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The discovery of Old Fort Congaree

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THE DISCOVERY OF OLD FORT CONGAREE

by

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Introduction

During the first half of the 18th century, there were two fortifications built in the vicinity of the Congarees, just below the confluence of the Saluda and Broad Rivers. Unfortunately for history, both of them were referred to as Fort Congaree. For the sake of clarification, the earlier structure is referred to Old Fort Congaree (1718), while the latter is appropriately, New Fort Congaree (1748). This report, as its title indicates, is concerned with the discovery of the earlier fort.

Immediately after the Yemassee War of 1715, the British government set out to establish a garrison or trading post at the Congarees in central South Carolina for the purpose of carrying on trade with the Cherokee and Catawba Indians, and to offer protection to settlers in the interior of the state. The first considerations of a garrison began in July of 1716, but it was not until the early fall of 1718 that the fort was finally completed. After four years of trade, the commissioners of the Indian trade decided to relinquish their interest, and consequently turned the fort and its provisions over to local residents who had begun to settle the area. The fort continued to operate for several years after 1722, but soon fell into disuse. Exactly when it was abandoned is unknown, but after the growth of the town of Saxe-Gotha, and the establishment of a second fortification in 1748, the old fort was nothing more than a memory for the residents who settled several miles to the north.

In one sense much has been written about Old Fort Congaree. The journals of the commissioners of the Indian trade are rich with statements about the fort, but those who recorded the information never considered the exact location important. They simply said the fort was built at "the Congarees". Historians and various writers have drawn on these and other records in an attempt to talk about the fort and to provide some substantive statements about its location, but in the end the writers simply stated it was located near Congaree Creek and the Congaree River, near or on the land of Patrick and Thomas Brown. Beyond the interpretations, documents, and various maps placed the fort at numerous locations on an active levee between the river and the creek, an area encompassing some 20 acres. The maps, as it turns out, were wrong, and while these documents did have a degree of accuracy, they were not specific.

Following in the wake of historians, archaeologists since the 1960s have also spent much time looking for the fort. The documents were given additional interpretations and people began searching the areas immediate to Congaree Creek and the river. Plowed fields were walked in the hopes of finding related artifacts, holes were dug at numerous locations, and heavy equipment was used as a last resort. After all of this effort, time, and money, the fort was never discovered.

Old Fort Congaree continued to remain an elusive site for a long time, but in May of 1989, it was finally discovered on the northern edge of Congaree Creek and on the very edge of an old terrace overlooking the bottomland of the Congaree River.

The Broad and Saluda Rivers flow from the piedmont of South Carolina in a relatively straight path and merge on the fall line at Columbia. This confluence forms the Congaree River, and for a distance of little more than a mile the river tumbles over rapids, shoals, and interspersed islands before it enters the coastal plain. At this point the crystalline structures and clays of the piedmont disappear and the river begins to broaden and sediments derived from the piedmont are scattered across the floodplain and the low lying terraces. The river continues to flow in a straight path for two miles past sandy levees, but when it passes Congaree Creek it begins a characteristic pattern of meandering (**Figure 1**). After flowing some 50 miles it reaches the Wateree River and forms the Santee River, having drained a considerable portion of the state.

Having received the discharge from both the Broad and Saluda, involving some 8,500 square miles of drainage, the Congaree is extremely prone to periodical inundations of the surrounding terrain. During extreme periods of discharge, such as the flood of 1908 and 1929, it produced nearly 364,000 cubic feet of water per second (U.S. Geological Survey 1978:132). In periods of drought, such as 1942, discharge was monitored at only 588 cfs (U.S. Geological Survey 1971:66). An average flow of the river, based on data collected over a period of 39 years, was 9,366 cfs (U.S. Geological Survey 1978:132).

Congaree Creek is a large stream that originates in the coastal plain sandhills near the Boiling Springs Community of Lexington County. The creek drains a considerably large area through a number of smaller tributaries, and once it joins with Six Mile Creek, several miles from the Congaree River, it has drained about 122 square miles. Average discharge during the past 19 years was measured at 224 cfs. Maximum flow reached 1,840 cfs in 1959, and low discharge resulted in 73 cfs in the drought of 1955 (U.S. Geological Survey 1978:136). For the most part, the creek is a sluggish, meandering, dark stream within a relatively wide floodplain.

The area around the eastern portion of Congaree Creek, and especially between the creek and the river, is a complex of old and new fluvial deposits (**Figure 2**). Near the river there is a linear levee that rises to a height of 135 feet above sea level and falls slowly to the west to a low point of 125 feet (asl) near the edge of the creek. In this low area there are two badly scoured swails that parallel the creek and river and become active during periods of flood. Further west, at the very point where the creek begins its southerly flow, the elevation rises again to 135 feet (asl), and probably represents an older and less active river terrace. Nearer the river, where flood velocities are greatest, the surface soils of the levee are composed of coarse grained sand. With increasing distance towards the west the sandy

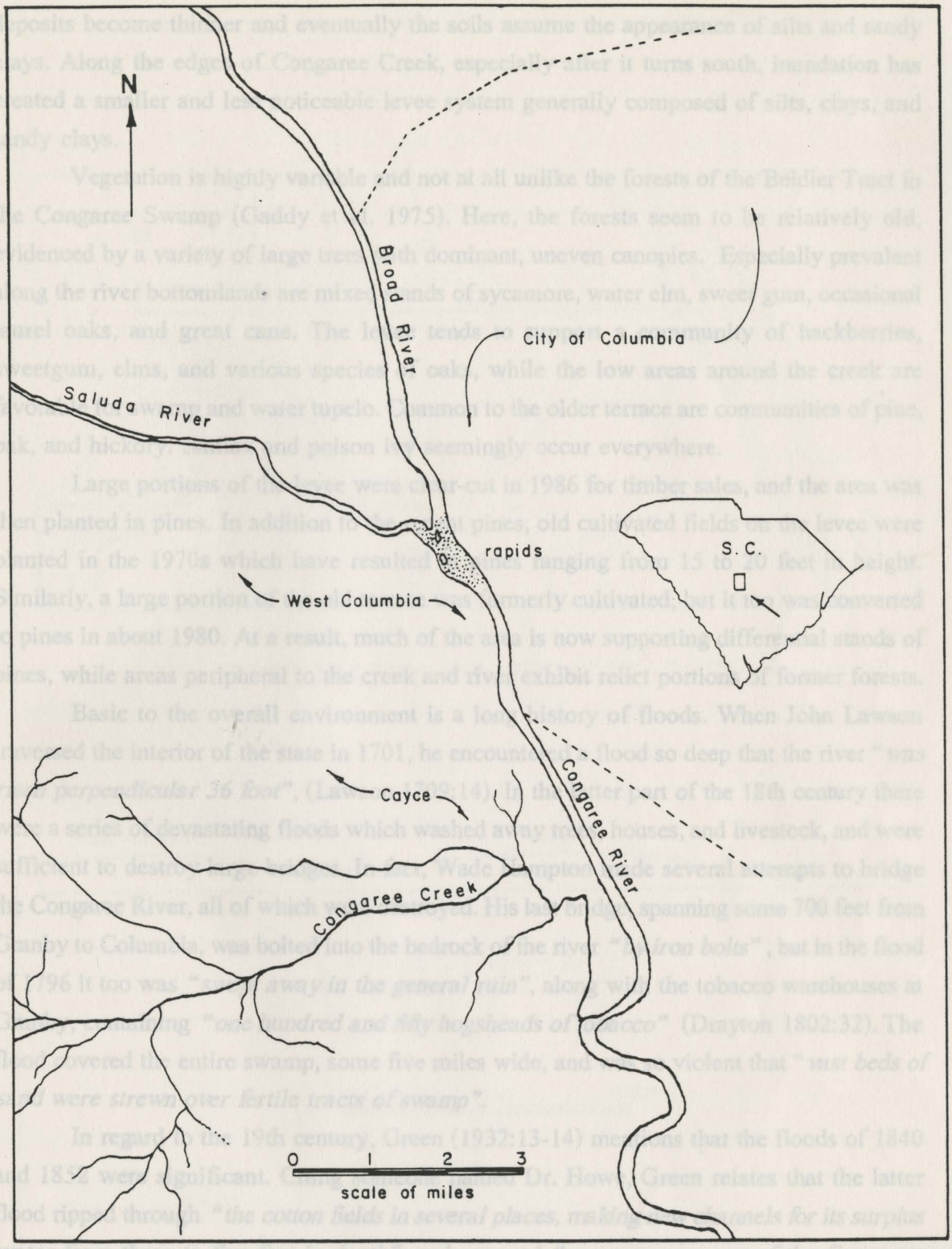
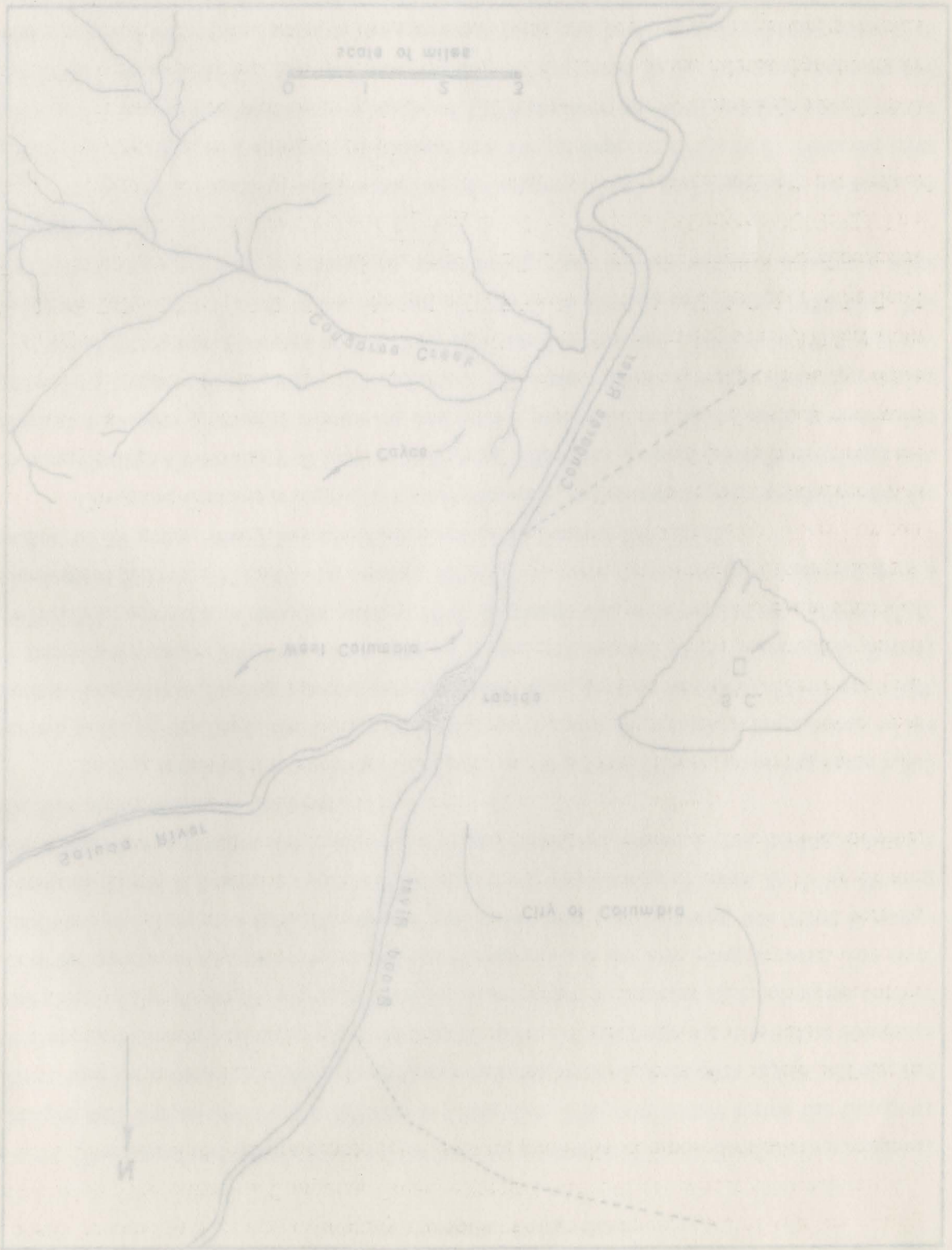


Figure 1. Location of Project Area, Lexington County, South Carolina.



deposits become thinner and eventually the soils assume the appearance of silts and sandy clays. Along the edges of Congaree Creek, especially after it turns south, inundation has created a smaller and less noticeable levee system generally composed of silts, clays, and sandy clays.

Vegetation is highly variable and not at all unlike the forests of the Beidler Tract in the Congaree Swamp (Gaddy et al. 1975). Here, the forests seem to be relatively old, evidenced by a variety of large trees with dominant, uneven canopies. Especially prevalent along the river bottomlands are mixed stands of sycamore, water elm, sweet gum, occasional laurel oaks, and great cane. The levee tends to support a community of hackberries, sweetgum, elms, and various species of oaks, while the low areas around the creek are favorable for swamp and water tupelo. Common to the older terrace are communities of pine, oak, and hickory. Smilax and poison ivy seemingly occur everywhere.

Large portions of the levee were clear-cut in 1986 for timber sales, and the area was then planted in pines. In addition to the recent pines, old cultivated fields on the levee were planted in the 1970s which have resulted in pines ranging from 15 to 20 feet in height. Similarly, a large portion of the old terrace was formerly cultivated, but it too was converted to pines in about 1980. At a result, much of the area is now supporting differential stands of pines, while areas peripheral to the creek and river exhibit relict portions of former forests.

Basic to the overall environment is a long history of floods. When John Lawson traversed the interior of the state in 1701, he encountered a flood so deep that the river "*was risen perpendicular 36 foot*", (Lawson 1709:14). In the latter part of the 18th century there were a series of devastating floods which washed away trees, houses, and livestock, and were sufficient to destroy large bridges. In fact, Wade Hampton made several attempts to bridge the Congaree River, all of which were destroyed. His last bridge, spanning some 700 feet from Granby to Columbia, was bolted into the bedrock of the river "*by iron bolts*", but in the flood of 1796 it too was "*swept away in the general ruin*", along with the tobacco warehouses at Granby, containing "*one hundred and fifty hogsheads of tobacco*" (Drayton 1802:32). The flood covered the entire swamp, some five miles wide, and was so violent that "*vast beds of sand were strewn over fertile tracts of swamp*".

In regard to the 19th century, Green (1932:13-14) mentions that the floods of 1840 and 1852 were significant. Citing someone named Dr. Howe, Green relates that the latter flood ripped through "*the cotton fields in several places, making new channels for its surplus water from three to five feet in depth*", and exposed "*numerous graves of the Congaree Indians*" very near the old house "*of Governor Pinckney*" along Congaree Creek.

Two of the largest floods ever recorded occurred in 1908 and 1929. The flood of early October 1929 resulted from the effects of two tropical storms that passed through Georgia

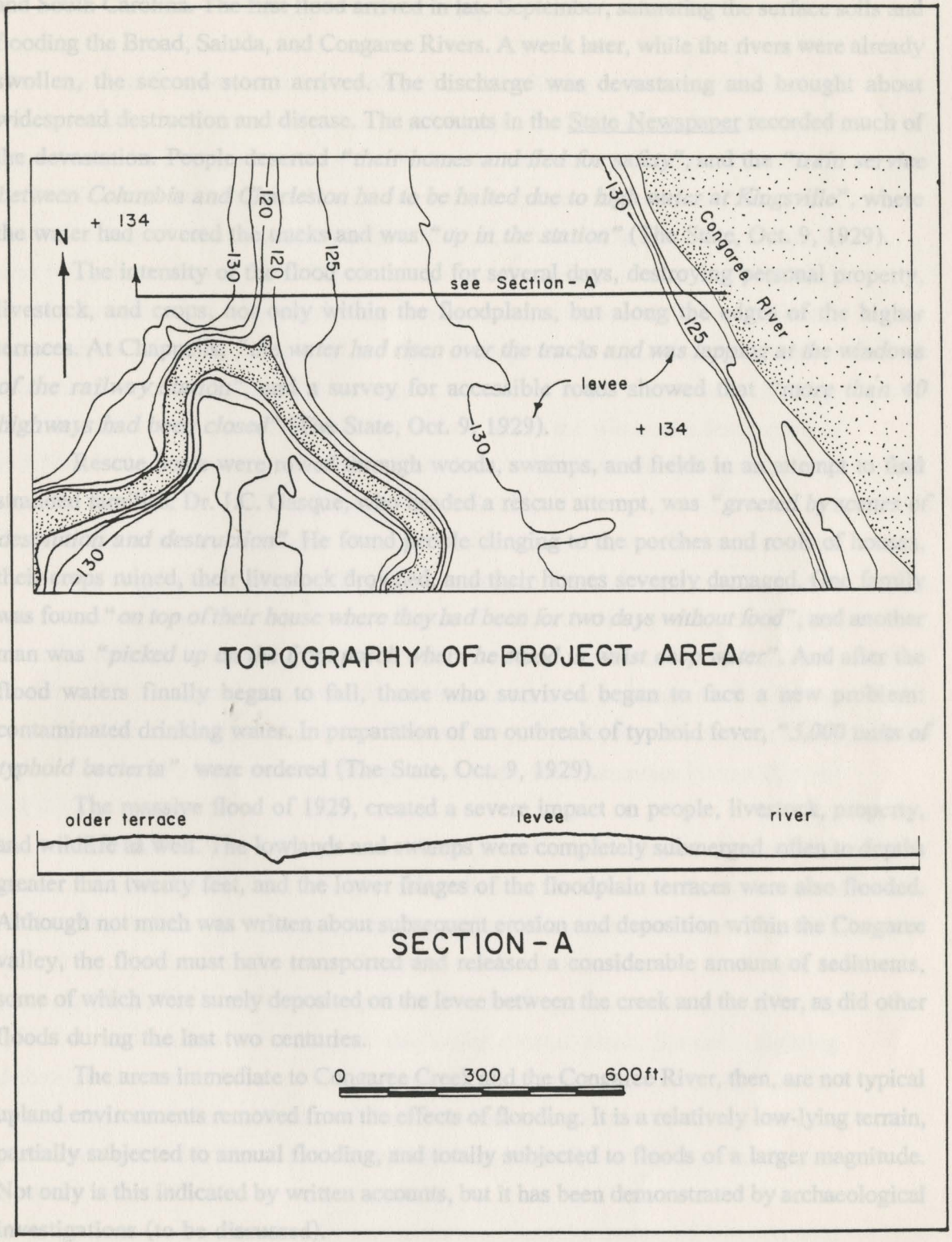


Figure 2. Geography of Project Area, Showing Topography and Section Through the Levee System.

