

and assembly. But the frontier interests of men like Joseph Blake (deputy-governor, 1696-1700) and James Moore (governor, 1700-1702) had a consequence for the colony unrecognized by their critics. At the end of the seventeenth century the Indian trade was weaving a web of alliances among tribes distant many hundreds of miles from Charles Town. Blake and his successor, active promoters of the trade, developed a conception of the destinies of the English in that quarter of America notably in advance of the parochial ideas of Proprietors and provincials alike; in advance, too, of the notions of policy of the imperial government itself.<sup>4</sup>

The crucial event of the seventeenth century on the Carolina-Florida border was the collapse of the Spanish missions of Guale in the face of the English traders' advance. Thus was begun, on this frontier, the long process of dissolution of Spanish authority in North America.

In the main, Spanish Indian policy was benevolent and pacific. Though converted Indians were sometimes employed against unfriendly tribes or against the English, the Spanish were loath to place firearms in the hands of their allies. Both in Guale, and, later, in Apalache, this proved a fatal weakness in view of the aggressive, disintegrating, Indian policy of the English. Very early, Indians in the English league were encouraged to direct their raids against the allies of the Spaniard.<sup>5</sup> In 1680 the first blow fell in Guale. Three hundred Indians, Westo, Cherokee, and Creek, attacked Guadalquini and Santa Catalina, 'cabeça y frontera á estos enemigos.' The raiders were stood off, but the mission Indians in alarm now deserted Santa Catalina, and the garrison was withdrawn to Zápala.<sup>6</sup> The Spanish retreat had begun. From St. Augustine the governor, Salazar, protested vigorously to Charles Town against Dr. Woodward's anti-Spanish intrigues among the 'Chichimecas' and other border Indians, and threatened retaliation.<sup>7</sup> But the ravages of the English Indians continued,

<sup>4</sup> AHR, XXIV. 380 and note 4.

<sup>5</sup> GHQ, IX. 174 f.

<sup>6</sup> Serrano y Sanz (ed.), *Documentos*, pp. 216-9. Brooks (comp.), *Unwritten History*, pp. 137-9; Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, pp. 36 f.

<sup>7</sup> C.O. 5:286, pp. 165, 166. A Spanish punitive expedition in 1682 was described in a colonist's letter from Charles Town, printed in Salley (ed.), *Narratives*, pp. 185 f.

pirates again descended upon the coast, and from 1680 to 1683 the missions rapidly disintegrated. Though Zápala was strengthened by a *casa fuerte*, hope of reoccupying Santa Catalina was abandoned.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, the terrorized mission Indians retired southward, or fled to the woods. It was apparently the ill-judged attempt of Governor Cabrera to remove the Guale Indians in a body to the islands of Santa María and San Juan, out of the range of northern attacks, that precipitated the final revolt of Guale in 1684.<sup>9</sup> Spanish authority was further undermined by direct commercial penetration from the north. Part of the Guale Indians deserted, declared the chronicler Barcía, because the English had 'persuaded them to give them obedience.' The Carolina traders were invading the coast region as well as the back-country.<sup>10</sup>

The Indian exodus from Guale was accomplished in three or four distinct migrations between 1684 and 1703. Most of the frightened or disaffected Indians fled first into the interior, to the Creek towns of Kasihta and Coweta. Only in 1685 did they emerge on the immediate border of Carolina. A small group, however, had already resorted directly to the region of Port Royal sound, led by the chief Altamaha. There they became neighbors of the Scots whom Lord Cardross had brought over in 1684 to establish a Covenanters' refuge in America. Altamaha first settled upon St. Helena Island, then Hilton's Head Island was also assigned him by Cardross 'to be as an Outguard to us.'<sup>11</sup> The Yamasee chief warned Cardross that more Indians would follow; but it was with astonishment and alarm that the Port Royal pioneers viewed the great influx of 1685. Early in January the St. Helena band was joined by revolted mission Indians 'from about St. Augustine,' described as 'Sapello, Soho [Asao], and Sapickay [Tupiqui].' Soon the

<sup>8</sup> Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, pp. 38 f.

<sup>9</sup> [Andrés González Barcía], *Ensayo cronológico, para la historia general de la Florida*, Madrid, 1723, p. 287. Compare Escudero (1734), cited in Swanton, *Early History*, p. 96; Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, pp. 39 f.

<sup>10</sup> Barcía, *Ensayo*, p. 287. In 1677 the Proprietors issued a license to Solomon Blackleech to trade 'from Ashley River with the Spaniards or any Indians dwelling near or amongst them.' C.O. 5:286, p. 130. In 1684 Caleb Westbrooke was established as a trader at St. Helena, near Port Royal (C.O. 5:287, pp. 136, 142). See below, note 28a.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

main body of the Yamasees appeared on the lower Savannah, on the march from the Lower Creek country to their new habitat in South Carolina. A thousand or more had arrived in February, wrote the trader Westbrooke, and daily more were expected.<sup>12</sup> By this migration and its sequel, the removal of Yewhaws (Yoa) in 1702-1703,<sup>13</sup> northern Florida—seacoast and lower coastal plain—was deserted by practically all of the natives. From Santa Catalina the Spanish mission frontier retreated to Santa María (Amelia Island), and to San Juan (Talbot Island).<sup>14</sup> To the English in consequence soon passed the hegemony of the whole region north of peninsular Florida. The route of their traders into the interior was safeguarded against flank attack from the east.

The bitterness of the Spanish defeat in Guale was enhanced by a new intrusion south of the region guaranteed to England by the treaty of 1670. In 1684, Henry Lord Cardross began his proposed settlement of a border county at Port Royal, under patent from the Lords Proprietors.<sup>15</sup> Intended as an asylum for Covenanters, this short-lived colony belongs in a notable category of seventeenth-century enterprises. The fate of Stuart's Town, extinguished in a Spanish raid of 1686, furnished a striking prologue for the drama of Darien. In border history the episode had a significance of its own.

In 1672 Colonel Lockhart's plan for a colony of Scotch Presbyterians in Carolina had come to nought,<sup>16</sup> but a decade later increasing persecutions revived the scheme. Indeed, two separate projects for southern colonization by Scots were brought forward in 1682. The Lords of Trade frowned upon the petition of James, Earl of Doncaster and Dalkeith, for a great proprietary grant of 'Florida, Cape Florida, and Guiana,' and laid down a policy of opposition to further proprietary

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 136, 142.

<sup>13</sup> See below, p. 76.

<sup>14</sup> Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, p. 41. In 1699 the castaway Quaker, Jonathan Dickenson, with his party, visited these missions on the way from St. Augustine to Charles Town, and left an account of them in his *God's Protecting Providence* (third edition, London, 1720), pp. 79, 84, *et passim*. Pertinent passages from a later edition are cited in Swanton, *Early History*, pp. 92 f.

<sup>15</sup> G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, Glasgow, 1922, chapter vi, is the best narrative, but ignores the trade rivalry which underlay the controversy with Charles Town.

<sup>16</sup> Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Time, 1724*, I. 526.

grants. The Spanish, Doncaster had argued, could hardly claim to hold the unoccupied portions of Florida by virtue only of 'two small Castles.'<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, certain Presbyterian leaders, Cardross, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, and Sir George Campbell, after considering New York' as an asylum,<sup>18</sup> were attracted to Carolina by the promise of religious toleration, by the prestige of Shaftesbury, and, perhaps, by the batch of promotion pamphlets which were issued in 1682.<sup>19</sup> From the Proprietors they received a patent to one whole county, remote, by the width of one or two counties, from the existing settlements, with the privilege, later, of taking up another county.<sup>20</sup> In the fall of 1682 commissioners were sent out to explore the best rivers in Carolina.<sup>21</sup> Port Royal, the intended goal of the 1669 expedition, and recently shown in some detail on the Gascoyne map, was now chosen as the site.<sup>22</sup> But the Carolina project, unquestionably a *bona fide* venture, became entangled in the Whig conspiracies which culminated in the Rye House Plot.<sup>23</sup> It was not, therefore, until 1684 that the enterprise was set on foot, and then upon a considerably diminished scale. In

<sup>17</sup> C.O. 1:49, nos. 30, 30(i), 57, 71; CSP, *AWI, 1681-1685*, pp. 278 f., 296, 305. The Lords of Trade reported 'that it is not convenient . . . to constitute any new propriety in America' (ibid., p. 296).

