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Archeology at Scott's Lake: Exploratory Research 1972, 1973

Leland G. Ferguson

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ARCHEOLOGY AT SCOTT'S LAKE
EXPLORATORY RESEARCH 1972, 1973

by

Leland G. Ferguson
Research Manuscript Series No. 68

Prepared by the
INSTITUTE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
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Most of the excavations of this site consisted of five feet or ten feet squares that were completely sifted. For the loan of two mechanical sifters Jim Michie is to be thanked as savior of the backs and arms of those who dug.
INTRODUCTION

Driving U.S. #15 from Santee to Summerton, South Carolina, a sign on the north side of Lake Marion points toward "Santee Indian Mound--Site of Fort Watson" (Figs. 1 & 2). This road winds by the offices of the Santee Wildlife Refuge and along the edge of the lake. The pavement ends at a grove of trees protecting a somewhat humble eminence of earth, the Indian mound which is the central feature of a State Historical Site. (Figs. 2,3).

Visitors can walk over the site and enjoy the pleasant park-like atmosphere. They see a man-made lake that covers the old channel of the Santee River and the great swamp that was once a major feature of the coastal plain landscape. They are unaware that several hundred years ago the river came within three hundred feet of the mound, and that over time the channel meandered back across the swamp and left a small cypress bordered remnant that was called Scott's Lake by the early colonists.

The changes of the lake, the paved road, the stone rip-rap protecting the beach, the forest of young trees, the wooden breakwater--these physical things of this Historic Site are of today, and there is very little to remind people of the way things were before the "modern age". Here, visitors are on an important place in the prehistory and history of South Carolina. It is a place where Indians built a religious center many years before the sails of European ships were seen slipping by the sea islands. It is a place where British and Provincial soldiers lived and fought in a vain attempt to maintain the colony of South Carolina for His Majesty King George III of England. Yet, there is little to help the visitor know and understand the events that took place here on the banks of the Santee River. If they have an image of past events they are most often those conjured by the "movieland" version of Indians or the television rendition of Francis Marion as the elusive Swamp Fox.
Figure 2. Excavations at the base of Mound A, Scott’s Lake Site.
While there is little interpretive information on the site there has likewise been little in the way of archeological or historical data upon which to base a more extensive presentation. Interpretation requires the development of a body of concrete knowledge upon which to base statements, and this base does not exist for either Santee Indian Mound or Fort Watson.

Investigations of prehistoric archeological sites such as this have only begun in South Carolina during the last ten years, many years after similar efforts in other states. Lake Marion, as well as all of the other major reservoirs in South Carolina, were inundated without any archeological research having been done to determine the extent of the archeological resources that would be covered. At the same time in Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee, archeological surveys and excavations were conducted on similar projects to insure that the information about the past would be preserved. Fortunately, "Santee Indian Mound - Site of Fort Watson", called the Scott's Lake Site for archeological purposes, was saved from complete inundation. However, there has never been any archeological work to capitalize on its preservation or to help compensate for that information lost due to inundation.

By analogy to other sites (e.g. Town Creek: Coe 1952; Reid 1967; Hollywood: Thomas 1894; DeBaillou 1965; Irene: Caldwell and McCann 1941; Charles Towne: South 1971), we know that the Scott's Lake Site was an Indian ceremonial center occupied between about A.D. 1200 and the time of European contact. However, at this point there is only a minimal amount of hypothetical archeological information that could be provided to interpret this early component to the public.

We have no direct historical documents referring to this location as a known Indian village. In 1701 John Lawson (Harriss 1952) visited
an Indian village on the left bank of the Santee River that had mounds and was the home of a group of Santee Indians. Although we cannot be certain, the site we have been excavating may have been the one visited by Lawson. If this is true, then the site was occupied as late as 1701. Nevertheless, we know that by the middle of the 18th century the Indians of the South Carolina coastal plain had been decimated by disease and warfare, and many of the surviving peoples had migrated to join other groups outside the South Carolina coastal plain (South 1972: 18; Swanton 1946). Thus we have no certain historic documents concerning the Indian occupation, but we may be relatively certain that the occupation lasted no longer than about the middle of the eighteenth century.

As there is little information concerning the Indian occupation, there is only little more Revolutionary War data. This second major occupation of the site is adequately documented as being the British Fort Watson, a small garrison protecting the supply route from the coast to the occupation fortifications at Camden. The fort is dated in historic records (Watson n.d., McKay n.d., Gibbes 1853, Lee 1812) as having been built on top of the mound and occupied by forces under the command of Colonel John W. T. Watson between late December or early January 1780-81 and April 23, 1781, when garrison commander Lieutenant James McKay surrendered to Brigadier General Francis Marion and Lieutenant Colonel Harry Lee after a siege or blockade* of eighty days.

*According to John Muller, a military engineer of the eighteenth century, there is a subtle difference between siege and blockade. In accounts of the battle the Americans refer to a siege while Lieutenant McKay refers to a blockade.

Siege is when an army approaches a fortified place, and surrounds it on all sides, endeavoring to oblige the garrison to surrender, either by destroying the works of the fortification, or those which defend them. (Muller 1746: 230)

Blockade is the encompassing a fortified place with an army so that it must either be starved or surrender (Muller 1746: 211).
The short time of the occupation means that this site represents a precise glimpse of late eighteenth century military culture—a glimpse that is not adequately treated in recorded history. From the contemporary point of view, the more important activities of the Revolutionary War were happening at Charleston, Camden and Ninety-Six. As the major sites of interest during the Revolution, volumes of historical accounts and interpretations have been written about them while smaller sites have been historically neglected.

Many people fail to recognize that our view of history is heavily weighted by the subjective interpretations of the people who participated. There are things about the Revolutionary War that we very seldom hear. There were everyday people who lived, marched, fought and died in out of the way places that never made the "headlines" of history. There is the story of the common soldier and the mediocre officer—ordinary people caught in a power struggle that changed the course of the western world. To understand this ordinary aspect, to develop it along side the "more important" events of the Revolutionary War and the late eighteenth century, we desperately need archeological information from places like Fort Watson.

Besides documentary information that will tell the "lifeways" story of the people who made this an important place, there is also the scientific importance of this site. Archeology, both prehistoric and historic, contributes to the overall understanding of how people adapt to their environment, how they organize themselves, their beliefs, and the manner in which they react to the material world around them. Such information is usually synthesized at a level above that of a specific site. However, any general statements about the regularities of human behavior require well collected information from many sites such as that at Scott's Lake. Hopefully, data collected during this excavation will be used to solve problems beyond those already treated.
Recognizing the lack of information concerning the prehistoric and historic use of this site as well as the potential for scientific contribution, representatives of the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism and the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology devised a program in 1972 for the purpose of evaluating these archeological resources in consideration of future interpretation and investigation. Exploratory archeology was conducted during the summers of 1972 and 1973. The program was sponsored by the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. A portion of the funding was provided through the historic sites preservation grant program of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

The summers of exploratory archeological research at the Scott's Lake site in 1972 and 1973 produced interesting information concerning potential archeological contribution. One of the most important facts is that the site has hardly been disturbed. Most archeological sites in the southeastern United States have suffered from plowing, wind and water erosion, or the effects of relic hunters. Scott's Lake has never been plowed, there is little evidence of natural erosion, and there is minimal destruction by relic hunters. Apparently, the only significant damage has been rendered by wave action along the shore of Lake Marion.

The unusual preservation means that the zones of Indian and British occupation are much the same today as they were when they were deposited hundreds of years ago: a most perfect situation for archeological research. The site is well preserved and fortunately it is under the protection of the state of South Carolina and the United States Department of the Interior.

The exploratory archeology at the Scott's Lake Site was conducted under some unexpectedly difficult conditions. The most severe of these was
that during the summers of 1972 and 1973 the waters of Lake Marion were
usually well over the normal maximum pool level of 76 feet elevation.
Since the elevation of the surface around the mound is only one or two
feet above this level the ground water made it impossible to excavate
effectively during a portion of the first, and most of the second summer.
Thus, while some excavations were conducted around the base of the mound,
most of our attention, especially during the second summer, was concentrated
on the dry mound summit. As a result, while we were able to gather information
indicating the extent and importance of both occupations of the site, the
British component as it is represented on the summit of the mound received
the most archeological attention.

The second problem during the excavations was the discovery, during
the summer of 1973, that several prehistoric burials were eroding from a
bluff about three quarters of a mile south of the Historic Site. The site
was named Scott's Lake Bluff Site (38CR35) for it was located on a bluff
that once was the shore of Scott's Lake. Since this was a salvage situation
relating directly to the prehistoric occupation of the Scott's Lake Site,
two workers were employed in excavating these burials. This unforseen
activity arrested some of the more extensive work planned for the environs
of the Scott's Lake Site.

This report concentrates on relating the interpretative value of the
material recovered during these two summers of exploratory archeology.
Since the upper levels of the site containing the British material were in
such an excellent state of preservation, they demanded careful and thorough
excavation. However, this concentration should in no way diminish the
importance of the Indian occupation. Appendix I outlines the results of
investigation concerning the Indian component with suggestions as to the
ultimate potential of an investigation of this component.
SITE INFORMATION

The Scott's Lake Site is jointly leased by the United States Department of the Interior and the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism. Santee Wildlife Refuge, the functional agency of the Department of the Interior, is responsible for the preservation of natural and cultural resources while the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism is responsible for cultural development. During the archaeological field program, we received help and cooperation from both of these agencies.

The site is located on the northern shore of Lake Marion about one mile west of U. S. Highway 301. The Santee River, dammed to form the Lake, transected the coastal plain of South Carolina; and the site is located in the middle portion of that coastal plain. Prior to the construction of Lake Marion this portion of the Santee River was a large riparian swamp containing rich biotic resources. The land surrounding the swamp was rich table land that graded gently into rolling hills toward the fall line. The location of an important Indian site here probably related to good transportation and subsistence systems. In later times the vulnerability of this location to the British supply route made it a perfect place for a protecting fort.

Santee Wildlife Refuge borders the site on the northern and eastern sides; Lake Marion is to the south and west. The southern side of the site is protected from the erosive wave action of the lake by a wooden breakwater and a sand berm. Damage due to lake water erosion has been a serious threat to the site and it appears that approximately one quarter of the site area may have been covered by the lake. Evidence for this extension of the site is from verbal reports of people who had visited the location prior to the construction of the dam and
from surface collections made during periods of lake water recession. We know that at least one small mound, located directly east of the larger mound, has been eroded so much that only a small remnant remains visible. Fortunately, there is still the pattern of artifact distribution beneath the lake level, and a systematic survey of the lake bottom may disclose the pattern of prehistoric and historic features in this area.

Prior to the construction of Lake Marion, Scott's Lake, an oxbow, was located approximately 300 feet southeast of Mound A. Perhaps this lake was an active portion of the Santee River when the mound was constructed. In either case, proximity to this body of water was certainly an important factor in the construction of the mound and ceremonial center at this location. Later, during the Revolutionary War, the lake served as a source of water for the British garrison, and the first action taken by Francis Marion in attacking the fort was to assign "riflemen and Continentals" to cut off British access to Scott's Lake.

Heretofore, most of the collecting of artifacts at Scott's Lake was done by amateur archeologists and relic hunters. These people have been scouring the wave-washed beaches since the construction of Lake Marion, and artifacts from the site are spread throughout South Carolina in private collections and museums. The most spectacular of artifacts have been burials with ornate grave goods and burials within urns. Presently, as part of the research program, we are trying to locate as much of the material removed from Scott's Lake as possible. These materials will be recorded and photographed and, when possible, we will get provenience information from the collectors. Through this process, we will be able to reconstruct at least a portion of the important burial information that has washed away. Further, we will be able to expand our inventory of the types of artifacts found on the site.
Maynard Davis, a resident of Summerton, South Carolina, was familiar with the site before the construction of Lake Marion. Mr. Davis has reported that a ditch extended from the southern side of Mound A to the edge of Scott's Lake, and that dirt was piled on either side of this ditch. This description fits the construction pattern of a "covered way" used in 18th century military tactics for moving under protected cover from one point to another.

The site has been protected from plowing and disturbance during the entire period since the Revolutionary War. At some time, probably during the 19th century, Mr. Robert A. Smythe of Atlanta acquired Cedar Grove Plantation, and the Scott's Lake Site was part of the acquisition. Mr. Smythe is reported by our local informant, Mr. Davis, to have been very protective of the site. He did not allow it to be farmed, and the only digging allowed was by a representative of the Smithsonian Institution during the 1930's. This excavation is reported to have been a small test pit in the summit of the mound.

Refraining from farming has caused the site to reforest. Only the area between Mound A and the parking lot is cleared and grassed. Mound A is covered with chinaberry trees in addition to a few pines and small hardwoods. The northern portion of the site is forested with large pine trees, sweet gum trees, and a variety of other small hardwood trees.

*A review of records and conference with Dr. A. R. Kelly, Professor Emeritus of the University of Georgia, produced no evidence of such an excavation. Dr. Kelly was southeastern representative of the Smithsonian Institution during the 1930's.*
For the most part, the things people write down are the things they want to write down. Certainly, in some cases, people are placed under duress and they write that which is an anathema to them, such as their signature on a speeding ticket; but for the most part they write a personal version of the situation whether it be in a diary, letter, the minutes of a political meeting, a book, or a poem. The things they write are important to them, and the things they write make up history. The illiterate of the past are left out of history except when someone who is literate decides that some aspect of the life and actions of the illiterate is worthy of saving or transmitting. As such, the bare body of historical information is originally biased due to the subjectivity of the person or persons setting it down.