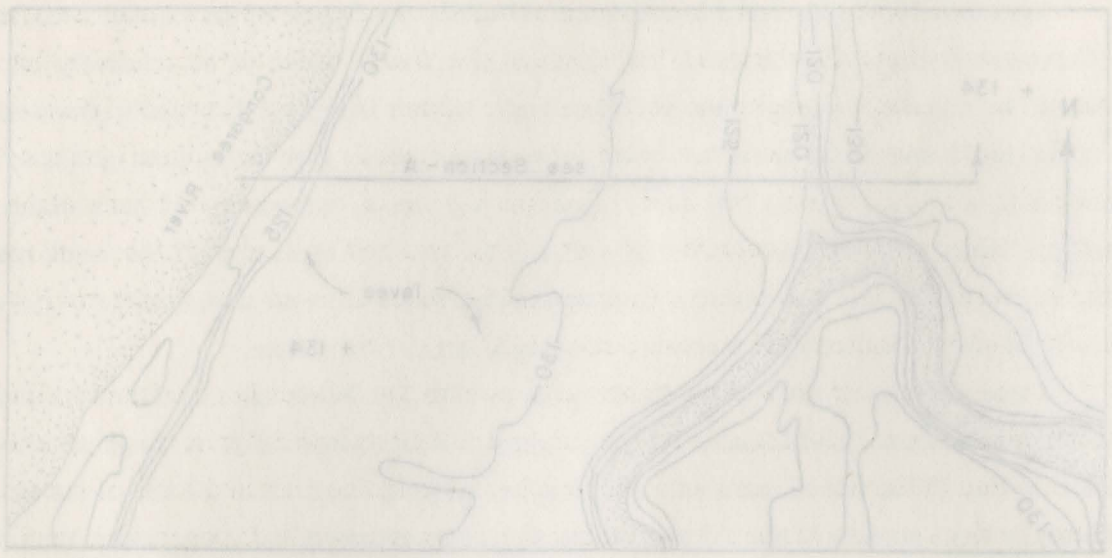


Figure 2. Geography of Project Area, Showing Topography and Section Through the Levee System.

and South Carolina. The first flood arrived in late September, saturating the surface soils and flooding the Broad, Saluda, and Congaree Rivers. A week later, while the rivers were already swollen, the second storm arrived. The discharge was devastating and brought about widespread destruction and disease. The accounts in the State Newspaper recorded much of the devastation. People deserted *"their homes and fled for safety"*, and the *"train service between Columbia and Charleston had to be halted due to high water at Kingsville"*, where the water had covered the tracks and was *"up in the station"* (The State, Oct. 9, 1929).

The intensity of the flood continued for several days, destroying personal property, livestock, and crops, not only within the floodplains, but along the edges of the higher terraces. At Chappells, *"the water had risen over the tracks and was lapping at the windows of the railway station"*, and a survey for accessible roads showed that *"more than 40 highways had been closed"* (The State, Oct. 9, 1929).

Rescue boats were rowed through woods, swamps, and fields in an attempt to find stranded families. Dr. J.C. Gasque, who headed a rescue attempt, was *"greeted by scenes of desolution and destruction"*. He found people clinging to the porches and roofs of houses, their crops ruined, their livestock drowned, and their homes severely damaged. One family was found *"on top of their house where they had been for two days without food"*, and another man was *"picked up on the front porch where he stood in waist deep water"*. And after the flood waters finally began to fall, those who survived began to face a new problem: contaminated drinking water. In preparation of an outbreak of typhoid fever, *"5,000 units of typhoid bacteria"* were ordered (The State, Oct. 9, 1929).

The massive flood of 1929, created a severe impact on people, livestock, property, and wildlife as well. The lowlands and swamps were completely submerged, often to depths greater than twenty feet, and the lower fringes of the floodplain terraces were also flooded. Although not much was written about subsequent erosion and deposition within the Congaree valley, the flood must have transported and released a considerable amount of sediments, some of which were surely deposited on the levee between the creek and the river, as did other floods during the last two centuries.

The areas immediate to Congaree Creek and the Congaree River, then, are not typical upland environments removed from the effects of flooding. It is a relatively low-lying terrain, partially subjected to annual flooding, and totally subjected to floods of a larger magnitude. Not only is this indicated by written accounts, but it has been demonstrated by archaeological investigations (to be discussed).

When the first European settlers arrived in Charles Town in 1670, problems with indigenous Americans were inevitable. Local inhabitants were devastated by European diseases, and those who managed to survive were thrown into social and economic turmoil. The cultural differences between the Europeans and the Indians was overwhelming, and when the colonists began to trade and barter for deerskins, furs, and Indian slaves, the social environment was primed for conflicts. The deerskin trade first began as a lucrative business among a few traders, but when other people began to compete for the valuable skins it became a cutthroat enterprise. Not only did conflicts arise among the European traders, but the Indians themselves were competing for the barters of trade. Competition meant cheating, stealing, and murder for everyone involved, but it soon led to the wholesale destruction of Indians with little loss to the traders; if deerskins could not be obtained, the slave market was ready to receive the spoils of conflict (Brown 1966:136-139).

Often the Indians complained to the commissioners at Charles Town that white settlers were occupying Indian lands, that free Indians were sold into slavery, that they were made drunk and cheated by traders, the illegal seizure of Indian lands to pay debts, physical abuse, immoral conduct, threats of punishment and death, and the creation of intertribal wars. The Indian Act of 1711 was created to deal with all these complaints, but unfortunately it was difficult to enforce the law and prosecute the offenders. Furthermore, the enforcement of the law was often dictated by the mood of the governor and the Commons House (Brown 1966:135-136).

The continuance of the problem over several decades soon erupted in war. The Yemassees, an immigrant group from Georgia who settled on the Savannah River, began to encourage other Indian tribes to rise up against the settlers. Among these Indians were the Creeks, Cherokees, Tuscaroras, Santees, Cheraws, and Catabaws. The war broke out in Pocotaligo on April 15, 1715, and spread rapidly to surrounding areas, eventually effecting settlers, planters, and traders over most of the lower coastal plain. Sporadic fighting continued through most of 1717, until finally the colonists made a treaty with the Creeks, those who were central to the insurrection. When it was all over nearly 400 European lives were lost, colonial debt and inflation soared, and any former prestige enjoyed by the Indians was shattered (Wright 1976:71).

At about the same time another threat was coming from the traders of Virginia who were pressing deeply into the interior of South Carolina conducting serious trade with both the Cherokees and the Catawbas. In fact, the colonists suspected that Virginia was giving support and encouragement to the Indians to rebel against the Carolina government. Several

Catawbas stated that Virginia openly encouraged civil conflicts, and that during the war several Virginia traders were left unharmed while Carolina traders were murdered. However, in an attempt to assist South Carolina, the Virginia Council entered into an agreement whereas their militia would be paid, and a set number of working slaves would be loaned for a specific period of time. The agreement was amenable for both parties, but Virginia soon complained that Carolina did not send enough slaves, and that their soldiers were neither paid nor treated properly. Virginia, unfortunately, did not choose a civil course of action to satisfy their grievances, but rather decided to keep the slaves which infuriated the government of Carolina. To make matters worse, Virginia later declined to assist North Carolina with their Indian problems. On the eve of 1718, the Virginia Council and their deerskin traders had managed to fall on the wrong side of South Carolina, both politically and socially (Brown 1966:148).

In order to deal effectively with the adversity of outside trade and the Indian insurrection, the South Carolina government decided to build two frontier garrisons. Concomitant with these decisions, the Commons House had passed an Act allowing Indian trade to become a public monopoly under the control of five commissioners. All private commerce was forbidden. These garrisons, they reasoned, would offer protection to both the deerskin trade and the expansion of colonists who were steadily moving inland. To the west on the Savannah River, Fort Moore was established at Savano Town, and in the central part of the state, plans were being made to erect a fortification at the Congarees (McDowell 1955:73). The location of the Congarees was never made specific, but it probably included lands immediately associated with the Congaree River and Congaree Creek, in addition to the settlement of Congaree Indians (Meriwether 1940:12). The area around the confluence of the Broad and Saluda Rivers was an excellent location, for it was here that two major trading paths crossed. The route from Fort Moore to the Catawbas, and the route from the Cherokees to Charles Town crossed immediately below the confluence of the Broad and Saluda Rivers (Meriwether 1940:12). In this strategic location Fort Congaree was established.

Central to the erection of a fortification was a trader named Eleazer Wiggan, who was familiar with the wants and needs of the Indians. Earlier he had gotten into trouble with the Board of Indian Commissioners because of illegal trade practices, but it was his knowledge of the trade system that encouraged employment. Initially, Wiggan was asked to establish a garrison at the Congarees, but he complained that the Catawbas had no interest in moving to the area. Instead, Wiggan moved to the Catawbas and began enjoying a lucrative trade under the direction of the Board. The trade only lasted for a short time before the Indians began to complain about the humiliating experience of having to carry deerskins to Charles Town.

They also complained about the quality and the amount of the merchandise they received in trade. Virginia, they argued, had a greater quantity of goods at cheaper prices (Brown 1966:153-154).

The problem with Indian burdeners, expensive goods, and Virginia was bad enough, but when the Indian commissioners realized there was a considerable decline in trade, something had to be done. On December 17, 1717, the Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade resolved:

> *"Upon Motion, that it is enacted and appointed that this Board shall and are to be Commissioners, Pay Masters &c. of the Garrison at Savano Town, as also of the Garrison to be settled at the Congarees; and that the said Garrison at the Congarees should be speedily erected and settled, and in order thereunto Mr. James How (late Lt. of Fort Moore) having presented himself to serve as Commander of the Number of Men appointed to settle and guard the same."* (McDowell 1955:245).

With agreement of the Board, a letter was later sent to the governor recommending that James How assume command of the planned garrison.

Several weeks later (January 17, 1718) the Board approved purchase of a periaugoe (boat) from Thomas Wilkinson for the sum of 130 pounds, and repairs were made by George Hescoat at a cost of 35 pounds. Oars were purchased by Thomas Barton, keeper of the Public Store in Charles Town (McDowell 1955:250). With this boat Captain How intended to carry men and provisions from Charles Town to the Congarees, a route which had to involve the Santee and Congaree Rivers. On the same date the Board approved the hiring of Samuell Stanwood as a carpenter at a wage of three pounds per month (McDowell 1955:253). The names of the other men were not entered.

In February of 1718, the Board ordered that Thomas Barton deliver to James How the necessary goods from the Public Store for his twelve men to build and settle a fort (McDowell 1955:255). Although not mentioned in the journal, such provisions must have included carpenters tools, architectural hardware, guns and ammunition, rum, kitchen and table wares, in addition to food and other trade items.

As it happened, the venture was not destined for success. At some point on the trip the men abandoned James How and escaped with the boat and all its supplies. The news of the theft was recorded on May 22, 1718 in a letter to the governor:

> *"Since we are disappointed in the carrying on and making of the Congare' garrison, by the Men's running away with the Periaugoe, Ammunition, Provisions, &c., and we not in Cash (again) to purchase those*

Necessaries, can't see how we can at this Juncture, go forward again with that Affair. Therefore send to know your Honour's Opinion therein; which if agreeable to ours, purpose (as Mr. Wiggan has declined our Service, as Factor at the Catawbas) to send Capt. How, in his Room; which we also desire your Honour's Opinion in; not knowing but your Honour may propose him to be otherwise serviceable." (McDowell 1955:275).

In June of 1718, the Board once again began to express some optimism about establishing a fort at the Congarees (McDowell 1955:291). A month later Mr. James Dauge, Assistant Factor for the Cherokees, was sent a letter informing him that the French and Choctaws planned on attacking several Cherokee towns, but within the next several weeks there would be a fort established at the Congarees that would provide both protection and trade goods (McDowell 1955:303). On the same date the Board pressed for:

> *"a Periaugoe, and all Manner of Utensils. Stores, Provision and Ammunition fitting and requisite for building, settling and defending a sufficient Fort and Garrison, for a Factory at the Congarees, be purchased and provided; and that a Number of Men, as well Officers as Soldiers, be inlisted and sent up with Orders, for that Purpose, with all possible Expedition."* (McDowell 1955:304).

Given the unrest and tension caused by the French and Choctaws, and the possibility that Cherokee trade could be severely harmed, the Board wasted no time in preparing for a garrison. The next day they proposed that a letter be written to Captain Charles Russell to offer him command and Factorship of the fort (McDowell 1955:305). They also recommended James Balneavis to be the Assistant Factor at wages of 150 pounds per year, and Hugh Frazier to serve at the fort at the wages of six pounds per month. Following on the heels of this decision they ordered Col. Hastings to take a captain, lieutenant, and 48 men to the Congarees and march directly into Cherokee country to protect the vested interest of the deerskins and provisions (McDowell 1955: 309). In short, the Board was not willing to have the Cherokee trade potential threatened by outsiders.

On August 17, 1718, Captain Charles Russell was offered a salary of 300 pounds per year and was furnished a horse *"for a Journey into the Country to inlist Men for serving at the Congare' Garrison. "* (McDowell 1955:318). Furthermore, he was instructed to take a letter to the governor which recommended his position and set forth instructions for his command. At about the same time Peter de St. Julian, who owned a plantation on the Santee River, was appointed to the Board of Indian Trade as a Commissioner to oversee the northern trade factories. With his new appointment, St. Julian was ordered to make use of his cattle to provide the fort with beef (McDowell 1955:319). Shortly after the beef problem was solved, Russell returned and reported that he had enlisted Ralph Deyton, John Evans, and Edward Darsley as soldiers at the rate of six pounds a month. Samuel Kinsman was also hired

as a carpenter at nine pounds per month (McDowell 1955:320).

A week later the Board requested from the governor arms and ammunition, i.e., twelve small arms, twelve cartoose (cartridge) boxes, three pair of pistols, a hundred weight of musket balls, and a hundred pounds of powder for the "*use of the said Garrison; that he may make the best Dispatch imaginable, he being now in want of nothing else.*" (McDowell 1955:320). At this point, all the necessary ingredients for the establishment of a fortification were secured.

Exactly how Russell and his men made their way from Charles Town to the Congarees is uncertain. On July 16, 1718, two important statements were entered in the Board's journal. The first entry regards a letter to James Dauge, Assistant Factor at the Cherokees, which deals with the French and Choctaw threat and the need to get both men and ammunition to the Cherokees as soon as possible. In this letter, both the necessity of assistance to the Indians and the construction of Fort Congaree are mentioned. One reading and interpretation would suggest that men and equipment were being moved rapidly for protection of the Indians, while the mention of the proposed fort was designed to soothe tensions. Another interpretation suggests that goods were being taken for the fort's construction, incidental to the other problem. Both Logan (1859:245) and Green (1974:16) suggest that the pack horses carried goods to be employed in the fort, in addition to a quantity of ammunition for the Indians. If the Board's letter actually says that men and provisions were being sent by pack horses for construction of the fort, we may wonder why the Board arranged, the same day, for a "*Periaugoe, and all Manner of Utensils, Stores, Provision and Ammunition....*" (McDowell 1955:304). Because James How had obviously traveled by boat, we could easily believe that Russell chose the same method, especially since the Board had requested the boat in a context of utensils, stores, provisions, and ammunition. But then we may ask the question: "why send one group overland and the other by water"? Obviously, the answer is not clear.

Also in a context of uncertainties are architectural styles and construction techniques. Some accounts state that the fort was a "common stockade inclosure" (Green 1974:16, Logan 1859:246) or a "simple stockade enclosure" (Brown 1966:155), but beyond these statements we have little or no indications of form. Unfortunately, Green's (1974) and Logan's (1859) assertions are unreferenced, and Brown's (1966) statement could not found in McDowell's (1955) *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade,* as his footnotes would have us believe. With this knowledge, then, it is difficult to state with any certainty that the fort was simply a stockade enclosure. In all probability it followed the form of other early fortifications: a dry moat with parapets, palisade walls, and bastion corners.