<sup>18</sup> Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, pp. 193 f.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 187-90. In 1682 were printed the following tracts advertising Carolina: T. A[sh], *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of that Country*; R. F., *The Present State of Carolina with Advice to the Settlers*; a broadside abbreviated from the last pamphlet, entitled *A True Description of Carolina*, probably printed to accompany Joel Gascoyne's *A New Map of the Country of Carolina* of the same year; and [Samuel Wilson], *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America*.

<sup>20</sup> *Letters . . . to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, edited by John Dunn, Aberdeen (The Spalding Club), 1851, pp. 58, 59 and note. There is some confusion in the documents as to the number of counties, but Cardross later asserted he had liberty to take up a second. C.O. 5:287, f. 139.

<sup>21</sup> Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, p. 198.

<sup>22</sup> Sir John Cochrane to the Earl of Aberdeen, June 15, 1683, in *Letters . . . to George, Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 127: 'The account I have received from our pilots, sent their to view the country, is so good, that I doubt not but we shall carry on a considerable plantation, to the great advantage of the nation. I have seen a description of the river Port Royal in an exact map. It seems to be a very desirable place to plant upon.' The reference was probably to the Gascoyne map, on which see W. C. Ford, 'Early Maps of Carolina,' in *Geographical Review*, XVI, 273. On March 4, 1684, the Proprietors directed their governor to permit the Scots to settle at Port Royal (C.O. 5:287, f. 129).

<sup>23</sup> Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, pp. 190-3, 199-201. Cf. L. F. Stock (ed.), *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments, respecting North America, 1924*, I. 451.

July the *Carolina Merchant* sailed from Currock with less than a hundred colonists,<sup>24</sup> among them, however, a few men of real ability. In the more prosperous days following the Revolution Lord Cardross became a Privy Councillor in Scotland, and William Dunlop the Principal of the University of Glasgow.<sup>25</sup> The Scottish refugees were in general folk of a class superior to the old Barbadians and the English and Irish planters and servants who made up the colony at Ashley River. They were therefore promised a separate court of justice for their county, and the Fundamental Constitutions were modified to meet their views.<sup>26</sup> At the Proprietors' bidding, Maurice Mathews had already extinguished the Indian title to the region, and, indeed, to the whole area south of Ashley River, westward to the mountains.<sup>27</sup> Arrived at Port Royal, Cardross built a small settlement at the Spanish Point, which he named Stuart's Town.<sup>28</sup> At home the Proprietors counted confidently upon a rapid emigration from Scotland to this promising colony. They were doomed to disappointment. Bitter controversies arose between Stuart's Town and Charles Town, which checked the growth of the new settlement, and exposed it to Spanish attack. Underlying these untimely disputes was the effort of Cardross to control the expanding Indian trade with the Yamasee and the Creeks.<sup>28\*</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, pp. 203 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVI. 209; XVII. 408.

<sup>26</sup> Letters and instructions of March 4, June 25, 28, 1684, in C.O. 5:287.

<sup>27</sup> South Carolina Assembly, *Report of the Committee, appointed to examine into the Proceedings of the People of Georgia, 1737*, Appendices 2, 2b. Cf. C.O. 5:288, p. 100.

<sup>28</sup> John Erskine, *Journal*, edited by Walter Macleod, *Publications of the Scottish History Society*, XIV., p. 139; *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina, 1680-1692*, 1911, edited by A. S. Salley, Jr., p. 179: head-right warrants to Cardross for 850 acres for himself and sixteen others, to Dunlop for 1150 acres for himself and twenty-two others. See *Warrants for Lands, 1692-1711*, 1915, p. 155 regarding the site; also Gascoyne, 'Plat', circa 1685 (B.M. Add. MSS 5414, roll 24).

<sup>28\*</sup> This interpretation, which I set forth briefly in *MVHR*, XII. 23-25, is completely confirmed by an important document which has appeared in the *Scottish Historical Review*, XXV. 100-4, while these pages are in press. It is a letter from Cardross and Dunlop to Sir Peter Colleton, from Stuart's Town, March 27, 1685. It contains an interesting account of the settlement of the Scots' colony, reduced to fifty-one men by sickness at Charles Town, fear of Spanish invasion, and by the persuasions of the Carolinians. 'We discovered likewise the mouth of the West[o] river, and went up the same a good way, and went near to Saint Catharina, which we hear the Spaniards have deserted on the report of our settling here, and

Even before the coming of the Yamasee, Port Royal had acquired importance in the Charles Town Indian trade. The traders were discovering that the best route to their new western base at Savannah Town was the inland water passage from Ashley River to Yamacraw, and thence up the Savannah River. But this route passed right through the Scots' domain. Late in March, 1685, John Edenburgh, a Charles Town trader on his way to the Yamasees, was, he deposed, haled to Stuart's Town and warned by Lord Cardross 'that noe Englishman should trade from Sta. Helena to the Westoe River for all the Indians was his and that noe Englishman should trade between the Westoe River and St. Katherina for that hee had taken up one County and had liberty to take up another County.'<sup>29</sup> Cardross thus claimed an exclusive trade southward into Guale, where, apparently, he expected to expand his colony now that the friars were in retreat. A few weeks later Henry Woodward was arrested at Yamacraw, on the Savannah route to the interior, though he carried an extraordinary commission from the Lords Proprietors for inland exploration. For a time after the Westo War the adventurous Doctor had fallen under a cloud. He had been fined at Charles Town for his dealings with the Westo, and censured by the Proprietors. But a voyage to England had procured him pardon and complete reinstatement. His commission obtained at that time, was a noteworthy

we desyre this summer to vew it and tak possessione of it in his Majesties name for the behove of the lords proprietors.' If it proved necessary for the Proprietors to secure a new patent from the King to this region as 'formerlie in the Spanish dominions,' the Scots hoped to be remembered. They tempted Colleton further with the prospect of opening a trade thence to New Mexico,—'which if effectuated wold be a matter of vast importance both to you and us. We are in order to this plan laying down a method for correspondence and treade with *Cuita* [Coweta] and *Cussita* [Kasihta] nations of Indians, who leive upon the passages betwixt us and New Mexico, and who have for severall yeirs left off any Comerce with the Spaniards; but, Sir, these our endeavors do already provock the Inevey of severall particular persones, who, meinding their own privat Intrist mor than that of the lords proprietors or good of the province, doe so grudge both at the situation of this place doth give us advantage for trade more than these and that they find us ready to improve that advantage, that they do opres our designe and endeavour to render us contemptible in the eyes of the Indians about us.' They alluded to their friendly relations with the Yamasee, 'admitted to settle heire within our bounds by the Government of Charlestown the last year since our contract with you.' To secure Colleton's support for their projected Creek trade they proposed that he 'put in with us for a share.'

<sup>29</sup> C.O. 5:287, p. 139.

document in the history of English exploration. It recited the benefits to the Crown and the Proprietors from having 'the Inlands of our Province of Carolina well discovered and what they doe containe and also a passage over the Apalateans Mountaines found out.'<sup>80</sup> But Cardross, according to the affidavits of Woodward and his companions, refused to honor this paper 'for that it was to encourage trade to which hee had as much right as any of them.'<sup>81</sup> Cardross's interference postponed, but did not long prevent Woodward's great western adventure. Summer found the explorer on the Chattahoochee, challenging Spanish influence among the Creeks.<sup>82</sup>

Cardross inevitably failed in this ambitious attempt to engross the southern Indian trade. His contest with Charles Town in its later stages was obscured by personal recrimination and by disputes over jurisdiction. Meanwhile, coöperation for defense was neglected, and Stuart's Town was exposed to certain Spanish revenge.<sup>83</sup>

By the Spaniards all settlements in Carolina were regarded as intrusions into Florida, but especially those south of Ashley River, for so the Council of the Indies read the meaning of the Treaty of Madrid. Nor were officials like Governor Cabrera accustomed to discriminate nicely between the pirates and the colonists who sheltered them. And now the Spaniards were further wantonly provoked by the reckless Indian policy of the Scots. Yamasee were employed from Port Royal in incursions upon the mission province of Timucua; there is evidence that they were incited by Lord Cardross himself and the trader Westbrooke.<sup>84</sup> Ample precedent might be found in the practices of the Charles Town traders, but in view of the exposed situation of Stuart's Town, Woodward, who was not likely to be squeamish, was justified in condemning the Timucuan raid of 1685 as 'an unadvised project.'<sup>85</sup> The Proprietors, too, for all

<sup>80</sup> C.O. 5:287, pp. 198-202, 207. The pardon was dated May 23, 1682; the commission, May 18.