Our history of Fort Watson comes from several sources. We have letters, a journal, memoirs, and offhand comments written by participants in the battle. They were written by people giving their views of the things they considered important. The scripts are often flavored by the side of the fortress the writers were on, the impression they wanted to make, the way they would have liked the events to have taken place, or the time that had robbed them of their memory. These historical documents are important, but we must remember that they are biased. Of themselves these documents are not necessarily truth. Everything written must be evaluated in light of the writer and his contemporary cultural milieu. The stating of relevance of such data to the present is the job of the historian. The archeologist works with another set of data.

History most often deals with the things presented to the world of men. Archeology often deals with the same things, such as architecture, settlements, dishes and so forth. However, archeology also deals with the
things people consciously or unconsciously commit to the earth: the things they lose or throw away. The stating of the relevance of these data is the job of the archeologist, and we may or may not find that archeological interpretation is congruent with historical interpretations.

The exploratory archeology at Fort Watson began with a review of the documents, and documentary research and revaluation has continued throughout the project. These documents gave fundamental information concerning the features of the fort and the execution of the battle that resulted in capitulation. But, there were important details missing. There was no information within the documents concerning the orientation of the fort other than that the stockade was on the summit of the mound with abatis at the base. There was no information on the living patterns of the people who occupied it, and there was no detailed data on the manner of attack and subsequent capitulation. Furthermore, where there were data, they were often misleading and contradictory. The outline of historical data providing the fundamental information concerning the fort is given in Appendices II, III, and IV.
FORT WATSON IN THE WORDS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

At this point in an historical archeological report it is appropriate for the author to provide an interpretive narrative of the historical events that took place concerning the site under investigation. In this report we shall take another approach. To the author, reviewing the documents was one of the most exciting parts of this research. Within those documents is an eighteenth century flavor, and a mood and personality of the participants that could not easily be conveyed through a twentieth century man. As a result, I have chosen a different approach for presenting the "historical story" of Fort Watson.

Biased as it is, I have chosen to present the "story" of this fort in the words of the participants. Thus, the following is documentary drawn verbatim from the texts of people who were involved in the actual construction, occupation, siege or blockade, and final capitulation of Fort Watson. Although these are from first hand accounts, they were written at different times and for significantly different reasons. The reader is cautioned to look for inconsistencies.

Lieutenant McKay, commandant of the fort, kept a daily journal (McKay n.d.) of the blockade, and General Marion (Gibbes 1853) wrote a letter to Major General Nathanael Greene* on the evening of the surrender. These accounts are perhaps the most reliable concerning the battle, although there are conflicting versions of the letter from Marion to Greene (Ferguson 1973a). Quotes from Colonel Watson and General Greene are both from letters. Greene's letters are to General Sumter and Marion concerning the progress of the battle at Fort Watson (Charleston Yearbook

*Spelling as in biography by William Johnson (1822).
1899, Gibbes 1853). The Watson letter (n.d.) was written after the war (1782) in request for a leave of absence from the army. Therein, Watson describes his activities during the Southern Campaign in an apparently objective manner. However, we must keep in mind that he was making an effort to secure a leave. Colonel Lee's story of the battle came many years (1812) after the war and therefore, is perhaps the least reliable of the primary documents. Other quoted sources are cited as they appear. All lines are in chronological order as they occurred in history unless noted differently by dates or enclosed in parantheses.

List of Writers:

Colonel John Watson T. Watson: Commander of a Battalion of Provincial Light Infantry.

Lieutenant James McKay: "a very good Officer of Col. Tanning's Regiment" (Watson n.d.), Provincial Light Infantry.

Brigadier General Francis Marion: Partisan commanding a brigade of the South Carolina Militia.

Colonel Harry Lee: Commander of a Legion of the Continental Army.

General Nathanael Greene: Major General of the armies of the United States, commander of the Southern Campaign.

Reverend James Jenkins: South Carolina minister and writer.

William Vaughn: Soldier in the South Carolina Militia.

Colonel Watson (recollecting in 1782 the events of 1780-81) (n.d.):

...the Commander in Chief [Sir Henry Clinton] then having in contemplation the reduction of Charles Town, and being kind enough to offer me a place in his Family; I attended him. He was likewise pleased to be so satisfied with my Services, that after the reduction of that place, and our return to New York, he asked what he should do for me. I told him my object was seeing all the services possible, if therefore when he did not take the field, he would give me leave to serve with my own Corps, and when the severity of the Seasons precluded all operation to the Northward, if then, he would permit me to join the Troops who were serving to the Southward, he would gratify my most sanguine wishes.
...he formed a Battalion of light Infantry from the Provincial Lines, and flattering me with the Command of it, sent us (...my whole number embarked did not amount to 340 men...) with 200 Men under General Leslie to reinforce Lord Cornwallis.

...mine would be a detached command, the object of which was to protect the communication of the Santee River to Camden, and to cover the Eastern District of the Province.

He [Col. Balfour, commandant of Charleston] said, the River, was of considerable extent, but the principal point in which it was assailable; was within a few miles of Nelson's Ferry; that the Eastern part of the province was my Front, that I was to consider Camden on the left and George Town on the right, as my Flanks.

Having then applied for the mounted People being attached to me, some spare ammunition, and waggons to convey the sick and wounded we might have; and being informed that the mounted People must go with the other Troops, that they could give me no ammunition; and as for waggons that I had already five, which was more than could be allowed for; and of which they therefore actually took away two or three. I drew up two Papers, copies of each other describing my situation—a total stranger in the Country without any place of Security for sick or wounded nearer than Camden or Georgetown, the one 50 or 60, the other above 70 Miles distant. Provisons of any kind not nearer than 15 or 20 Miles of my Chief Post—no waggon to convey, sick wounded, or Provisons, if they could be fetched from a distance! not a Horse except one I had purchased amoug the whole Corps—not a mounted Man to place as Videt, to form a Patrol, or send with intelligence—and not a cartridge but what were in the Mens Pouches—to oppose an Enemy of superior number flushed with their late ascendency.

The one I sent to Gen. Leslie, and soon after had about 20 mounted Men of that Country, under a Captain Harrison sent to me.

This whole Country, the great Roads excepted, is one continual Wood, without any underwood; and universally flat, except for places called the High Hills of Santee—our first object therefore was to look, whilst Gen Leslie was on his move towards Camden, for some spot in the vicinity of the weak point of the River, which might be rendered secure for a Time, with a few Men, and having found a place, supposed to have been the burying Ground of their Indian Chiefs in former times, resembling the Barrows of this Country; we scarp'd it, stockaded it at Top, abattis'd it at bottom, and rendered it as strong as the materials we could collect, and the only utensils we had, our Tomahawks would admit. This being done, and Lord Rowdon, to whom I had made known my predicament, and applied to, either for some Cavalry to enable me to act offensively, with a prospect of sweeps, or for a gun to secure any defensive situations, having sent me a three pounder, with ammunition and information that Sumpter and Marion were the Partizans I might expect in that Quarter, His Lordship added instructions that I was to seek and fight them wherever they were found.

Upon the reinforcement of the Gun, I left 40 of the Men, who seemed least qualified for the severity of our Marches, under Lt. McKay, a very good Officer of Col. Tanning's Regiment, whom I appointed Commandant of the Post, and we began in our turn to heat up Mr. Marion's Quarters.

...we learned that Sumpter had made his appearance on the opposite side of the Santee River, defeated the Escort, and captured the Camp Equipage and stores
which were going to Camden for the Army; I therefore forwarded all
the provisions possible to our Post.

Ignorant of a concealed, but commanding Spot, [where] we kept a Guard,
on this side of the River, he attempted sending his Prizes, which he
had embanked in Boats, down the River, and which by this means, we had
the good fortune to recover, taking all his Boats.

He therefore determined to attack our Post.

(we were obliged to make long marches in persuit of Provisions) ...we
continued fetching and laying in whatever rice and Indian Corn we could.

Returning one day from a foraging Party, one of the waggons, which was
brining a Mill, to grind the Corn, broke down, as it was not above one
mile and a half from home, I left an Ensign, whose name was Cooper, with
20 Men, to repair, and bring it on--our Men were but just in began
to dress their dinners, when we heard a centinnal firing towards the Line
in which he had been left; every Man was instantly in Arms and suspecting
the cause, which was confirmed by the Horses galloping home by themselves.
We were soon up to the spot which was but about a mile, for having re-
paired the Cart, they were proceeding home by [?]; when Sumpter wholly
surrounded them and called to him to surrender--but forming his Men in
a Circle, around the Trees nearest him; he replied "light Infantry never
surrender" and began firing as hard as they could--seeing us approach,
they quitted one Gallant Ensign, and formed to receive us. This business
did not last long before they fled, leaving what killed and wounded may
be seen by the [?]. We took some Prisoners and 30 Horses--Lord Rowden
came the next day, and flattered his [?] Corps much, by his manner of
thanking them, and took particular notice of Mr. Cooper, he so well
deserved. Sumpter was himself said to be wounded, which was probably
not long after died. His Lordship too, much approved the Post, we had
taken, and the manner in which we had strengthened it.

South Carolina Gazette (Draper n.d. a):

Head Quarters, Sumpter's house, March 7 [?] Lord Rowdon desires to express
his sense of the gallantry manifested on the evening of the 27th Ult. by
Lt. Col. Watson and the corps under his command. Applause is particularly
due to Ens. Cooper, whose situation afforded a fairer display of that
resolution which the corps seems determined shall be its distinguishing
character.

Colonel Watson (n.d.):

As Infantry, who were to follow mounted Troops, became so little stationary;
would rarely permit their remaining two days upon the same ground, and
the fatigues of marching, together with such skirmishes having weakened
our Corps, Lord Rowdon who apprehended the return of Sumpter, and his
junction with Marion, left me the 64th Regiment, from its services, likewise
reduced in Numbers; with another 3 Pounder, saying he should want them again,
at a given time.

The stores being sent forward from our Post, and the Country on this side
of the Black River, evacuated by Marion, I determined to make the town of
the Eastern Part of the District.
Judge of my astonishment, at 12 that night, to be informed by one of these faithful Men of Little Pedee, that he had seen the Militia of the Cheraw District, assembling, and heard the Major read them a Letter he had received from Greene, directing him to order every Man to take Arms; that Lord Cornwallis had quitted the Province, that he himself was gone against Camden, where his success might not be so certain, but that at all Events he might make sure of me, he directed they should occupy all the passes of the Rivers, and that to the support of the whole Militia, he had detached Col. Lee, with his Cavalry, Guns, and some Continental Troops.

Col. Lees detachment, with the aggregate Militia of the Province, now said to be 1500...

General Marion (Gibbes 1853: 57):

Lieut. Col. Lee made a junction with me at Santee the 14th inst. [April], after a rapid march from Ramsay's Mill, on Deep River, which he performed in eight Days; the 15th we marched to this place [Fort Watson] and invested it. Our hope was to cut off their water; some riflemen and continentals immediately took post between the fort and the lake. The fort is situated on a small hill forty feet high, stockaded, and with three rows of abbatiss around it; no trees near enough to cover our men from their fire.

Lieutenant McKay (n.d.):

Sunday 15th: At four in the afternoon, a party of the Enemy's Horse and foot appeared in the Skirts of the Wood on our front, A Party Sallied out, when a Skirmish ensued, in which we had One Private of the Infantry mortally wounded, at the same time they appeared in Force on our Left, the Party was recalled to the Works Manned, A Flag was sent to Summons the Post to surrender at discretion but was returned with the following reply "That A British officer Commanded, and they timidly never surrendered Posts--if they wanted it, they must come to take it". A Firing ensued, in which we had A Corporal of the 64th wounded, the loss of the Enemy cannot be ascertained but several were seen to fall--at night, they set Fire to the Hospital having taken out the Wounded, and made the Nurse Prisoner--A Private of the 64th. deserted--

Monday 16th--no Provisions or Water in the Works.--

Tuesday 17th--The Enemy fired a few shot, and killed a Private of Major Harrison's Rangers. At night a party was employed in getting up provisions and sinking a well.

Colonel Lee (1812: 51):

Captain McKay, the commandant, saw at once his inevitable fate, unless he could devise some other mode of procuring water, for which purpose he immediately cut a trench from his fosse (secured by abbatiss) to the river, which passed close to the Indian mount.

General Marion (Gibbes 1853: 57):

The third day after we had invested it, we found the enemy had sunk a well near the stockade which we could not prevent them from, as we had no entrenching tools to make our approach.
Lieutenant McKay (n.d.):

Wednesday 18th—Some Shot as usual from the Enemy, and as opportunity offered were returned, through the Day, the Enemy had One Man killed, at Night to our Satisfaction had it in our power to relieve, in some measure, Our distressed Troops—with an half Pint of Water per Man—having been since the first Appearance of the Enemy without Provisions or Water—Under cover of the Darkness, the Enemy broke ground within one hundred Yards of our Works and retook part of the Baggage of the 63rd. and 64th. that had been Retaken from General Sumpter. We were employed in getting up Provisions, Rum and Water.

General Greene's Letter to Sumter, April 23, 1781 (Charleston Yearbook, 1899 p. 91 of appendix):

General Marion and Col. Lee are at Nelson's ferry, they have closely invested the fort at that place upon the Lake, but for want of cannon I am not a little afraid they will fail of success, as the Garrison appears to be well supplied with provision, and the situation don't admit of storming the works.

Lieutenant McKay (n.d.):

Thursday 19th: The Enemy as usual kept Firing but without effect, in the Course of the day we sunk our Well deeper our water threatening to fail us, Two Militia Men went privately through the Enemy's Centinels to Nelson's Ferry per Express, employ'd A Party as usual to fetch up Provision and Water, the Enemy at Work at their Entrenchments—they took the remainder of the 63.d and 64th Baggage, but in the attempt lost several Men killed and Wounded."