By whatever means Russell arrived at the Congarees and built Fort Congaree, he

obviously conducted extensive trade with both the Cherokee and Catawba Indians for four years. Logan (1859:254-255) informs us that at Fort Moore a gun could be obtained for 35 skins, a yard of stroud cloth for eight skins, a white Duffield blanket for 16 skins, a metal hatchet or a narrow hoe for three skins, and a broad hoe for five. Also, for one skin the Indian could expect a pair of scissors, a knife and string of beads, 12 gun flints, or a piece of steel. A laced broadcloth coat required 30 skins, a pistol 20, an axe five, a sword 10, or a red girdle two. Laced hats, calico petticoats, salt, gunpowder, tea kettles, and mirrors were also available. Logan (1859:254-255) had obviously quoted the barter rates later noted by McDowell (1955:89) for dealing with the Cherokee.

In terms of trading with Indians who lived in the vicinity of Charles Town, McDowell (1955:269) presents another list, entitled:

"A Table of Rates to barter by; viz.; Quantity and Quality of Goods for Pounds of heavy drest Deer Skins.

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

What Logan (1859:254-255) inadvertently pointed out was the great difference in trade relations between local Indians who traded with Charles Town, and those who conducted trade in the interior. Until a specific list is available regarding bartering systems at Fort Congaree, the rates applicable to the Cherokee were probably in force.

Journal entries after the beginning of 1720 say little about the fort other than indications of its financial status, requests regarding its condition, and other related affairs. In August 1721, though, the Council appointed six additional men, which included an ensign, sergeant, and corporal, in addition to a surgeon. On the same date, the Council also provided that the fort should retain enough rations to sustain it for periods of six months. However, on

the following day, August 12, 1721, the Council had other ideas about its continuance:

> *"Upon debate held it was determined and agreed; that Congaree Fort be reduced, and that Capt. Russell be forthwith dispatched to get in order the Periaugoes to bring from thence what belongs to the public; and in case Capt. Hatton has not in breaking up the garrison sent for the horses to bring down the skins, that he send them up to him with men sufficient, acquainting him that he hath broken up the garrison, according to order, that he might come directly to Charles Town...That the six servants belonging to the country now at the Congaree Garrison be brought to Town, and from hence sent to Savana Garrison, to make corn there for the use of the said Garrison, and to be under the direction of the proper officer, that shall be appointed there for that purpose."* (CHJ, 5:529-530).

The reasons for wanting to abandon the fort are uncertain, but it may have been related to the 1721 Act which allowed for private trade. Perhaps, too, the Commons House felt the annual operating expense was too much (1,890 pounds per year), and the request for additional men was more than they could financially accept. Three days later, however, the Council decided to allow continuance, but with a reduction in force:

> *"Motion being made, that the consequence of the Congaree Garrison be taken under consideration of the House, and the same being debated. Resolved, that the Congaree Garrison does continue as a Garrison, and that the officer and ten men of the soldiers there do continue and three of the servants be included in the said number in order to plant corn."* (CHJ, 5:533-534).

The garrison continued to operate for about a year before its operation was again brought into question. On June 14, 1722, the House resolved:

> *"that the said Garrison shall be reduced, and the Captain and men discharged; that Capt. Russell be ordered forthwith to take the best method he can, to bring all the arms, tools, stores &c. to Charles Town and deliver them to the Public Receiver; and that the Public provisions, and ten pounds of powder, and twenty five pounds of shot be distributed amongst the people that remain there; and that the said Russell be at liberty, to dispose of any of the said stores to any person living there abouts; and the said Russell be accountable to the Public for all the arms and stores."* (CHJ, 6:13).

On the next day, the House resolved the motion.

About a week later, the Speaker of the Commons House, James Moore, sent a message to the governor requesting that the slaves be sent to Fort Moore. The slaves, the House argued, would supplement other men currently under salary and therefore save the

House additional revenue (CJ, II:38). On the same day the governor concurred with the request and the matter was resolved (CHJ, 6:34-36); the slaves would be sent to Fort Moore. With this final consideration a four year commitment to public trade was terminated.

With the closing of the fort, there were inevitable debts that had to paid to the officers and soldiers, and others who had provided their services. The Commons House resolved on the 23rd of June, 1722, that: *"the Tax Commissioners do pay out of the Money remaining in their hands all such sum and sums of Money as are now due and unpaid unto the Officers and soldiers of Fort Moore and Congaree Garrison,..."* (CJ, II:49). Apparently, this included people other than those directly associated with the fort.

For several years after the closing, numerous unpaid accounts were received by the Commons House. On February 23, 1723, the Council ordered that Darby McLacklin and Mary Heatly be paid for clothes made for the slaves, and Thomas Ferguson be paid for killing two beavers for Captain How (CJ, II.:24). On May 17, 1723, soldiers who were apparently selling corn to Fort Congaree, were paid a total of 169 pounds (CHJ, 6:253- 254), and on Dec. 20, 1726, John Chester was given 15 pounds for taking Cherokees from the fort to Col. Chicken (JCHA, 1726-1727:42). On March 3, 1734, a report from the Committee on Petitions and Accounts stated that an unpaid debt of three pounds, 15 sixpence "ought to be paid" to Samuel Eveleigh for powder and shot that was supplied to a Mr. Drake at the Congarees (JCHA, 1734-1735:79). Following these entries, Fort Congaree disappeared from the hands of the Commons House, and fell, virtually, from recorded history.

With the apparent presence of local residents who had performed services for the fort, in addition to a number of discharged soldiers, there is a likelihood that the old garrison continued to operate in hands of private traders (McDowell 1974:2). There are no surviving records that tell us about such an operation, but the location was firmly embedded in the minds of Cherokees and Catawbas and the traders who sought valuable deerskins. Such conditions would have provided an incentive for continuity.

Shortly afterwards, Governor Robert Johnson proposed a scheme of townships to be laid out in the frontier areas of the state. The plan was designed to entice poor Protestant immigrants from Europe to settle these areas, giving them necessary tools to built houses and cultivate the land. Nine townships, consisting of six square miles were laid out from the Savannah to the Waccamaw River (Wright 1976:85-86). Central to the various locations was the township of Saxe-Gotha, located immediately below the present city of Columbia on the west side of the river. Included within the boundaries was the original Congaree District and the location of the old garrison. In 1735, immigrants began to arrive, some from Pennsylvania, others from Virginia, and a larger number from Germany and Switzerland. The settlement grew slowly at first, but soon the town of Saxe-Gotha was subdivided into small

lots, and within a few years numerous deeds to property extended several miles above and below the town (Meriwether 1940:52-65). In 1735, Patrick Brown acquired 300 acres along Congaree Creek, which included the site of the old garrison, while his brother Thomas acquired considerable acreage directly across the river. It was Thomas who had entered the Catawba trade around 1730, and joined with his brother in partnership to operate a store near the old garrison until his death in 1747 (Meriwether 1940:53-54, 57). The store, no doubt, served both local residents and Indians, for in 1735 local residents complained that the store attracted Indians who were destroying their corn (Meriwether 1940:54).

By the 1740s Saxe-Gotha was beginning to enjoy the comfort of a community. Nearly forty plats had been added to the area, and there were mills, farms, domestic animals, and stores. It seemed for a while that things were going well, but then the old Indian problem began to erupt once more. The half-breed son of Thomas Brown, who was in the company of George Haig, the old Indian trader, deputy surveyor, and justice of the peace, were both captured by the Iroquois and were taken north. Brown's son was later set free, but Haig was murdered. These atrocities, in addition to other incidents, caused the government to erect another fortification in the area of Saxe-Gotha. Located above the town and just south of a small creek, the second Fort Congaree was built in 1748 (Meriwether 1940: 58, 64). Although tension existed for a time, there were no battles or serious use of the fort.

Initially, Saxe-Gotha seemed like a good place for a settlement, but the adversity of frequent floods and subsequent fevers caused many residents to move towards the south and settle near the old garrison. This small community, which began around the mid-18th century, became known as St. John's settlement. The size of the settlement is unknown, but it seems to have existed only a short time. In 1754, a road was opened from Augusta to the town of Saxe-Gotha which encouraged additional river traffic. At about the same time a Swiss immigrant, Martin Friday, opened a ferry just below the river shoals, about two miles above St. John's. Both the ferry and the new road began to renew an interest in Saxe-Gotha, and as a result the settlement began moving back towards the north to take advantage of the economic potential. At the beginning of the 19th century, St. John's was virtually abandoned, and the town of Saxe-Gotha, which was later called Granby, had grown to nearly 200 houses. Granby, with its growing population, roads, ferries, and shipping docks was clearly the focal point of the midlands and a center of commerce (Wingard and Kleckley 1970).

With the successful establishment of Saxe-Gotha, the economic development of Granby, and the eventual decline in Indian trade, old Fort Congaree slowly moved into obscurity. Successive generations who experienced continuous Indian problems, those who built houses, stores, and mills, those who began to depend more on the potential of cash crops, and those who faced the inevitable conflicts of the American Revolution no longer found

importance in the old garrison. It would be remembered in the accounts of the Commons House and various council journals as an attempt to alleviate the misfortunes of the Indian trade; a business that had spiraled out of control, a trade that had caused a war.

Historical Maps and the Promise of Location

Because Fort Congaree was significant to the Indian trade of South Carolina, and because it was central to the expansion of the interior, one may readily assume that some perceptive 18th century cartographer would have produced an accurate map of its location. But if such maps were ever produced, we were not able to find them. To be sure, there are maps that show the location of the old garrison, but most of these maps indicate locations relative only to general landform. As a result, each map shows a variable placement.

There are a multitude of reasons associated with variability, and perhaps some are beyond our contemporary understanding of what information the map makers were trying to convey to the intended audience. Perhaps in the earlier part of the 18th century, a general location was all that was necessary for the commissioners of the Indian trade, the members of the Commons House, or the authorities that sat in council in England. If these maps were intended to serve as a locational guide, instead of a document, it would not be difficult to find an Indian village, fortification, or a trade route - the location would be obvious once someone reached the vicinity. There would be no need for accurate scale and distance, only the relative position of major features, i.e., rivers, creeks, and trading paths. For example, if travelers wanted to go to Fort Congaree in the year 1720, they would simply follow the Cherokee trade path from Charles Town. Once they crossed Congaree Creek and found the Catawba path, the fort would have been obvious. That the fort was situated exactly on the north side of the creek where it began a southerly flow would have little or no meaning to those who had business in the wilderness.

Cumming (1962) also alerts us to the fact that during the transitional or descriptive period of cartography (ca. 1600-1750), maps were based upon actual although crude surveys. The delineation of places tends to be more accurate in and around more permanent settlements, but with increasing distances into the wilderness the map makers depended more on the impressions of Indian traders and explorers. Many maps were copied by cartographers, which produced additional inaccuracies. Furthermore, it was not until the middle of the 18th century that instruments and methods became refined enough to offer accuracy. In light of these inherent problems, Cumming (1962:3, 43-49, 54) sees an important expansion of information in maps produced by William Barnwell, Herman Moll, and William De Brahm.

One of the earliest maps to show the approximate location was reproduced by W. Noel Lansbury for Barnwell's (1909:33-48), "The Second Tuscarora Expedition" . The map outlines the 1711 and 1713 route of Col. John Barnwell and Col. Maurice Moore, respectively, and clearly shows the Congaree Indians living on the west side of the river on the north

side of a creek, which we may presume is Congaree Creek. Attending this is the location of the trade path from Charles Town (Figure 3), showing the route passing through the village, crossing the river, and heading east towards the Catawbas.

Similarly, Herman Moll's map of ca. 1715, also shows the Congarees in the same location, as does his map of 1729. In the latter map he shows the Indians living on the east side of the river, opposite *"An English Corporation"* which is obviously Fort Congaree (**Figure** 4). At about the same period of time, John Barnwell's map of ca. 1722 (not illustrated) shows the location of the *"Congaree or English Factory"* on the western edge of the river, situated at the juncture of three trading paths.

In 1738, a map produced by Col. Bull for the Board of Trade locates the fort on the western edge of the river along the Catawba trade route, but neglects to show its relationship to any creeks (**Figure** 5). One of the most intriguing, yet confusing, maps was found in the British Public Records Office, entitled, *"Sketch Map of the Rivers Santee, Congaree, Wateree, Saludee, &c. with the Road to the Cuttauboes"*. Bearing a date of 1750, it shows what appears to be the garrison on the eastern edge of Congaree Creek. The fort, located at the juncture of the Cherokee and Catawba trade routes, is indicated as a structure with parapets and bastions and a palisaded wall against the edge of the creek (**Figure** 6). One interesting aspect of this map is that it fails to identify the garrison as Fort Congaree, but perhaps the most interesting is that it indicates the relative position of trade routes and the location of Indian villages and other obvious forts that had disappeared before 1750. Furthermore, the map clearly omits the presence of any European settlements that were well established when it was supposedly drawn. This fact leaves us to wonder if the date is correct. Perhaps, then, the map was made earlier.

William DeBrahm's map of 1757 outlines the boundaries of Saxe-Gotha Parish, the Township, and the town itself, showing the location of the 1718 and 1748 forts. Immediately below the town is shown a relatively accurate depiction of Congaree Creek. The old fort is situated between the creek and the river, and is centered on the original Catawba trading path (**Figure** 7). Closely paralleling DeBrahm's map is William Faden's updated version, produced in 1780. Faden places the fort in about the same position, but closer to the river (**Figure** 8). Note that the fort of 1748 is situated to the north of Saxe-Gotha at the intersection of a small creek and the river. In 1757, DeBrahm shows a change in the location of the Catawba trading path, and by 1780, Faden does not mention it.

These maps, then, while deficient in some information, tend to agree that the old garrison was situated on the west side of the river and near the point where the creek turns sharply and flows to the south. Beyond this approximation, an accurate location becomes anybody's guess.

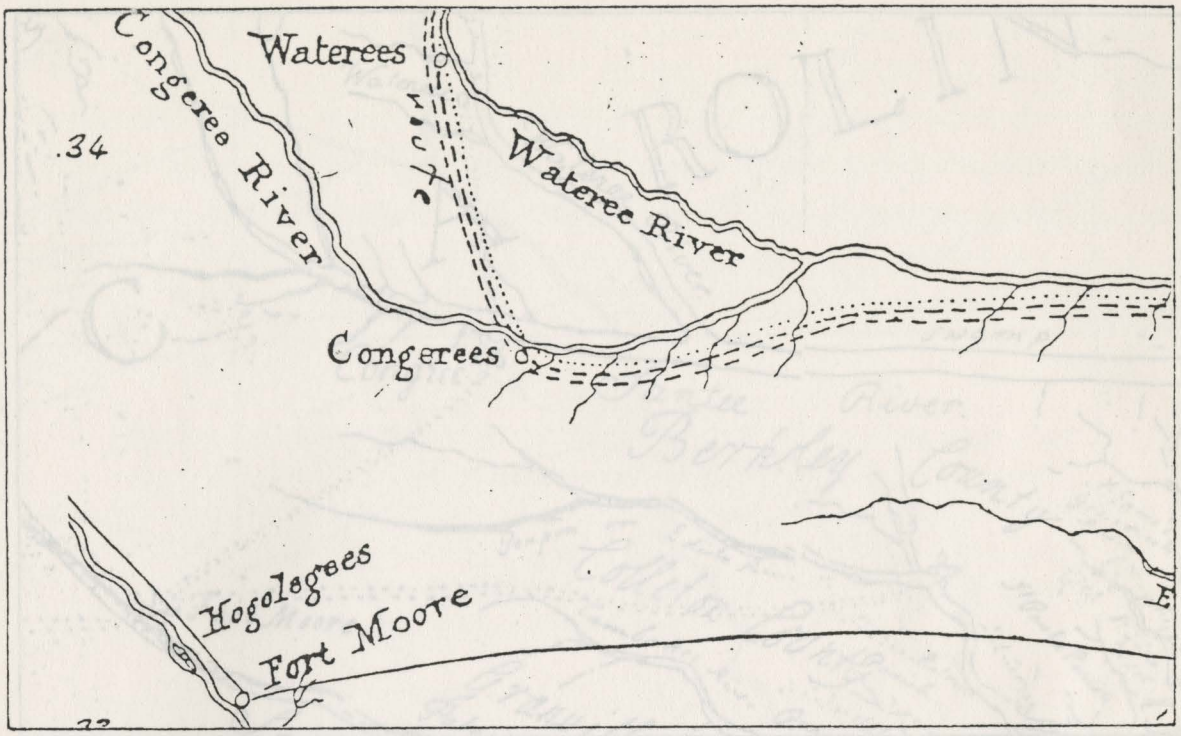


Figure 3. Barnwell's Map of 1711 and 1713, Showing Location of the Congaree Indians.

Figure 4. Herman Moll's map of 1729, Showing Location of An English Corporation (Old Fort Congaree).