<sup>81</sup> C.O. 5:287, pp. 137 f.

<sup>82</sup> Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, p. 48.

<sup>83</sup> Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, pp. 206-8. Documents relating to the controversies between the Scots and Charles Town, and attempts to arrest Cardross and other leaders, are in C.O. 5:287, ff. 136, 140, 141; C.O. 5:288, pp. 71, 73. See also Rivers, *Sketch*, Appendix, pp. 407 f.

<sup>84</sup> C.O. 5:287, p. 143.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

their sympathy with Cardross, were convinced that this affair provoked the Spanish attack in the next year.<sup>86</sup> Several Indians who took part in the destruction of Santa Catalina de Afuica were examined on their return by Henry Woodward. They declared that the Scots had armed and incited them, and that they had 'burnt severall Towns and in particuler, the Said Chappell and the Fryers house and killed Fifty of the Timechoes and brought away Two and twenty Prisoners which the[y] delivered to the Scotts as slaves.'<sup>87</sup>

In September, 1686, Cabrera took his revenge. In three small vessels—a galley and two pirogues—one hundred Spaniards, with an auxiliary force of Indians and mulattoes, descended upon the Carolina coast. They struck first at Port Royal. Sickness, it is said, had left not more than twenty-five defenders fit to bear arms. These were routed with some casualties, Stuart's Town was burned, and the infant Scotch settlement destroyed. Thence the raiders ranged northward to the Edisto, where more plantations were plundered; among others, the houses of Governor Morton and of the secretary, Paul Grimball, were put to the torch. But a hurricane frustrated the attack on Charles Town. Two of the Spanish craft were wrecked. In one perished the commander, Tomás de León; in the other, by English account, the governor's brother-in-law, a captive in irons, was burned to death when the vessel with its plunder was set on fire by the retreating Spaniards. The whole country was now alarmed, and the raiders retired with the remnant of their booty and their captured slaves to the presidio of St. Augustine.<sup>88</sup>

Though little love was lost between the Scots and the English, and the latter were, perhaps, not sorry that an obstacle to their trading expansion was removed, the colony was in a flame at the Spanish invasion in time of peace, with its alleged atrocities. Parliament was hastily summoned, and an act was

<sup>86</sup> C.O. 5:288, pp. 121, 160; *CSP,AWI, 1685-1688*, pp. 451 f.

<sup>87</sup> C.O. 5:287, p. 140; *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, p. 157; Brooks (comp.), *Unwritten History*, p. 144; Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, p. 40, citing other Spanish archival sources.

<sup>88</sup> C.O. 1:61, no. 18; C.O. 5:288, p. 106; C.O. 38:2, p. 109; C.O. 323:3, F2; *CSP,AWI, 1685-1688*, pp. 295, 336; *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, edited by B. R. Carroll, 1836, II. 350 f.; Rivers, *Sketch*, Appendix, pp. 425, 443 f.; *Historical Magazine*, III. 298 f.; Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, pp. 41 f.

passed to impress men and ships 'to persue, attacque and (by God's grace) to vanquish' the enemy wherever they might be found.<sup>39</sup> Two French privateers were soon fitting out, so the governor of Bermuda reported,<sup>40</sup> with crews of Carolinians and privateersmen. There was reason, apparently, for a clause in the act forbidding the use of the vessels for any other purpose than an attack on the Spanish. But a new governor, Landgrave James Colleton, arrived at the height of the excitement and put an end to the expedition. He threatened, indeed, to hang anyone who set out against Florida.<sup>41</sup> At the same time he approved legitimate measures for defense: a store of powder, galleys, and warning beacons on the coast as far as the Savannah.<sup>42</sup> Colleton's caution was endorsed by the Proprietors, who were not easily convinced that Spanish officials were actually responsible for the invasion, and who threw much blame on the provocative conduct of their colonists. Instead of making war on the subjects of an ally, the Carolinians were admonished to negotiate for the return of their property and the redress of injuries.<sup>43</sup> Cardross was commiserated on his losses: 'in fitting time' the Proprietors promised to apply to the King for reparation.<sup>44</sup> This pacific policy was borne with ill grace by the Carolinians, among whom was a growing anti-proprietary party. In 1699 Edward Randolph, who had an ear attuned to such scandal, said that he had learned the truth which underlay this pusillanimity, that 'there was a design on foot to carry on a Trade with the Spaniards.'<sup>45</sup>

Not only was Cabrera sustained at home, but his successor, Quiroga, was charged in 1688 'to continue the operations begun by him until you succeed in dislodging the enemies, Scotch, English and Yamassees.'<sup>46</sup> But Quiroga apparently understood that the time had passed for a successful campaign to recover

<sup>39</sup> *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, edited by Thomas Cooper, II, 15-18 (act of October 15, 1686).

<sup>40</sup> C.O. 1:61, no. 18; C.O. 38:2, p. 109; *CSP, AWI, 1685-1688*, p. 295.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 451f. C.O. 5:288, pp. 121-123. Rivers, *Sketch*, Appendix, pp. 425, 444.

<sup>42</sup> Cooper (ed.), *Statutes*, II, 20 f., 23-25.

<sup>43</sup> C.O. 5:288, pp. 106-7, 121; *CSP, AWI, 1685-1688*, pp. 336 f., 451 f.

<sup>44</sup> C.O. 5:288, p. 109.

<sup>45</sup> Rivers, *Sketch*, Appendix, p. 444; and see charge in address to Sothell, *ibid.*, p. 425.

<sup>46</sup> *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, p. 345, note 52.

Guale and Santa Elena. He now turned to negotiation. About a year after the raid, Bernardo de Medina, an officer of the garrison, accompanied by a friar, appeared at Charles Town. The negotiations that ensued were typical of a long series of futile border parleys.<sup>47</sup> The Spanish denied that the late expedition had been commissioned to attack the English king's subjects in Carolina, and complained of the bad conduct of the Carolinians. In reply, Colleton had first to deny complicity in the pirate raids into Guale; he also disclaimed responsibility for the actions of the Yamasee, 'a people who live within our bounds after their own manner taking no notice of our Government.' He demanded the return of the slaves and plunder carried off in 1686, and proposed the regular delivery in the future of the fugitive slaves and servants, 'who run dayly into your towns.' With the development of the plantation régime in Carolina this grievance became increasingly serious, and furnished the theme of recurring protests to the Spaniards. Apparently the friar had instructions to persuade the Yamasee to return to Florida. A demand that they be sent back Colleton refused. Only war, he declared, could accomplish this, as they were confederated with a larger nation, the Lower Creeks.

With this inconclusive diplomatic exchange, the conflict in the coastal region came, temporarily, to an end. The Spanish governor continued to assert the inclusive Spanish claims, and reported to Charles Town his orders from Spain 'not to lett the English come south of St. Georges.'<sup>48</sup> But his hands were tied by the Anglo-Spanish partnership in the Grand Alliance, and even more by the weakness of Florida.<sup>49</sup> English traders continued to win over the Indian allies of the Spanish, or to reduce them to slavery. Meanwhile, the scene of active conflict shifted to another segment of the Carolina-Florida border.

