenhall. Enslaved Native Americans transported to the Caribbean sugar islands connected the trade with commercial agriculture. South Carolina plantations were built on wealth and labor acquired in the Indian trade (Clowse 1971; McDowell 1992; Thornbury 1893).

Silliman observes that colonial laborers, in general, "used material culture to negotiate new identities and traditions in colonial worlds" (Silliman 2010:36). The physical manifestations of labor at Fort Congaree, whether material or spatial, were formed through social relations. Material culture, in production, modification, or consumption, follows a similar pattern of synthesized interactions. Objects are imbued with a multitude of meanings dependent upon their context and who interacts with them. A porcelain bowl fragment found in the outpost's eastern ditch carries several implications for interpreting labor patterns. The parent vessel was likely conspicuously used to signal status. Discarded after breakage, a sherd was repurposed as a hide

scraper through bifacial reduction of the lip. Native American clients and public servants applied time and labor to preparation and transportation of the deerskin trade's eponymous commodity. In addition to economic value in exchange, hides conveyed social value. As an in-demand commodity, their exchange granted indigenous clients access to prestige goods and other articles of trade.

"The *relationships* people engage in to obtain goods, or those actions that fall under the rubric of trade or exchange, may also be arenas in which social power is exercised and even created" (Kelly 2010:99; emphasis added). The use and construction of space is a product of social interaction. The placement and construction of trade facilities within the frontier manifest negotiated relations of power. When Cherokee representatives, for example, convinced Tugaloo treaty negotiators to place a trading factory at the Congarees in 1716, a compliant provincial assembly allocated resources previously intended for a fortification closer to French Santee (JCHA 1775; McDowell 1992).

The Congarees designation refers to the western bank of the Congaree River extending from the confluence of the Broad and Saluda Rivers downstream to the mouth of Congaree Creek. This area is currently part of the West Columbia and Cayce municipalities. Placement of an outpost here, more than one-hundred miles from Charles Towne, enhanced Cherokee political status. It physically demonstrated their ability to influence Carolina military and commercial organization. Both parties were eager to open the facility. The Common's House abandoned plans to settle a garrison at

John Hearn's plantation, closer to Santee, and eighty Cherokee warriors were sent to aid in construction of the Congarees trading factory (JCHA 1775).

Space shapes local social life as well (Soja 1989). The environs of Public Monopoly trading posts were likely utilized for a multitude of Indian trade activities and requisite chores of daily life. The control of space was certainly salient in the operation of these factories. Though discounted in comparison to the conventionally designed Johnson's Fort, frontier outposts were encircled with defensive enclosures "sufficient to withstand Indians, who know nothing of besieging or will fight against walls" (Johnson in Rivers 1874:91). In 1716, The Board of Commissioners restricted Native American admittance to frontier warehouses storing trade goods and deerskins. Captain Charlesworth Glover, commander of Fort Moore, was ordered "not to suffer one of them (even the Charikees themselves) to come into our main store" (McDowell 1992:104, parentheses in original).

The performance of colonial labor incorporates socially conceived notions of labor roles, space, and materiality. The material and spatial manifestations of labor performance at Fort Congaree are difficult to access without the historical record since "artifacts and spaces in colonial worlds are fraught with ambiguity, alternate functions, and multiple users" (Silliman 2010:32). This chapter discussed social structures and relations contributive to the development of colonial (indigenous and non indigenous) labor roles during a period of administered exchange. The following chapter offers a methodological approach for identifying deerskin labor practices within the Public

Monopoly Indian trade. Contemporary trade documents, personal accounts and ethnohistoric research are marshaled to identify various commodity chain activities occurring within the trading network and Fort Congaree specifically.



### **Chapter 3. The Southeastern Deerskin Trade**

The Carolina administration responsible for the construction of Fort Congaree was eager to rebuild economic and political ties with indigenous communities following the Yemasee War. These communities provided valuable commodities and potential for capital generation. Skins and captives brought to Charles Town were exchanged for currency and exported; or exploited in the development of a commercial agriculture economy (Clowse 1971). The acquisition of Native American captives and deerskins formed a critical part of a delicate colonial economy weakened by strife, political turmoil, and hyperinflation.

So that by the late Indian War, our subduing the Pirates, a defensive War against the Spaniards, the demolition of our principal Fortifications by Storms, and the expences to repair the same, the vast presents we are obliged to make the Indians to keep up a party amongst them from depending intirely upon the French, and the weak and unsteady Government of the Proprietors, who rather oppose than contribute to the strengthening of us, whereby we have lost all credit, nobody venturing to trust any publick Funds contrived for our support, we are reduced to the last extremity in debt, without prospect of extricating ourselves.... [Mr. Joseph Boone 16 June 1720 in Johnson and Rivers 1874:50]

This chapter contextualizes Fort Congaree's occupation within a dynamic period of southeastern colonialism. This trading post was part of a network defined by the pre-Yemasee War Indian trade and diplomatic alliances between South Carolina and the

Cherokee. Beginning with a synopsis of the deerskin commodity chain, the first section describes the organization of pre-Yemasee War Indian trade. The commodity chain concept was applied here to provide a framework for the pathways of interaction simultaneously occurring within the various stages of the commercial scale deerskin trade. These stages are identified as production, preparation, procurement, and transportation. The latter two stages were significantly affected by the implementation of the government monopoly. The Public Monopoly section summarizes the origination and operation of the administered trade apparatus which arose following a pivotal 1716 event at the Lower Cherokee town of Tugaloo. The final section discusses the return of private traders to the frontier and the role of forts in the Public Monopoly.

### **Development of the Commercial Indian Trade**

Deerskins, a high proportion produced by the Southern Appalachian peripheral fringe, were the most stable economic product of the colonies before the Revolutionary War, and the Indian trade was the chief instrument of southern economic expansion during the early colonial period (Dunaway 1996:16).

A number of indigenous communities attacked South Carolina settlements in 1715. These groups surrounded the colony and after the intensive period of hostilities abated, the colonial government sought to limit the threat of future insurrection through financial and forcible means. Large indigenous communities were returned to the colonial economy through promises of trade concessions. Smaller groups were targeted by slaving parties for enslavement and transportation to Caribbean sugar plantations. "But before the end of ye said Year [1715] we recovered the Cherokees and the northward Indians, after several slaughters and blood sheddings, which has

lessened their numbers and utterly extirpating some little Tribes, as the Congarees, Santees, Seawees, Pedees, Waxaws, and some Cors-aboys" (Johnson in Rivers 1874:91), This left the Creek as the most populous and serious indigenous threat in the west. Creek war parties attacked several trains of porters before agreeing to a truce in November of 1717. Once again, this armistice arose from trade concessions. In the northeast, Cheraw continued to threaten outlying settlements and trading factories through 1718 (McDowell 1992).

The Indian trade formed a central part of the economy. Between 1699 and 1715, Charles Towne merchants exported an average of 54,000 deerskins per year (Crane 1959). The Indian trade functioned through interrelated sets of consignment relationships which evaporated with the outbreak of the Yemasee War. Merchants credited consignments to Indian traders who, in turn, extended credit to indigenous hunters and warriors. At the outbreak of the 1715 hostilities, the collective Yemasee community carried approximately £10,000 worth of debt to private traders and merchants (Yonge 1726). Deerskins exports were seriously curtailed by the war, only 4,702 skins were exported in 1716, and British creditors began to call in their debts (Crane 1959).

The provincial merchants being much indebted to those in London, the later were alarmed at the dangers which hung over the colony, and pressed them for remittances. The Indians who stood indebted to the merchants of Carolina for ten thousand pounds, instead of paying their debts, had cancelled them by murdering the traders, and abandoning the province. No remittances could be made, but in such commodities as the country produced, and all hands being engaged in war, rendered them both very scarce and extremely dear. To answer the public exigencies of

the province, large emissions of paper currency were also requisite. Hence the rate of exchange arose to an extravagant height [Hewatt 1779:229]

The creation of paper currency and abandonment of outlying plantations during the Yemasee War "... concurr'd to raise the Price of the Rice, Pitch and Tar, and other Productions to such a height, that the Bill that was made for Twenty Shillings, would not purchase what was worth intrinsically more than Half a Crown" (Yonge 1726:8). This period of inflation shifted the economic distribution of power from mercantile to landed wealth (Hewatt 1779).

The Commons House, engaged in a continuous struggle with the Lords Proprietors for control of the colony, found little financial support from their absentee landlords for defense against hostile Native Americans. The Proprietors also opposed a plan to repopulate vacated Yemasee lands with Irish Protestant settlers preferring to see those lands laid out in large seignory tracts for the benefit of individual proprietors. This plan would have brought needed income for the colony and strengthened colonial defense. In 1719, the provincial assembly began a political overthrow of the obdurate Lords' Proprietors (Yonge 1726).

Concurrently, the Commons House sought funds for the defense of the colony. The Commons House increased duties on imports and African slaves while establishing the Public Monopoly as both a source of revenue and a diplomatic overture to indigenous communities (JCHA 1716:149; McDowell 1992). The Proprietors, however, opposed this endeavor. Public control of the Indian trade was scheduled to expire in

1718. But the Commons House moved to continue the act for an additional five years to the displeasure of the Carolina and British merchants. With the support of leading Carolina and British merchants, the proprietors attempted to annul the Public Monopoly (Trott 1736). The Commons House countered with a revised set of trade regulations preserving public trading factories as it reopened private trade (Cooper 1837). The Commons House and Carolina colonists were disaffected with the proprietors' inability to defend the colony against Spanish and French threats, and in 1719 petitioned the monarchy to take over the government of South Carolina (Hewatt 1779).

The early 18<sup>th</sup> century was a dynamic and ambiguous period in the growth of the southeastern colonial economy and industry was more fluid than the Indian trade. The historical developments described above played a significant role in the development of the commercial-scale commodity exchange network. Hostile threats from the Cheraw closed the Winyah trading factory on several occasions and inflation increased costs of goods and compensation for Public Monopoly employees.

The colonial economy suffered from chronic labor shortages (Clowse 1971; Nash 1992). While plantation owners filled labor demands with African and Native American slaves, the Board of Commissioners accommodated the shortage through a unique deployment of militia, indentured servants, and enslaved laborers. From 1716 until 1722 these laborers toiled in public service. Their labor contributed significantly to the maintenance of the trading post and garrison and the satisfaction of public owned debt accumulated during the Yemasee War.

The organization of labor activities in the Indian trade and the Fort Congaree occupation arose in a layered set of relationships and historical developments. While the location of this outpost was fixed on the edge of Congaree Creek, the fort was by no means remote or isolated. Fort Congaree was integrated within a far-reaching network that linked villages of the Appalachian Summit and Piedmont with Charles Towne, Europe and the Caribbean. Indentured servants and slaves living within the outpost were employed in labor activities relating to the Indian trade. Public servants guided packhorse trains between stores and trading factories. They paddled shipments of skins and goods to Charles Towne. At the same time, they grew vegetables and stood ready to defend the fort against attack. Though indentured and enslaved laborers were integral to the operation of the Public Monopoly, their significance to the administered Indian trade was not imparted on the historical record and few of their activities have been identified through archeological methods. This rest of this chapter outlines an activities-based approach designed to identify Indian trade labor roles within the outpost, and the broader Public Monopoly organization.