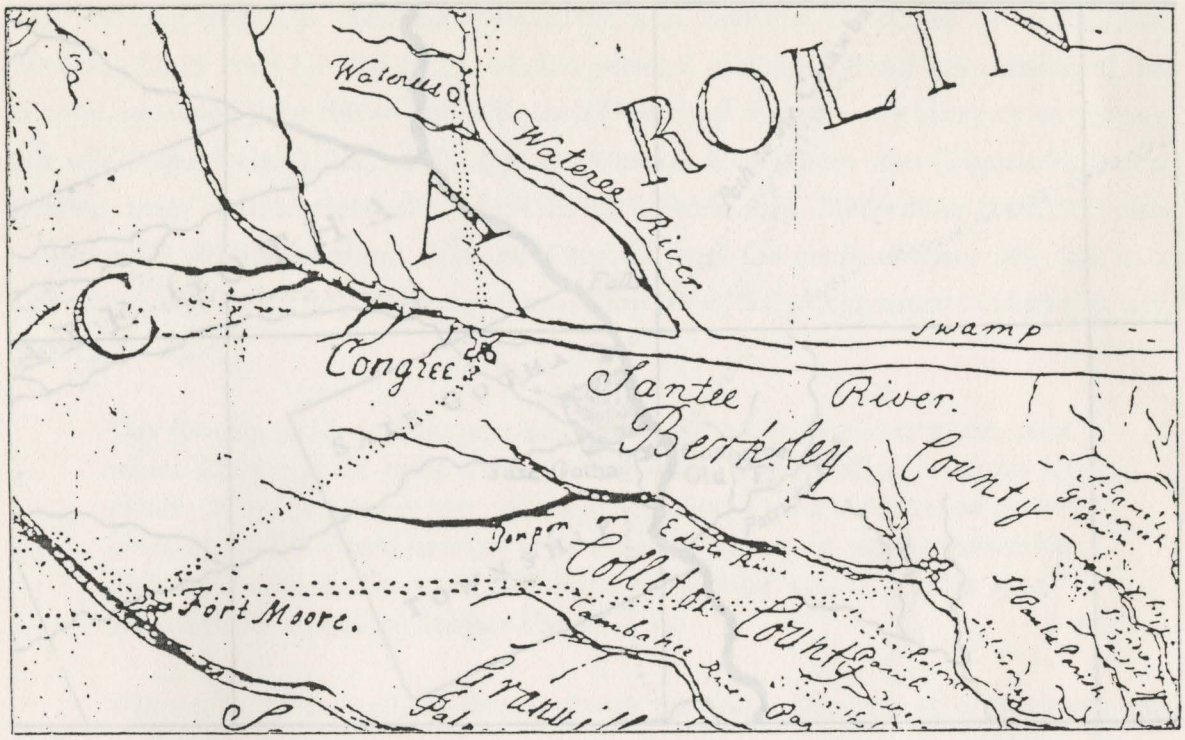


Figure 5. Col. Bull's Map of 1738, Showing the Fort Adjacent to the Congaree River.

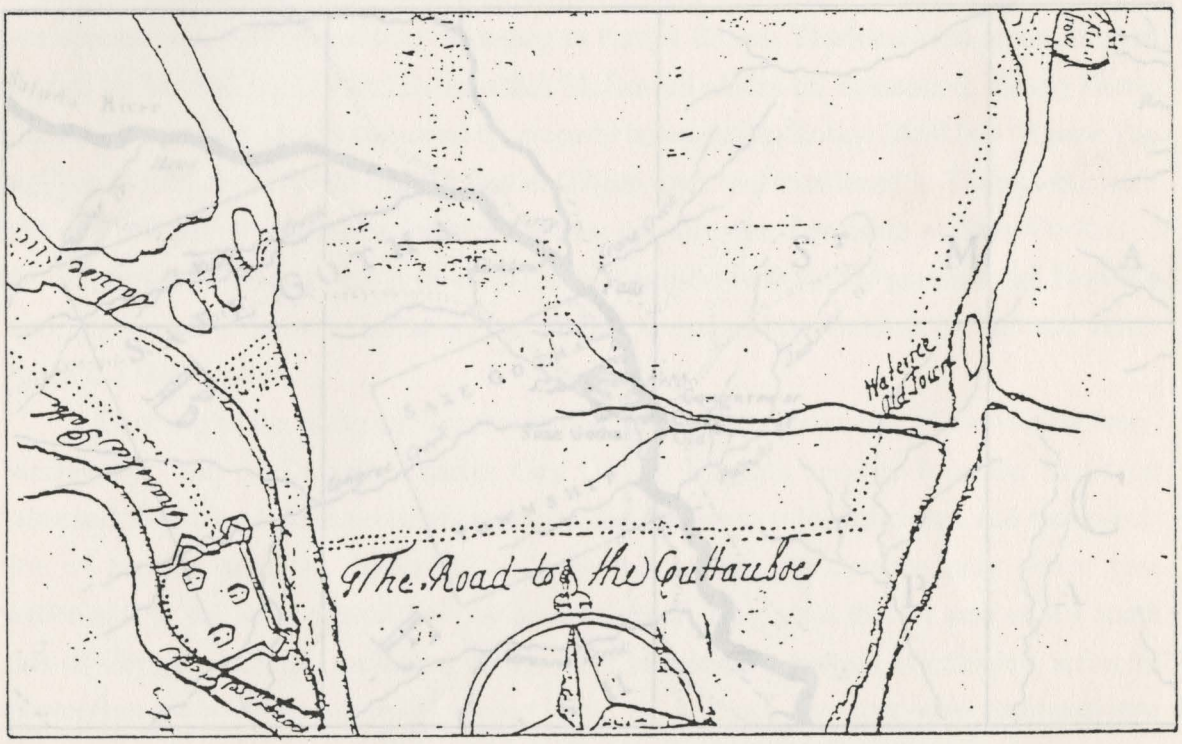


Figure 6. British Public Records Office Map of 1750, Showing the Fort on the Eastern Edge of Congaree Creek.

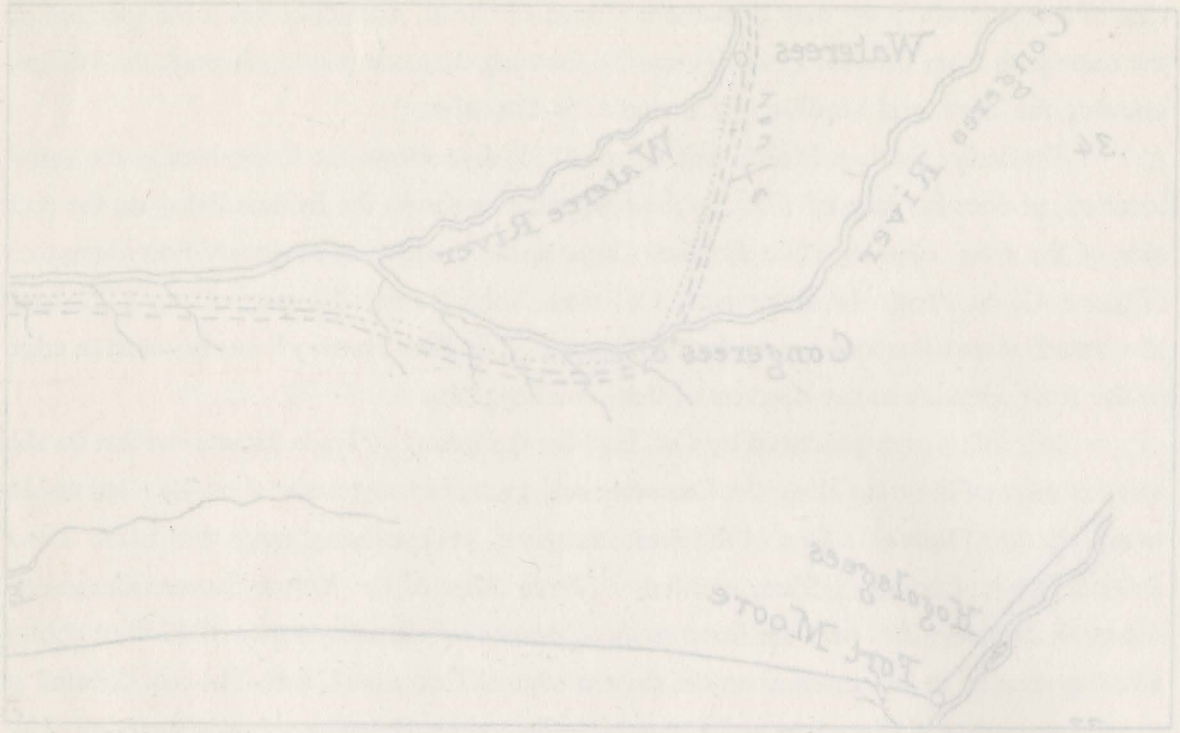


Figure 3. Barnwell's Map of 1711 and 1713, Showing Location of the Congaree Indians.

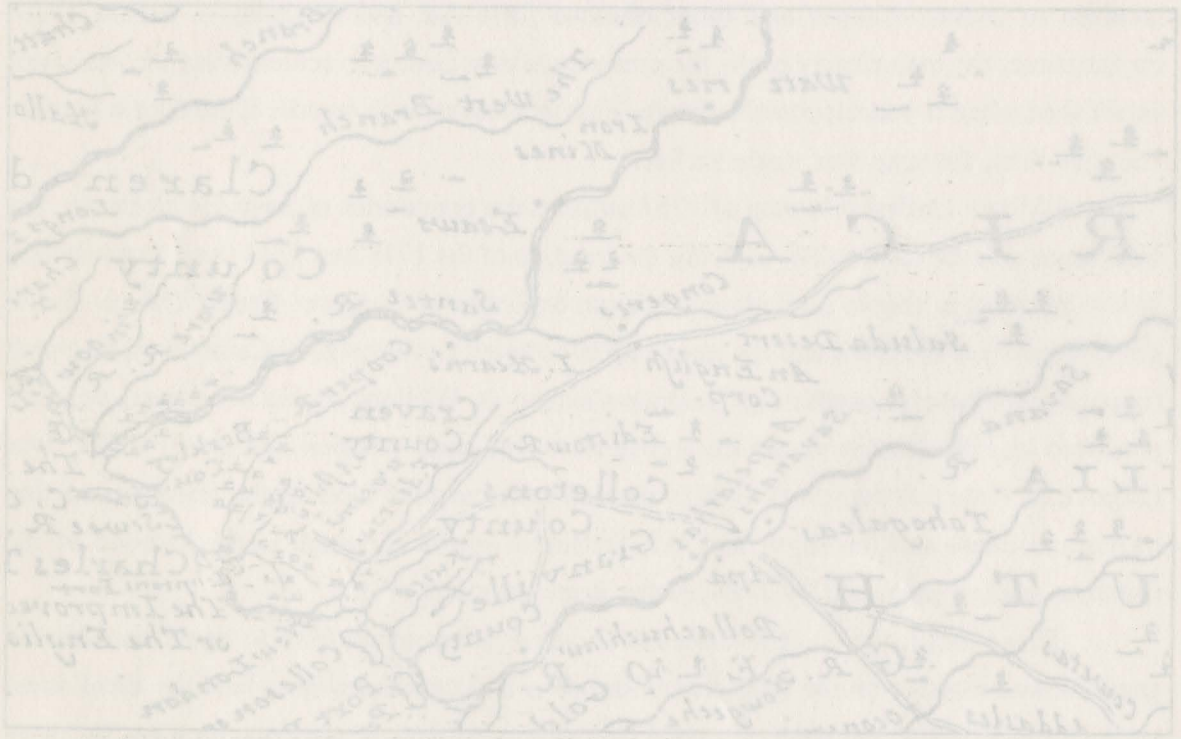


Figure 4. Herman Moll's map of 1729, Showing Location of An English Corporation (Old Fort Congaree).

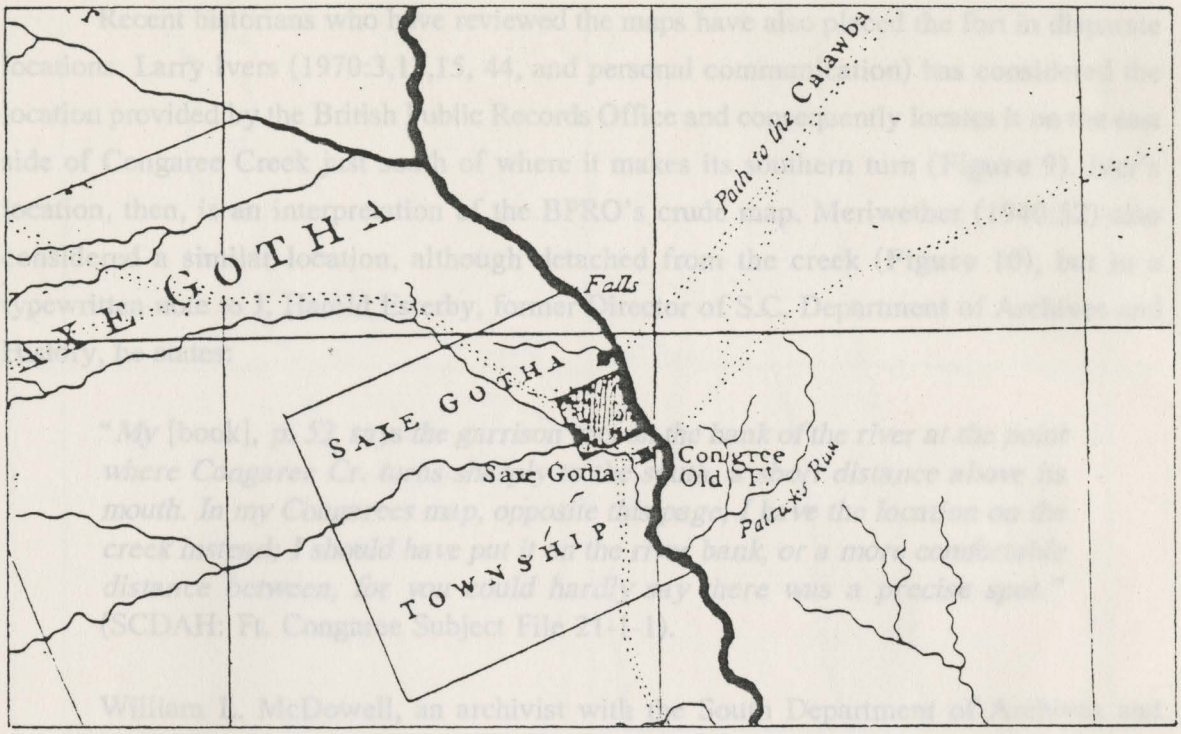


Figure 7. William DeBrahm's Map of 1757, Showing the Fort Situated Between Congaree Creek and the Congaree River.

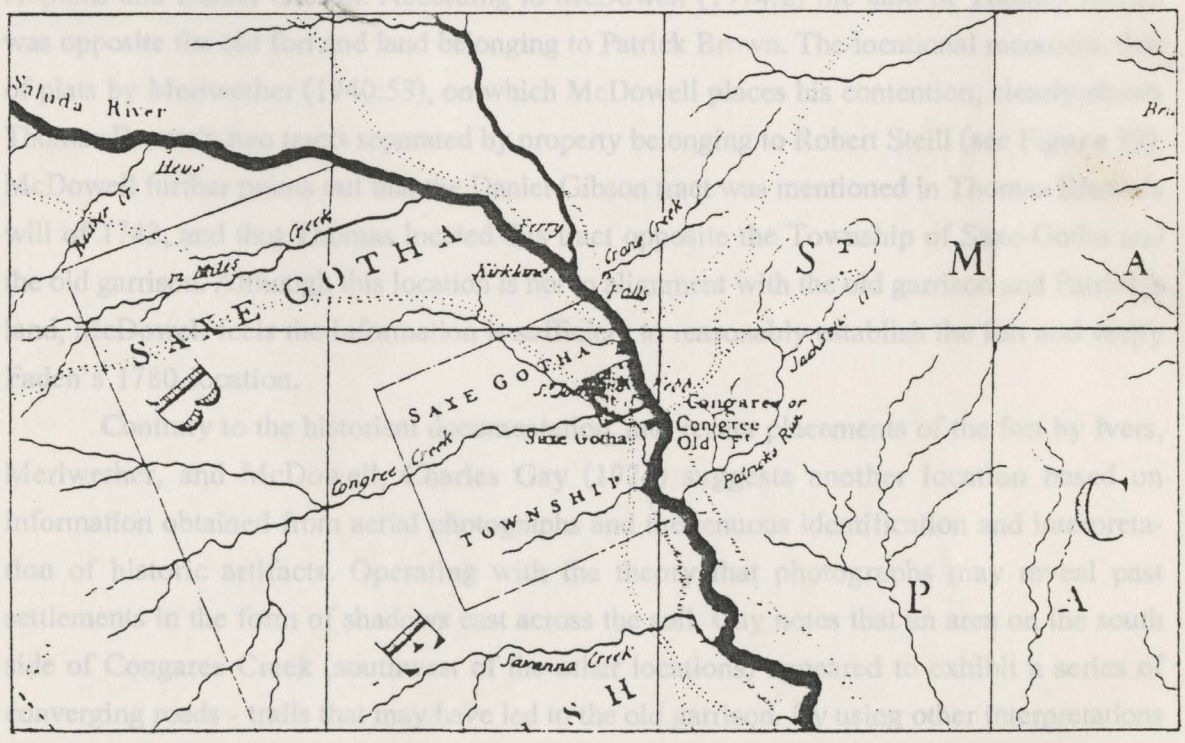


Figure 8. William Faden's Map of 1780, Showing the Fort Nearly Adjacent to the Congaree River.

Recent historians who have reviewed the maps have also placed the fort in disparate locations. Larry Ivers (1970:3,13,15, 44, and personal communication) has considered the location provided by the British Public Records Office and consequently locates it on the east side of Congaree Creek just south of where it makes its southern turn (**Figure** 9). Iver's location, then, is an interpretation of the BPRO's crude map. Meriwether (1940:52) also considered a similar location, although detached from the creek (**Figure** 10), but in a typewritten note to J. Harold Esterby, former Director of S.C. Department of Archives and History, he states:

> "*My* [book], *p. 53, says the garrison was on the bank of the river at the point where Congaree Cr. turns sharply to the south, a short distance above its mouth. In my Congarees map, opposite this page, I have the location on the creek instead; I should have put it on the river bank, or a more comfortable distance between, for you could hardly say there was a precise spot.*" (SCDAH: Ft. Congaree Subject File 21-1-1).