From an early period the Carolinians had been aware of the existence of the great Creek confederation, or at any rate of the two leading towns of the Lower Creeks, Coweta and Kasilhta. Several times before 1681 they had established con-

<sup>47</sup> *Historical Magazine*, III, 298 f.: James Colleton to Quiroga, 1687 or 1688, original in Archives of the Indies, Seville; Brooks (comp.), *Unwritten History*, p. 145: royal orders regarding runaway slaves.

<sup>48</sup> C.O. 5:288, p. 160.

<sup>49</sup> Brooks (comp.), *Unwritten History*, pp. 144 f.

tacts with them. But it was not until the Westo barrier was removed that the Lower Creek trade could develop. In the midst of the Westo War the Lords Proprietors had instructed Percival and Mathews to reopen the trade, if unsafe with the Westos, with the 'Chiscah [Yuchi], Sevanaes, or the Cowitaws.' Soon the Lower Creek country became the centre of the Carolinian trading régime.<sup>50</sup>

The Lower Creeks, called Apalachicola by the Spaniards, controlled the whole interior region from the borders of Guale and of Carolina northward to the headwaters of the Savannah, and westward to the Chattahoochee. Several times in the course of the international struggle for the Indian trade in the South they changed their village sites. At this epoch their towns were located on the middle Chattahoochee, near the falls, within easy distance of the Spanish presidio of San Luis and the missions of Apalache. From Apalache, indeed, the Spaniards were now engaged in a series of efforts to convert the Apalachicola to the faith, and thus translate the nominal sovereignty of Spain into a real dominion. In 1679 the first attempt to establish a mission at Sábacola was frustrated by the head chief of Coweta, whose great influence, wielded for many years, won him the title of Emperor both in Florida and in Carolina. In 1681 the Franciscans again appeared, accompanied by soldiers. But again they were forced to withdraw. This time, however, they were followed by their converts, and the mission of Santa Cruz de Sábacola was established further south, at the junction of the Chattahoochee and the Flint.<sup>51</sup>

The Spanish suspected that English intrigue had checked their penetration into Apalachicola. In the summer of 1685, indeed, the Carolinians appeared in person upon the Chattahoochee. Woodward, in spite of Cardross's interference, had made his way, the accredited proprietary explorer of the West, to the 'court' of Coweta. Both at Coweta, the 'war town,' and Kasihta, the 'peace town,' the English with their trading goods

<sup>50</sup> C.O. 5:286, p. 164. See my note on the 'Origin of the Name of the Creek Indians,' in *MVHR*, V. 339-42. The Gascoyne Plat, circa 1685 (cited above, note 28), has on the extreme western margin, northwest of Savannah Town, an almost illegible statement that 'here begins the Chiscah country.' The Savannah River is still called the Westo on this map.

<sup>51</sup> Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, pp. 46-48; Swanton, *Early History*, p. 130.

were now cordially welcomed.<sup>52</sup> In the Anglo-Spanish conflict which ensued these towns became the strongholds of English influence. They were the leaders, too, in the resulting migration of the Lower Creeks eastward to the Ocmulgee River, nearer to the source of the English trade.

In Apalache Lieutenant Antonio Matheos was in command. At word of Woodward's mission he led a force of Spaniards and two hundred and fifty Christian Indians to arrest the mischief-maker and to punish the Indians who had welcomed him. Englishmen and recreant Indians fled at his approach. Woodward, however, left a letter which stated the objects of his proprietary commission in challenging terms:

I am very sorry that I came with so small a following that I cannot await your arrival. Be informed that I came to get acquainted with the country, its mountains, the seacoast, and Apalache. I trust in God that I shall meet you gentlemen later when I have a larger following. September 2, 1685. *Vale*.<sup>53</sup>

A stockade which was building under English direction, above the falls, Matheos burned, but he retired without achieving his real purpose. Soon the Englishmen were back in the Creek villages. Meanwhile, Cabrera had reinforced the Apalache garrison. In December, 1685, Matheos was despatched with a larger force to demand the surrender of the Carolinians, on pain of the destruction of the Indian towns. Again he failed to lay hands on the traders, though he seized peltry and trading goods in a blockhouse near Coweta. At Coweta, Matheos managed to impose submission upon eight towns. The Indians of Coweta, Kasihta, Tuskegee, and Kolomi were still recalcitrant, and in punishment their villages were burned. Under this blow the two latter towns professed a short-lived repentance. But Kasihta and Coweta held out, and spies brought rumors that they intended to desert their Chattahoochee settlements. Soon the Charles Town traders were busy again along the Chattahoochee. Woodward, ill, made the dangerous journey back to Charles Town in a litter, followed by one hundred and fifty burdeners laden with peltry. This enterprising explorer re-

<sup>52</sup> W. E. Dunn, 'Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702,' in *University of Texas Bulletin*, no. 1705, p. 71; Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, pp. 48 f.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

turned no more to the Chattahoochee. But he had laid the foundations of English trade and alliance in the old Southwest. In 1687 other traders appeared in the Creek towns. The struggle had only begun. Quiroga in the next two years was no more successful than Cabrera in ousting the Carolinians. In 1689, after futile negotiations, he sent soldiers under Captain Primo de Rivera to build a Spanish fort in the heart of the old Apalachicola country.<sup>54</sup>

From 1689 to 1691 the Spanish colors waved over the *casa fuerte* of Apalachicola—symbol of an authority which became more and more unreal. Mission and presidio had failed to sustain Spanish dominion in Guale. What prospect that among the Creeks, the shrewdest Indian politicians of the South, force or persuasion could long withstand the pushing Charles Town traders with their desirable goods? What actually occurred, as in Guale, was the wholesale desertion of the old towns on the northwestern border of Florida. From the Chattahoochee the Lower Creeks migrated eastward, about 1690, to the upper waters of the Altamaha.<sup>55</sup> They placed most of their new towns along the upper Ocmulgee, known to the English as Ochese Creek. There they began the cultivation of the broad fields which, long after these in turn were abandoned, were the marvel of the botanist Bartram. Among the Ochese Creek Indians, or the Creeks, as they were soon called by abbreviation, the Carolinians maintained for a quarter-century a great trading centre.<sup>56</sup> Goods were transferred at Savannah Town from periagoes to pack-horses or Indian burdeners, and carried by two paths which branched near the Ogeechee River. One led to Coweta Town, the other—the Lower Path—to the settlements of the Okmulgee and Hichiti.

Until 1715 English influence was paramount among the Lower Creeks. 'These people,' declared an official report of the

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 50-54 (plan of fort opposite p. 48); Serrano y Sanz (ed.), *Documentos*, pp. 193-8 (report of Matheos, 1686, misdated 1606); also pp. 219-21, 250.

<sup>55</sup> See Iberville (1702), in Margry (ed.), *Découvertes*, IV, 594 f. This migration was first clearly established by Bolton in his 'Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia (1680-1704),' *GHQ*, IX, 115-30; see also Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, pp. 54 f. Bolton has misread my meaning in *AHR*, XXIV, 381. Kasihta and Coweta were Ochese towns; I identified neither with Oconee.

<sup>56</sup> *MVHR*, V, 339-42.

early eighteenth century, 'are Great Hunters and Warriours and consume great quantity of English Goods.'<sup>57</sup> With keen realization of their importance, the Carolina authorities from the first sought to preserve and exploit the Lower Creek alliance. In 1693 the Commons House became alarmed at the report that some of the Westo had settled among the Tuskegee, and that others planned to join the Coweta and Kasihta. All possible means, they urged, should be used to prevent these old enemies from corrupting 'our friends.'<sup>58</sup> The Ochese country soon became a base for the further extension of trade. From the Ocmulgee were sent out many of those slave-taking expeditions against Florida, and, later, against Louisiana, which provided an outlet for the warlike energies of the Indians, enriched the traders, and served to weaken the defenses of the rival colonial establishments in the South.