Contemporary descriptions of Native American hunting practices are scarce, but they do offer an informative glimpse into collaborative large scale deer hunts (Waselkov 1978). These descriptions and two key ethnohistoric analyses demonstrate a variety of methods employed to acquire, prepare, and exchange deerskins (Braund 2008; Perdue 1998). This commodity chain model begins by examining pre-Yemasee War practices and identifying adjustments resulting from the implementation of administered trade controls.

The public servants and other occupants of Fort Congaree performing these tasks were also subject to authority of the Board and colonial militia hierarchy. These authorities set the parameters for the design of Fort Congaree and supplied the Public Monopoly with provisions. The Board emphasized indigenous exclusion from the defensive enclosure and a concern with the contents of the storehouse. Their missive to the trading factor at Fort Moore demonstrates the presence of institutional level control in the organization of daily practices.

...you are to receive and put into a Store House, for that purpose to be built within the Body of the Fort, (and a small trading Room or House in some of the Outworks of the same, for conveniency of Trading, intirely under the Command of the Fort) and in your Dealings with the Indians, you are not to suffer one of them (even the Charikees themselves) to come into our main Store; keeping the Doors thereof shut at such Times of Trading, otherwise, the greatest Precautions will be insufficient to secure you from their Treachery [McDowell 1992:101]

Though the Board governed Indian trade policies, they did not directly manage individual work activities. Their factors/captains, bound by bond and oath, represented the public in local affairs. Public servants had little agency in the selection of space and objects they used and interacted with. While the commodity chain is useful for the demarcation of idealized colonial labor roles, their identification within local archaeological contexts is problematic (Silliman 2010).

Locally contextualized labor roles are interdependent with the social setting. Without historical lines of evidence, the ability to define organizational themes in the Fort Congaree labor regime would be impossible. While it is known that public servants

were assigned specific tasks in transportation and food raising activities within the Public Monopoly, the archaeological identification of labor activities must accommodate the likelihood that people's use of material culture and space overlapped.

The following sections identify a number of commercial deerskin production activities. Preliminary hunting and deerskin production activities are associated with Native American labor identities but post-exchange activities blurred ethnicities and gender roles. The Public Monopoly altered the spatial patterning of exchange and created new labor roles at the frontier of the colonial economy.

### **The Deerskin Commodity Chain**

The deerskin commodity chain is divided into three general stages of production. The production stage refers to activities performed by Native Americans in the acquisition of deerskins. Not limited to hunting, this stage also included performance of rituals, observance of dietary prohibitions, and maintenance of wildlife habitat. The next stage, preparation, includes those tasks readying skins for market; dehairing, tanning, et cetera. The procurement stage includes negotiation, bartering, and exchange activities. The final stage, transportation, includes the movement of deerskins from store to Charles Towne and abroad. After auction, Public Monopoly acquired deerskins were packed for overseas export. The majority of South Carolina skins were shipped to London followed by Bristol (Clowse 1963).

Though slaves were a principal part of the pre-Yemasee war Indian trade, deerskin acquisition was the chief concern of the Public Monopoly enterprise in the



years following the conflict (Gallay 2002; McDowell 1992). Captives were certainly present at the trading factories. The Board instructed their factors on the application of brands, and later tattoos, as a means to mark captives held as public property. The days of intensive slave raids were punctuated by the Yemasee War. Cognizant of the slave trade's effect on expansion of trade, the commissioners enacted regulations prohibiting enslavement of Native Americans living within four-hundred miles of Charles Towne or any males older than fourteen. A concurrent intensification of commercial scale deerskin procurement rapidly withered the economic significance of the Indian slave trade (Clowse 1963; Gallay 2002)

Whitetail deer, Odocoileus virginianus, habitat was actively encouraged in the pre-Colonial southeast. Native Americans used fire to maintain landscapes with intermittent woodland that encouraged deer populations and facilitated traditional hunting practices (Basset 1901; Merrell 1991; Pyne 1997). Maintenance of woods and trails formed the first step in the production of deerskin. These activities, occurring outside of the village, were typically performed by men in Cherokee society (Rodning 2001). Pre-Colonial indigenous hunting activities included a period of ritual preparation and prohibitions against certain behaviors during the hunt. Alabama hunters, for example, began their hunting expeditions with a steam bath purification ritual and the preparation of special medicines. Boisterous behavior was banned while encamped and "dishes soiled with bear grease must not be washed at the creek, but instead a bucket of water must be brought to the camp and the dishes must be washed there. The same

thing must be done with dishes soiled with deer grease; deer bones could, however, be thrown anywhere” (Swanton 1928:445).

Deer hunting practices varied between groups and individuals, but commercial hunting activity generally occurred during fall and winter months. Early historic colonial observers documented four principal methods of deer hunting. These included stalking, decoyed stalking, drives to water, and fired drives (Waselkov 1978). Individuals or small groups could participate in deerstalks while drives involved large numbers of people.

The following anecdote describes a Tuscarora fired-drive in February 1701.

When these savages go a hunting, they commonly go out in great numbers, and oftentimes a great many days' journey from home, beginning at the coming in o the winter; that is, when the leaves are fallen from the trees and are become dry. Tis then they burn the woods by setting fire to the leaves and withered bent and grass... Thus they go and fire the woods for many miles, and drive the deer and other game into small necks of land and isthmuses where they kill and destroy what they please [Lawson 1860:335-336]

The Creek continued to practice communal drives after they acquired firearms and metal implements. When a communal drive succeeded in killing a deer, meat was distributed according to need but the hide belonged to the person inflicting the first wound (Braund 2008). Women commonly accompanied their male relatives on seasonal deer hunts. While the men continued to hunt, women temporarily housed at hunting camps, began to de-flesh and clean deerskin. A variety of tools were available for these tasks.

Their way of dressing their skins is, by soaking them in water, so they get the hair off with an instrument made of the bone of a deer's foot; yet some use a sort of iron drawing knife, which they purchase of the English, and after the hair is off they dissolve deer's brains, which before hand are made in a cake and baked in the embers, in a bowl of water, so soak the skins therein till the brains have sucked up the water; then they dry it gently and keep working it with an oyster shell, or some such thing, to scrape withal till it is dry; whereby it becomes soft and pliable. Yet these so dressed will not endure wet, but become hard thereby; which to prevent, they either cure them in smoke or tan them with bark, as before observed; not but that young indian corn, beaten to a pulp, will effect the same as the brains" [Lawson 1860:338]

Lawson's record of deerskin processing is illuminating but incomplete. It also fails to convey the intensity of the labor invested by women in the production of dressed deerskins. Skillful manipulation, care, and a variety of tools were required for hide manufacture. Though pre-colonial techniques utilized lithic and bone scrapers to remove hair and excess tissue, metal implements were in use by the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Skins, treated with animal brains, were carefully scraped to uniform thickness as they were stretched between stakes or large wooden frames. Skins became stiff as they dried and required further manipulation to become pliable. Smoking was the last stage in the preparation of full dressed and half-dressed hides. "This is done by sewing it into a bag and hanging it over the smoke of a small fire of rotten sticks" (Schoolcraft 1884:70). These small fires were usually contained in pits and kept smoldering through careful arrangement of the hide around the mouth of the pit. Descriptions of these *smudge pits* are found in Natchez, Creek, Choctaw, and Seminole ethnographic literature (Binford 1967). The amount of time and type of fuel used determined a hide's color.

“Most deerskins destined for the market were...half-dressed, which implied that they had been cleaned and scraped to remove both flesh and hair and had undergone preliminary smoking” (Braund 2008:68). Half-dressing was one of several classes of skins accepted by the Public Monopoly. Table 3.1 lists these classes and their assigned value in contemporary Carolina currency. The Board’s valuation was based on condition of the skin (raw, half dressed, or dressed), the sex of the deer, and the weight of the skin.

**Table 3.1 Public Monopoly Deerskin Rates in 1716 (McDowell 1992). There are 12 pennies to a shilling and 20 shillings to a pound (£)**

Category	Price in Carolina Currency (s. – shilling, d. –penny)
White deer skin (weighing more than 1lb)	5s. per pound
Raw buck skin (weighing more than 1 ½ lb)	5s. per skin
Raw doe skin	2s. 6d. per skin
White light deerskin (weighing less than 15 oz)	2s. 6d. per skin

The procurement phase of the commodity chain evolved through the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Deerskin values fluctuated between exchange encounters in the years preceding the Yemasee War. Itinerant traders operating alone or in small groups followed a seasonal route through client communities. They would ‘put out’ goods owned outright by them or held in consignment to a merchant with the expectation of

deerskin compensation upon return in the spring (Dunaway 1986; Ramsey 2003 ; Stumpf 1971). The variety of goods carried by each trader differed depending on which items were in demand or most portable, for longer treks (Alvord and Bidgood 1912). John Lederer, a trader and active traveler during the 1670s, suggests a number of trade goods suitable for exchange for skins.

“Your best truck is a sort of course trading cloth, of which a yard and a half makes a matchcoat or mantle fit for their wear; as also axes, hoes, knives, sizars, and all sorts of edg'd tools. Guns, powder and shot, etc. are commodities they will greedily barter for...” (Lederer 1902:29). Cotton cloth, duffels, beads, falchions, fusee guns and ammunition were listed as suitable trade items in 1708 when Governor Nathaniel Johnson estimated an initial investment of £2,500 to £3000 returned approximately 50,000 deerskins for export per annum (Johnson quoted in Rivers 1856). Native Americans unable to buy goods were given credit, *trust*, with an expectation of repayment on the trader’s return in the spring (Ramsey 2003). This expectation formed the basis of economic interaction between traders and their clients.

Traders leveraged Native American unfamiliarity with alcohol and concepts of debt relationships to assure continual supplies of skins. Native Americans frequently complained of abuse by Indian traders. Debtors and their family members faced the possibility of enslavement when debts were not discharged to a trader’s satisfaction (Gallay 2002).

Sometimes you may with brandy or strong liquor dispose of them to an humour of giving your ten times the value of your commodity; and at other times they are so hide-bound, that they will not offer half the market-price, especially if they be aware that you have a designe to circumvent them with drink, or that they think you have a desire to their goods, which you must seem to slight and disparage [Alvord and Bidgood 1912:169]

These practices were heavily criticized by contemporaries in the provincial assembly fearing irreparable damage to South Carolina's relationship with surrounding Native American populations. Little aside from expressing concern was done to police the Indian trader activity prior to 1707. A nominal regulatory commission was established to adjudicate indigenous complaints and a single Indian agent was appointed to monitor the activities of traders operating beyond the frontier (Cooper 1837; Gallay 2002).