Friday 20th. Some Firing as usual from the Enemy when we lost Corp. Shanks of the Infantry—in the course of the day a covered Passage was made to the Well—The last night we brought 3 barrels of pork and 4 do. of Flour likewise deserted Serjt. Brown of the Infantry, with the Provision returns of the Garrison--

Colonel Lee (1812: 51,52):

...major Mayham, of South Carolina, accompanying the brigadier, suggested a plan, which was not sooner communicated than gratefully adopted. He proposed to cut down a number of suitable trees in the nearest wood, and with them to erect a large strong oblong pen, to be covered on the top with a floor of logs, and protected on the side opposite to the fort with a breastwork of light timber.

The besieged was, like the besieger, unprovided with artillery, and could not interrupt the progress of a work, the completion of which must produce immediate submission.

Lieutenant McKay, (n.d.):

Saturday 21st: Some firing as usual from the Enemy when Lt. McKay was wounded in the Face by a splinter, and a Negro in the hand—The Enemy ask'd permission to bury their dead—but they refusing to desert Firing
during the time, their request was denied, they likewise in the After-
noon brought down a Wooden Machine which they had built, and were busy
in raising a Scaffold made of Rails and Mold, nearly level with the top
of our Works for their Marksme to pick off our Centinels, this Night
employed in getting up Rum and Water and raising a Traverse to counteract
the Enemy's Scaffolds and sinking our ditches--

Sunday 22d. Some firing as usual from the Enemy but without Effect--at
night they broke fresh ground opposite our Well, with an intent to cut
us off from our Water--employed in getting up Rum and Water--Evacuated
the Store, and placed a guard over the Well--

Colonel Lee (1812: 52):

A party of riflemen, being ready, took post in the Mayham tower the
moment it was completed; and a detachment of musketry, under cover of the
riflemen, moved to make a lodgment in the enemy's ditch, supported by the
legion infantry with fixed bayonets. Such was the effect of the fire
from the riflemen, having thorough command of every part of the fort,
from the relative supereminence of the tower, that every attempt to
resist the lodgment was crushed.

General Marion (Gibbes 1853: 57):

We then made a lodgement on the side of the mount near the stockade;
this was performed with great spirit and address by Ens'n. Johnson and
Mr. Lee, a volunteer in Col. Lee's legion, who with difficulty ascended
the hill, and pulled away the abbatis.

Lieutenant McKay, (n.d):

Monday 23d. Some firing as usual from the Enemy in which Lt. McKay
was wounded and Two Men killed—McFree of the Militia died of a Putrid
Fever, and the privates of the 64th: died of his Wound—the Enemy having
finished their Entrenchments under cover of their Fire made a lodgment
under our Works, with an intention to undermine us—A Flag was a second
time set to Summons the Post, when we were reduced to the disagreeable
necessity of Capitulating, by the Cowardly and Mutinous behaviour of
A majority of the Men—having grounded their Arms and refused to defend
the Post any longer, notwithstanding every Exertion made by the Officers
to encourage and force them to their duty.

General Marion (Gibbes 1853: 57):

...shall without loss of time proceed to demolish the fort

...our loss on this occasion, two killed, and three continentals and
three militia wounded.

I am particularly indebted to Lieut. Col. Lee for his advice and inde-
fatigable diligence in every part of this tedious operation, against as
strong a little post as could well be made on the most advantageous spot
that could be wished for.
Colonel Watson, (n.d.):

...we had now learnt, that Lieut. McKay, after defending the Post, with his 40 Men for 9 Days against above 1000 Men and Col. Lee; and when there was not a spot in his fort, but what was commanded by their Rifle-man, he had made honorable Terms for his brave garrison.

Royal Gazette, May 9, 1781 (Draper n.d. b):

"C. Fraser, Town Major" of Charleston, on 7th May, 1781 by order of the commandant of Charleston, returning thanks to Lieut. McKay and the officers, who with him, so long maintained the post at Wright's Bluff against a greatly superior force of the enemy, and though in the end, from the uncommon difficulties they had to contend with, the fort was compelled to surrender on honorable terms.

General Greene (Gibbes 1853: 60):

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your [Marion] two letters, dated 23rd. and 25th instant. I congratulate you on your success against Fort Watson. The articles of capitulation I highly approve of, and feel myself particularly indebted to you and all the officers and men under you, for their spirit, perseverance and good conduct upon the occasion.

Reverend James Jenkins (1842: 24):

My brothers were present also when Marion besieged and took Fort Watson, an Indian mount about forty feet high, on Scott's Lake, near Vance's Ferry. This was one of their posts, right on the "warpath", between Charleston and Camden. Before this fort was taken, Marion cut off all communication, and literally starved them out. Here, my brother Samuel took the small-pox, which he carried home with him.

William Vaughn (Draper n.d. c): Claremont Co. Sumter District, applying for pension:

I was at the siege of Fort Watson under the command of Marion, assited as well as deponent recollects, by Col. Lee—I do not recall the month—but the year was seventeen hundred and eighty one, and the weather was warm...
ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE STRUCTURE OF FORT WATSON

The two important kinds of information that are most often found by archeologists include material items altered by human beings and disturbances that humans have made in the ground. In a sense, both of these could be considered artifacts, but in the second case the alteration is to the face of the earth rather than to a piece or product of the earth. The most significant point here is that small artifacts have a tendency to move around by the action of man and nature. On the other hand, disturbances in the earth, up to the point that they are obliterated or moved by some catastrophic activity, have a tendency to remain where they were disturbed.

Evidence concerning the structure of Fort Watson comes primarily from disturbances the British made in the soil while they were building and occupying the fort. This is the firmest evidence we have. Within the soil, we can actually see the molds of the posts used in the British stockade, the outline of their ditches and the mottled fill of their pits.

While the patterns within the soil provide the most direct evidence of structures, certain kinds of artifacts provide independent evaluation or corroboration of the interpretations made on the basis of soil observation. As we began finding wrought nails within the ruins of the fort, we assumed that these nails might well provide important supportive or primary evidence for the location of wooden structures within Fort Watson. As will be pointed out in this chapter, the nails supported the evidence from the soil. Furthermore, this information was eventually complemented by the study of other artifacts that related to the different activities of the soldiers who occupied the fort.
Patterns in the Soil

The historical documents suggested that there were three major features of the fort at Scott's Lake: a stockade on the summit of the large Indian mound, three rows of abatis around the base of the mound, and a hospital removed from the main fortifications. In addition to these features, the records indicated that during the battle the Americans constructed a tower and approach trenches, and that the British constructed a well, a traverse within the stockade, a covered way and perhaps a fortification ditch and a ditch from the fort to Scott's Lake (Appendix II, III, and IV).

The two major areas of excavation, Excavation Units I and II (Fig. 3), were placed so as to reveal the stockade and the abatis respectively. Since the location of artifacts in the topsoil was considered to be of special importance on this site, both areas were excavated according to a rigid system, and all of the topsoil was sifted. Excavation Unit I was excavated in five feet squares while the larger Excavation Unit II was excavated in ten feet squares.

The most striking features recovered in these excavations were the stockade line and the interior ditch on the summit of the mound in Excavation Unit I (Figs. 4, 5, and 6). Within the stockade and interior ditch were several pits and two earthen platforms surmounting two of the pits and a portion of the ditch (Fig. 7). On top of each of the platforms was a small sub-rectangular depression filled with humus. Between the two platforms and slightly to the northwest was a large pit measuring approximately ten feet in diameter.

There is no doubt concerning temporal placement during the Revolutionary War of the mound summit stockade and interior ditch. The stockade is mentioned in the historical documents, and the plan of the interior ditch, which contained numerous period artifacts (Table 1), conforms with this wall. The pits within the enclosure of the ditch also contained artifacts of the period (Tables 2 and 3).
Figure 5. Mound A Summit during excavation. Interior fort ditch is across the foreground and a clay platform is to the right.
Figure 6. Southwestern corner of the stockade.

Figure 7. Excavation of the eastern clay platform.
Table 1

Contents of the Excavated Portion of the Fort Ditch

Feature 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Artifact</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.62 caliber</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>One of these balls is distorted by chewing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.54 caliber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.47 caliber</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.69-.70 caliber</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Caliber of British Brown Bess Musket (South 1974, 206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>.64 caliber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>.62 caliber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>.37 caliber</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>One of these is distorted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Spall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lead Flash</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Plain Brass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Type 7 (South 1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Brass (Liberty Seated with 45 embossed on shield)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Type 3 (South 1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bone back of brass button</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Type 3 (South 1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Green Glass</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wine bottle fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Clear Glass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Clear color looks 19th or 20th century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Cut Lead Balls</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Shoe Buckle Fragments</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bale Type Brass Handle</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Brass Tack</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Iron Wire Loop</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Iron Fragment Nails</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Group A*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nails Group B*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Group A*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Group B*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Fragments</td>
<td>9</td>
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*See Graph 1.
Table 2

Contents of Feature 7: Trash Pit

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Artifact</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lead Balls, Undistorted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Caliber of British Brown Bess Musket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.69-.70 caliber</td>
<td></td>
<td>(South 1974, 206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cut Lead Balls</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Clear Glass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Patinated and discolored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Clear Glass, Painted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Contamination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nottingham Ware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Button, Pewter with 64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Type 7 (South 1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stamped on face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Button, fragment of pewter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Type 7 (South 1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>button</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nails</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Group A*</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Group B*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fragments</td>
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*See Graph 1.
Table 3

Contents of Feature 13: Trash Pit

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<td>.64 caliber</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>.62 caliber</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rifled</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.54 caliber</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>.47 caliber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>.69-.70 caliber Undistorted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Caliber of British Brown Bess Musket (South 1974, 206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Swan Shot</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Gun Flints Spalls</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Small Brass Padlock Back</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970, Fig. 79 right side)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gun Stock Fore Tip</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>British Brown Bess Musket*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lead Fragments</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dropped molten lead</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Clear Glass</td>
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<td>Thin</td>
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<td>Iron Fragments</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Trunk Lock</td>
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<td>Fastened</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Personal communication Robert M. Reilly.*
The stockade consisted of posts placed side by side in a ditch about one and one half feet deep. There were three breaks in the wall that were apparently an intentional part of the construction. The widest break measures about twelve feet wide and is located on the southern side of the southwestern wall. There is a comparable gap at the same location on the interior ditch, leaving an uninterrupted path from the opening in the stockade wall to the center of the fortification. These wide double openings suggest that the gate to the fort was located in this portion of the stockade wall.

The two additional breaks in the stockade wall are located in the central portions of the southwestern and western walls. These breaks were about two feet wide, and they were both associated with a pit that extended from the interior fort ditch to the wall. Although the lines were vague, these two features seem to have been intruded by the interior ditch and to intrude upon the trench excavated by the British for the erection of the stockade wall. In the case of the western opening, there was a post placed within the pit and just outside the break in the wall. These two breaks may represent gun emplacements for Watson’s three pounders when they were not being used on patrol. The southwestern and western walls were the only two sides of the fort that could command traffic on the Santee River. An alternative interpretation, or perhaps an alternative use, may be that these openings served as firing positions for small arms. Since the fort had no bastions, such openings could have provided for firing parallel to the walls.

The interior ditch is in most areas about four to five feet wide at the excavated level. There is an offset in the southeastern corner of the fort that relates directly to the location of the gap in the stockade wall that has been interpreted as a gate. The eastern portion of the ditch is the widest and, in the northeastern quadrant of the fort,
this ditch is quite wide and has a shallow pit adjoining it that was filled with dark soil. Associated with this wider portion of the ditch and the shallow pit are a number of postholes some of which are squared. The extent of the disturbance in this area suggests some significant structure or activity. As we shall see later, the association of this area with other artifacts supports this suggestion.

The two clay platforms within the stockade were the most enigmatic features revealed during the excavations. These platforms were first thought to be the back dirt from a pot hole represented by the large pit in the central portion of the mound. However, during excavation several factors proved contrary to this initial assumption. While exposing a profile of the stockade wall on the western side of the mound, note was made that the clay of the western platform extended to, but did not cross, the stockade line (Figs. 8 and 9), suggesting that the posts were in place when the platform was constructed. Later excavation revealed that this platform was constructed primarily of yellow clay, that there were wrought iron nails within the clay and that two sub-rectangular depressions containing Revolutionary War period artifacts were located on the summits (See Figs. 10 and 11, and Tables 4 and 5).

The relationship between the clay and the stockade, the presence of wrought iron nails in the clay matrix, and the other Revolutionary War items found in the sub-rectangular pits, clearly associate these features with the Revolutionary War period occupation of this site. The superposition of these features over the ditch, as well as two of the small pits, indicates that these were probably the last earthen structures built by the British. The large central pit was probably the source of the clay used in the construction of the platforms, although there is some slight evidence that this may have been a hole left by relic hunters (Orvin 1961: 140).
Figure 8. N40 profile, El5-E25 (Facing southwest).
Figure 9. North 35 profile, E15-E20. (Letters on board refer to square rather than profile.)
Figure 10. Humus filled sub-rectangular depression in top of eastern clay platform.

Figure 11. Profile of eastern clay platform. Feature 7, a trash pit, is in the foreground.
Table 4

Contents of Feature 10: Depression in Clay Platform

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Artifact</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lead Balls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distorted</td>
<td></td>
<td>Badly distorted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.54 caliber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Green Glass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

Contents of Feature 11: Depression in Clay Platform

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Artifact</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Teaware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Clear Glass</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pipestem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Brass Keyhole Plate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nails</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Group A*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Group B*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Fragments</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See Graph 1.
The temporal placement of the construction of these platforms within the stockade, as well as other evidence derived from the artifact analysis, suggests they were constructed during the last military engagement at Fort Watson. Therefore, a more extended discussion oriented toward a functional interpretation of these features will be given in Chapter 7 on the "Archeological Interpretation of the Military Engagement".