William L. McDowell, an archivist with the South Department of Archives and History tends to agree with Meriwether (1940) and Faden's map of 1780. McDowell's (1974) National Register nomination mentions that the residence of Thomas Brown, the old Indian trader, was situated on the northeast side of the river on lands formerly belonging to James Hopkins and Daniel Gibson. According to McDowell (1974:2) the land of Thomas Brown was opposite the old fort and land belonging to Patrick Brown. The locational reconstruction of plats by Meriwether (1940:53), on which McDowell places his contention, clearly shows Thomas Brown's two tracts separated by property belonging to Robert Steill (see **Figure** 10). McDowell further points out that the Daniel Gibson tract was mentioned in Thomas Brown's will of 1743, and that Thomas located this tract opposite the Township of Saxe-Gotha and the old garrison. Although this location is not in alignment with the old garrison and Patrick's land, McDowell feels the information is sufficient to reasonably establish the fort and verify Faden's 1780 location.

Contrary to the historical documentation, and recent placements of the fort by Ivers, Meriwether, and McDowell, Charles Gay (1974) suggests another location based on information obtained from aerial photographs and the tenuous identification and interpretation of historic artifacts. Operating with the theory that photographs may reveal past settlements in the form of shadows cast across the soil, Gay notes that an area on the south side of Congaree Creek (southwest of the other locations) appeared to exhibit a series of converging roads - trails that may have led to the old garrison. By using other interpretations of local landform, architecture, and historical documents, he felt encouraged to conduct a

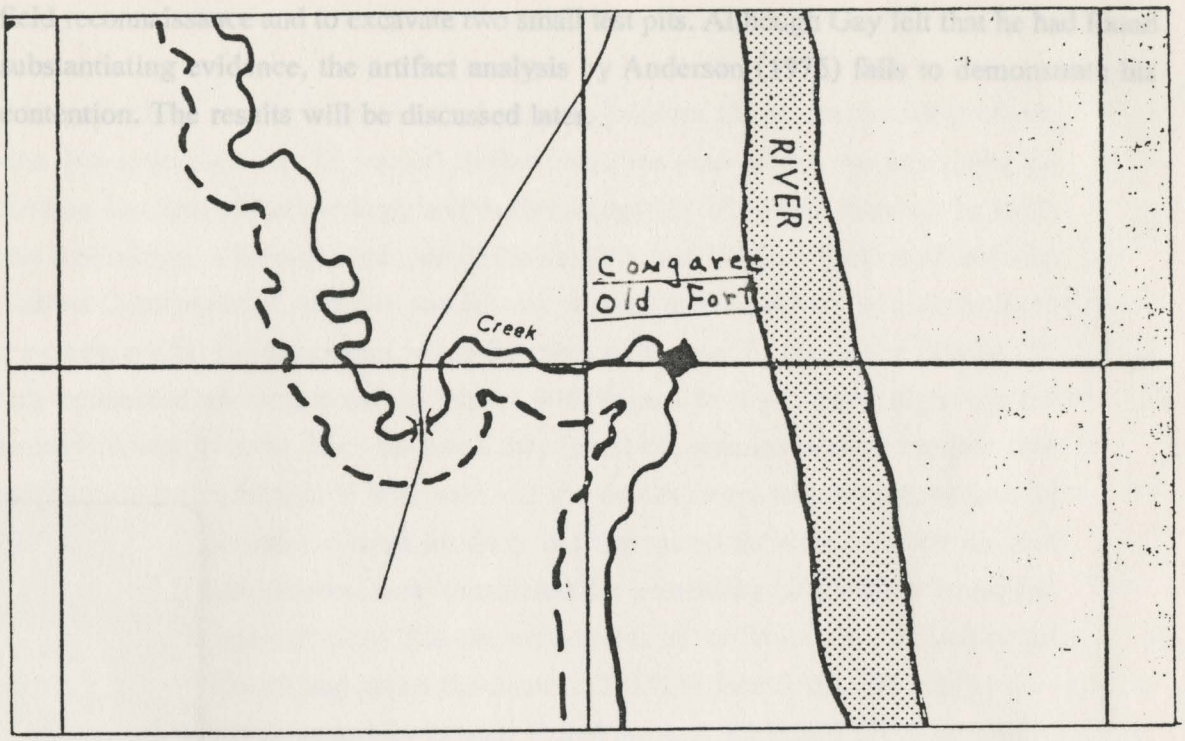


Figure 9. Larry Ivers' Map and Suggested Location of the Fort.

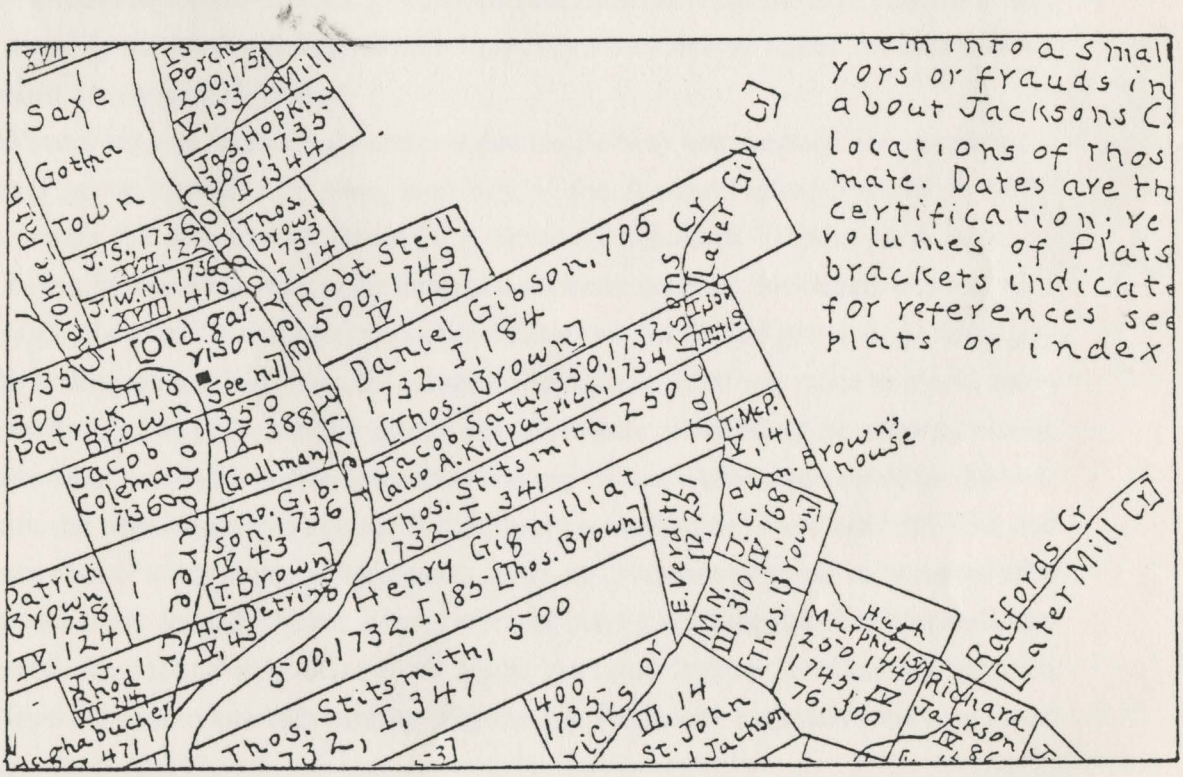


Figure 10. Robert Meriwether's Map (1940), Showing Potential Location of the Fort Between Congaree Creek and the Congaree River.

RIVER

field reconnaissance and to excavate two small test pits. Although Gay felt that he had found substantiating evidence, the artifact analysis by Anderson (1975) fails to demonstrate his contention. The results will be discussed later.

Previous Attempts to Find Old Fort Congaree

Although many people have searched around Congaree Creek for the old garrison, perhaps the first serious attempt by trained professionals was made about two years after the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) was founded. In 1970, E. Thomas Hemmings, a former employee of the Institute, and William McDowell with the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, walked over a plowed field on the north side of the creek, not far from the point where the creek turns abruptly south (see **Figure** 12). They were concerned about a possible impact with regard to a proposed highway, the Southeastern Beltway. Not far from the creek they found the remains of a mid to late 18th century occupation in the form of Westerwald, salt glazed stoneware, creamware, occasional pieces of pearlware, and other related artifacts. As the materials were situated on land formerly owned by Patrick Brown, they considered the possibility of Brown's house site (Hemmings, personal communication) The site was entered in the Statewide Archaeological Site Inventory (SASI-SCIAA) and given the number, 38LX30 (see SASI, 38LX30).

Not long after Hemmings and McDowell visited the area, Richard Polhemus, another member of the Institute, and one with an interest in colonial fortifications, also walked over the area and was unable to find anything except the same range of artifacts found earlier. Given the inherent nature of the land, Polhemus considered that the garrison may have been scoured away by successive floods, or that it may have been deeply buried beneath decades of sediments (Anderson 1975:8).

When it became increasingly eminent that the Beltway was destined to cross the river and impact several prehistoric sites, members of the Archaeological Society of South Carolina, under the direction of David G. Anderson, Michael B. Trinkley, and James L. Michie, began testing areas within the proposed highway corridor. Incidental to prehistoric sites research, there was also a need to continue the search for the old garrison. At this point, interest in finding the site had increased substantially and a decision was made to obtain heavy equipment. In April of 1974, a motor grader and driver were provided by the property owner, Burrell Manning, who also had an interest in finding the site. After a review of the historic documents, the team concurred that the fort probably existed some where near 38LX30, and that the remains of a dry moat, palisade walls, and post holes would reveal its presence after removing the plow zone. However, after a week of cutting six long trenches perpendicular to the creek, they found only older plow zones, scattered features, and historic artifacts ranging from the mid to late 18th century (**Figure** 11). Prehistoric materials were also found (Anderson 1975:11-17).

Shortly after this major effort, Michael Trinkley was provided a private grant by

Burrell Manning, in May of 1974, to continue the efforts. Acting on the premise that a phosphate analysis of the soil could reveal cultural activities, and that the motor grader did not cut sufficiently deep enough to expose earlier 18th century activities, Trinkley excavated a series of small, scattered test pits from the Old State Road to the west to where the creek turns sharply south. In the area of 38LX30 he found an increase in phosphate and similar historic and prehistoric artifacts, and was able to show successive flood activities. On towards the east, where the creek turns, additional testing failed to yield any evidence of historic activities, but it did show an increase in phosphate. On the east side of the creek, after its southerly turn, testing revealed nothing but flood deposits. Based on his observations, Trinkley concluded that: 1) the areas west of 38LX30 were virtually sterile, 2) the area of 38LX30 was too late for any consideration of the old garrison, and 3) that the area immediately south of the creek's turn was also out of consideration. However, the area east of 38LX30, although void of artifacts, showed a high amount of phosphate, and was located on a relatively high bluff overlooking the creek (**Figure** 12). Accordingly, the area would have provided a strategic location for an initial settlement. For these reasons, Trinkley reasoned that additional attention should be given to the northern edge of the creek where it turns abruptly south (Trinkley 1974).

In August of the same year, Charles E. Gay also became interested in establishing the location of the fort. Earlier I have mentioned his provisional assumption, but had not discussed the results of his investigation. In order to test his contention, David G. Anderson assisted him with field research, which included collecting artifacts from the plowed field and excavating two small test pits (see Anderson 1975:10). Both avenues of research provided him with fragments of porcelain, earthenware, pipe stems and pipe bowls, glass, and other historic artifacts that, according to him, are related to the occupation of the fort (see Gay 1974:18-19). Unfortunately, Gay does not provide us with ceramic types, parameters of ceramic dates, or mean ceramic dates. His artifact illustrations also reveal little more; pictures of broken pipe stems, pipe bowls, a musket flint, and a bead could be used to indicate any date within the 18th and part of the 19th century. Without qualification and quantification, his artifacts have little or no value. An analysis of the materials by Anderson (1975:10), which was not mentioned by Gay, shows the presence of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware - an occupation associated mainly with the late 18th century. Based on the results of an earlier survey by Trinkley, and the investigation by Anderson and Gay, the site was given a number, 38LX69 (**Figure** 12). Although the site is not the old garrison, the researchers may have found the house remains of Col. Charles Pinckney. It was Pinckney who served four terms as South Carolina's governor, served a member of the United States Congress, and helped in the framing the Constitution of the United States. He had two homes; one in Charleston and the

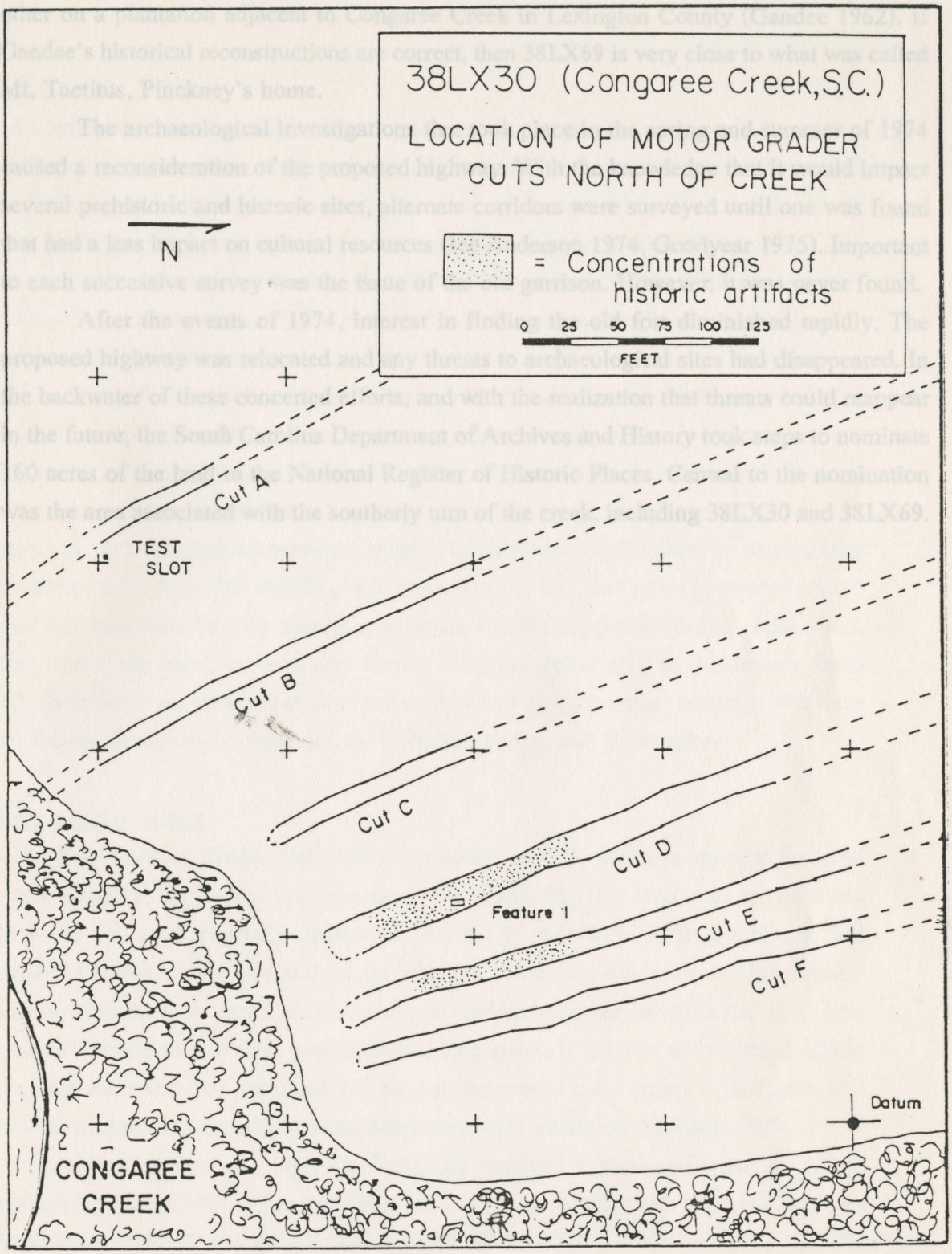
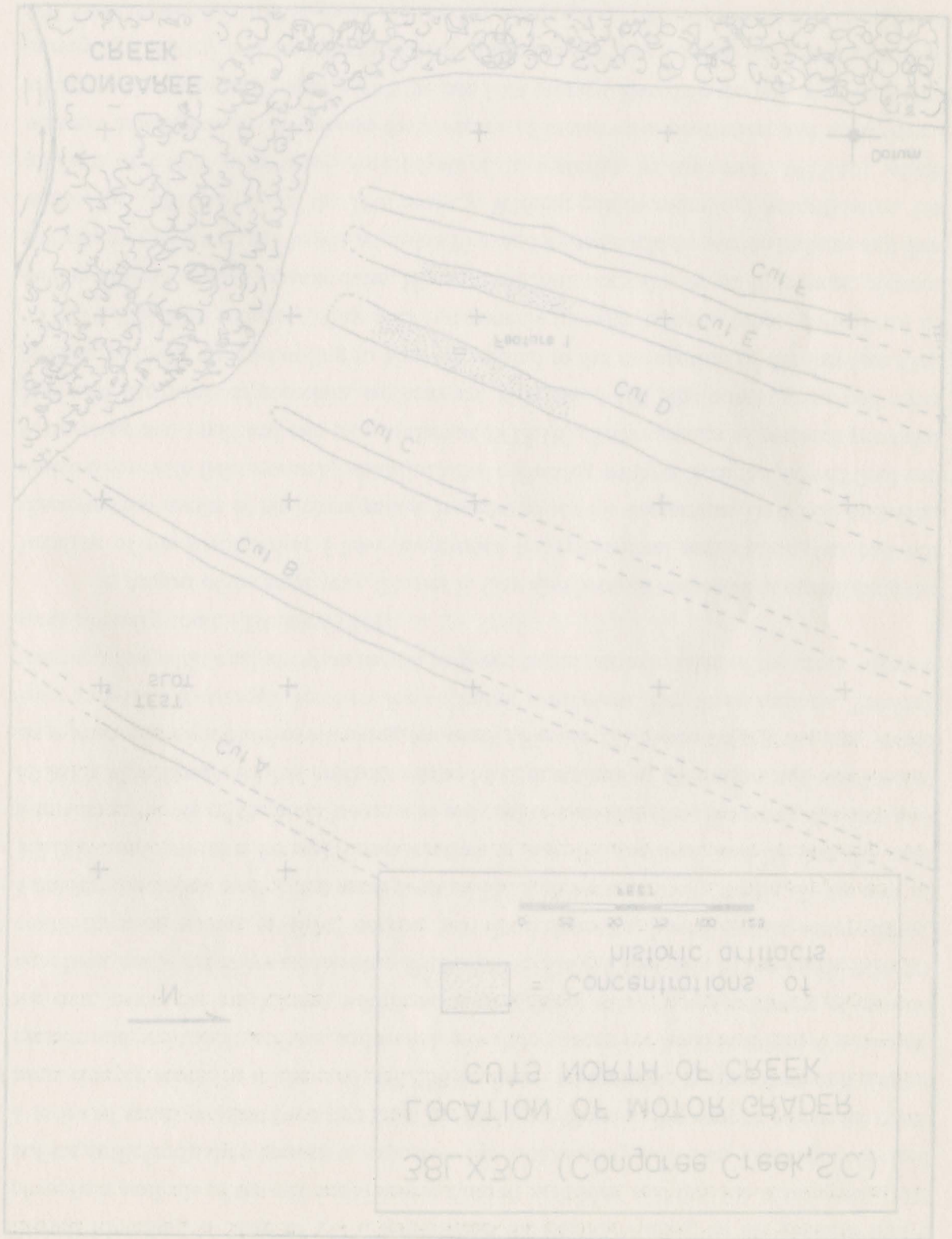