Once traders completed their rounds, or a suitable store of skins was assembled, the cargo was hauled to Charles Towne by porters, packhorses, and periaugers. Packhorses carried the goods and skins of Virginia traders operating in the Piedmont and Appalachian Summit from the 1670s onwards (Alvord and Bidgood 1912). Carolina traders had limited access to horses and, when necessary, would hire Native American porters to carry their freight between overland destinations. The Indian trade was lucrative for traders as well as merchants. Indian traders returning to Charles Towne from a successful trek earned between £20 and £100. Plantation overseers typically earned between £15 and £40 per year (Carroll 1836:260).

Most typically the Charleston merchant of the early 18th century operated with one or more partners; he was engaged in the Indian trade;

he owned shares of locally-based ships; he maintained regular contacts with "foreign" (most commonly British) merchants; he might singularly or in partnership own and operate a plantation either as a commercial investment or for social status; and finally he might lend money out at interest. [Stumpf 1971:73]

Charles Towne merchants played a principal role in the pre-Yemasee War Indian trade. Working in loose partnerships, merchants imported trade goods while controlling the carrying trade after 1700. Merchants acted as representatives of English commercial concerns sold goods for a percentage of sale prices. "The merchant who hired or financed the trader would see to the grading, pricing and packing of the skins as well as to their shipping and consignment. Usually packed in wooden hogsheads which carried approximately five thousand pounds of skins each, the heavier and better deer skins were sent to England and often re-exported to Germany" (Stumpf 1971:43).

The colonial government required merchants to pay a duty on deerskins exported from South Carolina. This tariff funded the official clergy and the government administration. Between 1717 and 1737, London, Bristol, and Cowes were the principal destinations for ships leaving Charles Towne (Clowse 1963). Many deerskins unpacked on Thames wharves were sold by leather factors to tanners and curriers working in the Bermondsey neighborhood of Southwark (Thornbury 1893). "Regardless of its origin as a gift or an exchange a commodity, few Britons who ultimately used an item of leather manufacture were probably aware that it was originally shot by a southeastern Indian hunter, dried and dressed by a southeastern Indian woman, and transported by a southeastern Indian burdener" (Spivey 2007:220).

As the result of a lucrative trade, White-tail deer populations of the Coastal Plain were depleted by 1715. Slaving raids also proved less fruitful for Indian trade communities. The depletion of deer and captives increased tensions between Native Americans and Carolina (Haan 1981; Oatis 2004). The Yemasee, a previously solid ally of the colony, were losing their ability to acquire necessary goods just as the Indian trade shifted primary focus to satisfaction of market demands (Ramsey 2003). Their frustrations boiled over into a broad-scale Native American insurrection that reshaped the Indian trade.

Indian traders suffered few regulations prior to 1707. Until that year, legislative oversight of the trade was limited to collection of export duties for the colony's defense (Cooper 1838). A growing concern with the potential repercussions of exploitative trade practices moved the Commons House to create an adjudicative Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade. This Board was organized to hear Native American complaints against white settlers and traders (Cooper 1837). These complaints usually centered on the behavior of traders, compulsion into debt bondage, damage from free-ranging livestock, and settler encroachment on lands already claimed by indigenous communities (McDowell 1992). The creation of the Board of Commissioners signaled the end an informal Indian trade and a growing awareness of indigenous dissatisfaction with its conduct. This sentiment was pervasive and culminated in a general uprising in 1715 which took the lives of approximately 400 colonists and an unknown number of Native Americans.



...in the year 1715, they killed all, or most of the traders that were with them in their towns; and going among the plantations, murdered all who could not fly from their cruelty, and burned their houses. The occasion of this conspiracy, which was so universal, that all the Indians were concerned in it, except a small clan or two that lived amongst the settlements, insomuch that they amounted to between eight and ten thousand men, was attributed to some ill-usage they had received from the traders, who are not (generally) men of the best morals; and that, no doubt of it, might give some cause to their discontents; to which may be added the great debts they owed the inhabitants, which it is said amounted to near £10,000 sterling with the goods amongst them; all which they seized and made their own, and never paid their debts, but cancelled them by murdering their creditors [Yonge 1726:7]

Though the provincial assembly was cognizant of the political significance of the Indian trade prior to 1715, it was not until after the Native American insurrection that they adopted an active role in its regulation. The public takeover of the Indian trade affected all phases of the deerskin commodity chain, but most altered the organization of procurement and transportation activities. In addition, the extension of credit was prohibited and the sale of alcohol restricted to trading factories.

The Public Monopoly replaced unsupervised itinerant traders with a network of stores and trading factories. Stores were located in the interior villages of the Cherokee, Creek, and Catawba. Native Americans could purchase goods at either type of facility, but they found better exchange rates at trading factories located at settlement's frontier. Three factories were opened in 1716. Each factory was unique in its local setting and form. The Savannah factory was located within the garrisoned outpost of Fort Moore. Captain Gaillard conducted a small operation from his plantation in French Santee, and somewhere near Winyah Bay, a staff of two ran the Northward factory from

a small log built single room structure (McDowell 1992). The placement of these facilities was intended to entice Native American clients, but maintain a healthy distance between them and the heart of the South Carolina settlement (Cooper 1837).

Beginning in 1716, Native Americans were expected to present their skins at the time of exchange, regardless of whether the trade occurred in a village or factory setting. In addition to acting in a trading capacity, Public Monopoly storekeepers and factors also acted in diplomatic capacities. Frequently, the men selected for these positions were adept at Native American languages and sent to negotiate on the colony's behalf. Factors and storekeepers were also literate. They were required to maintain account books for inspection by the Commons House and report on events and rumors encountered in the normal course of operation (Cooper 1837). Unfortunately no records of storehouse transactions are known to be preserved. Terse descriptions of goods bound for Cherokee stores indicate consumer power was significant in structuring the types of items carried inland from Charles Town (McDowell 1992).

Goods and skins in transit were supervised by a small staff of public employees and servants. Indentured servants and slaves employed in transportation activities were either contracted by their bondholders or owned outright by the colony. Contracted labor wages were paid to owners. Two African slaves loaned by Colonel Barnwell spent six weeks transporting a shipment of goods via periauger to the Northern Factory. Barnwell received £9 for their labor (McDowell 1992). Their compensation did not reflect the value added to the commodity through their labor. Subaltern public servants were also entrusted with large shipments of deerskins

representing substantial financial value. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1716, an indentured public servant named Joseph Thompson arrived in the port from Savannah Town carrying more than 2100 deerskins. This single shipment represented almost half, 45%, of all deerskins acquired in 1716.

A limited availability of packhorses hampered transportation of goods and commodities between the interior villages and the port town. At its inception in 1716, the Public Monopoly was tasked with acquiring packhorses. Virginia traders, competitive with South Carolina traders, made frequent use of packhorses in their dealings with the Cherokee and Catawba.

### **“This day we drewe up ower men and marched to Tugaloe”**

Beginning in April of 1715, indigenous war parties attacked outlying settlements and raided within fifty miles of Charles Towne. Colonists were compelled to abandon their fields and retreat to the safety of the port (Crane 1959). The militia was outmanned and incapable of defending the province from enemies arrayed on all sides. Facing dire straits, the colony needed an ally. It mounted an expedition of European and African militia to the Lower Cherokee town of Tugaloo in the hope they could get the populous group to participate in an assault against their principal enemies, the Creek. Captain George Chicken, later a Commissioner of the Indian Trade, chronicled their march and subsequent negotiations occurring in the winter of 1715-1716. Led by Colonel Moore, the expedition arrived in Tugaloo on December 29<sup>th</sup> 1715 (Chicken

1894). Deciding to raid the Creek and aid the colony, however, merited thorough consideration.

The Cherokee were divided in their opinion over an alliance with South Carolina. Chicken's journal identifies two parties within the debate. Reid's analysis revealed a third faction (Reid 1976). Reid lists these parties as the English faction, the Creek faction, and the Neutral faction. The English faction, led by a warrior named Caesar, supported a combined Cherokee and militia attack against the Creek. Charitey Hagey, the principal spokesman for the Neutral faction, counseled peace and negotiations between the colony and the Creek. Creek faction members wanted to join the uprising against the Carolina settlement (Reid 1976).

In accordance with contemporary Cherokee custom, the decision to go to war was decided by individual towns in their respective council houses. Individuals held equal right to speak for plans of action in these communal meeting houses. Townships, composed of a central town and surrounding hamlets and farms, were free to follow their own courses of action. Decisions were not considered resolved until the community reached a general consensus. The urgency of the expedition's mission had no effect on the decision-making process (Boulware 2011; Reid 1976). Supporters of the English, Neutral and Creek positions carried their discussion through the New Year. The time invested in careful deliberation was negated by a single event which forced the outcome in South Carolina's favor.

This day we had a meeting with ye Congger and Reast of ye head men ye discours we had with them has to know whether they would aseast us ageanst ower Enmies ore noe he tould us that he and ye English was all one that he nore none of his men should ever fitte ageanst us aney more and as for ye yemassees they were his anchent peapall and that he would not fitte ageanst them and as for ye Crickes they hade excepted ye flag of trouce that was seant to them and had promised to come down when wee came up then he was asked whether he would assiste us agenst ye norrode Indens he told us they hade bein att Verginey and ye gouernor hade given them every one a cotte and a gone and a Blankeat and hade promised them a Trade and that they were all still and queatt and would not come down aney more to fitte ye English, botte if they should then he would cotte them all of he allsoe layes ye Blame that was done by ye norrade peapall to ye Wawwees and seems to cleare ye Cotabase [Catawbas] of itt he is willing to ware against none botte ye Sauonose and yutsees and apolaches. [Savannahs, Eucheas and Apallaches]. [Chicken 1894:330-331]

The Cherokees' deliberation swayed Colonel Moore to support the Neutral party's peace plan and a return to trade. The hawkish position of the English faction was then at odds with the desires of the expedition's leadership, who agreed to await a Creek peace embassy.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1716 "came in ye warre houe from tugaloe we sant to heare what nues y measanger brought us nues that there was 12 Creake Indines come in to Tugaloe and they had killd them all" (Chicken 1894:345). Chicken suggests this was a spontaneous event occurring upon first sight of the Creek delegation. However, Reid cites the near simultaneous murder of Creek visitors in surrounding towns as evidence for premeditation (Reid 1976). Whether spontaneous or coordinated, the murder of a peace delegation violated pan-indigenous rules of diplomatic safe conduct. The actions at Tugaloo were fortunate for the colony. Knowing the murders would incite retaliatory

attacks by the Creek, the Lower, Middle, and Overhill Cherokee united against the Creek and allied themselves with the Carolina settlement.