Abatis, an impediment of felled trees with sharpened branches surrounding the base of the mound, was mentioned in every historical record of the fort. At the base of the mound in the southern portion of Excavation Unit II there was evidence of a ditch with a deadman log in it that may have been used to secure abatis to the ground. Wrought nails were found at irregular intervals along the length of the log. The ditch over the log was filled with clean yellow sand (Fig. 12), and there was evidence of small logs or sticks protruding from the southeastern side of the ditch. Unfortunately, the archeological evidence of these protruding sticks was tenuous because the sticks had evidently been moved rather than rotting in place. Stress lines in the soil surrounding at least one of the holes indicated that the stick had been forced back and forth in the process of removal.

Southeast of the ditch containing the deadman log and the yellow sand, another ditch (Figs. 13 and 14) ran parallel to the first extending as far as the Stratigraphic Test Pit (Test Pit I). This ditch was filled with mottled soil and was wider than the other.*

The most reasonable interpretation of these features seems to be that in this area the British used a deadman log to secure their abatis and excavated a fortification ditch on the outside of the abatis. This second ditch may have been the fosse or fortification ditch referred to by Lee (1812: 51 see Appendix IV).

*Recently a local informant, Mr. C. A. Harvin, Jr. of Summerton, S.C. has independently reported that there was a ditch open in this area as late as the 1930's.
Figure 12. Abatis emplacement in Excavation Unit II. a., b. sand filled ditch in which abatis was secured. c. sand removed showing "deadman" log mold.
Figure 13. Profile of ditch in stratigraphic test.

Figure 14. Ditch outside abatis.
Northeast of these features, squares were opened up in an effort to find more evidence of the abatis. While linear striations with the same bearing as the ditch with the deadman extended about forty feet to the northeast, there was no more evidence of the excavation of ditches. Perhaps abatis in this area consisted simply of felled trees. Nevertheless, anchored abatis may be found in future excavations at other locations around the fort.

Interestingly, the deadman log which we have interpreted as having been used to secure the abatis is located on the same side of the mound as the gate of the mound summit stockade. Future excavations may reveal that the abatis fortifications were more securely constructed in the vicinity of the gate than on other, less vulnerable, sides of the fort.

Information from the Distribution of Nails

Next to the stains of the rotted posts and the outlines of the excavated ditches and pits, nails provide the most direct evidence concerning the structure of the fort. Wrought nails recovered during the excavation could have resulted from two types of deposition. They could have been dropped during the construction of the fort, in which case they would probably be located in the vicinity of the use area. Or, they could have been deposited after the destruction and decomposition of the structures in which they had been used. In this second case, the nails may be in the area of construction or they may have been dislocated. Thus, we cannot determine directly that the pattern of the distribution of nails represents the location of structures. On the other hand, the association of this nail information with other evidence may be used to build toward knowledge of the probable positions and nature of the structures. In this manner, different kinds of evidence may be used to substantiate what could not be firmly established on one line of evidence alone.
Distributional density of nails and nail fragments on the surface of the mound is given in Figure 15. Three important locations labeled Areas I, II, and III, are outlined. These areas have the highest concentration of nails on the site. Areas I and II are associated with the wide eastern portion of the ditch and the several post holes in this area. Area III is the vicinity of the break in the western wall where there are several square posts. The integrity of these loci will be further substantiated in following sections.

One factor worthy of consideration with respect to these nail distributions, as well as the distributions of other artifacts, is that a few squares (N35E15, N35E20, N45E45, N50E50: all part of the two clay platforms, Figure 4) were not excavated to below the level of the British occupation. These partially unexcavated areas may lead to some bias in the distributional analysis. However, the portions of these features excavated were not in the center of any of the concentrations of artifacts, therefore, it is assumed that the lack of excavation of these features has not severely affected the integrity of the nail distribution or the distribution of other artifacts.

Assuming different size nails were used in different activities or different parts of the same activity, complete nails recovered during the excavation were divided according to size clusters and the resulting groups are given in Graph 1.

The nails of Area I consist of every type identified on the site. Nails in this location were in direct association with the widest portion of the fort ditch, several posts, and the midden concentration in the vicinity of N55E60. The nails together with these other features indicate that this was the most extensive area of construction within the fort.
Immediately south of Area I, Area II has similar constituents to the former, but it is not as extensive. These nails in association with the ditch and posts suggest another, smaller building area or an extension of the building in Area I.

Across the mound summit, Area III shows an interesting variation. Other areas have a general sample of different types of nails. Area III, on the other hand, showed a high percentage of the smaller nails of Group A. These nails are found in association with the squared posts located in N55E05 and N55E10. This complex is immediately north of the break on the western wall and the extension from the fort ditch. These reinforcing factors imply that there was a construction near this central portion of the western fort wall. Perhaps this construction was a composite of soil excavation together with the erection of a structure utilizing squared posts and small fasteners.

Thus, the nails from the interior of the fortification of the mound summit have helped identify major areas of construction. First, the nails of Area I and II helped verify that the region along the eastern portion of the interior ditch as an area of significant construction. The employment of nails of many varying sizes suggests that this structure was complex. Across the mound summit in Area III there was not as much evidence for a complex structure in the soil and complexity did not show up in the distribution of the nails. In this area there was a high incidence of one type of small nail suggesting a structure involving the use of only one kind of fastener.
WROUGHT NAIL SIZE - FREQUENCY
MOUND A SUMMIT
(38CRI)

Graph 1.
Figure 15.
ARCHEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

One of the most basic assumptions of this investigation is that during the occupation of this fort there was a patterned distribution of people and activities. Officers, enlisted men, and slaves had their separate areas. Food was cooked in cooking areas, different kinds of work were performed in special locations, and there were established places for eating and socializing. In the course of these activities, the ground was disturbed and artifacts were lost or thrown away. The goal of archeology is to look at these relics of past activity and from them to recreate the related patterns of behavior.

Most of this study and synthesis of the British occupation is based on the archeology within the mound summit stockade, and in this section we are interested in the general noncombat pattern of garrison life, primarily as it is represented by the archeology of the stockade. Assuming that military ordnance is more likely to have been dropped during the military engagement, all items such as musket balls, gun flints, gun parts, lead flash and other weaponry were segregated and not used for this chapter. The artifacts investigated here include ceramics, glass, furniture hardware, uniform accoutrements, pipestems, buttons, eating utensils, strike-a-lights and toys. Alone, these artifacts cannot define patterns that existed as a result of occupation prior to the battle, but the combination of these artifacts with provenience correlations and assumptions derived from the historical record provides a portion of the patterns of past activity.

Ceramics and Glass: A Link to the Officers

When an eighteenth century military unit was in the field, ceramics and glass were considered a luxury. For the enlisted men of the Continental
Army, Peterson (1968: 150) mentions wooden trenchers, pewter spoons, knives, forks and horn cups as having been the primary personal items of culinary ware. Officers, on the other hand, often carried plates and platters, bottles of various sorts, utensils and other special wares.

In March of 1781, Watson wrote a letter to a George Town merchant (Gibbes 1853: 47) that,

The officers would be extremely obliged if you could send them an intelligent man who would inform them of the proper people to send to get those little supplies all troops must want who have been in the field for three months, such as wine, etc., etc.

Watson's officers were sending to George Town for some of the furnishings of a gentleman, but due to the nature of their assignment, we suppose that these infantrymen were seriously deprived of most of the normal comforts of their material pleasures. This detachment of the Provincial Light Infantry had been sent to South Carolina to establish a post along a supply route scores of miles from the nearest supply centers. Then, rather than staying with the established post, most of the detachment accompanied Watson in patrolling the supply line and trying to ferret out the partisans Marion and Sumter. While the officers may have had a few of the "little supplies", we may make a good assumption that the enlisted men of this detachment possessed no more than the very necessary things they carried on their backs. Ceramics and glass would surely seem to be part of the limited luxury afforded only to a few officers of such an active and isolated detachment.

The stockade of the mound summit is an important archeological context for ceramics and glass on this military site. The British were caught short by Lee and Marion on the afternoon of April 15, 1781. Lieutenant McKay quickly called his troops into the works where they were contained for eight days. There was no time to make preparations. Water and
provisions were not transported to the stockade. Probably the only artifacts taken inside were those on the persons of the soldiers. While broken ceramics and glass may have been deposited in the stockade at any time, the presence of these artifacts probably represents the location of such materials prior to the battle. Combining this with our assumption concerning the ownership of ceramics suggests that officers were using the summit of the mound as part of the standard pattern of garrison life.

With only one significant exception, the ceramics from this excavation (Table 6) fit into a 1781 context. The notable exception within the established temporal framework for colonial American ceramics (South 1972) was annular pearlware. However, close examination of the situation at Fort Watson together with other information suggests that this pearlware probably dates as early as 1781 on British military sites (Ferguson 1973b).

The "mean ceramic date formula" (South 1972) applied to the ceramics from Fort Watson, with a correction for the data range of pearlware, provides a date of 1777, only three and one half years from the documented date of occupation. After the "mean ceramic formula" was applied to the entire collection from the site, that collection was divided into "Mound" (Excavation Unit I) and "non-Mound" (primarily Excavation Unit II) groups. The formula was then applied separately to each of these groups, yielding a date of 1778.4 for the "Mound" and a date of 1771.6 for the "non-Mound". Comparing the two collections revealed that the ceramics collection within the stockade contained a higher percentage of the later ceramics creamware and pearlware, while the highest percentage of the earlier stoneware types was outside the fort.

Going beyond type and age, an attempt was made to examine the function of these ceramic artifacts. All sherds that were fragments of cups, saucers,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Mound Summit</th>
<th>Non Mound Summit</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marble Slip Pearlware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(South personal communication)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underglazed Blue Hand Painted Pearlware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970: 128-129)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware, Lighter Yellow</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970: 126-128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware, Deeper Yellow</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970: 126-128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware, S.C. made</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>(South 1971: 175-76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham Ware</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970: 114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Glazed Stoneware, Brown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970: 112-114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delftware, Plain White</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970: 109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Porcelain</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970: 258, 261)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead Glazed Earthenware, Yellow Combed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Noel-Hume 1970: 107, 134-36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead Glazed Earthenware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Locally made?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>503</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
<td><strong>624</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
slop bowls* or teapots, or that were thin and delicate enough to have come from such forms, were placed in a category termed "Teaware". All other sherds, including those from plates, bowls, platters, and jugs, as well as sherds judged to have come from these forms, were classified as "Heavyware".

Studies indicated a statistically significant difference in the distribution of these categories between the mound and non-mound proveniences. "Heavyware" sherds were found more frequently in the non-mound provenience, while "Teaware" sherds comprised the majority of ceramics from the mound. This division of ceramics together with the fact that ceramics were probably located on the mound prior to the battle suggests that this area was frequented by officers and that perhaps it was at least an area where the "tea ceremony" was performed (Roth 1961).

Ceramic distribution within the stockade helps identify the important areas of activity. Examining the distribution of "Teaware" (Fig. 16), which included porcelain, stoneware, creamware and pearlware, indicates that the major distribution is in the northeastern portion of the stockade near the interior ditch. "Heavyware" which consisted primarily of creamware plates and platters, and stoneware plates, has a significantly different distribution than the "Teaware". On the western side of the mound summit, there is an area of concentration of "Heavyware" with the only other "Heavyware" sherds being a few in the northeastern area, (Fig. 17). These areas of concentration of "Teaware" and "Heavyware" correlate quite well with the Areas I, II, and III, respectively, defined on the basis of nail density.

*Small bowls used to hold the rinsing of tea cups.
Figure 16.
Figure 17.
Since creamware and pearlware were the most commonly occurring constituents of the "Teaware" category, and because "Teaware" was firmly associated with the heavy concentration of other artifacts in the northeastern portion of the stockade, the distribution of these ceramics was examined in detail, (Figs. 18 and 19). The "Teaware" of both types (all of the pearlware sherds were "Teaware") showed concentrations in the northeastern area. Furthermore, the pattern of occurrence of these ceramics, pearlware and creamware "Teaware" correlates one with the other. This fact was used in a previous publication (Ferguson 1973b) to demonstrate that the annular pearlware found on this site may date as early as 1781 on British Revolutionary War sites.

The integrity of Area I having been a use area is also supported by the occurrence of green glass fragments. Glass on the mound summit within the stockade included many pieces of modern glass as well as glass of types made in the late eighteenth century. Because of this mixture, the selection of glass fragments for inclusion in this study was quite exclusive. Within the fragments were unmistakable pieces of green wine and case bottles of types made in the eighteenth century, and it was only this glass that was used in compiling distributional information.* Although there was not a large sample of this green glass, the concentration seems to be in Area I, in the northeastern portion of the mound summit.

Incidental Personal Artifacts: Evidence for Living Areas

Items carried into the field by the soldiers for their personal maintenance and amusement often ended up on the ground and were buried underfoot. Such objects—including pipe fragments, buttons, eating utensils, *Most of the glass from this site is lighter in color than the normal English bottle glass and may represent glass made in America (Ivor Noël-Hume, personal communication).
Figure 18.
pieces of jewelry, money, toys, strike-a-lights, buckles, lead for writing--are itemized in Table 7. These artifacts, which could have been in the possession of either officers or enlisted men, have important implications for the identification of activity areas. These are not the types of items that are deliberately moved to a special location such as a trash pit for discarding. Rather, they are small, incidental artifacts that are often dropped or lost within the vicinity of human activity. As a result, the distribution of these artifacts (Fig. 20) has a high probability of being related directly to activity areas. Most importantly, the concentration of these artifacts correlates well with other concentrations and amplifies the amount activity that must have taken place in Area I and/or II as defined by the nail density and supported by other data.