Creek depredations in Florida added another lively subject of dispute between St. Augustine and Charles Town. Don Laureano de Torres Ayala protested vigorously to 'San Jorje.'<sup>59</sup> But Joseph Blake, a notable proponent of southwestern expansion, merely replied with a blanket claim of English sovereignty over these Indians.<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile, Torres had sent out a punitive expedition of four hundred Indians, headed by seven Spaniards, against the Indians whom he chose to describe as 'disobedient vassals' of Spain. Fifty captives were taken in one town, but elsewhere the Indians had burned their villages and fled.<sup>61</sup> This, apparently, was the 'Difference with [i.e., between] the *Cursitaws* &c. & the King of Spaines Subjects' of which Blake gave an account to the Lords Proprietors. The Proprietors counselled peace, and admonished the new Governor, John Archdale, that 'wee give no offence to that Crowne that is in league with us, but treat the Subjects with all tenderness Imaginable.'<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> C.O. 5:1264, p. 82.

<sup>58</sup> *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly* (hereinafter cited as *JCHA*, or *JCHA* when references are to manuscript journals), January 13, 14, 1692/3.

<sup>59</sup> Serrano y Sanz (ed.), *Documentos*, p. 224.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. See Swanton, *Early History*, p. 221, and Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, p. 56, note 2, for conflicting statements regarding date of this expedition. Swanton's assumption that it occurred in 1685 (rather than 1684) seems to be confirmed by a letter of Torres to Archdale, January 24, 1695/6, in Archdale MSS, Library of Congress.

<sup>62</sup> C.O. 5:289, p. 28.

Governor Archdale was a Proprietor, and a Quaker as well, and so disposed to conciliate the Spanish, but not to the point of yielding any substantial English interest. Moreover, he commissioned Joseph Blake, neither a Quaker nor a pacifist, deputy-governor and commander of the militia;<sup>63</sup> with Blake's expansionist aims he later professed sympathy.<sup>64</sup> Archdale, to be sure, tried to discourage the Indian slave-trade, and returned to Florida four mission Indians captured by the Yamasee near Santa Maria.<sup>65</sup> Torres thanked him in January, 1696, and promised reciprocal restitution, but renewed his complaints as to 'the Townes of Apalachicola w[h]ich belong to this Government and has always Live[d] under our obeissance and since a Time have Revolted from it and Live in their wickednesse and Rebellion committing abundance of ill and murther in the Province of Apalache having Dispeopled 2 or three Townes.' This, he said, had occasioned the late punitive expedition and would lead to further chastisement. 'For all that you are not to believe that I will break peace with you because those nations as I have told you above are neither vassals nor Subjects to your Government.' But Torres asked that an order issue to draw back from Apalachicola the traders who incited all this mischief.<sup>66</sup> Two months later the Spanish governor repeated his charges and his threats, specifying a recent raid upon the Chacatos.<sup>67</sup> In Archdale's reply,<sup>68</sup> for all its diplomatic tone, was a firm counter-assertion of English mastery in the disputed region, and a warning against Spanish intervention. He had sent an express to the Okmulgees, he said, to forbid hostilities against the vassals of Florida, and expected a like order from Torres. Despite the revengeful character of the Indian, he counted on 'their ready obedience to our Commands to prevent it for the future.' But if the Indians nevertheless continued their wars, 'I desire you not to send any more white persons

<sup>63</sup> Secretary's record of commissions and instructions (MSS, Columbia, S. C.), p. 124.

<sup>64</sup> John Archdale, *A New Description of Carolina*, 1707, p. 31, reprinted in Carroll (ed.), *Collections*, II, 119.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106 f.

<sup>66</sup> Archdale MSS.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* Torres to Archdale, March 21, 1696.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* Archdale to Torres, April 4, 1696. Cf. Archdale, *Description*, pp. 20 f., reprinted in Carroll (ed.), *Collections*, II, 107. Archdale also demanded payment of damages for the raids of the preceding decade.

against our Indians least you hereby make the quarrel nationall, and lay me under the necessity of doing the like: pray consider the Circumstances of our European Masters and Kings and lett nott small sparks here begett differences at home betwixt our so amiable souveraines.' Apparently this belligerent rejoinder from the Quaker governor closed the debate. The traders, at all events, were not withdrawn from the Lower Creeks.

In the later years of the seventeenth century, indeed, the Carolinians were penetrating deeper and deeper into the mystery of the West. Beyond the Appalachians, in the valleys of the Tennessee and the lower Mississippi and on the broad plains of the Gulf, they were pioneers of English enterprise, matching in audacity the Canadian *coureurs de bois*. In western exploration they had as yet no real rivals among the English of Virginia or the North, save for isolated adventurers whose wanderings had no significant sequel. To be sure the Spaniards, De Soto, Pardo, Boyano, De Luna, and Villafañe, had long preceded them, but Spanish dominion, despite inflated claims, had never really been maintained beyond the coastal mission provinces. La Salle, too, had dreamed, and struggled, and miserably perished. But till Ponchartrain and Iberville revived La Salle's great project, Tonti's establishment in the Illinois country, and for a short time his Arkansas seigniory, marked the effective limits of the French southward advance. When, at the century's close, Frenchmen returned to the Mississippi under Iberville, and the missionary priests drifted down the great river, everywhere they found disturbing evidences of the presence of the Charles Town traders. Two main routes to the West were followed by these forgotten English explorers. One led northward into the mountain country of the Cherokee, where the head streams of the Savannah interlace with the 'western waters' of the Tennessee system. The other consisted of the overland paths from Ochese Creek to the Coosa and Talapoosa, and thence to the land of the Chickasaws and to their neighbors along the Mississippi. Few traces were left by the traders of their activities, save the trails which their successors followed through many decades. Only now and then did they emerge briefly into the light of history, much as when their



caravans chanced to pass from the gloom of the vast southern pine forests into some sunny upland savannah.

Traders from Virginia continued to follow the Occaneechi path as far as the Carolina piedmont. But after the period of Col. Abraham Wood there is no clear evidence for many years that they traded with the mountain tribes. Certainly they had no part in the great expansion of English trade westward from the mountains to the Mississippi.<sup>69</sup> The beginnings of Charles Town's contacts with the Cherokee are also obscure. In 1681 a permit was issued for the exportation of several 'Seraquii' slaves, probably Cherokee captured by the Savannah Indians.<sup>70</sup> An important manuscript map of South Carolina, prepared about 1685 from official data, showed a path running up the right bank of the Savannah River from 'the Oldfort,' opposite 'Savana town and fort,' nearly as far as the forks.<sup>71</sup> Thus early, perhaps, this river route had been followed to the Cherokee towns. Certainly by 1690 the Cherokee trade had begun; this was clearly indicated in Sothell's restrictive act of the following year.<sup>72</sup> A pioneer in exploiting the Cherokee trade was the ambitious and impecunious planter, James Moore, who was to play so great a rôle in the creation of the southern frontier and of provincial western policy. 'He is a generous man and lives well,' was the character given him by the Proprietors to palliate his neglect to pay quit-rents.<sup>73</sup> With Maurice Mathews he engaged in slave-trading and other speculative money-making schemes, including a project to exploit the trade and the mines of the southern Appalachians. In 1690 Moore made a journey 'over the Apalathean Mountains,' 'as well out of curiosity to see what sort of Country we might have in Land as to find out and make new and further discovery of Indian Trade.' But Moore wrote that he was prevented from penetrating 'to the place which I had gon to see' by 'a difference about

<sup>69</sup> V. W. Crane, 'The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina,' in *MVHR*, III, 9 f., and notes 22, 23, 26.

<sup>70</sup> Court of Ordinary Records, 1672-1692 (MSS, Columbia, S. C.), under date October 15, 1681.

<sup>71</sup> Joel Gascoyne, Plat, B.M. Add. MSS 5414, roll 24.

<sup>72</sup> Cooper (ed.), *Statutes*, II, 64.

<sup>73</sup> C.O. 5:288, p. 228.