Figure 11. Location of Motor Grader Cuts to the North of the Fort, Made in the Vicinity of 38LX30 in 1974.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other on a plantation adjacent to Congaree Creek in Lexington County (Gandee 1962). If Gandee's historical reconstructions are correct, then 38LX69 is very close to what was called Mt. Tactitus, Pinckney's home.

The archaeological investigations that took place in the spring and summer of 1974 caused a reconsideration of the proposed highway. With the knowledge that it would impact several prehistoric and historic sites, alternate corridors were surveyed until one was found that had a less impact on cultural resources (see Anderson 1974, Goodyear 1975). Important to each successive survey was the issue of the old garrison. However, it was never found.

After the events of 1974, interest in finding the old fort diminished rapidly. The proposed highway was relocated and any threats to archaeological sites had disappeared. In the backwater of these concerted efforts, and with the realization that threats could reappear in the future, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History took steps to nominate 160 acres of the land to the National Register of Historic Places. Central to the nomination was the area associated with the southerly turn of the creek, including 38LX30 and 38LX69.

The Bottomland Investigation

Introduction

A continued evaluation of the historic documents and maps, paired with the results of the 1974 field investigations, suggested that the fort may be located further to the east. If DeBrahn, Faden, and Meriwether were correct in their placement of the fort, then it should be located nearer the Congaree River, at a point opposite the abrupt turn of the creek. This idea was further reinforced by the fact that other cartographers in the 18th century had indicated a position associated with the river. If this was correct, then it would explain why previous attempts had failed.

Prior to any field investigation I collected every possible historic document and read carefully each statement with the hopes that someone would have provided a remote statement about its general location. Somewhere in the documents, I reasoned, the writers may have said something about the relationship of the fort to the river in terms of inherent adversities. As such, I imagined problems with river navigation, difficulties in maintaining crops, problems with domestic animals, water entering the fort, and other problems related to floods. I also considered the mention of specific trees in the hopes that species could reveal something about the environment, and hence, location. After all the documents were reviewed, there were no statements whatsoever that had any locational bearing. We were forced to follow the locations provided by DeBrahn, Faden, and Meriwether.

Ground Penetrating Radar

The first series of efforts were oriented towards Locus A, which is opposite the bend in the creek (**Figure** 12). Initially, I considered the possibility that structural remains and artifacts would be found relatively shallow, i.e., within the first 24 to 36 inches of soil, and that a series of linear trenches would be sufficient to reveal any evidence of 18th century occupations. However, in order to save time, I made arrangements with the U.S. Soil Conservation Service to use their ground penetrating radar. If the fort was located within Locus A, then the radar had the capability to monitor anomalies, clusters of artifacts, and changes in soil densities, especially areas associated with moats and palisade walls.

Under the direction of James Doolittle, NE National Technical Center, U.S. Soil Conservation Service, Chester, Pennsylvania, a SIR-System-8 radar was used and the data was recorded on 4800 Control Unit, the ADTEK SR-8004H graphic recorder, and the ADTEK DT-6000 tape recorder. Because the area had been clear-cut in 1986, there were no obstacles, but old growths of poke berry bushes had to be cleared in order to pull the equipment with a vehicle. Datum points were set in concrete on the edge of the bluff, and an

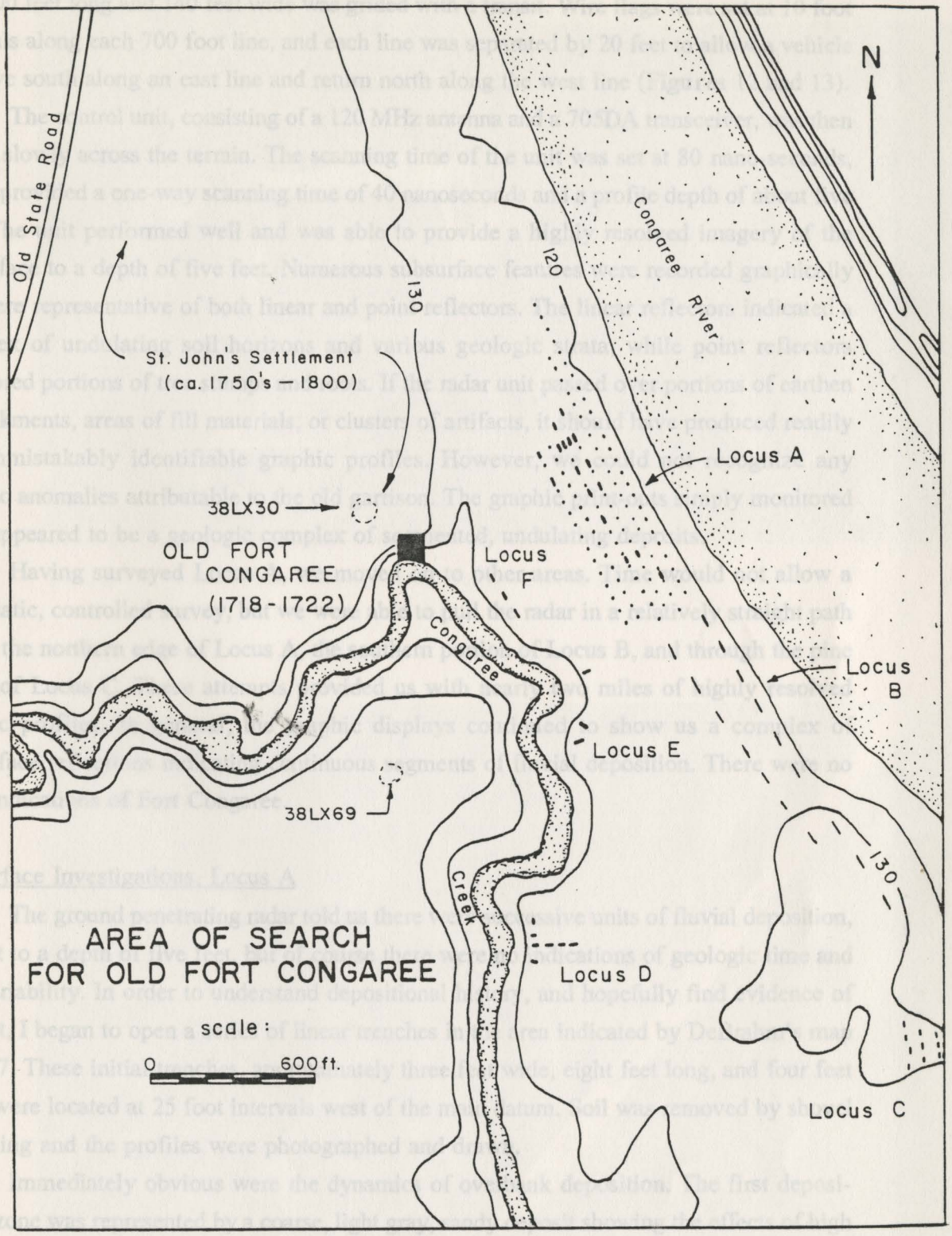


Figure 12. Area of Archaeological Search for Old Fort Congaree.

Figure 12. Area of Archaeological Search for Old Fort Congaree.

area 700 feet long and 140 feet wide was grided with a transit. Wire flags were set at 10 foot intervals along each 700 foot line, and each line was separated by 20 feet to allow a vehicle to move south along an east line and return north along the west line (**Figures** 12 and 13).

The control unit, consisting of a 120 MHz antenna and a 705DA transceiver, was then pulled slowly across the terrain. The scanning time of the unit was set at 80 nano-seconds, which provided a one-way scanning time of 40 nanoseconds and a profile depth of about five feet. The unit performed well and was able to provide a highly resolved imagery of the subsurface to a depth of five feet. Numerous subsurface features were recorded graphically and were representative of both linear and point reflectors. The linear reflectors indicated a complex of undulating soil horizons and various geologic strata, while point reflectors monitored portions of tree stumps and roots. If the radar unit passed over portions of earthen embankments, areas of fill materials, or clusters of artifacts, it should have produced readily and unmistakably identifiable graphic profiles. However, we could not recognize any specific anomalies attributable to the old garrison. The graphic print-outs simply monitored what appeared to be a geologic complex of segmented, undulating deposits.

Having surveyed Locus A, we moved on to other areas. Time would not allow a systematic, controlled survey, but we were able to pull the radar in a relatively straight path across the northern edge of Locus A, the southern portion of Locus B, and through the pine forest of Locus C. These attempts provided us with nearly two miles of highly resolved graphic profiles. In general, the graphic displays continued to show us a complex of subsurface reflections indicating continuous segments of fluvial deposition. There were no clear indications of Fort Congaree.

Subsurface Investigations, Locus A

The ground penetrating radar told us there were successive units of fluvial deposition, at least to a depth of five feet, but of course there were no indications of geologic time and soil variability. In order to understand depositional history, and hopefully find evidence of the fort, I began to open a series of linear trenches in the area indicated by DeBrahm's map of 1757. These initial trenches, approximately three feet wide, eight feet long, and four feet deep, were located at 25 foot intervals west of the main datum. Soil was removed by shovel skimming and the profiles were photographed and drawn.

Immediately obvious were the dynamics of overbank deposition. The first depositional zone was represented by a coarse, light gray, sandy deposit showing the effects of high energy in the form of cross-bedding, undulations, and a scouring of the soils immediately below. This deposit ranged from about 18 to 30 inches deep and rested unconformably on a deep clayey deposit that extended to a depth of at least four feet. The clay, which ranged from

Figure 13. Ground Penetrating Radar Being Used in Locus A.

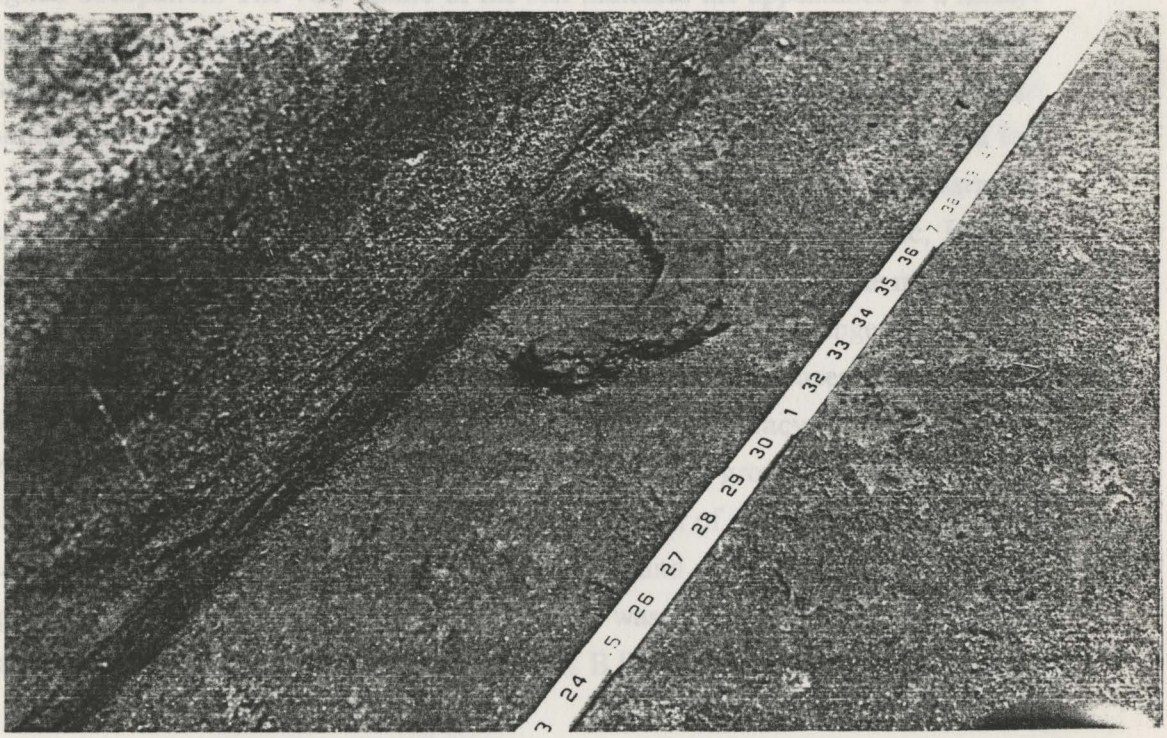
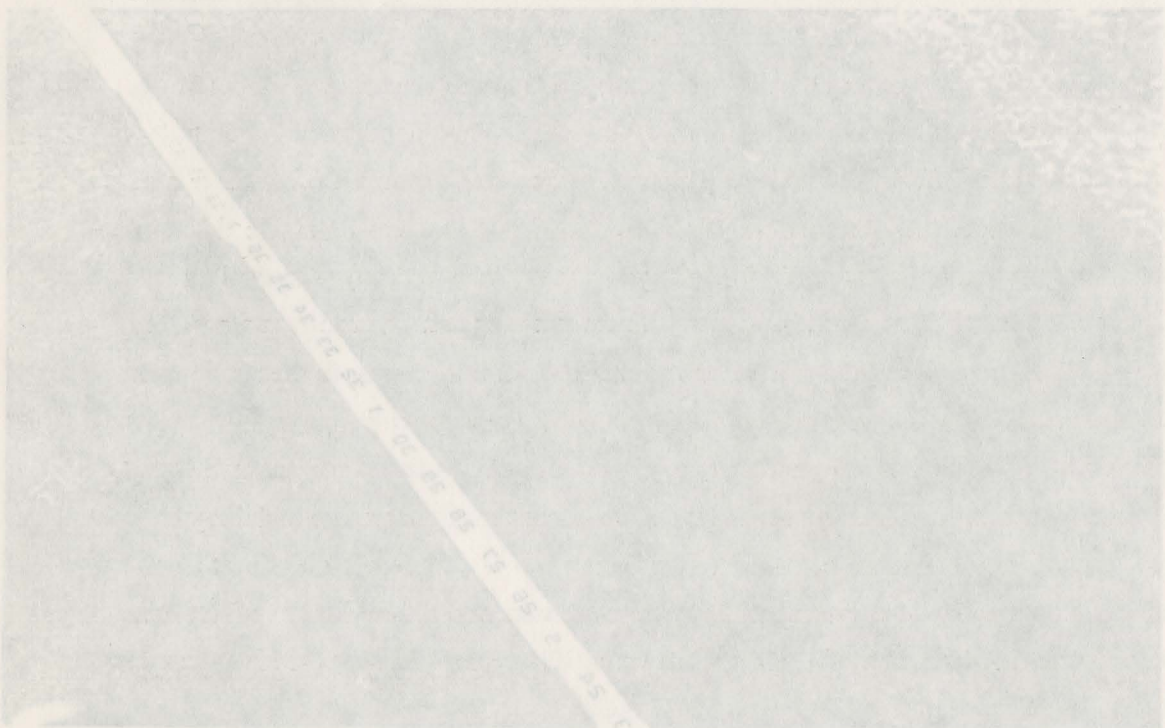


Figure 14. Nineteenth Century Horseshoe at a Depth of Four Feet.



brown to orange brown, was often interbedded with thin deposits of sand, sandy clay, and compact silts, forming a mosaic history of frequent flooding. There were no indications of well developed soil horizons, nor were there extensive indications of bioturbation. At a depth of about four feet in two of the units were the unmistakable scars of cultivation (**Figure** 16), and in another unit we found a badly corroded horse shoe (**Figure** 14), a highly deteriorated nail, and a lead shot at a similar depth. Although the nail and the lead shot could be easily related to either the 18th or 19th century, the horse shoe was similar to those used in the 19th century. If this were true, then the fort was buried much deeper.