The single act of killing the Creek ambassadors in the Tugaloo council house on 26 January 1715/16 was not only one of the most dramatic incidents in Cherokee history, but for those who executed it, the most successful ever recorded. By killing the Creek ambassadors they ruined the plans of the pro-Creek faction, unified the nation, and guaranteed the survival of British rule in Carolina [Reid 1976:69]

The Tugaloo Incident constrained Cherokee capacity for political maneuvering. Before 1716, the Cherokee exploited their location in the Blue Ridge and Appalachian mountains to participate in Carolina, Virginia and French trade networks. The murder of Creek ambassadors cut off Cherokee access to French trade goods from the west and threatened the principal trading route leading from the Lower Towns to the Savanna Town trading factory. Though forced into the colonial alliance against the Creek, Cherokee negotiators garnered a number of concessions from the colonial representatives. Their agreement centered on a renewal of trade. The Cherokee acquired favorable exchange rates, permanent stores in their towns, assurances that packhorses would be used to haul freight instead of porters. Colonel Moore also agreed to erect and staff a trading factory at the Congarees (McDowell 1992). The location of this proposed facility halved the distance traveled by porters while reducing exposure to Creek attack.

## **The Role of Forts in the Public Monopoly**

The Public Monopoly possessed little more than its articles of incorporation when it was created in 1716. The provincial assembly allotted the enterprise £5000

Carolina currency and charged the Commissioners with finding servants and securing the supplies needed for the Indian trade. Fort Moore, located near the site of a well-known trading village, was selected as the first trading factory. Its placement on the east side of the Savannah River, opposite present-day Augusta Georgia, was astride the main trading path to the west. The initial shipment of goods sent to the outpost was impressed from the stores of Charles Town merchants. These goods were entrusted to the garrison's commander who was appointed factor by the Board. Fort Moore, owing to its strategic location, became the chief deerskin collection point for western and Cherokee Indian trades. The volume of skins passing through this factory was unrivalled during the Public Monopoly (McDowell 1992).

Theophilus Hastings was appointed chief factor to the Cherokee. Hastings managed several storehouses arrayed across the Cherokee's territory. Based in Tugaloo, Hastings' operation had stores in the towns of Terrequa, Quanassee, Choty, and Watauga (McDowell 1992). As horses were in short supply before 1718, Public Monopoly cargos carried between these stores and the Fort Moore factory by porters. The Board spent the balance of 1716 establishing these stores and two additional trading factories on Winyah Bay and the lower Santee River. Each factory was located near a navigable stream and connected to Charles Towne via periauger. These small boats were capable of navigating rivers and coastal waters while carrying several tons of freight (McDowell 1992).

In 1717, the Board registered Cherokee dissatisfaction with the absence of packhorses (Fitts and Heath 2009; McDowell 1992). Packhorses could carry larger and bulkier shipments of freight. Standard porter bundles weighed approximately sixty pounds. A single packhorse could carry the load of two and a half porters. Violence from Creek and Iroquois war parties against Cherokee burdeners encouraged this shift. Horses were less expensive too; burdeners expected compensation in addition to food and lodging while in Charles Town. Some burdening parties expanded en route to Charles Town. The Commissioners document a party of Cherokee growing by one-third during their journey, significant since burdeners were paid upon appearance at the Public Store (McDowell 1992). Horses already considered public property were conveyed by the Commons House to the Commissioners in 1718. From then on, packhorsemen shuttled herds of 10 to 15 horses between factories, stores, and the public storehouse in Charles Town. The following table enumerates deerskin exports from the Charles Towne during the Public Monopoly (Crane 2004:329).



**Table 3.2 Deerskin exports during the Public Monopoly (Crane 1959).**

Year	Deerskins Exported
1715-1716	4,702
1716-1717	21,713
1717-1718	17,073
1718-1719	24,355
1719-1720	35,171
1720-1721	33,939
1721-1722	59,857

Deerskins were temporarily held at public storehouse, where they were graded and divided into lots for sale at auction. Merchants winning their bids collected their skins and packed them for export abroad. Skins guaranteed as collateral for large consignments of trade goods, were typically assigned a value of 7 shillings per pound weight. Considering the exchange rate for goods was fixed between 2 shillings 6 pence and 5 shillings per skin, the Public Monopoly's investment of labor and infrastructure increased the value of deerskins brought to Charles Town by 280% (McDowell 1992).

Continued hostilities and the financial losses associated with Lieutenant James How's hapless 1717 expedition delayed the opening of Fort Congaree until late 1718 (McDowell 1992). Prior to the Fort's establishment, Cherokee burdeners embarking from Tugaloo followed the Cherokee Path down the Saluda watershed before turning east for the Congarees. If their destination was Charles Towne, porters would then

follow a trail southeast to the plantation of Peter St. Julian (McDowell 1992; Myer 1928). Burdeners paused so frequently at this plantation near present-day Dorchester that the owner was given an annual stipend for their food and lodging.

The Public Monopoly took several months to recover from the failure of the first Congaree expedition. Lt. How was reassigned to serve as a resident Catawba factor and Captain Charles Russell was appointed to open the trading factory at the Congarees. By late 1718, Fort Congaree construction and trade with the Cherokee at the Fall Line was underway. A periauger was purchased for the use of the garrison along with stocks of “utensils, stores, Provisions, and Ammunition” (McDowell 1992:304). The Governor and Powder Receiver were asked to provide the garrison with “twelve small arms, twelve cartoose (cartridge) boxes, three pair of pistols, a hundred weight of musket balls, and a hundred pounds of powder” (McDowell 1992:320).

Wage rates and the allocation of provisions for the Public Monopoly trading factories at Fort Moore and Fort Congaree were legislated by the Commons House. The Board became the provisioning agent for the entire militia in 1717. The Commissioners had discretion to fill the demands of the trading factories along with ranger patrols and a party of men manning scout boats in Port Royal (Cooper 1837).

The Public Monopoly relinquished control over the Indian trade in 1719. It continued to operate the various trading factories but began to allow licensed private traders access to interior Native American communities. “An Act to Settle and Regulate the Indian Trade” endowed the Board with the powers to regulate all trade and

continued control of activity at public trading factories (Cooper 1838). Private traders could not operate within twenty miles of Congaree, Palachicola (an outpost on the Savannah River), or Fort Moore. The Public Monopoly was limited to purchasing £3000 sterling worth of trade goods, from Great Britain or elsewhere, and receipt of 30,000 deerskins per year. Private traders were required to pay for licenses and provide bonds for good behavior. Traders were required to pass through the government entrepôts and pay a 10% tax on acquired deerskins. These duties, along with income originating in local trading activities were intended to:

..be applied in paying the several salaries and wages due to the said commissioners, cashier, their agents, factors, and paying and maintaining the servants and soldiers in the said three garrisons, and what remains over and above, shall be in the first place applied to building three stone or brick forts at the said three places, after such a manner and form of such dimensions as the said commissioners shall direct, and for purchasing two thousand acres of land for the publick use of this Province, next adjoining to the said forts...[Cooper 1838:89]

The legislative act also limited the number of people assigned to the trading factories to thirty employees and thirty servants. The latter were “servants that are already bought, or which shall hereafter be purchased ...for the public service” (Cooper 1838:89). The leadership of each factory/garrison held dual appointments for Captain and factor with a subordinate Lieutenant sub-factor. The duties of the Lieutenant included escort of public periaugers. The thirty freemen employed at the garrisons were paid a sum not exceeding the value of 100 deerskins. The act did not address Public servants’ labor other than to show their employment in the farming of corn for the garrisons (JCHA 1721). The Board also controlled the attire of the public servants.

Eleven indentured servants and slaves assigned to Fort Moore were given a one-time clothing allotment of “a coat, a pair of breeches, and a good blanket, and a piece of good brown asnaburgh [sic] be provided to make shirts for all the public servants that are there” (JCHA 1716:175). Osnaburg is a coarse fabric used throughout the colonial era for low status clothing (Spivey 2007). The eleven servants clothed in osnaburg could have entered the colony in 1716 when the proprietary governor purchased 32 indentured servants “to be employed as soldiers in defending this Province against our enemies” (Cooper 1838:364). Barker (2001) identifies these men as Scottish Jacobite exiles who, when freed from indenture, enjoyed long careers in the deerskin trade.

The legislation further dictated the annual distribution of ninety barrels of beef and seven-hundred and twenty bushels of corn to the garrisons depending upon their size (Cooper 1838). Peter St. Julian, a Board member living near French Santee, provided cattle to the Fort Congaree garrison prior to 1719. These provisions were supplemented by wild game and food plots grown or acquired through public servant activity (JCHA 1721).

### **The Independent Company and Royal Administration**

Soon after this law was enacted, a popular uprising rejected the Lords Proprietors political authority. Preferring royal rule, advocates of the overthrow were frustrated with the Proprietors’ reluctance to fund the colony’s defense and opposition to locally enacted measures which would have generated funds for the colony’s debts

and drawn new settlers to the southwestern frontier (Yonge 1726). Control over the Indian trade shifted to the royal governor and the Grand Council in 1721.

Francis Nicholson arrived in Charles Towne on the 22nd of May 1721. He was the first Royal governor of the colony and arrived in command of the Independent Company of South Carolina. This infantry unit was the first body of regular soldiers stationed in the former proprietary colony. Their assignment was ordered after Colonel Barnwell, agent for the colony in England, requested four infantry battalions to counter an imminent Spanish threat. Though the Board of Trade desired to send the full complement to South Carolina, they could not send the requested number without King George's consent. Instead, soldiers were drawn from home guard independent companies and the inactive and infirm ranks of the army hospital in Chelsea (Foote 1966).

When they departed from Portsmouth aboard the *Mary and Caroline Galley* on 8 March 1721, the company's full strength numbered approximately 100 enlisted and four officers. The 1720 Establishment (articles of organization for an independent company) provided for six officers, a surgeon, and a chaplain (Foote 1966).

The *subsistence*, or enlisted pay, of the Independent Company was funded by the Commons House of South Carolina. Their transportation, clothing, and arming was a royal expense which cost on average between ten and fifteen pounds sterling per private soldier. In accordance with a defensive strategy outlined by Colonel Barnwell, these men were to establish a fortification at the mouth of the Altamaha River. However, their transatlantic voyage and poor fitness required a period of recuperation

before taking up their station at the Fort King George. Preferring to see the construction of the fortification continue, the Commons House substituted interior militia garrisons at Fort Moore and Fort Congaree with regular soldiers. These seasoned militia men could then complete the construction of Fort King George (Foote 1966).

being very sensible of the difficulties and great charge the country is at for support of the several Garrisons in this Province he is pleased to appoint eighteen men of his company with an Ensign; sergeant and corporal to do duty and guard the Congaree Fort the country providing an officer and surgeon to take care of the Fort, and men, with provisions for the officers and men...This we are of opinion will more than recompense the charge of making the settlement and securing the Fort at the Altamaha River, which is proposed shall be done and garrisoned at the Country's expense until the latter end next March [JCHA 1721:527]

The Independent Company arrived at Fort Congaree in 1721. Legislative records state: "that an officer and ten men of the soldiers there do continue and three of the servants be included in the said number to plant corn" (JCHA 1721:533). Several public servants and the trading factor were also present during the soldiers' residence to continue trading activities. These soldiers were reassigned to the Altamaha River fort upon its completion later that year. The outpost was demolished at their departure. All public property, save ten pounds of powder and twenty-five pounds of shot, were returned to Charles Towne or distributed among people living in the vicinity (JCHA 1722).