Trade . . . between those Indians and me.'<sup>74</sup> In a letter of May, 1691, the Proprietors expressed alarm that 'without any war first proclaimed,' certain Carolinians had 'fallen upon the Cherokee Indians in a hostile manner and murdered several of them.'<sup>75</sup> No doubt they had heard from Moore's enemies, who were disturbed by Mathews's secret mission to England to procure an assay of several specimens of ore from the mountains. In April, 1692, Moore was forbidden by the council to leave the settlement to trade with any remote Indians except by permission of governor and council, and ordered to deliver all papers relating to Mathews's English journey.<sup>76</sup> For a number of years, apparently, such trade as developed in this mountain area was intermittent; and the Cherokee long occupied a subordinate position in the Carolina Indian system. Thus in 1693 the Commons House refused to sanction the punishment of the Savannah for a raid against the mountaineers.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, as late as 1708 the Cherokee were officially described as 'a Numerous People but very Lasey,' and their trade as inconsiderable in comparison with the flourishing southern and western trade, 'they being but ordinary hunters and less Warriours.'<sup>78</sup> However, as competition developed with the French in the West, the strategic location of the Cherokee gave them increasing importance.

Vague rumors, no doubt exaggerated, of English penetration into the Cherokee country and even as far as the Tennessee valley were current among the French as early as the epoch of La Salle's explorations. But by reason of the Iroquois hegemony south of the Great Lakes, the French, apparently, had no first-hand knowledge, even at the end of that period, of the great central region of the Ohio and its southern affluents. Such information as they possessed probably came from the Indians, principally from the Shawnee, who were rapidly integrating under the assaults of the Iroquois. The maps which

<sup>74</sup> James Moore to Edward Randolph, *circa* 1699, in C.O. 5:1258, C 19; *ibid.*, C 20 (Moore to Cutler, April 3, 1699), gave the date 1691, but the earlier date seems to be confirmed by the Proprietors' letter of May 13, 1691, in C.O. 5:288, p. 176.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina* (hereinafter cited as *JGC*), April 14, 1692; see also entry of May 28, 1692.

<sup>77</sup> *JCHA*, January 14, 1692/3.

<sup>78</sup> C.O. 5:1264, P 82.

purported to record the results of Marquette's and Joliet's explorations, though exceedingly vague in depicting this section, showed the approximate position of the 'Kaskinonka' Indians, from whom the Tennessee River took its early name. In the great manuscript map by Franquelin recording La Salle's discoveries, the 'Casquinampogamou' appeared as the most important tributary of the Ohio, and the location of the Cherokee on its upper waters was clearly indicated. From 'les Kaskinampo,' on an island in the mid-course of the river, Franquelin showed a path leading to Florida by which these and other Indians 'vont traiter aux Espagnols.' Such was the extent of French information of the Tennessee when La Salle's labors in the Mississippi Valley were completed, and for a decade and a half thereafter. Already the importance of the Tennessee as a route from the English frontier had been recognised, and also the necessity for its control by the French. La Salle himself had feared that the English would come from Carolina by a river which took its rise near the boundaries of that province, and would draw off thither a large part of the French trade. Tonti, whose trading privileges in the Illinois country gave him exceptional opportunities for observing the English advance on the southern frontier, urged in 1694 the danger to the western trade as a reason for the completion of La Salle's enterprise. Had he learned, perhaps, from the Indians of the exploits of James Moore when he asserted that Carolinians were even then established upon one of the branches of the Ohio?<sup>79</sup>

The earliest actual contact between the French and English trading frontiers in the South appears to have been made by one of Tonti's men, but a renegade from his service. This obscure explorer, perhaps the first white man to follow the Tennessee to its sources in the Cherokee country, was a certain Jean Couture. A carpenter, born in Rouen, he was known to La Salle in 1684 as a *coureur de bois* of Canada; he was an acquaintance, also, of Hennepin. Two years later he followed Tonti down the Mississippi in the unsuccessful attempt to join La Salle. On the return he was one of those left at Tonti's

<sup>79</sup> *MVHR*, III. 3-5. In the W. L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, is a photostatic reproduction of the Franquelin map, 1688, from the Bibliothèque Nationale MS 4040 B, 6 bis.

seigniorship at the mouth of the Arkansas to build a stockaded post which Tonti intended to make serve as an intermediate station between the Illinois and La Salle's colony, to maintain the alliance of the Arkansas tribes and to protect them against the Iroquois. As commandant, Couture remained to hold this farthest outpost of New France in the Mississippi valley when, in 1687, the survivors of La Salle's disaster wandered thither. It was from Couture, on his return to Fort St. Louis in April, 1688, that Tonti first learned of the death of his great leader. Couture was at once despatched to the southwest to seek the ill-fated colony, but a hundred leagues from the fort he was shipwrecked, and turned back without accomplishing his mission.<sup>80</sup>

Within a few years, certainly before 1696,<sup>81</sup> Couture deserted from New France and penetrated eastward to the English frontier colony of Carolina. There, at the end of the century, he was known as 'the Greatest Trader and Traveller amongst the Indians for more than Twenty years,' and the master of eight or nine native languages. His route to Carolina was probably the Tennessee, with which on a later occasion he demonstrated his familiarity. His defection, of course, was not unique, for the severe penalties imposed by the French on unlicensed trading prompted numbers of lawless *coureurs de bois* to carry their goods to the English, or even to desert to the English colonies.

In South Carolina, by virtue of his familiarity with the trans-Appalachian region, Couture came in contact with various promoters of western enterprises characteristic of the southern frontier at the end of the seventeenth century. These included a group of prospectors for silver, who, with the backing of William Blathwayt, the Earl of Bridgewater, and others influential in colonial management in England, were seeking riches in the bed of the Savannah River. Through various misadventures, and the opposition of the Proprietors, the original scheme had come to nought. But in May, 1699, at Savannah

<sup>80</sup> Couture's career was first recounted in my article in *MVHR*, III. 3-18. The archival materials are in C.O. 5:1258, C 19 (no. 1), C 20; C.O. 5:1260, F 29, 29 (i), 29 (ii).

<sup>81</sup> *MVHR*, III. 8, note 17. In *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina, 1692-1711*, p. 126, is a warrant dated August 1, 1696, for 200 acres for 'John Couture.' See *ibid.*, pp. 161, 174.

Town, the prospectors fell in with Jean Couture. He told them an essentially plausible narrative of wanderings west of Carolina with three companions, 'through Several Nations of Indians above a hundred Leagues beyond the Appalatean Mountains,' where he believed 'that no Europeans had ever been before.' His accounts of a considerable quantity of gold which he had taken up 'not far from the branch of a Navigable River,' and of pearls given him by a nation of Indians 'inhabiting by a very Great Lake,' were calculated to fire the cupidity of the treasure-hunters. With them he entered into an agreement, under bond of £500, to return and make good his finds. Two of the prospectors went to England, armed with Couture's memorial, to get the backing of the Board of Trade against the expected opposition of the Proprietors. But the Board refused to intermeddle, and so nothing came of the French renegade's proposal to exploit, for the benefit of the English, the mineral resources of the southern Appalachians. But Couture was yet to play a large part in another and more significant project for English westward expansion. Already he had aroused the fears of Governor Francis Nicholson of Maryland regarding French activities in the West. And in 1700 it was Jean Couture whom Joseph Blake engaged to guide a party of traders by way of the Tennessee to the Mississippi, to claim the great river for Britain and to divert its trade to Carolina.

Northwestward the mountains raised a barrier, partly effective, to exploration. Southwestward a more rapid advance was possible through foot-hills and plains inhabited by numerous and hospitable tribes, readily assimilated to the English trading régime.