**Occupational Synthesis**

Archeological information on the structure of the fort, together with the analysis of special artifacts related to non-combat activity, provides a picture that no single line of evidence could produce. From this evidence we know where the primary British structures were located as well as having some information on the kinds of activities that were conducted within these structures.

The most important implication of the study of the occupation is that the ceramics suggest that the summit of the mound was probably a significant activity area for officers. By elimination and separation of ranks, the enlisted men's activity areas were probably removed from those of the officers, and were located away from the mound summit stockade.

Within the stockade the location of non-combative artifacts lends significant support to the identification of structures located in the previous chapter. The concentration of "Teaware" and incidental personal
TABLE 7

38CRL - Mound Summit Incidental Personal Artifacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pipe fragments</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttons</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckles</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strike-a-light</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead &quot;pencils&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew's harp</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead discs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead cylinder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utensils</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture hardware</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut Musketballs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass Tacks</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking Pot fragment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
items in the northeastern quadrant indicates that this area, identified by the structural study to have been the location of the most complex structure, also seems to have been the most actively used living area.

Across the mound summit along the western wall, the ceramic study showed a concentration of plate and platter fragments that are termed "Heavyware". This concentration is in the vicinity of the cluster of small nails designated Area III.

To wit, the study has demonstrated that the mound summit was used at some time by officers and that such activity can be divided into at least two meaningful archeological areas. One such area is along the eastern portion of the interior ditch in the northeastern quadrant of the stockade, and the other is near the middle of the western wall.
History

At four in the afternoon on Sunday, April 15, 1781, Lieutenant McKay, commander of the garrison at Fort Watson, reported seeing the enemy at the edge of the woods in front of the fortification. A party sallied forth and a skirmish ensued. During the skirmish the enemy appeared in force on McKay's left, and he recalled his troops to the fort. The British hospital was outside of the fort, and the garrison watched as it was captured, evacuated and burned by the Americans.

Since neither Lee nor Marion had a piece of artillery, the American battle plan was to invest the fort and cut the British off from their water supply at Scott's Lake. To this end, a party of "riflemen and Continentals" was dispatched, probably representing the first party seen by McKay. According to American plan, McKay was caught off guard. More than one-hundred twenty British soldiers were quartered in the small fort without provisions or water. A quantity of baggage belonging to the 63rd and 64th Regiments that had been recaptured from General Sumter during an earlier battle was in jeopardy outside the fort.

During the next several days the battle was a stalemate. Under cover of darkness, parties went forth from the fort to search for provisions, and one party was employed in digging a well to supply water for the besieged garrison. In the course of the siege, a covered passage was constructed to connect the well with the fort.

The construction of a well was a successful counter to the American tactics. Marion observed the well being dug near the abatis or the stockade, yet he could do nothing to prevent this activity because the Americans "had no entrenching tools" to make an approach. Apparently,
the well was excavated outside the primary stockade, but near enough to
the fort that the Americans could not impede the activity without trenching.

In Marion's letter to General Greene, as well as in Lee's account,
the lack of entrenching tools is considered to be the primary disadvantage
of the Americans. These documents suggest that with such tools the excavation
of the well could have been prevented, resulting in a more immediate cap-
itation. Yet from inside the blockaded fort there is another interpretation.
On Wednesday the 18th, McKay wrote in his journal that "the Enemy broke
ground within one hundred Yards of our Works and retook part of the Baggage
of the 63rd. & 64th. that had been Retaken from General Sumpter". Again
on the nineteenth he reports, "...the Enemy at Work at their Entrenchments--
they took the remainder of the 63rd. & 64th. Baggage". Beyond this, on
the twenty-second he mentions the enemy breaking fresh ground opposite the
well, and on the next day he refers to the "Enemy having finished their
Entrenchments..."

The number of times McKay mentions the trenching activities of his
enemy imparts a significant credibility to his account of the situation.
On the other hand, this is directly contrary to the words of both Marion
and Lee. On the basis of this review we might conclude that the difference
was one of degree. Perhaps in their statements Marion and Lee meant that
they did not have enough entrenching tools to make their approach rather
than not having a single pick or shovel. The differences in attacking and
defending a fort may have had a significant effect on the observation of
the situation.

On Saturday the 21st, after the British had been held within the fort
for more than five days, Lieutenant McKay observed a new tactic--"... in
the Afternoon [they] brought down a Wooden Machine which they had built,
and were busy in raising a Scaffold made of Rails and Mold, nearly level
with the top of our Works". Frustrated at attempts to force the enemy to surrender by deprivation, Major Hezikiah Maham of the Militia suggested that the Americans build a work high enough for riflemen to command the interior of the fort. McKay's immediate response to the construction of the tower was to raise a traverse and sink his ditches.

Although the tower was being constructed on the 21st, it was not until the morning of the 23rd that it was completed. Meanwhile, McKay observed the enemy breaking ground opposite his well and he stationed a guard to protect the water supply. On the morning of the 23rd, the day of capitulation, McKay commented that the enemy had completed their entrenchments under the cover of fire from the tower and subsequently they "made a lodgement under [the] Works". According to Lee, the advancement was made by a detachment of musketry who "moved to make a lodgement in the enemy's ditch, supported by the legion infantry with fixed bayonets". Marion reports that once the lodgement was secure two men advanced to the abatis and pulled it away. The fort was then vulnerable to a concentrated attack by the Americans: an attack that did not occur. The British soldiers had held firmly, one hundred twenty men packed inside a small fort, for more than eight days, their defenses had been breached and they were on the verge of being stormed by the enemy: Lieutenant McKay's final entry records that:

A Flag was a second time set to Summons the Post, when we were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of Capitulating, by the Cowardly & Mutinous behaviour of A Majority of the Men--having grounded their Arms & refused to defend the Post any longer, notwithstanding every Exertion made by the Officers to encourage & force them to their duty.

Archeological Evidence

Reviewing this synopsis of the historical military events at Fort Watson, we find that the most noticeable omission from the documents is
information on orientation. Marion and Lee mention cutting the British off from the lake which was to the south and southeast of the fort; and McKay mentions the enemy appearing on his front and to his left without any direct reference to compass orientation. Without a plan of the fort we do not know what direction McKay considered his front and consequently his left. Further, we do not know historically the location of Maham's tower, the location of the well, the position of the initial American entrenchments, the position of the hospital, the baggage outside of the fort or the direction of the primary ground assault by the Americans.

These problems of orientation, and therefore the details of the battle plan at Fort Watson, are problems that can only be handled archaeologically. Exploratory archeology has produced a plan of the fort, and the front or gate side of the fort can now be identified as facing southwest toward Scott's Lake and the Santee River. The party McKay initially observed on his front was perhaps the detachment Marion and Lee dispatched to cut the British from their water supply. The main body arriving from the east would be consistent with the location of the road leading from the coastal portion of South Carolina (Fig. 1).

Our archeological investigation of the steckade and the abatis area has provided a variety of military ordnance that is representative of the materials used during the battle. The distribution of these artifacts provides us with invaluable information concerning the attack by the Americans and the defense by the British. The artifacts consist of parts of muskets and pistols, gunflints, a bayonet, numerous lead projectiles and pieces of lead sprue. All of these ordnance materials have been identified as being representative of the Revolutionary War weaponry complex. Details concerning quantity and identification are given in Table 8.

The location and associations of these artifacts are used in this report to develop a picture of the activities during the siege. As such,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Artifact</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Mound</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Lead Balls</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Distorted .64 caliber</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Distorted .62 caliber</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Distorted .54 caliber</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Distorted .47 caliber</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undistorted .69-.70 caliber</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Caliber of British Brown Bess Musket (South 1974, 206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Swan Shot .37</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Gunflints</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Spalls</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Includes worn flints, pistol flints, and fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Gun Parts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hammer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>English pistol*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Frizzen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brown Bess Musket*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Stock Fore end tip</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brown Bess Musket*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Frizzen Spring</td>
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<td>Bayonet Tip</td>
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<td>English*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Lead Sprue</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Non-Mound</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Trigger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Delicate trigger, probably from personal side arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Steel Ball</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Grape Shot(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Gun Flints</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>fragment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>small flint</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pistol (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Personal communication Robert Reilly.*
the assumption is made that these artifacts were deposited during the course of the battle. Of course, this is a statement of probability rather than demonstrable fact. Weaponry items could have been dropped within the stockade at any time during or after the construction of the fort. Isolating the probable deposition period to the siege is based on the identification of the mound as an officers' area prior to the battle the confinement of more than one-hundred twenty men in the fort during the siege and the Americans firing into the fort. The siege activity brought many soldiers together in close concentration under battle conditions. This increase in activity would significantly increase the probability that military items would be lost or otherwise deposited and become part of the remaining archeological context.

Items 5 through 16 in Table 8 have been identified as reflecting British ordnance and they are assumed to have been dropped during the defense of the fort. The spatial distribution of those artifacts found in the topsoil is given in Figure 21. In general, the distribution of these artifacts supports battle period activities in Areas I and II while there is not as much evidence for the combat use of Area II. One of the trash pits in the vicinity of Area II containing ordnance materials further supports use of this area during the battle (See Table 3).

Of these items related to military ordnance, lead sprue is perhaps the most informative concerning the location of specific activities by the soldiers. Musket parts, gun flints, lead balls and other items of weaponry are carried from place to place. Although numerous activities may take place involving these items, their habitual transportation increases the probability of variation in deposition. Lead sprue is another situation. Assuming that little attention is ever paid to lead sprue, besides trimming it from the casting, implies that sprue is usually deposited
MOUND SUMMIT OF FORT WATSON 38CR1

DISTRIBUTION OF FLATTENED LEAD BALLS

FIGURE 22
where it was trimmed. The distribution of sprue indicates that trimming took place in Areas I and II. There are only a few pieces of sprue located outside of these areas, and with only one exception all sprue was located on the eastern side of the fort.

Distorted lead balls (Items 1-4 in Table 8) provide the most direct evidence concerning the attack. Caliber was calculated for these balls as a function of weight, and the groupings shown were assigned according to clusters. Within Groups 2, 3, and 4 there was evidence of rifling on some of the balls. For a variety of reasons including the infrequent use of rifles as British ordnance, the distorted nature of the balls, and the documentary evidence of American firing rifles into the fort, these distorted balls are assumed to be the balls of the American attacking force.

Figure 22 shows the distribution of all distorted lead balls found in the topsoil during the mound excavations. The most striking feature of this distribution is that the primary concentration is in the eastern and southern halves of the excavated area. A few remaining distorted balls are along the stockade wall in the northwestern quadrant of the excavation. Considering that many of the flattened balls on the eastern and southern halves of the area are clearly within the stockade, the tower constructed by Major Maham must have been located northwest of the mound.

Beyond compiling the simple distribution of distorted lead balls, the balls were separated on the basis of type of impaction. Most of the balls were rather uniformly malleated with evidence of sand grain scars on the surface. Others were badly distorted, showing evidence of hitting a hard object. More than half of these balls
are located in the region of the stockade wall where they apparently struck. The remaining balls are found in three clusters. Two of these clusters are on the southeastern side of the stockade in the vicinity of Areas I and II. The others are located on the summit of the clay mound on the western side of the fort. The location of these flattened balls support other evidence suggesting wooden structures in these locations.

The prospect of rifle fire commanding the fort prompted Lieutenant McKay to immediate action. In his journal McKay reported that the evening of Saturday the 21st was spent "raising a traverse to counteract the Enemy's Scaffolds & sinking our ditches--". These constructions were the last in the history of the fort and they were conducted during the battle. The ditch around the interior of the fortification as well as the two small clay mounds and the central pit may be part of this battle construction.

The ditch extends around the entire inside of the stockade. At the time of the archeological excavation, the ditch had been completely refilled and there was no evidence of this feature on the surface of the ground. This ditch is unusual in that fortifications usually have a ditch on the outside of the stockade rather than on the inside. However, the construction of the fort on the Indian mound negated the necessity for a ditch on the outside. We have no evidence to indicate whether the first ditch was excavated before or during the battle. If it was excavated prior to the battle, it probably served the purpose of giving additional cover for a short stockade wall and providing a firing step. Furthermore, if the dirt was placed against the stockade wall, it may have served the purpose of protecting the fort from artillery fire, (although it is unusual to place such protection at the interior of the stockade). The second consideration is that the ditch was excavated or deepened during the battle. If this were the case, then the dirt probably
would have been thrown to the inside of the fort since there was an effort to protect the interior of the fortification from the tower. However, ditch profiles suggest the ditch was filled from the outside (Figs. 23 and 24).

One point suggesting that the ditch was dug or deepened after the beginning of the siege is the contents of the portion of the ditch that has been excavated. About thirty-five linear feet of this feature have been excavated in the northeastern quadrant of the fort. The contents of this portion of the ditch included primarily artifacts that would have highest probability of being deposited during the siege--lead balls, food bones, and a few personal artifacts. Most of the other artifacts were found in the topsoil with heavy concentration on either side of the ditch. If the ditch were excavated or deepened after the beginning of the battle, then artifacts that had been deposited prior to the engagement would have been thrown out first and would have taken their place on the bottom of the back dirt pile from the ditch. Subsequent artifacts deposited in the ditch would have been those in use during the battle. Post-battle filling of the ditch, whether by the American captors or natural elements, would have deposited first the soil taken from the lowest levels of the last ditch and only near the bottom of the back dirt would artifacts from the pre-battle context have had an opportunity to return to the ditch.