After excavating several additional units and finding a parallel set of geological information, we moved to other areas with the anticipation of recovering specific artifacts sensitive to time. At the base of the thick, sandy deposit we were able to find a .22 caliber brass cartridge (31 inches deep), and within the deeper clay matrix of another unit we found a deteriorated brass base of a 16 gauge shotgun shell (51 inches deep) (**Figure** 19). Clearly the deposits were related to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and if we had any hopes of finding the fort we would have to go deeper to find deposits relative to the 18th century.

At a depth of about five to six feet we encountered a dark brown, sandy clay deposit with extensive bioturbation. Additionally, and more importantly, it contained scattered organic materials, prehistoric pottery sherds, and lithic debris - the very first appearance of any aboriginal occupation. The very nature of the soil indicates the appearance of a mature bottomland environment, and hence, a lengthy time of stable conditions (Trimble 1974:25). At successive depths below this unit the soil was continuously bioturbated, and we continued to find sporadic occurrences of pottery sherds and flake debitage to a depth of about eight feet (**Figures** 17 and 18). Soil from the dark brown unit, which had produced a Mississippian component of burnished and stamped sherds, was submitted to Beta Analytic, Inc. for radiocarbon dating. It yielded a date of 360 +/- 70 years B.P. (Beta- 31256). The median date of this occupation is A.D. 1590, and if we apply standard deviations, the range is from A.D. 1520 to A.D. 1660. The application of a second standard deviation increases the range from A.D. 1450 to A.D. 1730, which provides a 95% probability of accuracy.

At a depth of 18 inches below this zone (eight feet below ground surface) we found additional pottery sherds, scattered quartz debitage, and a cluster of charcoal which may have represented a small hearth. Although small, fragmentary, and somewhat deteriorated, the sherds appeared to be fabric-impressed. The charcoal was submitted for a radiocarbon determination, resulting in a date of 1,940 +/-110 years B.P. (Beta - 31045) (see **Figures** 17 and 18).

If the fort existed anywhere within Locus A, then it would have to be on or slightly above the dark brown zone containing Mississippian artifacts, at a depth from five to six feet.

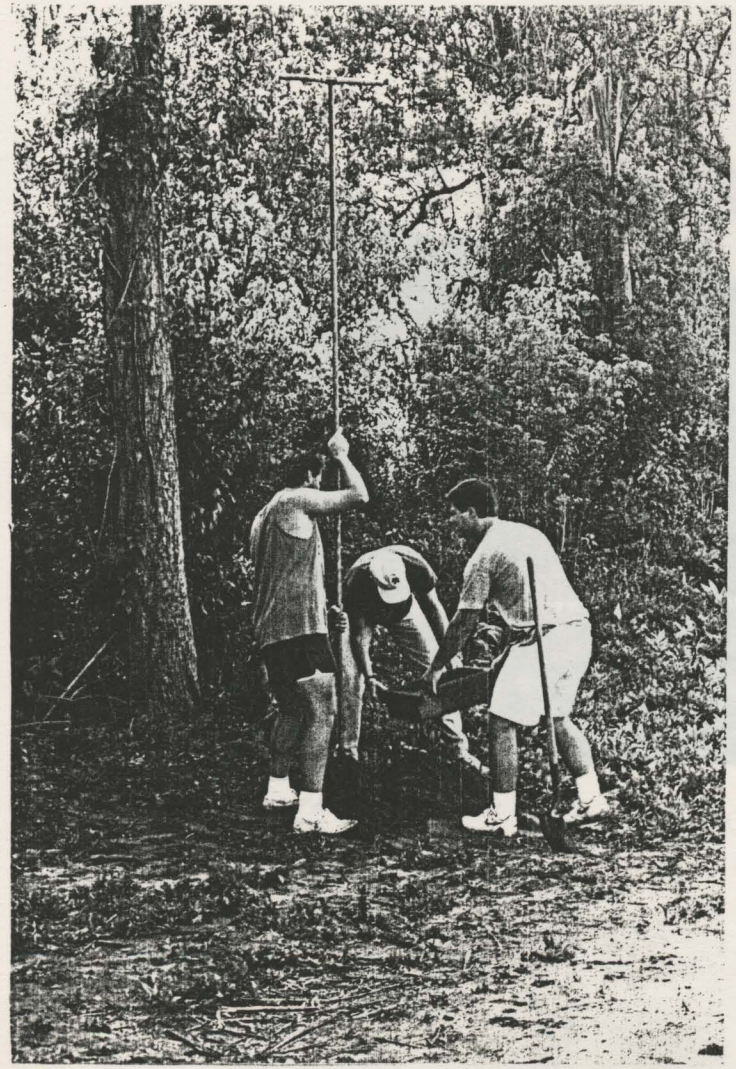


Figure 15. Volunteer Crew Using Twelve Foot Soil Auger.

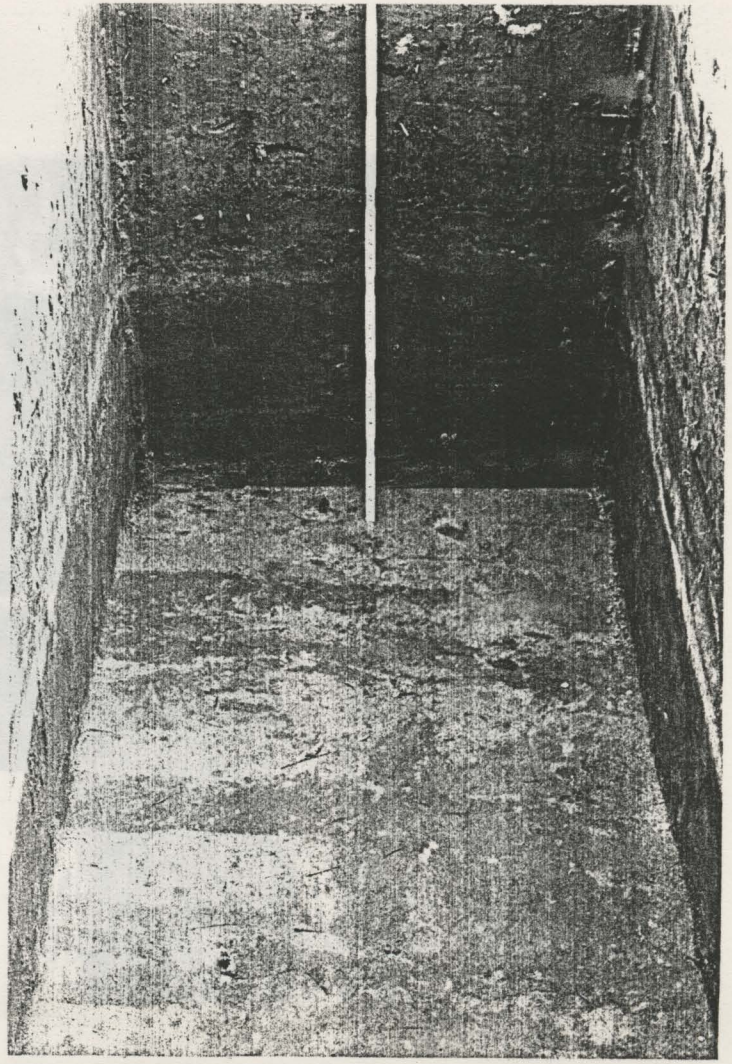
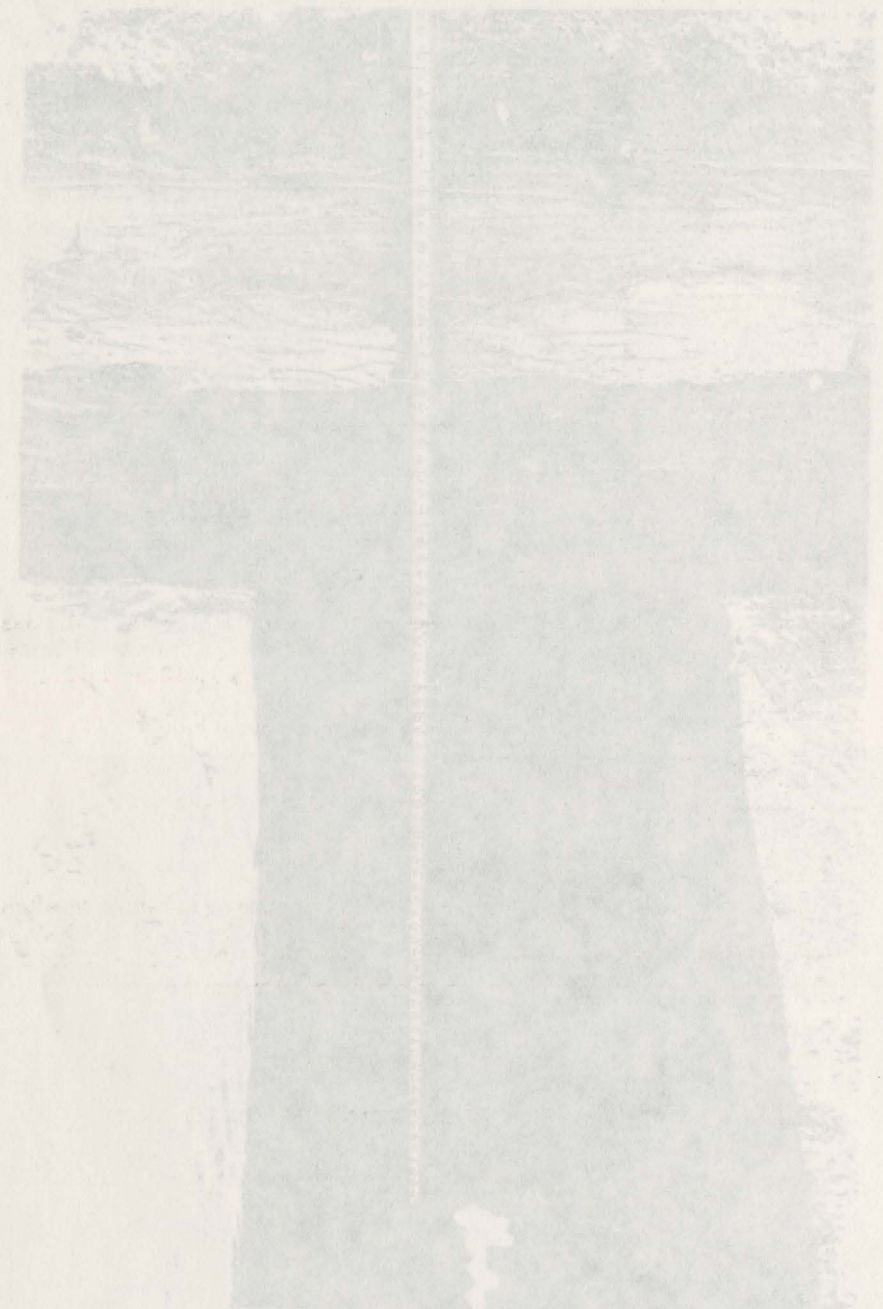


Figure 16. Plow Scars Found at a Depth of Four Feet.



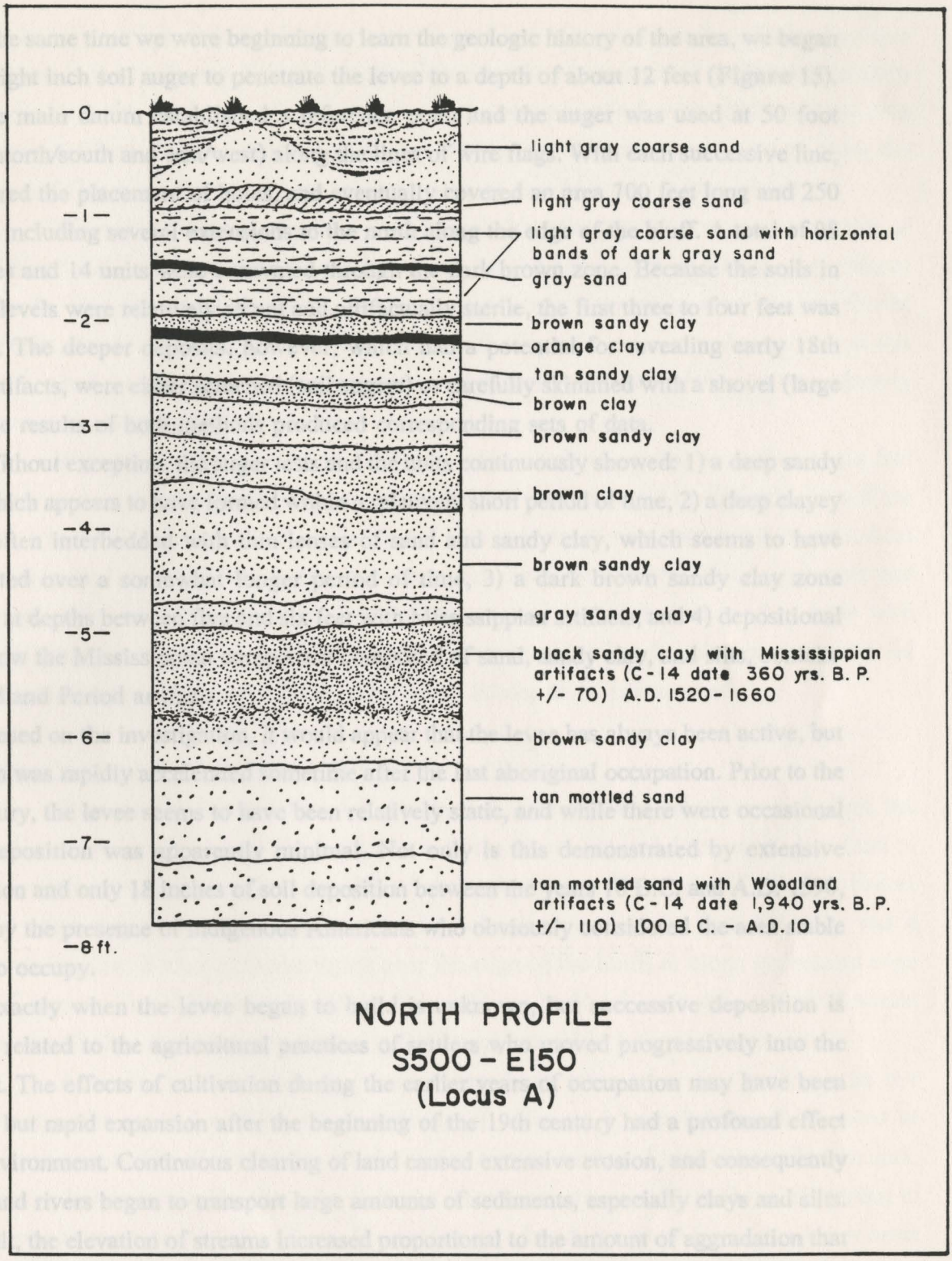
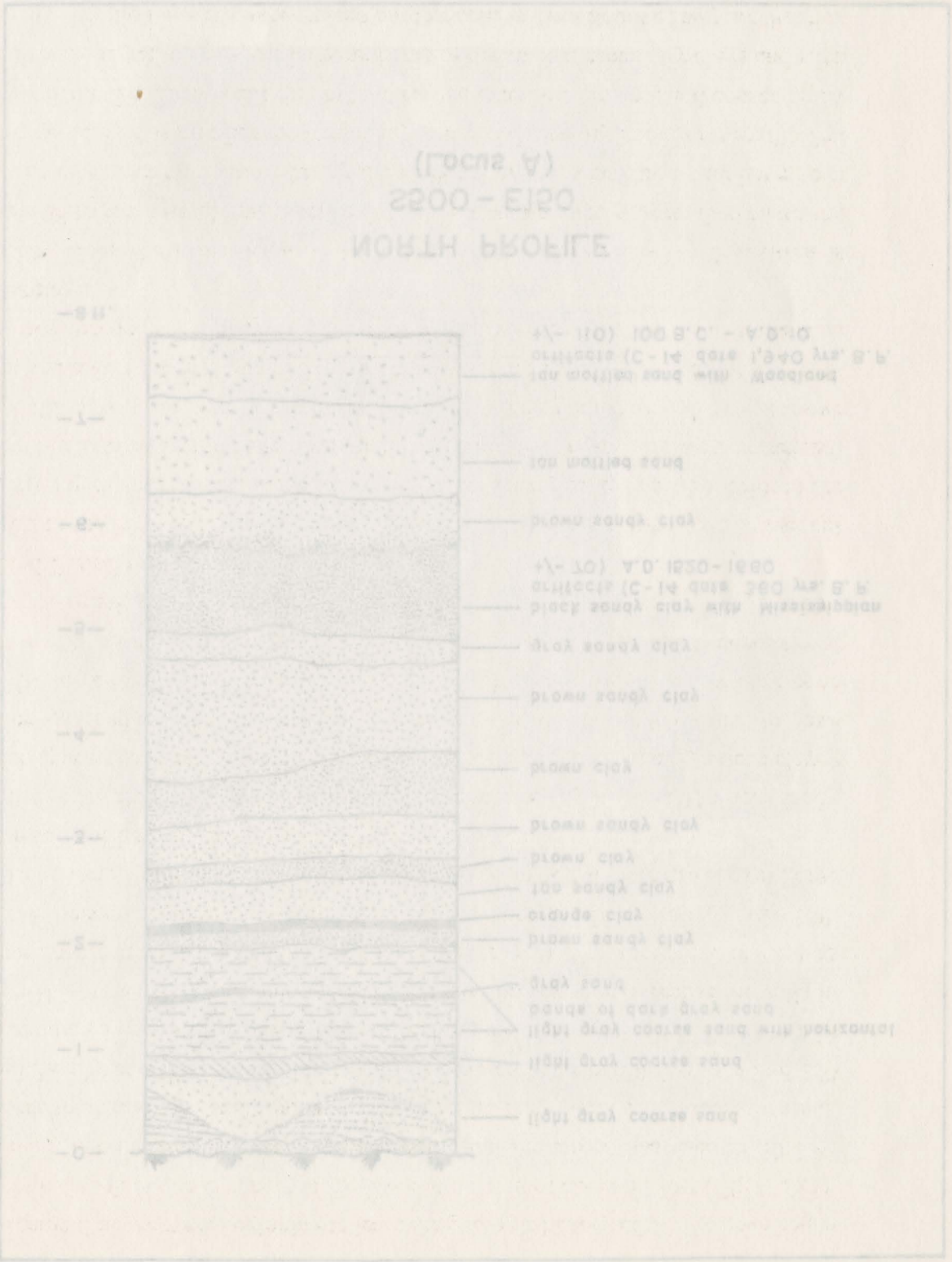


Figure 18. North Profile of S500-E150, Indicating Soil Structure.