Of Savannah Town, the focus of all the trails to the West, and the entrepôt of the whole inland trade, little is known at this period. An early map showed the path from Charles Town running by way of Goose Creek and the plantations of Percival and Shaftesbury to the ford of the Edisto or Colleton River at the great bend, and thence westward to the Indian town and the adjacent traders' fort. On the opposite bank appeared the location of 'the Oldfort,' apparently another palisaded warehouse.<sup>82</sup> As early as 1691 the Proprietors recognized the im-

<sup>82</sup> B.M. Add. MSS 5414, roll 24.

portance of the place when they instructed Ludwell 'to Incurage all people that will to reside at the Sevanah towne or any other place among the Indians, that the Inland parts of our province and the strength of the severall Nations of the Indians may be fully knowne.'<sup>83</sup>

The reports of Spanish governors and officers, which had revealed so clearly the English intrusions into Guale and Apalachicola, gave meagre indications of their progress further westward, beyond the Chattahoochee. When Torres, in 1693, sent an expedition to reconnoitre the Gulf coast, a Spanish vessel which put in at Mobile Bay found no Indians thereabouts; it was reported that the Mobilians had retired inland to trade with the English.<sup>84</sup> So recently as 1691, when Sothell secured a monopolistic act restraining the freedom of trade with the distant Indians, though the Coweta and Kasihta and the Cherokee Indians were mentioned, and even some of the Tennessee River tribes, nothing was said of the Upper Creeks or their neighbors.<sup>85</sup> Apparently it was around 1692-1696 that the great push westward from Ochese Creek occurred. In 1708 Thomas Nairne asserted that Mobile was established in 1702 in despite of a just English title, 'all the Inhabitants whereof had for 10 years before submitted themselves and Country to the government of Carolina, and then actually Traded with us.'<sup>86</sup> Moreover, Iberville in 1702 referred to the Choctaw-Chickasaw feud, provoked by English traders to furnish Indian slaves, as then of eight to ten years' standing.<sup>87</sup> Certainly when the French took possession of the lower Mississippi and the adjacent coast of the Gulf, in 1699, everywhere they found English traders securely seated among the interior tribes. To Joseph Blake, deputy governor in 1694 and again from 1696-1700, his friend John Archdale later ascribed the development of the great western trading enterprise of the colony.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> C.O. 5:288, p. 195.

<sup>84</sup> Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, p. 170.

<sup>85</sup> Cooper (ed.), *Statutes*, II. 64.

<sup>86</sup> C.O. 5:382 (11). Other English claims were more sweeping. In 1737 Oglethorpe assured Lord Percival that 'ever since the year 1680' the Chickasaws had taken commissions from the governor of Carolina. (Percival, *Diary*, II. 326).

<sup>87</sup> *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale*, edited by Pierre Margry, IV, 517.

<sup>88</sup> Archdale, *Description*, p. 31, reprinted in Carroll (ed.), *Collections*, II. 119.

The progress of the Charles Town traders in their contacts, first with the coast tribes, and then with the Indians of the interior, marked the rise of a picturesque American business and constituted an important chapter in the Anglo-American conquest of the continent. It also produced among the Indians an economic and social revolution. The trade bred new habits and ways of living, and these bred dependence upon the white man. An accurate measure of the economic, and also the political subjection of the southern tribes was furnished by the lists of goods which the traders purveyed. At first wampum, and a few substitutes for the cruder articles manufactured by the Indians, made up the traders' cargoes. The 'Indian trade' sent out by the Proprietors in 1669 included glass beads, hatchets, hoes, hollowing adzes, knives, 'sizzard,' and 'ten striped shirts,' the last as presents for the chiefs.<sup>32</sup> John Lawson, who wrote in 1709 of the piedmont tribes, said that in general only the great men among the Indians, who had plenty of deerskins, bought the English coats, and even they refused to buy breeches. But nearer the settlements were Indians who dressed in hats, shoes, stockings, breeches, and linen shirts of English manufacture.<sup>33</sup> These tastes spread rapidly, however, as the traders pushed westward. At the end of the first period of the Carolina Indian trade, in 1715,<sup>34</sup> a trader bound up for the Indian country carried in his pack-horse train, or on the backs of his Indian burdeners, the coarse cloth which was the staple of the trade: bright red or blue 'duffield' blankets, 'strouds,' and 'plains' or 'half-thicks'; also axes, and broad hoes with which the Indians cleared their fields and cultivated their maize and pulse, salt, brass kettles, hatchets, fuses or trading-guns, knives, flints, powder and bullets for war and the hunt, tobacco, pipes, rum, red-lead and vermilion, petticoats, scissors, thread, needles, 'tensy' lace, flowered calico, red girdles, scarlet caddice for gartering, linen shirts, laced coats and hats for chiefs and beloved men, and even small looking glasses which Indian dandies affected to wear suspended by a cord from the neck. Once a demand for merchandise not manu-

<sup>32</sup> CSCHS, V. 149.

<sup>33</sup> *History*, 1718, pp. 191f.

<sup>34</sup> The list is compiled from a variety of sources, chiefly the Indian commissioners' journals.

factured by the Indians was created, or the native industries had fallen into disuse, a threat to cut off the trade was often sufficient to bring a recalcitrant tribe to terms. This was especially true when the Indians had been supplied with arms and ammunition. The early efforts to prevent the trade in those articles had been futile. Motives of policy combined with motives of greed to promote it. By 1715 munitions had become with cloth—and rum—the chief commodities of the forest trade.

In 1725 Tobias Fitch was sent as agent to the Creeks to counteract the influence which the Spanish and French had won since the Yamasee War. 'I must tell your Young Men,' he shrewdly declaimed in the upper towns, 'that had it not been for us they would not have known how to Warr nor yet have anything to Warr with; for before we came among you, there was no other weapons than Bows and Arrows to hunt with, you could Hunt a whole day and bring nothing Home at Night, you had no other Hoes or Axes than Stones, you wore nothing but Skins; but now we have learnt you the use of fire Arms, as well to kill Deer, and other Provisions, as to Warr against your Enemies.' 'This you that are Old Men know to be true,' Fitch concluded, 'and I would have you make your Young Men Sensible of it.'<sup>35</sup> It was an Indian, the head warrior of Tennessee, who, according to Colonel Chicken, agent at the same period among the Cherokee, 'got up and made the following Speech to me and the People of the Town. "That they must now mind and Consider that all their Old men were gone, and that they have been brought up after another Manner than their forefathers and that they must Consider that they could not live without the English."<sup>36</sup> Not often did the oratory of the round house strike so close to the realities of Indian politics. Here was revealed, of course, the whole basis of English influence among the southern Indians.

The Charles Town Indian trade passed through several fairly distinct stages of organization. Roughly these corresponded to periods in border history and in the evolution of colonial commerce.

<sup>35</sup> JC, August 24, 1725, and more briefly in Mereness (ed.), *Travels*, p. 181.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112 f.

During the first decade the Lords Proprietors attempted to turn the traffic with the Indians into a source of dividends upon their investment. The early trade, both proprietary and private, was a plantation trade. 'All the considerable Planters,' wrote an early pamphleteer, 'have an Indian hunter which they hire for less than twenty shillings a year.'<sup>87</sup> It was his duty to supply the plantation with game and peltries, but other Indians also resorted to the plantations for trade. Thomas Ashe wrote in 1682 that he had 'often heard Captain Matthews, an ingenious Gentleman, and Agent to Sir Peter Colleton for his Affairs in Carolina [declare] that one hunting Indian has yearly kill'd and brought to his Plantation more than an 100, sometimes 200 head of Deer.'<sup>88</sup> Disappointed in the meagre returns from Ashley River, Shaftesbury in 1674 projected his abortive Edisto Island settlement, and declared to the Charles Town government his unwillingness 'to be controuled by you in my dealing or trade with any of the Indians.'<sup>89</sup> The same year Woodward opened the Westo trade, which was carried on from Shaftesbury's plantation of St. Giles' Kusso, and from Sir Peter Colleton's Fairlawn plantation, so well located for the interior trade on the western branch of the Cooper River. In 1677 the Proprietors issued their order establishing a monopoly for seven years with 'the Westoes, Cussatoes, Spaniards, or other Indians that live beyond Porte Royall, or at the same distance from our present settlement.' To carry it on, Albemarle, Craven, Clarendon, Sir Peter Colleton, and Shaftesbury, then in the Tower, formed a joint-stock with subscriptions of £100; Shaftesbury's contract of 1674 with Woodward was taken over.<sup>90</sup> The trade along the coast as far as Port Royal and inland for one hundred miles was left open to the planters, and the nearby Indians resorted to the plantation houses with their peltry. But friction developed; the private traders controlled the assembly, and through the Westo War they broke down the proprietary monopoly. It was not until 1691, however, that instructions

<sup>87</sup> [Samuel Willson], *Account of the Province of Carolina*, 1682, p. 12; reprinted in Carroll (ed.), *Collections*, II, 28.