The two clay platforms show an interesting relationship to the ditch and to other Revolutionary War features, and these features are perhaps part of the traverse mentioned by McKay in his journal. These two platforms are roughly 13 feet in diameter and 1 1/2 feet tall, with their centers separated by approximately 30 feet. Within the center of each mound is a sub-rectangular depression filled with humus soil. Excavation revealed a few nails and a distorted lead ball in the summit.

-68-
Figure 23. Profile of the interior ditch, looking north.

Figure 24. Profile of the interior ditch, showing type of debris found in floor of ditch.
depression of the western platform. The other depression also produced several artifacts; however, most of these came from the vicinity of a disturbance on the north side of the depression. Evidence from the profiles indicated that these sub-rectangular features were molded around something rather than having been excavated into the clay.*

The location of these mounds perpendicular to the line of fire from the tower, together with McKay's reference to a traverse, implies that these were part of that traverse. The most reasonable hypothesis seems to be one of a composite structure consisting of these platforms serving as a foundation for a wooden barricade. Since the firing from the "enemy's scaffolds" was coming from the north or northwest, a traverse across the center of the fort connecting with the structure in Area I might have served to protect the southeastern half of the fort. This traverse would have effectively raised the stockade wall and made it more difficult to fire into the fort.

Evidence from the distribution of nails may provide some key to this feature. As mentioned, many nails were found in the vicinity of the platform themselves. On the other hand, if there had been a barricade between the two, there should have been some evidence of this structure. [The structure would have had to be about thirty feet long and the British were obliged to use materials already on hand at the time of the battle]. The excavated material from beneath the span between the two mounds was examined with no confirming results. However, seven heavy clenched spikes were found in a linear pattern in the vicinity of the eastern mound. These spikes could have been used to hold together at least 30 linear feet of timber that was subsequently moved out of place by the Americans and left to rot across the top of the small mound.

*The morphology suggests a mortar base; however, there is no archaeological or historical evidence supporting such an interpretation.
**Interpretation**

The archeological evidence provides four major pieces of information for the interpretation of this engagement: 1) that the distribution of distorted lead balls on the summit of the mound suggests that the tower was located to the north or northwest of the stockade, 2) that musket balls are frequently found on the southeastern and eastern sides outside of the stockade, 3) that there was a trench and abatis at the base of the mound on the southeastern side; and 4) that the gate of the fort was on the southeastern side of the southwestern wall. This evidence in conjunction with the historical documents indicates that the Americans made a double attack on the northwest and southeast sides of the mound (Fig. 25).

The gate, and therefore probably the most vulnerable portion of the British stockade, was on the southeastern side of the fort, and in this location we have interpreted a defensive ditch and anchored abatis. Certainly, since this area offered the closest location for the securing of water from Scott's Lake, it was in this sector that Marion and Lee first stationed their marksmen to cut the British from their water supply. Taking advantage of the lower elevation and the fortification, this was probably also the side of the fort on which the British dug their well which was later connected to the fort by a covered passage.

The double attack on the fortifications had quite special features. The initial concentration of the American attack had been on the southeastern side of the fort. Here the Americans cut the British from their primary water supply. Beyond this, we know from the archeological record that with a southeastern approach they were in the vicinity of the fort gate. The construction of the tower by Major Maham came after the beginning of the siege and from all accounts this tower was to be used to accompany a major attack on the ground. If this surface attack
Figure 25. The American attack on Fort Watson. Archeological evidence indicates a two-prong attack from the Northwest and Southeast.
was to take place on the southeastern side of the fort, the placement of Major Maham's tower on the northwest would have been the perfect location. From a vantage point above and beyond the northwestern corner of the fort the American riflemen could cover the southeastern half of the fort, making it difficult for the British to protect themselves from an assault on one of the most vulnerable sides of their defenses.
CONCLUSIONS

The Scott’s Lake Site is an important place held in trust by the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism for the people of South Carolina. This place is important because it was part of the American Revolution, and because it was a significantly important place to the original inhabitants of this state—American Indians. Yet, the importance does not lie simply in the place; the ground of this Historic Site holds a rich record of human activities that took place there: this site is an archive of its own past.

Exploratory archeology during the summers of 1972 and 1973 was guided by the archeological situation and the weather. The British fort lying over the Indian occupation was essentially undisturbed, and this factor demanded that the historical component of the site receive detailed attention. Weather was a factor because heavy and frequent thunder showers as well as high lake levels encouraged work on the mound summit rather than on the often flooded ground level. This locational factor fostered our emphasis on the exposition of the central portion of the fortifications.

The demands created by the situation of the historical occupation prevented our examining the Indian occupation as extensively as we would have liked. The obvious importance of the Indian occupation has been outlined elsewhere (Ferguson 1973a), and the significant amount of prehistoric information (Appendix I) recovered during these excavations reinforces this obvious fact. Nevertheless, the conclusive success of our examination of the British occupation is more than sufficient to amplify the archeological potential of this site. Considering the mass of undisturbed data available, we can be assured that the prehistoric component will provide even more information than the historic component,
which has not been inconsiderable for an exploratory project. The most important finding of our exploratory excavations has been the pristine nature of the occupations and the developing awareness of the importance to history and archeology of this site.

The British fortification is, in essence, a preserved block of culture from the Revolutionary War. The fort was occupied for only a few months and then captured and destroyed by American forces under the command of General Francis Marion. Data from the excavations integrated with historical information from the site have enabled us to contribute to the historical understanding of this site as well as to the understanding of late eighteenth century culture in general. Our archeological investigations have revealed information about the fundamental human involvement in the Revolutionary War. Here, we have the record of the ordinary officer and soldier. We have an account of a small battle. We have information that was overlooked in history.

To date, our research on the British occupation has revealed three major units of information:

1) The primary plan of the central portion (mound summit stockade) of the fortifications, and a glimpse of the outlying fortifications.

2) A probable identification of living areas within the fortification prior to the battle suggesting officers occupying the area on the mound summit.

3) The details of the siege or blockade that marked the end of this British outpost.

These conclusions, based on exploratory archeology, exemplify and emphasize the basic kinds of interpretive information available at the Scott's Lake Site.

In addition to the interpretative value of the information, the "spin off" value of this research has the potential to contribute to the broader understanding of eighteenth century culture. As a
result of the tight context and associations available at the Scott's Lake Site the temporal position of annular pearlware, an important time marker in historical archeology, has been reevaluated. On the basis of work at this site, we now believe this ware to have been in the United States by 1781 about ten years prior to former estimates. Beyond this specific temporal factor the spatial division evident when ceramics were divided into "Teaware" and "Heavyware" have important implications for building an understanding of the relationship between eighteenth century society and the artifacts with which they interacted.

The heuristic value of this small bit of research has already been demonstrated in the use of information from this site in other archeological projects. Information on ceramics, lead balls, and techniques have already come into use on other archeological sites such as Fort Moultrie in South Carolina (South 1974) and St. Augustine in Florida (Deagan 1974).

These specific conclusions and observations lead us to recognize the value of the Scott's Lake Site. The data contained in the soil of this small portion of South Carolina has the potential to contribute fundamentally to our understanding of the first "Carolinians" as well as the participants of the Revolutionary War. Furthermore, the specific data from this site is and will continuously contribute to the broader understanding of history and anthropology.
RECOMMENDATIONS

The Scott's Lake Site is a famous landmark in South Carolina. Yet, as was mentioned in the conclusion, the value of this site is not simply in recognition as a place where special events occurred; rather, we must evaluate this site in terms of the contribution that this sealed source of historic and prehistoric information can provide to history, anthropology, and the general public. This site is not a sterile landmark: it is a source of information. Because of the unique nature of the site, an excellently preserved and important historic and prehistoric occupation area, I suggest that consideration be given to planning a program of research and interpretation that will provide a significant contribution to scholarly and public interests.

Research at Scott's Lake should be carefully controlled, insuring that careful thought and preparation are employed prior to any excavation. Excavation destroys the evidence, and there is an obligation that the time demanded by the site be provided by the investigators. One suggestion for continuing research includes a program using anthropology students in a manner similar to the summer intern program presently operated by the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism. Through such a program, Scott's Lake could develop into a continually active research and interpretive center. Essentially, there is very little required but coordination. The state presently owns the site, and students from the University are available to work. Capital outlay would be limited to the procurement of equipment, subsistence pay for the workers, and a salary for the supervisor.

The public interpretive potential of this site is particularly important. Since the site is an important multicomponent site with both historic and prehistoric occupation, I suggest that the interpretation be guided toward
a public understanding of all of the cultural components as well as the archeological techniques utilized in examining the site. A continuing program of planned research could be included as an active, living part of the interpretation. Visitors could be introduced not only to the results of archeological research but also to the actual process of excavations and interpretation in the ground.

Scott's Lake is an important site. It is the responsibility of all agencies involved to insure that this site is protected and that the information it contains be revealed with the utmost care. The final product should provide for the needs of history and anthropology as well as the education of the general public.
APPENDIX I

INDIAN OCCUPATION

While most of the emphasis in this archeological report has been placed on the Revolutionary War occupation, this should in no way over shadow the importance of the American Indian component. Perhaps as early as three centuries prior to the establishment of the English Colony at Charles Towne in 1670 this site was an important Indian ceremonial center. Size and location of the site imply that it was a major ceremonial center on the central coastal plain of South Carolina.

The earliest modern archeology on sites of this type in the area was done at the Irene Site at the mouth of the Savannah River and at the Town Creek Site in central North Carolina. These two sites (Caldwell and McCann 1941, Coe 1952, Reid 1967) are quite similar in cultural content—in fact Reid suggested a Town Creek—Irene Axis of cultural interaction.

Recent archeology (Stuart 1970; South 1971; Ferguson 1971, 1973a, b) points toward the Santee River drainage, the area of the Scott's Lake Site, having been the centroid of the cultural complex identified by Reid. These and other data indicate that the Santee River valley contained the most significant concentration of South Appalachian Mississippian culture on the coastal plain.

Historical evidence is also beginning to emphasize the importance of the Indian occupation of the Santee River drainage. Cofitachiqui mentioned in the narratives of the men with Hernando DeSoto has long been thought to have been located at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River. This conclusion has been based, primarily, on the results of the United States DeSoto Commission (Swanton 1939). Recently, new historical evidence in the form of maps from the English Colony at Charles Towne and a reconsideration of the extant evidence indicates that there is a higher probability that
Cofitachiqui was centered on the Santee River drainage than the Savannah River (Baker 1974). Considering this new evidence it is quite probable that the Scott's Lake Site was part of the Province of Cofitachiqui. Here, archeological and historical evidence clearly reinforce one another in emphasizing the importance of the central portion of the South Carolina coastal plain to past cultures.

One of the most exciting aspects of these new developments is that we now have a significant body of archeological data for the coastal plain of South Carolina that coincides with both Spanish and English ethnohistorical material. Combining these sources of information we should be able to construct a good picture of the pattern of late prehistoric life.

In the light of present archeological research the Scott's Lake Site emerges as quite an important place. This site, being the largest ceremonial center yet discovered on the coastal plain, probably represents a hub of late prehistoric activity in the area. Through research at Scott's Lake and surrounding sites, we will be able to outline, not just the features on one "Indian mound", but those of a complex cultural pattern.

Results of Archeology

Evidence of the Indian occupation of this site and the surrounding area was collected both through excavation and surface collection. All of the Excavation Units (I-IV, Figure 2) produced information concerning this occupation. In this excavation a portion of a structure was revealed on the summit of Mound A (Figure A 1), another structure was opened on the northeastern side of this mound (Figure A 2), the smaller Mound B was investigated, and the possible toe of another mound (C) was discovered east of Mound A.
Figure A2. Daub concentration and floor in Excavation Unit II.
CHICORA

INCREASE AND ELABORATION OF APPLIED DECORATIVE MOTIFS, CARVED PADDLE COMPLICATED STAMPING, BURNISHING, ROSETTES, REED PUNCTATIONS AND PUNCTATED RIM STRIPS

CHARLES TOWNE
- CHARLES TOWNE COMPLICATED STAMPED (SOUTH 1973)
- CHARLES TOWNE CHECK STAMPED (SOUTH 1973)
- CHARLES TOWNE BURNISHED PLAIN (SOUTH 1973)

MULBERRY
- MULBERRY TYPES (CALDWELL N.D.)

FORT WATSON
- FORT WATSON TYPES (CALDWELL N.D.)

ADAMSON
- ADAMSON TYPES (STUART 1967)

PEE DEE
- PEE DEE COMPLICATED STAMP (COE 1952: REID 1967)
- PEE DEE CHECK STAMP (COE 1952: REID 1967)
- PEE DEE TEXTILE WRAPPED (COE 1952: REID 1967)
- PEE DEE PLAIN (COE 1952: REID 1967)

IRENE
- IRENE FILFOT STAMPED (CALDWELL AND WARING 1939)
- IRENE INCISED (CALDWELL AND WARING 1939)
- IRENE PLAIN (CALDWELL AND WARING 1939)

SAVANNAH
- SAVANNAH COMPLICATED STAMPED (CALDWELL AND McCANN 1941: WILLIAMS 1968)
- SAVANNAH CHECK STAMPED (CALDWELL AND McCANN 1941: WILLIAMS 1968)
- SAVANNAH BURNISHED PLAIN (CALDWELL AND McCANN 1941: WILLIAMS 1968)

Figure A3. Wares in the Chicora Ware-Group. (After South 1973).
Across Scott's Lake from the Scott's Lake Site (38CRl), salvage excavations were carried out on the edge of the sandy bluff. This site, termed the Scott's Lake Bluff Site (38CR35), consisted of several burials eroding from the bluff. Sixteen burials were recovered from the excavation.