The administered trade ended in 1722 when the Commons House adopted a single commissioner system to replace the Board. The enterprise was innovatively organized to bridge hostilities arising in the unregulated Indian trade before the

Yemasee war. The former Public Monopoly cashier, Thomas Lamboll, stated “That at the Expiration of the Trade the Public had abroad sundry goods, about one hundred and fifty horses, and other effects to the value of about three or four thousand pounds” (JCHA 21 May 1734:167).

Though this site played a significant role in the administered trade, the sparse documentary record offers little information on who performed Indian trade activities within the Fort Congaree occupation. Resident Public Monopoly employees and servants engaged in a number of tasks associated with exchange and transportation of deerskins. Their performance can be illuminated through archaeological methods identifying material and spatial correlates of these activities.

## Chapter 4. Archaeological Investigations at 38LX30/319

After the 1722 demolition of the trading post, the Congarees continued to serve as a rendezvous point for frontier travelers and slowly filled with settlers. Patrick and Thomas Brown purchased a tract of land which included the site of Fort Congaree in the 1730s. These brothers operated a store in the vicinity for several years before migrating west to Georgia. Contemporary maps depict the location of Fort Congaree, “Congaree Old Fort,” at an acute bend of the stream above its confluence with the Congaree River (Michie 1989). The township of Saxe-Gotha, surveyed in 1735, developed on the north side of Congaree Creek just above the former location of the outpost.

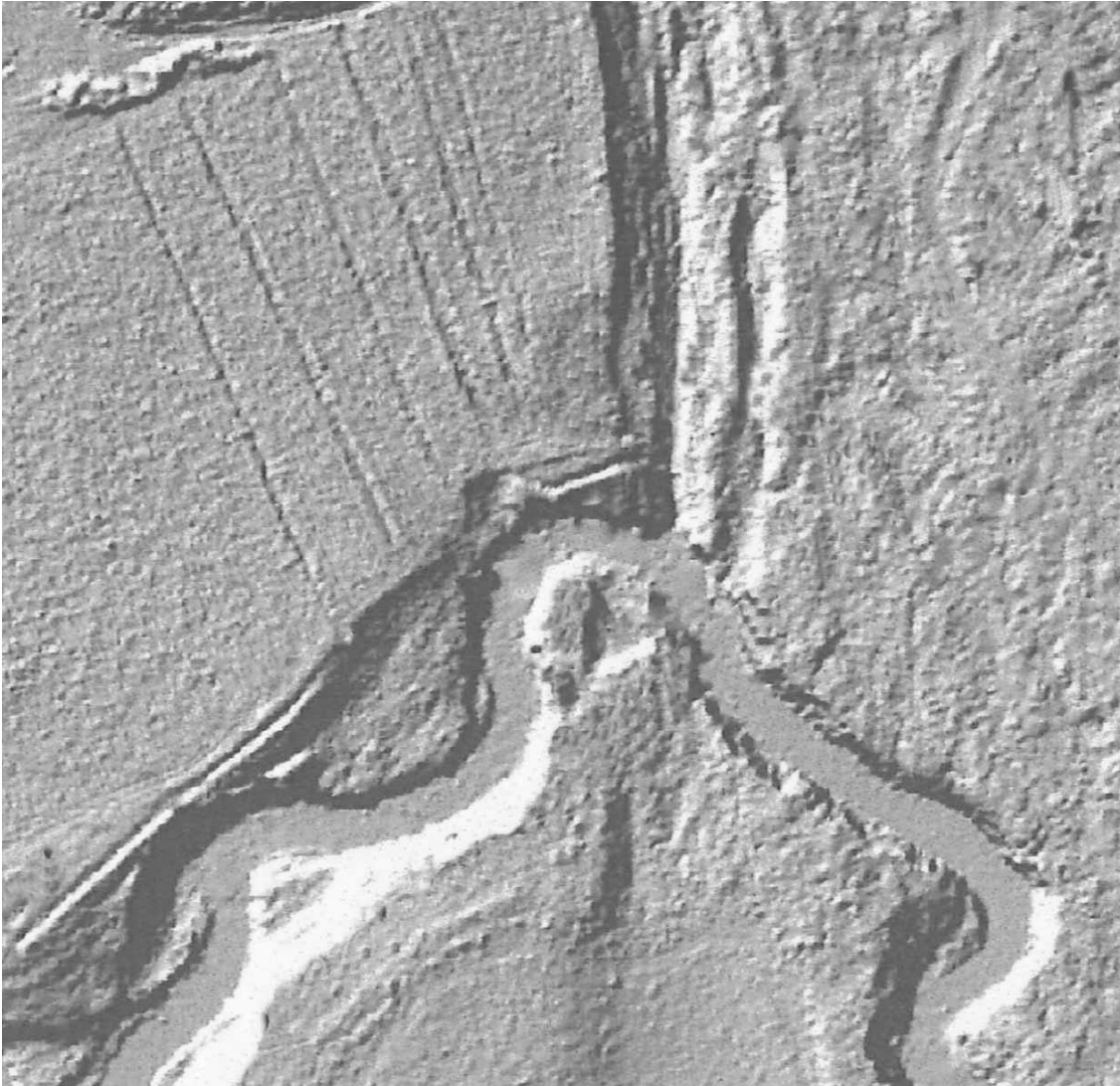


**Figure 4.1 De Brahm's 1757 Map depicting Congaree Old Fort between Saxe Gotha and Congaree Creek**



## **Relocation of Old Fort Congaree**

The Archaeological Society of South Carolina (ASSC) and the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) initiated archaeological efforts to find Fort Congaree in the 1970s. In 1974, SCIAA archaeologists and volunteers from ASSC identified and tested a late prehistoric and 18<sup>th</sup> century site, 38LX30, on the northern side of Congaree Creek. A motor grader was used to mechanically strip several trenches through the plow zone from what was then an agricultural field. A general scatter of indigenous pottery along Congaree Creek, a concentration of 18<sup>th</sup> century artifacts, and a faunal rich midden deposit were identified through these efforts. Mean ceramic and pipestem dating of the artifact assemblage suggested an occupation dating to the 1740s (Anderson 1975).



**Figure 4.2 LIDAR Hillshade image of 38LX30/319. The wide linear features oriented slightly NW-SE are remnants of 1974 motor grading scrapes. The stream terrace runs up-down through the center right of the image and alluvial deposits on right.**

Since the collection appeared too recent for the Fort Congaree occupation, the location of the outpost remained uncertain. Fifteen years later, James Michie renewed the effort to locate the fort. Michie examined several loci between Congaree Creek and the Congaree River before returning to the vicinity of 38LX30. He discovered several linear ditch-like features with the aid of a backhoe. These features contained black glass

bottle fragments and ceramics indicative of an early 18<sup>th</sup> century occupation. Michie identified this deposit with the 1718-1722 occupation of Fort Congaree. Figure 4.2 depicts surface features and topography for the immediate area of the site, designated 38LX319. Units 1 through 10 were excavated with a backhoe and reported in *The Discovery of Old Fort Congaree*. Profile sketches of these units may be found in that report (Michie 1989).

Michie opened 19 excavation units in the spring and fall of 1989. These units delineated a defensive bastion at the southeastern corner of the purported defensive enclosure and indicate the Fort Congaree component was capped by an irregular layer of nineteenth century Piedmont alluvium. The 1989 artifact collection had limited interpretive capacity since it had crude spatial provenience and was almost exclusively derived from the ditch fill, a secondary context. These excavations are unreported and the artifacts were not analyzed beyond basic identification and tabulation. The current analysis developed a plan of these excavations from a rudimentary map found in the unpublished artifact analysis.

### **Recent 38LX30/319 Excavations**

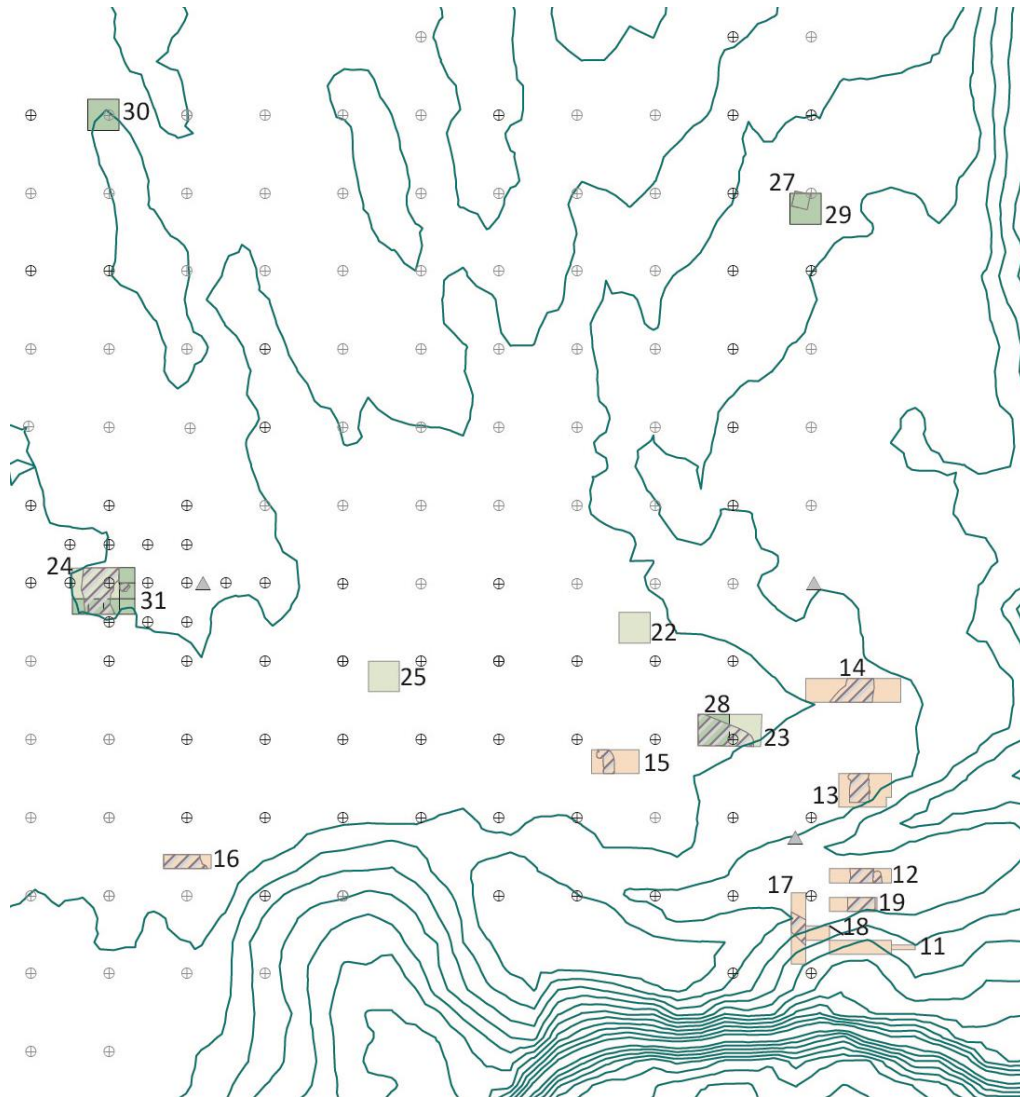
The 2011-2012 field season sought to improve the interpretive potential of the Michie's 38LX319 artifact collection with systematic shovel-testing and selective excavation of features found within and without the defensive enclosure. Shovel-testing identified several potential features evaluated through unit excavation.