<sup>88</sup> T. A[sh], *Carolina*, 1682, p. 21; reprinted in Carroll (ed.), *Collections*, II, 72.

<sup>89</sup> *CSCHS*, V, 439-46, 468.

<sup>90</sup> C.O. 5:286, pp. 120 f. (in Rivers, *Sketch* pp. 388-90).

were sent to the governor that he should 'suffer all persons that will, freely to trade with the Indians.'<sup>91</sup>

Meanwhile, the trade had fallen largely into the hands of a few enterprising planters, who sent factors into the Indian country, men who, in Lawson's phrase, 'travel and abide amongst the Indians for a long space of time.'<sup>92</sup> Such was already the organization of the Virginia Indian trade. William Byrd of Westover, son of one of the great Virginia trader-planters of the seventeenth century, said that 'the Common Method of carrying on this Indian Commerce is as follows: Gentlemen send for Goods proper for such a Trade from England, and then either Venture them out at their own Risk to the Indian Towns, or credit some Traders with them of Substance and Reputation, to be paid in Skins at a certain Price agreed betwixt them.'<sup>93</sup>

Among the Carolinians who emulated Abraham Wood, the elder Byrd, and Cadwallader Jones, were several early notables. As surveyor-general Maurice Mathews carried through the extinction of Indian titles south to the Savannah and west to the mountains; as agent for Colleton he early became an extensive trader. He was named by the Proprietors with Percival to reopen the peltry trade interrupted by the Westo War.<sup>94</sup> But with James Moore he soon incurred the displeasure of the Proprietors for slave-dealing; both were removed from all their offices. Mathews had powerful friends in England, but Moore, an indigent Barbadian gentleman with numerous dependents, apparently owed his rise to his own restless energy. As manager of the plantations of Captain William Walley and of Lady Margaret Yeamans, whom he prudently married, Moore launched into cattleraising and Indian trading on a large scale. In 1690 he made his journey to the Cherokee, seeking mines as well as trade.<sup>95</sup> Both Mathews and Moore shrewdly combined politics with business. In 1685 the Proprietors complained that the slave-dealers by the 'packing of parliaments and the grand

<sup>91</sup> C.O. 5:288, p. 195.

<sup>92</sup> Lawson, *History*, 1718, p. 184.

<sup>93</sup> Byrd, *Writings*, Bassett (ed.), p. 235.

<sup>94</sup> R. F., *Present State*, 1682, p. 11; C.O. 5:286, p. 164; *CSCHS*, V, 332 note.

<sup>95</sup> R. F., *Present State*, 1682, p. 10; C.O. 5:288, p. 288; *JGHA*, April 2, 1702; *CSCHS*, V, 463 note.

Councill . . . have made warrs and peace with the Indians as it best suited their private advantage in trade.<sup>46</sup> The close alliance of politics and Indian trading was also seen in the attempts of successive governors to monopolize the trade.

The hey-day of the planter interest was the quarter-century following the Westo War. At an early date Colonel Stephen Bull traded northward as far as Cape Fear.<sup>47</sup> In the decade preceding the Yamasee War, Landgrave Thomas Smith was frequently in collision with the council and the Indian board over the licensing of his traders to the northern tribes.<sup>48</sup> Another leading employer at the beginning of the new century was Colonel Thomas Broughton. The son-in-law of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, he enjoyed, for a time, a privileged position in the trade.<sup>49</sup> Like Broughton's Mulberry plantation, Peter St. Julien's place near Dorchester was convenient both to the Cherokee path by way of Congaree and to the Savannah Town route.<sup>50</sup> An important rival of Moore in the southern trade was James Stanyarne, a wealthy planter of Colleton county. Though largely engaged in dealing with the Yamasee, Stanyarne also sent traders inland as far as the Talapoosas.<sup>51</sup>

Early in the new century the privileged position of the governors and the great planters of the council in the Indian trade was being undermined. In 1707 Governor Johnson complained of 'the Multitude of Indian traders that now more and more pester the Trade with their Numbers for their own advantage.'<sup>52</sup> That year the Commons House wrested the regulation of the trade from the upper house. At Charles Town, moreover, there was developing a class of merchants unique in the South; inevitably they succeeded to the dominance of the southern Indian trade. From a profitable side-line of the planter and cattle-rancher, it became a mercantile interest second only to the exportation of rice. Most of the Charles Town merchants

<sup>46</sup> C.O. 5:288, p. 52.

<sup>47</sup> Archdale, *Description*, 1707, p. 21, reprinted in Carroll (ed.), *Collections*, II, 108.

<sup>48</sup> JCHA, December 16, 1708; JIC, October 6, 1713; March 25, May 6, 1714.

<sup>49</sup> See pp. 146-7.

<sup>50</sup> JIC, August 19, 1713, May 5, 20, 1714.

<sup>51</sup> JCHA, January 15, September 2, 1703; November 4, 1709. John Ash, *Present State of Affairs*.

<sup>52</sup> JCHA, March 6, 1707.

in the eighteenth century were in some degree concerned in it. The following were conspicuous in the first quarter-century for their frontier interests: Andrew Allen and his partner, William Gibbon; Benjamin Godin, the Goose Creek planter and Charles Town merchant, whose family connection included several London merchants trading to Carolina; his partner, Benjamin de la Conseilliere; Isaac Mazýck; Charles Hill and Company; Walter Lougher; Samuel Wragg, nephew of a London merchant; John Bee; and notably Samuel Eveleigh, 'of South Carolina and Bristol, merchant.'<sup>53</sup> For the later years the list was a roster of the little business world of Broad and Tradd streets. Among the conspicuous names were Greene, Godin, Hill, Catell, Pringle, Savage, Croft, Bedon, Beale, Atkins, Crockatt, Grimké, Osmond, Motte, Yeomans, Broughton, Horry, Smallwood, and Roché.<sup>54</sup> Most of these men were importers of Indian trading goods and exporters of furs and deerskins. Some were also actual undertakers in the trade. Jordan Roché was perhaps the only merchant who had lived as a factor among the Indians; in his youth he had traded to the Chickasaw.<sup>55</sup> John Bee maintained a trading factory on the upper Ocmulgee for some years after the desertion of the Lower Creeks, and in 1725 took out licenses for 'a parcel of traders' to the Choctaw.<sup>56</sup>

Probably no merchant in South Carolina was so long or so extensively engaged in the business as Samuel Eveleigh.

<sup>53</sup> The list is compiled chiefly from the Indian commissioners' journals, 1710, 1716-1718. The family and trading connections of several of these merchants with London firms probably led the author of *The Importance of the British Plantations in America*, 1731, to assert (p. 66) that 'the Indian Trade there being of such exceeding Advantage, and frequently carried on by the Servants of those who live here, all the Profits thereof are sent here by those who design to return to this Kingdom.' This statement led Channing in his excellent brief description of the southern trade (*History*, II, 551) to overemphasize the direct British interest. I have not been able to discover that it was in anywise differentiated from the Carolina trade as a whole. On the Wraggs see *SCHGM*, XIX, 121.

<sup>54</sup> Compiled from assembly journals, advertisements in *South Carolina Gazette*, and from the following documents in particular: memorial of Charles Town merchants regarding Georgia's interference in the trade, July 4, 1735, C.O. 5:365, F 14; schedule of debts due by Georgia traders, JCHA, December 15, 1737; petition to governor and council, JC, September 3, 1749.

<sup>55</sup> JCHA, March 1, 1734; JC, December 14, 1747; Glover's Journal, 1728, in C.O. 5:387.

<sup>56</sup> Fitch to Middleton, Kasihtá, October 1, 1725, in JC, November 2, 1725.