In addition to the excavations, surface collections were taken on land and under the water of Lake Marion near 38CRl.* These collections have provided a rough outline of the extent of the site.

Excavation Unit I: Mound A Summit:

Unfortunately, the British occupation of this site obliterated some of the information from the upper levels of the mound, however, the occurrence of large concentrations of daub, artifacts, and post holes indicated that there had been an Indian structure on the mound summit.

Figure Al is a composite map of all of the features recorded on the summit of the mound that do not appear to be related to the Revolutionary War. The most abundant of the present evidence is in the southern and southeastern portions of the mound where a regular post mold pattern and concentrations of daub were recovered.

Structure A consists of a rectangular pattern of post molds (Fig. Al). The most western of these posts is the one that is showing in the profile in Figure 8. While gaps in the wall of this structure may simply represent portions left out during the construction, two major areas where no posts are located in the northern and eastern walls are areas where the British ditch and stockade have probably obliterated the evidence.

One of the more unusual aspects of Structure A is the location. Considering the present configuration of the mound, this structure is

*John Combes and Alan Albright of the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology kindly made the underwater surface collections.
located with one wall over the edge of the summit. This wall, however, may have at one time been on the upper level of the mound. When Colonel Watson described his fort he mentioned that they "scarp'd it" (see p. 17). This reference may mean that the British cut down the faces of the mound to prevent assaulting troops from scaling the sides of the fortress. Such activity may have taken away a portion of the floor of Structure A.

Daub on the summit of the mound is indicative of the fallen walls of Indian structures. Several concentrations of daub were found in the vicinity of Structure A and probably represent the daub from that building. Daub in the southeastern corner of the mound suggests that there was also a structure in this area, however the actual pattern of this daub was formed by digging during the British occupation. The absence of daub in other areas of the mound summit may indicate that at this level most of the structures were located to the south, and that the northern portion of the mound was devoid of daubed structures. At lower levels of mound construction there may well be other patterns of super-structure construction.

The discovery of Burial # 1 (Fig. A 1) and perhaps another burial yet to be excavated on the northern side of the summit further supports this hypothesis. There are other examples of burials being located in front of mound summit structures. (Dickens 1970: 265)

Excavation Unit II:

Northeast of Mound A one ten foot square was excavated below the humus level (Fig. A2). This square revealed a line a daub trending from southwest to northeast. On the northwest side of this line there was a prehistoric house floor. Large sherds and charred material were found in the vicinity of the wall.
Excavations on the Northern Boundary: Test Pit No. 6:

In an old road on the northern side of the site an excavation unit (Test Pit No. 6) revealed a number of charred post holes and a concentration of daub. Large sherds were recovered from the soil above the features, and I think that this is yet another Indian house structure.

Excavation Unit III: Mound B:

The topsoil was removed from five ten-feet squares on the summit of Mound B. Only one historic artifact, an iron spike, was found in this entire excavation unit. The remainder of the material was prehistoric. We did encounter, at the base of the topsoil, one charred log placed on a bed of clay, but no more associations were found. Trees and time prevented further excavation; however, with more excavation we will be able to determine the functional nature of this small mound.

A "pot hole" dug by relic hunters was cleaned out on the summit of Mound B (Figure 3). This hole revealed that the mound had a lensed fill and that the lower levels were clay. In the clay of the lower levels we encountered one post hole, but no other features were found.

Excavation Unit IV: Eastern Excavation:

On the eastern end of the site near the parking lot, the topsoil was removed from a small ridge of clay that paralleled the breakwater. This clay closely conformed to the edge of the parking lot, and there is the possibility that it had been disturbed by a bulldozer. Nevertheless, the clay is apparently mound fill from an Indian structure: it is filled with fragments of daub and Indian artifacts. Further excavation may reveal that this is a portion of the mound that is reported to have washed away due to wave action of Lake Marion (Joffre Coe: personal communication).

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Prehistoric Artifacts

The prehistoric artifact inventory is many times greater than the quantity of artifacts belonging to the historic component of the site. Ceramic artifacts number into the thousands, and there is a sizeable collection of bone and shell material. Because of the mass of prehistoric material and the immediate importance of the historic component due to its stratigraphic position, the prehistoric artifacts have not been analyzed in as much detail as the historic artifacts. However, the studies that have been performed present valuable information that will be used as hypotheses concerning the reconstruction of cultural activity and the significance of this activity at the Scott's Lake Site and environs.

Ceramics:

Due to the number of prehistoric sherds the collection was necessarily sampled for this preliminary analysis. Rim sherds having more obvious culturally pertinent data were separated from the remainder of the sherds and analyzed. Within the remaining body sherds unusual specimens or specimens that clearly showed evidence of decoration were separated in order to complete our general knowledge of the range of ceramic attributes.

The overwhelming majority of the ceramics were found to be similar to Pee Dee ceramics from North Carolina (Coe 1952; Reid 1965, 1967; Ferguson 1971) and Irene ceramics from the coast of Georgia (Caldwell and McCann 1941). However, there are differences in attribute frequency and subtle differences in attributes that make the ceramics from this site distinctive. Scott's Lake is located in the center of the coastal plain pottery style area, and we may suppose that the ceramic theme was being imitated at such sites as Town Creek and Irene. Presently, we are involved in collecting consistent ceramic information.
from related sites in an effort to catalog all of the ceramic style elements present in this horizon. Through this description and a following seriation we will be able to understand the details of temporal and spatial variation in coastal plain ceramics. Once the ceramic sequence is understood we may more thoroughly analyze the sophisticated problems of cultural anthropology on the South Carolina coastal plain.

To facilitate the easy recognition of the ceramics of which Pee Dee, Irene and the material from Scott's Lake are a part, a ware-group has been defined (South 1973) which includes all of these wares. The ware-group has been called Chicora and includes all of the ceramics whose fundamental attributes are the same as the Irene and Pee Dee types (Fig. A3).

Associated with the major complex of ceramics at the site are a number of sherds from painted bottles. These sherds have a thin film of red paint on the surface, and in one case there is a black negative paint applied on top of the red to produce a bi-chrome decoration. This type of vessel is often associated in major late prehistoric sites with special ceremonial activities. While the form is not infrequently found on major ceremonial centers to the west, this ceramics style is unusual on the Atlantic coastal plain. Finding these sherds at the Scott's Lake site is indicative of the importance of this ceremonial center.

In addition to the major component of ceramics, sherds of other ceramic complexes have been found. Thick simple stamped sherds tempered with sand that are from a much earlier period were found during excavations on Mound A. These sherds were probably moved from their true provenience during the gathering of earth for the construction of the mound. On the
southeastern side of the mound in the lower levels of Excavation Unit II simple stamped sherds with rectilinear punctations on the rim were recovered. These sherds are part of a growing complex of ceramics from the midland area of South Carolina (Teague 1972; Stuart 1970). We do not know the true temporal or spatial distribution of these ceramics, however, I believe that they fall somewhere near the end of the first millennium A.D. and represent an earlier occupation of the Scott's Lake Site.

In addition to these sherds, a few examples fitting the type description of Lamar Bold Incised and Lamar Complicated Stamped were found in the site.

Shell Working Tool Kit:

Among the collection of ceramics from the site were a number of sherds that had V-shaped grooves worn in the faces or edges. These artifacts have been found from other sites in the southeast (cf. Irene: Caldwell and McCann 1941: 53; Charles Towne: South personal communication; Town Creek: Coe personal communication). When casual mention of these artifacts is made among archeologists they are usually referred to as "awl sharpeners".

The size of the groove is often about the size of a small bone awl. However, the grooves on the material from Scott's Lake were usually at a very steep angle rather than the rounded groove that would be produced by something like an awl. Further, two stone abraders with similar linear grooves were recovered. One of these had a circular depression that was also an abrasion surface. The distribution of these abraders was found to correlate with the distribution of conch shell fragments on the site. A statistical test based on a total collection within the topsoil from the summit of Mound A was conducted. For correlation within ten foot
squares a Pearson's R coefficient of .6671 with a level of significance of .002 was calculated, indicating a significant relationship.

Therefore, observation and statistics lead to the tentative conclusion that these abraders were used to finish the edges of conch shell ornaments. The steep angles on the abraders are more likely to have been left by the abrasion of shell edges than the rounded tip of a bone awl. The depression in the stone abrader may have been used to finish the ends of columella beads. Wear pattern analyses using shells and sherds are presently underway.

Conch shell gorgets, beads and pendants are important items of ceremonial use and adornment throughout the eastern United States, and with the problems of travel prevalent during prehistoric times these items must have increased in value proportional to their distance from the ocean source. The evidence from our exploratory excavations seems to indicate that this prehistoric ceremonial center was the location of at least a portion of the manufacturing process of shell artifacts and that these stone and ceramic abraders were part of the tool kit involved in production. The fact that this activity took place at the ceremonial center is indicative of the importance of this craftsmanship in prehistoric culture. Further excavation should add more weight to this conclusion.

Ceremonial Artifacts:

While the ceramics and the shell working activity may be linked to ceremonialism at Scott's Lake, there are a few other items that may also be related to the ceremonialism of the site. On the summit of the mound one blue glass bead (perhaps a Revolutionary War artifact), a few pottery beads, two nicely fashioned clay pipes (one of which was associated with beaver incisors) provide further suggestion of the artifact
inventory that may be encountered in prehistoric or early historical investigations.

Freshwater Shell and Bone:

In addition to the conch shell found on the site a collection of freshwater shell and bone fragments are probably part of the subsistence base of the people occupying the site. We have not yet determined whether there is a domestic settlement in the vicinity of the site, however, we may be sure that there were culinary activities at the site. Concentrations of this material have helped locate areas that will be examined in the future for evidence of structures or other specialized activity.

Stone:

Very few stone artifacts (other than the abraders previously mentioned) were found during investigation. A few small triangular arrowheads and one bi-facial blade comprise the entire inventory of edged tools. Further, the debitage frequently found on sites in the area was absent. Certainly, with the availability of chalcedony from the limestone deposits in the area this dearth of stone artifacts is not due to lack of raw material. Rather, the lack of these artifacts is related to differential activity on different types of coastal plain sites. Simply, the manufacture or use of edged stone tools does not at this point appear to have been an important activity at the ceremonial site.

Distribution:

Analysis of the distribution of all of the prehistoric artifacts has indicated that there are three major concentrations in Excavation Unit II. One is in the southwestern corner in the vicinity of N100E260,
another in the vicinity of N180E350, and still another in the vicinity of the house wall near N235E305. While the concentration in the N100E260 area may be debris from the summit of the mound, the other two concentrations are probably both associated with prehistoric structures. Excavation during future seasons will test this supposed association.

CONCLUSIONS

Mounds, daubed structures, decorated ceramics, burials, special artifacts and the numerous late prehistoric sites in the Lake Marion area—all of these features place the Indian occupation of the Scott's Lake Site into the agriculturally based cultures of the southeastern United States generally known as South Appalachian Mississippian. The South Carolina expression of this cultural phenomenon is a combination of new traits and indigenous lifeways that created an archeologically distinct cultural system on the coastal plain. Similar manifestations show up at the Charles Towne Site, the sites in the Camden area, Town Creek in North Carolina and Irene at the mouth of the Savannah River.

To the Indian people of the coastal plain this hybridization led to an increasing complexity in their lives. This complexity probably manifested itself in the formation of an extensive political system which may have involved most of the people of the South Carolina coastal plain. This is a similar kind of phenomenon that led to the development of civilization in other parts of the world such as Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica. In the study of human behavior we critically need investigations of all levels of cultural complexity. The study of Scott's Lake and the surrounding area will undoubtedly contribute to an understanding of human behavior that transcends location and helps us become more aware of our own behavioral regularities.
The combined mass of archeological evidence concerning the Indian occupation of the Scott's Lake Site points to one conclusion— it is important. The importance of the Indian component to the people of South Carolina is two fold. The first factor is that we are in possession of information that will contribute to the overall understanding of human behavior. The second factor is that through the careful investigation of the lives of the people that built and maintained the ceremonial center at Scott's Lake we shall be able to contribute to our own education and develop an objectively founded appreciation for the past of our state.
APPENDIX II

From Subject File H-2-5, S. C. Department of Archives, (from the British Headquarters Papers, the Carleton Papers, 9915; 1-4).

The Journal of the Blockade at Scots Lake, 15th April 1781.
[ Lt. Col. Balfour to Sir Henry Clinton, May 6, 1781.]

Sunday 15th: At four in the Afternoon, a party of the Enemy's Horse & foot appeared in the Skirts of the Wood on our front, A Party Sallied out, when a Skirmish ensued, in which we had One Private of the Infantry mortally wounded, at the same time they appeared in Force on our Left, the Party was recalled to the Works Manned, A Flag was sent to Summons the Post to surrender at discretion but was returned with the following reply "That A British officer Commanded, & they timidly never surrendered Posts-if they wanted it, they must come to take it" A Firing ensured, in which we had A Corporal of the 64th wounded, the loss of the Enemy cannot be ascertained but several were seen to fall-at night, they set Fire to the Hospital having taken out the Wounded, & made the Nurse Prisoner--A Private of the 64th. deserted--

Monday 16th--Some Shots were exchanged, in which we had Two Privates wounded the one of the 64th: the other of the Infantry, the latter of whom does Duty--some of the Enemy were seen carried off Wounded, no Provisions or Water in the Works.--

Tuesday 17th--The Enemy fired a few shot, & killed a Private of Major Harrison's Rangers At night a party was employed in getting up provisions and sinking a well.