A total of 100 shovel tests pits were placed during 2011-2012 fieldwork. More than half of these units were placed at 5m intervals covering the area interior to the moats and expanding westward and northward along the edges of the landform. An anomalous area of midden deposit was delineated with a 2.5m grid of shovel tests. Artifact density diminishes from east to west but very few shovel tests were negative for artifacts. A wide degree of soil texture and color variation was observed between test positions.

The general depositional sequence, based on 1989 and 2011-2012 excavation profiles, is complicated by episodic alluvial processes, 19<sup>th</sup> century military engineering, and cultivation. Sterile subsoil is pale brown very compact silty clay. This stratum underlies a discontinuous zone of brown compact silty sand. These strata were covered by a tan sandy silt flood deposit along the eastern half of the landform. The strong brown loose clay Piedmont alluvium declines in thickness from the east to the west. These deposits were disturbed during construction of Civil War earthworks visible in Figure 4.2 along the northern edge of Congaree Creek. Agricultural disturbance is limited to a depth of 30cmbgs.

Shovel-testing identified four subsurface features. A cellar feature, Feature 50, was identified in the southeast section of the site at N990 E995. In form and size, this feature is very similar to a storehouse identified during excavation of Fort Moore (Sapp 2009). A shovel test at N985 E995 had similar soil characteristics to Feature 50. It was

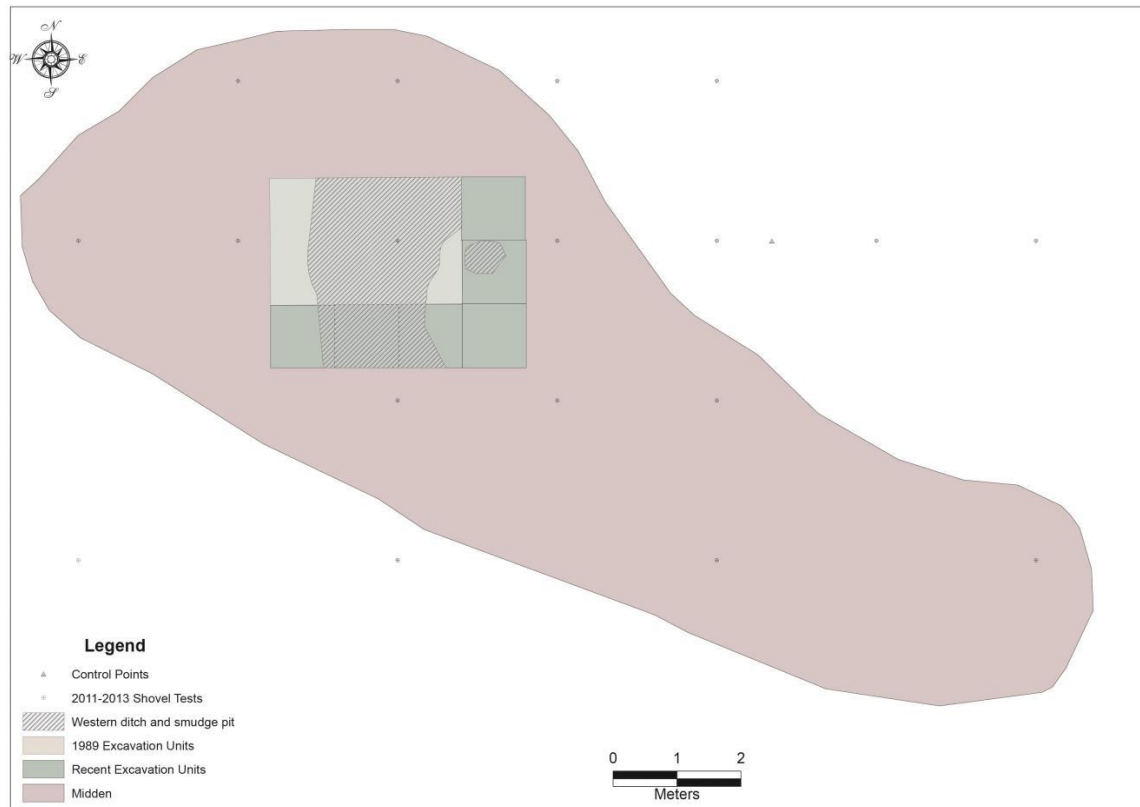
transected and buried by the Civil War earthworks. This feature is unexamined since expanded excavation would impact the integrity of the 38LX30/319 Civil War feature.



**Figure 4.3 Overview of 38LX30/319 excavation units and shovel test locations. N985 E995 is directly south of units 23 and 28.**

A sheet midden and the western ditch were also encountered. The sheet midden is superimposed above a steep sided section of the ditch and extends across approximately 84m<sup>2</sup>. Faunal remains, brick, and early 18<sup>th</sup> century artifacts were

recovered from the midden. Cultural fill is has a high density of charcoal flecking and a greasy texture. This zone was identified at 50cm below ground surface and probed to a depth of 70cm below ground surface.



**Figure 4.4 The western ditch and midden complex. The extent of the midden was defined through shovel-testing**

The midden directly interfaces with the lower ditch feature. Changes in soil characteristics and lower artifact density distinguish this feature from the one above. A number of small lenses of sand within the feature indicate redeposition occurred through periodic inundation. Brick fragments were sparse in the ditch artifact sample. European, Native American ceramics, black glass bottle fragments, lithics an iron hoe, and a cast iron hand grenade were also recovered from this feature.

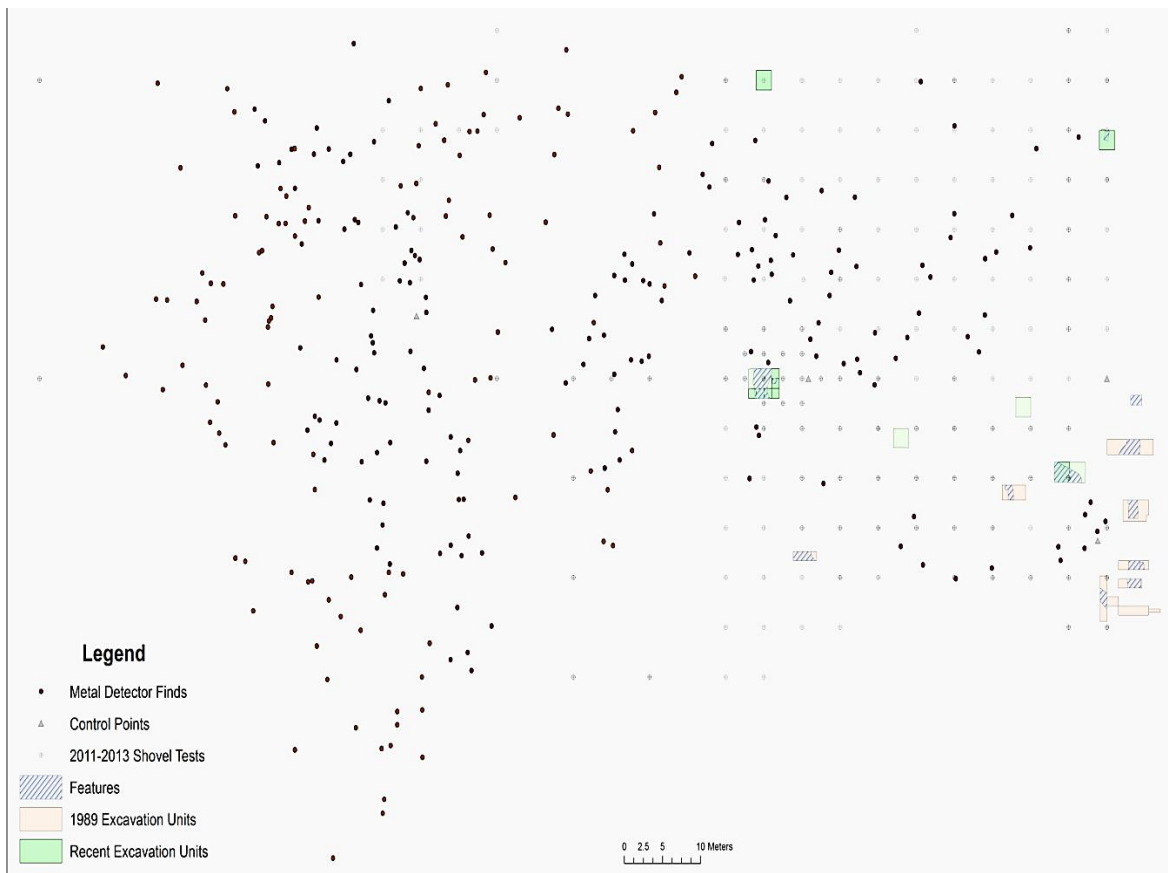
Soils excavated from shovel tests and most excavation proveniences were screened through ¼" inch wire mesh. The sheet midden encountered in Unit 24 was partially sampled with 1/8<sup>th</sup> inch wire mesh. All artifact proveniences, with the exception of fines collected from the 1/8" wire mesh, were washed and sorted. Artifact identification and sorting followed the artifact classes established in the Preliminary Artifact Analysis (Michie n.d.). Faunal material was separated for specialist analysis. Artifact data were entered into a geographic relational database management system (RDBMS) with the aid of a Microsoft Infopath electronic submission form. This enabled submissions to multiple tables while performing automated quality control checks. Proveniences were connected with a geographic information system (GIS) through a spatial database engine (SDE). These steps enable spatial management, manipulation, and interpretation of three-dimensional provenience data. ArcGIS was also effective for overlaying supplementary LIDAR data layers which, quite unexpectedly, consolidated 38LX30 and 38LX319 site boundaries.

The University of South Carolina Department of Anthropology Spring Field School excavated additional shovel tests and excavation units at 38LX30/319 from January through April of 2013. Students and volunteers added approximately 100 shovel-tests in the north and west of the defensive enclosure and expanded excavations of the western ditch midden complex and storehouse feature. Concurrently, Dr. Steven Smith, Mr. James Legg, and Mr. Heathley Johnson conducted a metal detecting survey across the site.

Excavations of Feature 50 and the western ditch and midden complex were expanded in 2013. Excavation of Unit 30 exposed two post features 30m north of Unit 24 in the center of a 1974 motor grading trench. One post feature included the post hole and a preserved section of the actual post. It was circular and measured approximately 30 cm in diameter. The second post feature was a squared post mold measuring 8cm in width. Unit 29, placed above a soil anomaly identified in 2012, located a section Unit 6 excavated by Michie in 1989.