Wednesday 18th--Some Shot as usual from the Enemy, & as opportunity offered were returned, through through the Day, the Enemy had one Man killed, at Night to our Satisfaction had it in our power to relieve, in some measure, Our distressed Troops--with an half Pint of Water per Man--having been since the first Appearance of the Enemy without Provisions or Water--Under cover of the Darkness, the Enemy broke ground within one hundred Yards of our Works & retook part of the Baggage of the 63rd. & 64th. that had been Retaken from General Sumpter, We were employed in getting up Provisions, Rum & Water

Thursday 19th The Enemy as usual kept Firing but without effect, in the Course of the day we sunk our Well deeper our water threatening to fail us, Two Milita Men went privately through the Enemies Centinels to Nelson's Ferry per Express, employ'd A Party as usual to fetch up Provision & Water, the Enemy at Work at their Entrenchments--they took the remainder of the 63.d & 64th Baggage, but in the attempt lost several Men killed & Wounded.--

Friday 20th. Some Firing as usual from the Enemy when we lost Corp. Shanks of the Infantry--in the course of the day a covered Passage was made to the Well--The last night we brought 3 barrels of pork and 4 do. of Flour likewise deserted Serjt. Brown of the Infantry, with the Provision returns of the Garrison--
Saturday 21st: Some firing as usual from the Enemy when Lt. McKay was wounded in the Face by a splinter, & a Negro in the hand—The Enemy ask'd permission to bury their dead—but they refusing to desert Firing during the time, their request was denied, they likewise in the Afternoon brought down a Wooden Machine which they had built, & were busy in raising a Scaffold made of Rails & Mold, nearly level with the top of our Works for their Marksmen to pick off our Centinels, this Night employed in getting up Rum & Water & raising a Traverse to counteract the Enemy's Scaffolds & sinking our ditches--

Sunday 22d. Some firing as usual from the Enemy but without Effect—at night they broke fresh ground opposite our Well, with an intent to cut us off from our Water—employed in getting up Rum & Water—Evacuated the Store, & placed a guard over the Well--

Monday 23d. Some firing as usual from the Enemy in which Lt. McKay was wounded & Two Men killed—McFree [spelling?] of the Militia died of a Putrid Fever, & the private of the 64th: died of his Wound—the Enemy having finished their Entrenchments under cover of their Fire made a lodgement under our Works, with an intention to undermine us—A Flag was a second time set to Summons the Post, when we were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of Capitulating, by the Cowardly & Mutinous behaviour of A majority of the Men—having grounded their Arms & refused to defend the Post any longer, notwithstanding every Exertion made by the Officers to encourage & force them to their duty.

James Mackay, Lt: P.L.I.:
Rob~ Robinson Ensign P.Lt.InfY
ThomY B. Campbell Surgeon
ProvY Lt. InfY--

Articles quoted in subject file H-2-5, S. D. Department of Archives,(from the British Headquarters Papers, The Carleton Papers, 9915; 1-4).

Capitulation of Fort Watson, Scots Lake

1.st--The Officers to be permitted their Parole, to Wear their Side Arms and posses their Private Baggage---

Agreed.

2.nd--The British soldiers to be allowed to March to Charles Town where they are to continue out of Service till Exchanged, liable to be order'd elsewhere by the Commander-in-Chief of the American Southern Army---

Agreed.

3.d--The Irregulars to be treated as Prisoners of War.

Agreed.

4--All Public property to be delivered to the Legion Qt. Mr.--& the Fort to be delivered to Capt. Oldham who will take possession
this Evening with a Detachment of Marylanders—

Agreed.

Lt. Col. Lee acceded to the Capitulation as it now stands in Compliment to the Gallantry with which the Post has been defended.

Signed

James McKay Lt.
P. Lt. Inf~

Pat: Carnes Capt
Legion Infantry

APPENDIX III

Conflicting copies of a letter to General Greene by General Francis Marion and of the Articles of Capitulation signed at Scott's Lake.

Letter quoted in Gibbes, 1853.

Fort Watson, Scots Lake, April 23d, 1781.

Sir:

Lieut. Col. Lee made a junction with me at Santee the 14th inst., after a rapid march from Ramsay's Mill, on Deep River, which he performed in eight days; the 15th we marched to this place and invested it. Our hope was to cut off their water; some riflemen and Continentals immediately took post between the fort and the lake. The fort is situated on a small hill forty feet high, stockaded, and with three rows of abattis around it; no trees near enough to cover our men from their fire. The third day after we had invested it, we found the enemy had sunk a well near the stockade which we could not prevent them from, as we had no entrenching tools to make our approach, we immediately determined to raise a work equal to the height of the fort. This arduous work was completed this morning by Major Mayham, who undertook it. We then made a lodgement on the side of the mount near the stockade; this was performed with great spirit and address by Ens'n. Johnson and Mr. Lee, a volunteer in Col. Lee's legion, who with difficulty ascended the hill, and pulled away the abattis which induced the commandant to hoist a flag, and Lieut. Col. Lee and myself agreed to the enclosed capitulation, which I hope may be approved of by you; our loss on this occasion, two killed, and three Continentals and three militia wounded. I am particularly indebted to Lieut. Col. Lee for his advice and indefatigable diligence in every part of this tedious operation,
against as strong a little post as could well be made on the most ad-
vantageous spot that could be wished for. The officers and men of the
Legion and Militia performed every thing that could be expected, and
Major Mayham of my Brigade had in a particular manner a great share of
this success, by his unwearied diligence in erecting a tower, which
principally occasioned the reduction of the fort. In short, sir, I
have had the greatest satisfaction from every one under my command.
Enclosed is the list of the prisoners and stores taken, and shall with­
out loss of time proceed to demolish the fort, after which, shall march
to the High Hills at Capt. Richardson's plantation, where I will wait
your further orders, and am with great esteem sir,

Your obedient servant,
F. Marion.

Articles quoted in Gibbes, 1853

Articles of Capitulation proposed by Lieut. McKay, Commandant
at Fort Watson.

ART. I. The officers to be allowed their parole; to wear their
swords; and shall have their private baggage secured to them.

Granted.

ART. II. The British officers shall be permitted to march to
Charles Town, where they shall remain, without entering into any active
service, till they shall have been exchanged; till which time they
shall be bound to surrender themselves, whenever called upon the
commander-in-chief of the American Southern army.

 Granted.

ART. III. The irregulars shall be treated as prisoners of war.

Granted.

ART. IV. All public stores shall be surrendered to the quarter
master general of the Legion, and the fort to Captain Oldham, who shall
take possession this evening, with a detachment of the Maryland division.

I agree to this capitulation, such as it is at present, in consid­
eration of the bravery with which the fort was defended.

PATRICK KARNS
Captain of Foot belonging to the Legion.
JAS. McKay, Lieut.

April 23, 1781.
Letter quoted in Tarleton, 1787.

Fort Watson, April 23, 1781.

SIR,

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL Lee joined me on the Santee the 14th instant, after a rapid march from Ramsey's mills on Deep river, which he finished in eight days. The 15th we marched to this place, and invested it: Our chief hope was to cut off the water: Some riflemen and Continentals were, for this purpose, posted between the fort and the lake. The fort lies on a rising ground, about forty feet high, surrounded by three rows of abattis. There were no trees near enough to cover us from the enemy's fire. The third day after we had begun the siege, we perceived that the enemy had dug a well near the abattis without meeting with any opposition from us, which was for want of several very necessary implements, without which we could not make trenches in order to make our approach to the fort; we therefore resolved immediately to erect a work as high as the fort, and it was finished this morning by Major Maham; we then made a lodgement on the side of the eminence near the abattis; this was accomplished with great spirit and address by Ensign Robinson and Mr. R. Lee, a volunteer in Colonel Lee's regiment, who, surmounting every difficulty, got up to the abattis, and pulled it away: By this the commander of the fort found himself obliged to hoist a white flag. I enclose the capitulation, which I hope will meet with your approbation. Our loss was only two militiamen killed, and three Continentals wounded. I shall demolish the fort without loss of time, and then proceed to the heights of Santee, and shall halt at Captain Richardson's plantation to wait for further orders.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS MARION, B. G.

Articles quoted in Tarleton, 1787.

Articles of capitulation proposed by Lieutenant McKay, commandant at Fort Watson.

ART. I. THE officers to be allowed their parole; to wear their swords, and shall have their private baggage secured to them.

GRANTED.

ART. II. The British officers shall be permitted to march to Charles Town, where they shall remain, without entering into any active service, till they shall have been exchanged; till which time they shall be bound to surrender themselves, whenever called upon by
the commander in chief of the American southern army.

GRANTED.

ART. III. The irregulars shall be treated as prisoners of war.

GRANTED.

ART. IV. All public stores shall be surrendered to the quartermaster general of the legion, and the fort to Captain Oldham, who shall take possession this evening with a detachment of the Maryland division.

I AGREE

I AGREE to this capitulation, such as it is at present, in consideration of the bravery with which the fort was defended.

(Signed) PAT R I C K C A R N S,
Captain of Foot, belonging to the legion.

APPENDIX IV

During the research on the British occupation of the Scott's Lake Site, historical data were tabulated and used to develop an initial understanding of the structure and events at the site. The two most important parts of those tabulations including description of the fort and accounts of the siege or blockade are reproduced here. These data should prove valuable in future research.

Colonel Watson's letter to Sir Henry Clinton (1781): Descriptions of Fort Watson

"...we scarp'd it, stockaded it at Top, abatis'd it at bottom, and rendered it as strong as the materials we could collect, and the only utensils we had, our Tomahawks would admit."

Lieutenant James McKay's Journal (n.d.)

Hospital outside of the works.* Baggage stored outside of works.* Excavated a well.* Covered passage to well.* A traverse was raised and ditches sunk during the siege.*

Brigadier-General Francis Marion's Letter to General Nathanael Greene (Gibbes 1853), (Tarleton 1787):

Fort situated on a small hill forty feet high.* (Gibbes 1853: 57) Fort is stockaded.* (Gibbes 1853: 57)

* Activities or aspects of the Fort that should be archeologically identifiable.
Three rows of abbatis around fort.* (Gibbes 1853: 57)
Enemy sunk a well near the stockade* (Letter I) (Gibbes 1853: 57)
Enemy dug a well near the abbatis* (Letter II) (Tarleton 1787: 471)

IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES DURING THE BLOCKADE OF FORT WATSON

Lieutenant James McKay's Journal (n.d.)

Sunday 15th--The enemy appeared at four in the afternoon in front of the fort, then to the left.

Americans set fire to the hospital which was outside the fortifications.*

Monday 16th--

Tuesday 17th--Began digging a well.*

Wednesday 18th--Enemy broke ground within one hundred yards of the works.*

Enemy retook some of the baggage of the 63rd and the 64th Regiments.

Thursday 19th--Well was dug deeper.*

Enemy working on their entrenchments.*

Enemy took remainder of the baggage.

Friday 20th--Covered passage made to well.*

Saturday 21st--Enemy brought down a "Wooden Machine".

Enemy busy raising a scaffold of "Rails and Mold", nearly level with the top of the British works.

British busy at night "...raising a Traverse to Counteract the Enemy's Scaffolds & sinking our ditches...".*

Sunday 22nd--Enemy broke fresh ground opposite the British well.*

McKay thinks it is to cut the British from their water.

British evacuated the store, and put a guard over the well.

Monday 23rd--Enemy finished entrenchments under cover of fire and made a lodgement under the British works.*

The men "grounded their Arms & refused to defend the Post any longer".

*Activities or aspects of the fort that should be archeologically identifiable.
Riflemen and continentals took post between British and the lake to cut them off from their water. (p. 57)

Fort surrounded with three rows of abbatis.* (p. 57)

British dug a well near the stockade which the Americans could not prevent because they lacked entrenching tools.* (p. 57)

Major Mayham undertook to raise a work equal to the height of the fort which he completed the morning of the 23rd (p. 57).

Americans then made a logdement on the "side of the mount near the stockade." (p. 57)

Two men ascended the hill and pulled away the abbatis (p. 57).

Americans proceeded to demolish the fort. (p. 57)

Riflemen and continentals posted between British and lake for the purpose of cutting off the water supply. (p. 471)

Fort surrounded by three rows of abbatis.* (p. 471)

No trees near enough to cover the Americans. (p. 471)

British dug a well near the abbatis which the Americans could not prevent since they lacked entrenching tools.* (p. 471)

Major Maham undertook to raise a work as high as the fort which was finished on the morning of the 23rd. (p. 471)

Americans made a logdement on the side of the "eminence" near the abbatis. (p. 471)

Two men ascended the hill and pulled away the abbatis. (p. 471)

Americans will demolish the fort. (p. 471)

Marion and Lee arrived early in the evening. (p. 50)

*Activities or aspects of the fort that should be archeologically identifiable.
From the Life of General Francis Marion, (Horry and Weems 18)

Marion discovers the fort has no artillery (p. 216).

Tower built of pine logs in the shape of large "pens" or "chimney stacks".* (p. 216)

Riflemen firing from the tower. (p. 216)

Well on the outside of the fort was covered by rifles. (p. 216)

Military storehouse on the outside of the fort. (p. 217)

British tried to get goods out of the storehouse into the fort but were obliged to stop. (p. 217)

Goods were left on the ground between the storehouse and the fort. (p. 217)

Goods packed in hogsheads. (p. 217)

From one hogshead: 100 strong white shorts for soldiers (p. 219)

50 fine do. do. for officers

50 camp blankets

100 black stocks

100 knapsacks, and

6 dragoons cloaks

*Activities or aspects of the Fort that should be archeologically identifiable.
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