The metal detection survey covered the entirety of Fort Congaree's defensive enclosure and additional area to the north and west measuring approximately 3 acres. Each find was excavated and mapped with a total station. A total of 380 metal artifacts were recovered during the survey. Less than one-fifth ( $n = 63$ ) of these finds were found within the defensive enclosure.





**Figure 4.5 Map of metal detection finds shown in relation to excavation units and shovel tests**

Considering the Board's prohibition against indigenous peoples entering the fort, the distribution of metal artifacts may suggest the presence of an extramural accommodations or meeting place. It certainly indicates the area west of the defensive enclosure was actively utilized. Since activities likely overlapped within this colonial space and only a single structure has been identified thus far, this analysis is limited to demonstrating presence or absence of Indian trade subaltern activities within the occupation. Drawing upon principles of pattern recognition, the material culture analysis placed artifacts recovered from the 1989 through 2013 excavations within a functional classificatory scheme focused on Indian trade labor activities (South 2002).

Michie's two 1989 field seasons identified the eastern edge of Fort Congaree's defensive enclosure along with a bastion in the southeast corner. This sample of artifacts was principally collected from secondary ditch feature deposits. Artifact analysis was limited to a preliminary sorting and tabulation. This collection was reexamined in 2011 and follow-up field work began in the winter. The 2011-2012 fieldwork identified the western edge of the defensive enclosure overlain by a midden deposit and the cellar-like remnant of the outpost's storehouse. Additional fieldwork in the spring of 2013 expanded excavations of these features and collected systematic metal detection data.

Eastern and western edges of the 38LX30/319 defensive enclosure separate an intramural activity area from extramural space. Systematic shovel-testing and metal detection data show an increase in general artifact density along the defensive enclosure periphery. Metal artifacts are most dense west of the defensive enclosure.

## **Chapter 5. Material Culture Analysis**

Fort Congaree residents were active participants in the deerskin commodity chain described in the third chapter. Documentary research shows the outpost was principally involved in acquisition and transportation stages of the commodity chain. While verbal exchanges inherent to trade negotiations and transportation of commodities and goods leave few material traces, this chapter evaluates spatial and material data collected from the 1989 through 2013 field seasons relating to Public Monopoly Indian trade subaltern or marginalized laborers.

Material correlates of public servant status and Indian trade labor at Fort Congaree are present within the artifact assemblage. Though a variety of activities were performed within the outpost by public servants, this chapter is limited to a discussion of material and spatial linkages between their labor and the deerskin commodity chain. This chapter will proceed through examination of material and spatial correlates for preparation, procurement and transportation stages within the site.

Interior stores in Native American settlements acquired the majority of deerskins for the enterprise even though slightly better exchange rates were offered at frontier factories. Fort Moore and Fort Congaree were located at the limits of river navigation. Shipments of deerskins and goods were carried from these locations on periaugers.

Though these commodities traveled through government controlled facilities, they continued to be controlled by Charles Town merchants. Merchants supplied the corporation with trade goods and purchased acquired skins at public auction.

Public monopoly appointees and servants were principally involved in the acquisition and transportation of freight between the stores and the port. Factors, and other appointed officers, were bonded to the Board by oath and a financial security. Public servants assigned to the trading factory worked at the frontier as a condition of their indenture.

## **Hunting and Hide Preparation**

Hunting and hide preparation activities are two key activity types associated with Native American labor (Schoolcraft 1884; Swanton 1928). Lead shot, lithics, and faunal remains found in the 38LX30/319 assemblage indicate these activities were integral to the Fort Congaree occupation. This section discusses the varieties of lead shot and faunal remains recovered during the 1989 and 2011-2012 excavation. In addition, a smudge pit feature and a small subset of the artifact assemblage locates hide preparation activities within the occupation.

Analysis of lead shot identified ninety-five pieces of ammunition with a variety of calibers. Non-impacted lead shot were massed and diameters were measured and examined for production related morphological attributes. Local projectile casting is indicated by the presence of eleven lead balls with sprues still attached. Teeth marks are also present on three pieces of shot. The diameters of impacted shot were

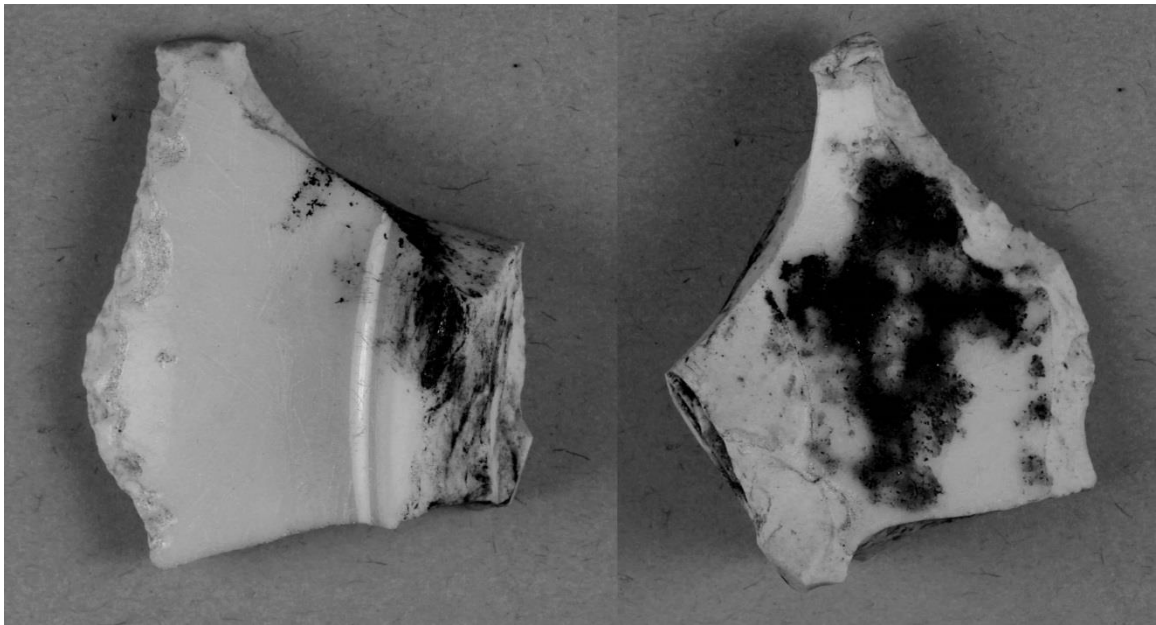
estimated using a formula for calculating spherical volumes by mass classified according to modern tables for lead shot and an unpublished analysis of lead shot from the Mount Pleasant site (Legg n.d.; Silivich 1996). Forty-four percent of the shot falls within the range of buckshot and large buckshot classes. Thirty-eight percent were small shot measuring less than .25 cal. Remaining lead shot measuring between .50 and .61 caliber fall within the range of contemporary trade gun barrel bores.

Firearms and ammunition were frequently traded to Native Americans. Indian trade guns were smaller caliber than contemporary military firearms like the British Land Pattern, "Brown Bess". The type 'G' or Carolina trade gun was present in the Southeast by 1730 and continued to be manufactured through 1760. Three extant muskets of this type have bores measuring between .52 and .56 caliber (Hamilton 1987). A type 'G' trade gun side plate recovered from the Rock Turtle site, near the Lower Cherokee town of Keowee, is nearly identical to one found at Fort Congaree (Polhemus 1971).

The presence of lead shot, by itself, does expressly correlate to Native American hunting activities at Fort Congaree. The noticeable absence of military sized ammunition suggests militia and Royal Independent Company regulars used firearms with bore diameters similar to their indigenous visitors' weapons. However, the majority of animal bones identified from the 1989 collection were attributed to whitetail deer, 54% of the assemblage. Native American hide processing toolkits were known to include scraping tools manufactured from lower limb elements which had a high frequency of

occurrence in the 38LX30/319 assemblage (Mason 1891; Steinburg 1966; Wallman 2011).

Three definite and three possible hide processing tools were found within the Fort Congaree assemblage. These include two quartz thumbnail scrapers, one found in a smudge pit feature, and three possible quartz scrapers and a bifacially flaked porcelain scraper.



**Figure 5.1 A porcelain scraper recovered from the eastern ditch in 1989**

These hide preparation tools and their associated techniques are normally associated with Native American women (Schoolcraft 1884; Swanton 1928). In The Board was not averse to employing indigenous women for deerskin processing tasks. In 1717 several indigenous women living close to Charles Town were given measures of cloth to repair a shipment of hides before a 1717 public auction in 1717 (McDowell

1992). Women also participated in later trading factory and military occupations amongst the Creek and Overhill Cherokee (Braund 2008).

## **Procurement**

The *raison d'être* of Fort Congaree was deerskin procurement (Cooper 1838). Material evidence for these activities includes items and spaces associated with trade. The following table reproduces a list of trade goods, and their worth in deerskins, found in the Board's journal (McDowell 1955:269).

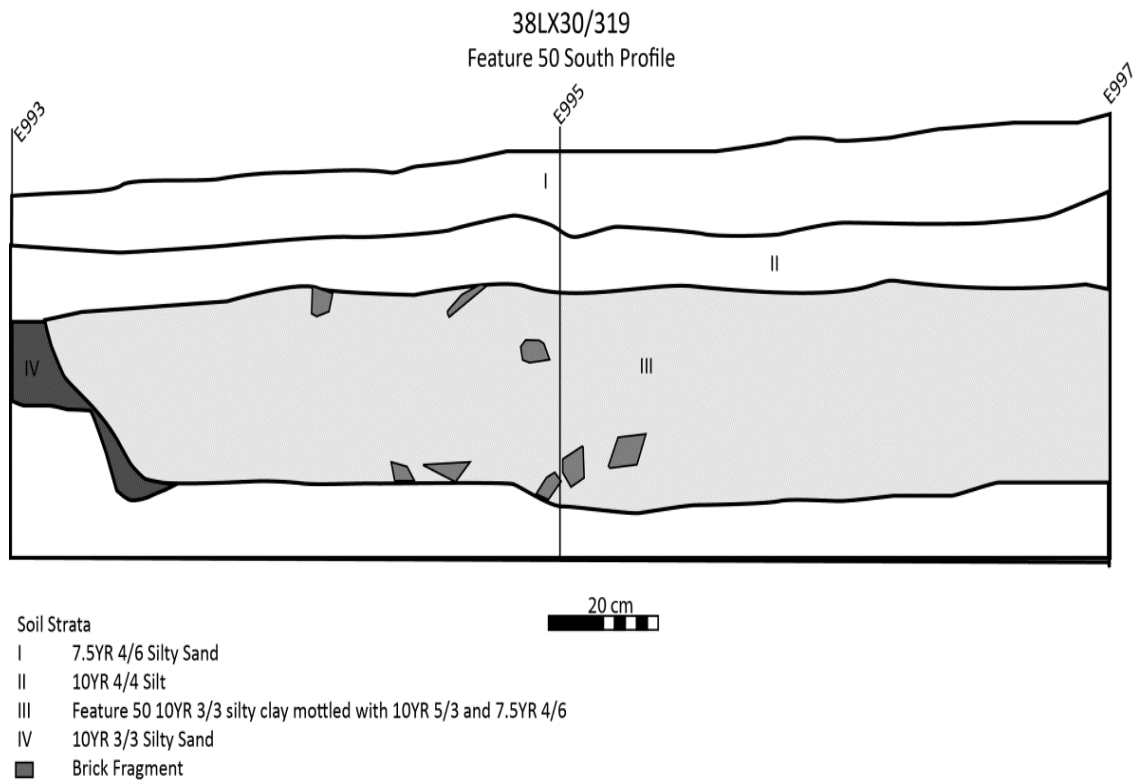
Most trade goods listed for exchange in Table 5.1 are perishable garments. The rest of the trade goods, with the exception of red lead and beads, are tools or materials which easily overlap with non-trade frontier garrison practices. Most durable trade item categories mentioned in Table 5.1 are present within the 38LX30/319 assemblage. Few, however, were recovered in primary feature contexts.

**Table 5.1 "A Table of Rates to barter by; viz; Quantity and Quality of Goods for Pounds of heavy drest Deer Skins" (McDowell 1955:269)**

A gun	16	A Ditto, not laced	12
A Pound of Powder	1	A Yard of Plains or Half Thicks	2
Four pounds bullets or shot	1	A laced Hat	3
A pound red Lead	2	A plain Hat	2
Fifty flints	1	A white Duffield Blanket	8
Two knives	1	A blew or red Ditto, two yards	7
One Pound Beads	3	A course Linnen, two yards	3
Twenty-four Pipes	1	A Gallon Rum	4
A broad Hoe	3	A Pound Vermillion, [and] two Pounds red Lead, mixed	20
A Yard double striped yard-wide cloth	3	A Yard course flowered Calicoe	4
A Half Thicks or Plains Coat	1	Three yards broad scarlet Caddice gartering laced	14

A single feature associated with Fort Congaree's procurement activity produced very few trade goods. Feature 50 is provisionally identified as the outpost's storehouse. In form, this feature is similar to the storehouse excavated at Fort Moore in the 1970s (Sapp 2009). Though a high volume of brick was recovered from the feature, other material classes were poorly represented. Bricks were haphazardly distributed throughout a uniform feature fill. Trade goods recovered from this feature include a draw knife, buckshot, and a battered trade gun barrel. The feature's general artifact distribution in addition to the scarcity of other artifact types, suggests the storehouse was cleared prior to demolition.





**Figure 5.2 The south profile of the storehouse, Feature 50**

## Transportation

The location of Feature 50 is also indicative of Fort Congaree transportation activity. The Board and Commons House addressed Public Monopoly transportation methods on several occasions. Periaugers and porters were the primary modes of transportation between interior communities, trading factories, and Charles Towne from 1716 until 1718 when the government corporation acquired packhorses. Material correlates of these activities are evident in the artifact assemblage. Given the absence of roads in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century backcountry, several fragments of barrel bands suggest freight transportation by periauger. These bands, which hold barrel staves together,

were recovered from the storehouse feature. Beef and pork comestibles, packed in barrels, were part of the outpost's food supply (Cooper 1838).

The Fort Congaree storehouse is located on the southeastern corner of the defensive enclosure. This position is adjacent to Congaree Creek and a section of the Congaree River backchannel active in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Placement of the storehouse suggests the outpost was oriented to accommodate loading and unloading of skins and freight into periaugers.

Indigenous porters, and likely packhorses, were not permitted entry to the palisade but they would still require accommodations in the vicinity of the trading factory (McDowell 1992). The metal detection and shovel testing surveys of the site indicate an artifact concentration, including a cluster of trade gun balls, outside the western perimeter of the defensive enclosure. While further excavation is required, this artifact concentration could correlate to temporary campsites or residences.

### **Non-Commodity Chain Evidence for Subaltern labor**

Public servants responsibilities were not confined to Indian trade activities. As low status laborers, their duties included daily maintenance of the outpost, agricultural work and food preparation. A number of burnished fine sand tempered sherds stand out in the hand-built utilitarian earthenware assemblage. These sherds are fragments of Native American colonoware vessels made locally or carried up from Charles Towne. Like hide processing, the manufacture of colonoware is primarily associated with

indigenous women. The presence of these containers suggests Native American women had a role in food preparation (Deagan 2003; Mason 1894; Norris 1712; Swanton 1928).

Tension between public servants and employees is also identifiable through the archaeological record. The Statutes at Large and JCHA record the 1716 purchase of thirty-two indentured servants by the governor of South Carolina. These men were Scottish Jacobite rebels transported after a failed attempt to replace King George I. They were presented with a choice to serve four years as indentured soldier-servants instead of the traditional seven years term. In 2013, a lion rampant seal matrix, see figure 5.2, was recovered from a shovel test. The lion rampant motif was mass-produced and available from stationary stores (Beverly Straube pers. comm., senior archaeological curator for Jamestown Rediscovery). But, it does replicate a symbol of the 1715 Jacobite Rising, the pre-Union standard of Scotland (Tayler and Tayler 1936).



**Figure 5.3 Lion Rampant seal matrix**

Westerwald tankards were also recovered from 38LX30/319. These tankards, emblazoned with the Latin initials of King George, would manifest British political tensions and allegiances and symbolized the failure of the Jacobite Rising to replace the Hanoverian monarch.

This project sought to identify and interpret material correlates for labor roles in the Public Monopoly period deerskin commodity chain. Subaltern Native American, African and European laborers were involved in procurement, manufacture, transportation and exchange of deerskins. The correspondences of Indian trade commissioners recorded several instances where skins damaged during transportation

were reworked by indigenous women before the skins were sold at auction (McDowell 1992:186). Material and spatial evidence for these activities includes: the presence of a variety of indigenous technology used in food preparation, a preference for game over domesticated animals, extramural artifact clusters, and hide preparation tools.

According to trade correspondence, a number of Public Monopoly stores were already operating in Cherokee and Catawba communities before Fort Congaree was constructed (McDowell 1992). If these were the primary points for deerskin trade interaction, Fort Congaree's role may have been limited to consolidating shipments of goods and skins for redistribution.

## **Chapter 6. Discussion and Conclusion**

This study sought to investigate Public Monopoly period deerskin trade labor through an evaluation of ethnohistoric and archaeological data. Deerskin trade played a formative role in identity construction, diplomacy, and economic development during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A focus on Public Monopoly labor organization is relevant to broader studies on the anthropologies of colonialism and capitalism. The South Carolina Indian trade was an experimental unregulated market during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. This lack of regulation resulted in a period of conflict and economic instability. Deerskin trade participants were able to manipulate these circumstances to their own advantage while the government attempted to mitigate damages through administered trade policies.

A practice-based political economic framework was utilized in this analysis. This theoretical perspective situates individual identities within tensioned forces of structure, experience, and performance. Their activities were conducted within a layered and multi-sited network that afforded individual laborers a large measure of personal agency by virtue of their distance from institutional centers of power. Though public servants were generally omitted from the official journals of the provincial assembly and the Board, ethnohistoric and archaeological data were used to reconstruct the organization of labor practices within the Public Monopoly administered trade. Following a commodity chain methodology, this study identified the major stages

of commercial scale production and transportation of deerskins. Production and preparations stages were performed in interior hunting camps and villages by Native American men and women. Procurement and transportation activities were supervised by administered trade officials with the participation of indigenous clients and ports as well as publicly owned indentured servants and slaves.

Fort Congaree was occupied by commissioned officers, free colonists, and indentured servants. These individuals interacted with indigenous peoples on both the local and regional scale as they facilitated transportation of goods between interior stores and Charles Town. The 38LX30/319 artifact analysis identified previously unvoiced participants in the Fort Congaree occupation. Scottish Jacobite indentured servants and sojourning Native Americans were essential to the outpost's operation but warranted little discussion in contemporary texts. Hide processing tools and colonowares identified in the collection provide new insights into Native American women's participation in the government-controlled deerskin trade.

A continued examination of deerskin trade labor roles requires a reorientation in project scope and scale. The limited amount of indigenous material culture correlates to limited indigenous labor within the defensive enclosure. Archaeological investigations should turn to early historic indigenous settlements. Plans for future research include an expansion of testing to the west of the defensive enclosure. The concentration of metal artifacts in this area opens the possibility of extramural habitations. Additional investigations at nearby early historic indigenous sites and

trade-related site collections from Cherokee and Catawba settlements should be evaluated for evidence of hide preparation activities or trade related activities.

The deerskin trade and Yemasee War affected a diverse set of indigenous communities. The Cherokee were an influential indigenous group who had the ability to renew diplomatic and economic ties to the Carolina colony following the Yemasee War. Furthering the study of trade interactions, a focus on Cherokee settlements with storehouses would provide an archaeological context for the study of the effects of the deerskin trade on indigenous communities, labor roles and domestic activities.

A number of multicomponent late prehistoric and early historic sites are found on both sides of the Congaree River. In addition to the sites listed in the archaeological context, fourteen Mississippian and three 18<sup>th</sup> century components have been identified on the eastern floodplain of the river. If any of these sites reflect early 18<sup>th</sup> century indigenous settlement, they would be valuable for evaluating local Native American relationships with Fort Congaree and the deerskin trade.

An in-depth analysis of the Congaree area's indigenous ceramics would be immensely valuable for seriating the complicated stamped sherds found at the site. Additional excavations at the site would improve the understanding of the intra-site artifacts, identify activity areas, and determine the location of intramural structures. Refuse deposits from the eastern ditch were extensively sampled and reflect primary and secondary artifact deposition. An application of remote sensing or mechanical stripping of Piedmont alluvium would assist in identification of features within the



defensive enclosure. A focus on these deposits would facilitate activity pattern construction within the site. In addition, the midden area held a rich deposit of faunal remains. Analysis of this sample would assist in construction of frontier dietary patterns.

Though this study was able to identify marginalized labor roles through a practice-based activity analysis of the deerskin commodity chain, several limitations impeded the work. The integrity of the 38LX30/319 Fort Congaree component was adversely impacted by several centuries of floods and cultivation, Civil War defensive engineering, and silviculture. Though the site continues to yield a wealth of artifacts, they are normally concentrated within secondary ditch deposits limiting their interpretive utility. In addition, few collections from contemporary frontier sites are available for comparison or generalization. At the same time many Indian trade activities were ephemeral with low potential for archaeological identification. The study's reliance upon written accounts of these activities also privileges European male observations. However, a lack of firsthand accounts from Native American clients and Public Monopoly servants necessitates the use of documents which recapitulate contemporary processes of colonialism.

This analysis synthesized historical and archaeological data to investigate the organization of labor within an administered Indian trade. It identified material correlates of deerskin trade activities and used them to interpret local manifestations of labor at 38LX30/319, Fort Congaree.

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