At about the same time we were beginning to learn the geologic history of the area, we began using an eight inch soil auger to penetrate the levee to a depth of about 12 feet (**Figure** 15). Again, the main datum established a reference point and the auger was used at 50 foot intervals (north/south and east/west) along the lines of wire flags. With each successive line, we staggered the placement of holes, and eventually covered an area 700 feet long and 250 feet wide, including several extensions to the north along the edge of the bluff. A total of 98 auger holes and 14 units were excavated through the dark brown zone. Because the soils in the upper levels were relatively recent and artifactually sterile, the first three to four feet was neglected. The deeper deposits, however, which had a potential for revealing early 18th century artifacts, were either screened (soil augers) or carefully skimmed with a shovel (large units). The results of both methods produced corresponding sets of data.

Without exception, the auger tests and the units continuously showed: 1) a deep sandy deposit which appears to have formed within a relatively short period of time, 2) a deep clayey deposit, often interbedded with thin lenses of sand and sandy clay, which seems to have accumulated over a somewhat longer period of time, 3) a dark brown sandy clay zone occurring at depths between five and six feet with Mississippian artifacts, and 4) depositional zones below the Mississippian component composed of sand, sandy clay, and silts, containing Woodland Period artifacts.

Based on the investigation, it would appear that the levee has always been active, but deposition was rapidly accelerated sometime after the last aboriginal occupation. Prior to the 18th century, the levee seems to have been relatively static, and while there were occasional floods, deposition was apparently minimal. Not only is this demonstrated by extensive bioturbation and only 18 inches of soil deposition between the years 10 B.C. and A.D. 1590, but also by the presence of indigenous Americans who obviously considered the area stable enough to occupy.

Exactly when the levee began to build is unknown, but successive deposition is probably related to the agricultural practices of settlers who moved progressively into the piedmont. The effects of cultivation during the earlier years of occupation may have been minimal, but rapid expansion after the beginning of the 19th century had a profound effect on the environment. Continuous clearing of land caused extensive erosion, and consequently streams and rivers began to transport large amounts of sediments, especially clays and silts. As a result, the elevation of streams increased proportional to the amount of aggradation that collected in their beds. Consequently, the elevation of floods began to increase, and bottomlands, that were otherwise relatively static, began to receive piedmont sediments through successive phases of inundation (Trimble 1974).

The geologic zone composed of reddish clays between the Mississippian compo-

nent and the surface deposit of coarse grained sand is surely related to the effects of erosive land use in the piedmont. Not only is this shown by the appearance of reddish brown clays interbedded with thin lenses of sand, but also by the presence of a few late 19th and early 20th century artifacts. Similar deposits were seen throughout the entire levee system, along the edges of Congaree Creek, and covering portions of the old garrison (see Figure 19).

The surface deposit of coarse sand is probably related to the tremendous floods of 1908 and 1929. Because this deposit frequently has the appearance of a single depositional episode, i.e., deep cross-bedding, the absence of clayey deposits, or other interfluvial deposits, it may well be related to the flood of 1929. Given the velocity and magnitude of this flood, it had the potential to scour away portions of earlier deposits leaving an unconformity between the sand and the clay.

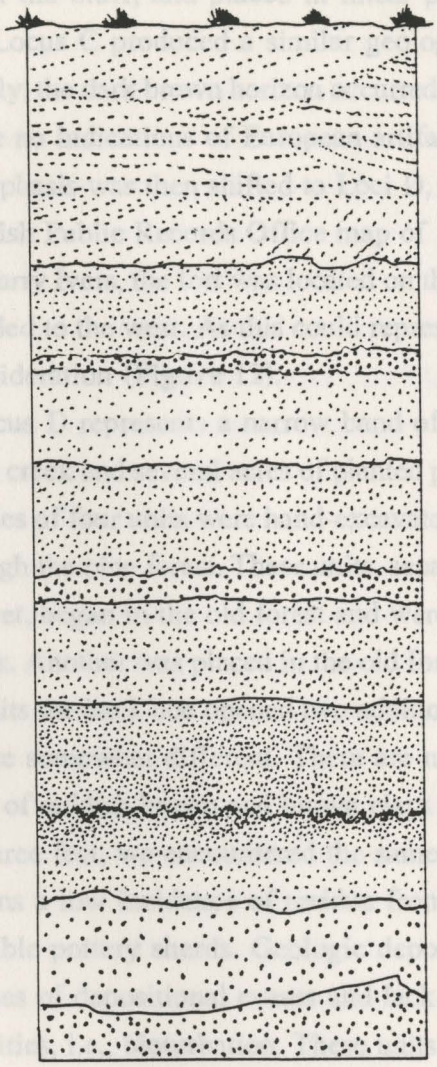
With the realization that an 18th century bottomland existed some five to six feet below present day elevations, the promise of finding the fort began to diminish. Even if the area was stable enough to allow aboriginal occupations, it was susceptible to periodical flooding, and therefore unamenable to a permanent settlement dependent on cultivation and livestock for its own sustenance. Beyond its survival, it also had to conduct trade with indigenous Americans and provide storage for trade goods and perishable deerskins. In order to test this provisional assumption, other areas needed to be investigated.

Subsurface Investigations, Locus B, C, D, E, and F

The investigation of Locus A had taken a considerable amount of time and effort, but we had learned a great deal about the nature of the levee. We had demonstrated, at least to our satisfaction, that there were no 18th century occupations. Meriwether, DeBrahm, Faden, and other map makers were not correct in their placement of the fort, but there was a possibility that it existed further south near the edge of the bluff, or along the eastern edge of Congaree Creek. Furthermore, if the fort could not be found, such time and effort would end any further consideration about the fort being located in a former bottomland.

Attending our decision to continue searching other areas was a change in our investigative strategies. With the knowledge of sediment accumulation and the need to remove several feet of overburden, we decided to employ the use of a backhoe to find the dark, mature, bottomland soils. Once the unit was discovered, we would use shovel skimming to expose features or related artifacts. If anything was found, we could then open larger areas more expediently.

Loci B and C produced virtually the same geologic information, i.e., sandy surface soils, reddish brown clays, and a dark brown horizon with aboriginal artifacts. In Locus B a series of backhoe cuts were made along the edge of the bluff and at a distance of about 200



DEPOSITIONAL MODEL OF THE FLOODPLAIN SEARCH AREA

Figure 19. Depositional Model of Soils in Locus A. Similar Structures Were Noted in Loci B and C.

feet from the bluff. Each cut was separated by a distance of about 100 to 150 feet. In Locus C a total of ten cuts, separated at intervals of about 75 to 100 feet, were made parallel with the edge of the bluff, and placed in linear positions between rows of pines (**Figure** 12). Although Locus C produced a similar geologic profile, the clayey zone was thinner and, consequently, the dark brown horizon occurred at depths in the range of about four to five feet. There were no indications of European artifacts.

Emphasis was then shifted to Loci D, E, and F because of the fortification indicated on the British Public Records Office map of 1750. According to the map, and the interpretation by Larry Ivers, the fort was located on the eastern edge of the creek on a meander point that expanded to the west. As this could represent at least three separate areas, each area was given consideration (**Figure** 12).

Locus D represents a narrow band of a mature hardwood forest existing along the edge of the creek and several acres of planted pines extending several hundred feet to the east. First, a series of four units were hand-excavated, measuring about three feet wide and six feet long, through the pine forest. These units, separated by variable distances ranging from about 50 to 75 feet, began in the old forest and were placed in a linear arrangement perpendicular to the creek. Another was placed in the old forest 75 feet to the north. To the north and south of these units the back hoe opened two additional large trenches (**Figure** 12). Here, the flood deposits are somewhat different. There are no coarse, sandy deposits, but rather relatively thin layers of reddish brown and brown clays mixed with inclusions of fine sand. At a depth of about three feet, we encountered the same dark brown zone which is highly bioturbated and contains a low incidence of residue from aboriginal occupations in the form of small, unidentifiable pottery sherds. Geologic deposits above the old occupational horizon show distinct lines of depositional events and lack definitive statements of extensive animal and plant activities, i.e., bioturbation. These units, which were placed on the highest elevations, also failed to yield any evidence of European settlement.

Locus E (**Figure** 12) produced virtually the same set of geologic information, i.e., relatively thin deposits of reddish brown and brown sandy clays. The dark brown zone was not found, but bioturbation increased substantially at a depth of about three feet. Presumably, this indicates a stable land surface prior to the effects of historic piedmont deflation. There were no indications of aboriginal occupations nor any other kind of settlement.

In Locus F we made three cuts, each separated by about 100 feet along the edge of the elevated soils. Instead of indicating a profile of silts and sandy clays, each unit showed us about 12 to 18 inches of coarse sand overlying deposits of reddish brown clays. At the base of the clay, some three to four feet deep, we found the old mature bottomland soils. Shovel skimming failed to reveal any indications of soil disturbances, features, or other evidence of human habitation.

The Discovery of Old Fort Congaree

Introduction

Old Fort Congaree was discovered during the end of the field project and, consequently, we could not implement research strategies capable of answering questions beyond the recognition of the fort. Our efforts continued to use a back hoe for initial discovery, and shovel skimming was then employed in areas that showed distinctive features such as linear trenches presumed to be dry moats. Time became the critical factor in revealing outlines of moats, and for this very reason we were unable to spend long hours troweling through the moats with the anticipation of finding temporally diagnostic artifacts. Our strategies were solely oriented towards outlining, as best as possible, the fortification.

Shovel skimming was not always employed in each back hoe trench. Units 4 and 5, for example, were totally revealed with the back hoe because the moat outline was not obvious until the walls of the trench had been troweled smooth. In other areas where skimming was employed, attempts at data recovery simply involved a collection of artifacts from relatively deep units, with attention given only to gross proveniences. No artifacts were noted directly on or within the moats; the recovered assemblage probably represents scattered and mixed debris from the settlement of St. John's, and quite possibly artifacts from the fort, without contextural association.

The area was mapped and each unit was photographed and drawn. The long, deep, narrow trenches made photography difficult because photographs had to be taken at oblique angles, which produces a distorted representation of features. Furthermore, shadows in the dark hardwood forest created photographs that fail to effectively differentiate feature outlines. For this reason, I have presented drawings, which are more accurate representations of features.

Discovery of the Moats

The investigation of the levee revealed that it was not an old land surface capable of supporting a permanent settlement. Instead it was a passive levee that became increasingly active after European settlers penetrated the piedmont and cleared land for agriculture. Mature bottomland soils that represent environmental conditions prior to the beginning of the 19th century, clearly demonstrate that the levee was at least five to six feet lower when the first European colonists began to venture into the wilderness. If Trimble (1974) is correct about piedmont deflation and subsequent aggradation of river beds, then the Congaree River must have been lower when the fort was constructed. The dark, mature, bottomland soils, now nearly six feet below the surface, remind us of an earlier time when the river, without

piedmont sediments, overflowed its banks and covered a large area. During periods of normal flow, the bottomland would have provided settlers with a livable environment, but threats of periodical flooding would have discouraged any considerations of permanency. Therefore, the fort would have been built in a more stable environment.

Attending a need for permanent structures, cultivation of subsistence crops, and enclosures for livestock, the builders also needed a location convenient to navigable streams and trade routes. Along the western edge of the old bottomland and on the north side of Congaree Creek there is an old terrace that would have provided a strategic location. Earlier, this area had been investigated by several researchers, but evidence of the fort was never found.

Prior to 1980, the area was relatively open and access could be obtained by using small farm roads that skirted the edge of the field. During the last decade, however, the area became inaccessible because of recent tree growth, underbrush, and a large field of planted pines. By using the backhoe we were able to clear the small road along the eastern edge of the terrace. The environment on the north edge of the creek where it begins its southerly flow is a hardwood forest composed of oaks and hickories. The forest extends towards the north for a distance of about 50 feet and terminates on the edge of an old cultivated field, now planted in pines. Towards the east, the terrace also supports a similar hardwood forest, but as the terrace begins to fall into the bottomland the forest begins to support sweetgum, sycamore, elm, and other species common to damper soils. On the north edge of the creek there are no noticable remnants of the old garrison, but there are deflated portions of Civil War earthworks actively used in February of 1865. Not only are there linear depressions along the north edge of the earthworks, but to the east and west there are oval shaped depressions which provided soldiers with additional soil for the breastworks (**Figure** 20).

The first series of backhoe cuts along the edge of the cultivated field were about 18 inches deep and revealed mid to late 18th century artifacts, apparently associated with St. John's settlement. Confident that remains of the garrison were relatively shallow, we began removing soil by shovel skimming Units 8 and 9. At a depth of three feet, we continued to encounter creamware, salt-glazed stoneware, Westerwald, Chinese porcelain (**Figure** 21), and lumps of badly deteriorated iron (nails ?), including fragments of animal bone and poorly fired red brick (Table 1). At the very base of Unit 9, however, there was a distinct north/south line separating culturally altered from sterile soil. The unit was taken six inches deeper and opposite edges of what appeared to be a moat were discovered (**Figures** 20 and 24). South of Unit 9, in the area excavated by Civil War laborers, we found another portion of the moat in Unit 10 (**Figures** 20 and 26).

Table 1

Historic Materials Overlying the Moat in Unit 9

Kitchen Artifact Group

Ceramics:

Porcelain
- 2 - Undecorated, light blue
- 2 - Underglazed blue Chinese (1730 m.d.)
- 1 - Overglazed enamelled Chinese (1730 m.d.)
- 5 - subtotal

Stoneware
- 3 - British brown (1733 m.d.)
- 1 - Westerwald (1738 m.d.)
- 3 - White salt-glazed (1758 m.d.)
- 7 - subtotal

Earthenware
- 1 - Lead glazed slipware (1733 m.d.)
- 1 - Jackfield (1760 m.d.)
- 3 - Decorated delftware (1750 m.d.)
- 18 - Creamware, undecorated (1791 m.d.)
- 1 - Creamware, transfer-printed (1790 m.d.)
- 1 - Redware, brown glazed
- 1 - Redware, lead glazed
- 1 - Unglazed, light gray
- 27 - subtotal
- 39 - Total Ceramics

(Mean Ceramic Date of A.D. 1769.76)

Wine Bottles:
- 8 - dark green

Bone:
- 2 - pig tusk fragments
- 4 - unidentified fragments
- 6 - total

Architecture Artifact Group

Nails:
- 9 - badly encrusted with rust
- 4 - light green window pane
- 13 - total

Tobacco Artifact Group

Tobacco Pipes:
- 9 - stems with 5/64 inch dia.
- 1 - stem with 6/64 inch dia.
- 1 - bowl fragment
- 11- total

Arms Artifact Group
- 1 - tan gunflint

At about the same time, successive backhoe cuts (Units 3, 4, and 5) along the eastern edge of the terrace had revealed the unmistakable outlines of another moat, which also extended in a north/south direction (**Figure** 20). Two additional units (1 and 2) were excavated by hand and also showed horizontal and vertical profiles of a linear feature. In an attempt to find the northern moat, an extensive trench (Unit 6) was cut for a distance of 100 feet. The trench clearly showed nearly four feet of alternating layers of orange brown sandy clay, tan sandy clay, mottled brown sandy clay, and a continuous zone of a greenish gray sandy clay, all of which rested on a bioturbated light brown sandy clay. There were no indications of the moat, although a low incidence of artifacts relative to the mid to late 18th century were seen throughout the profile. Structural features and other cultural activities associated with the fort had been scoured away by successive occupations, the long term

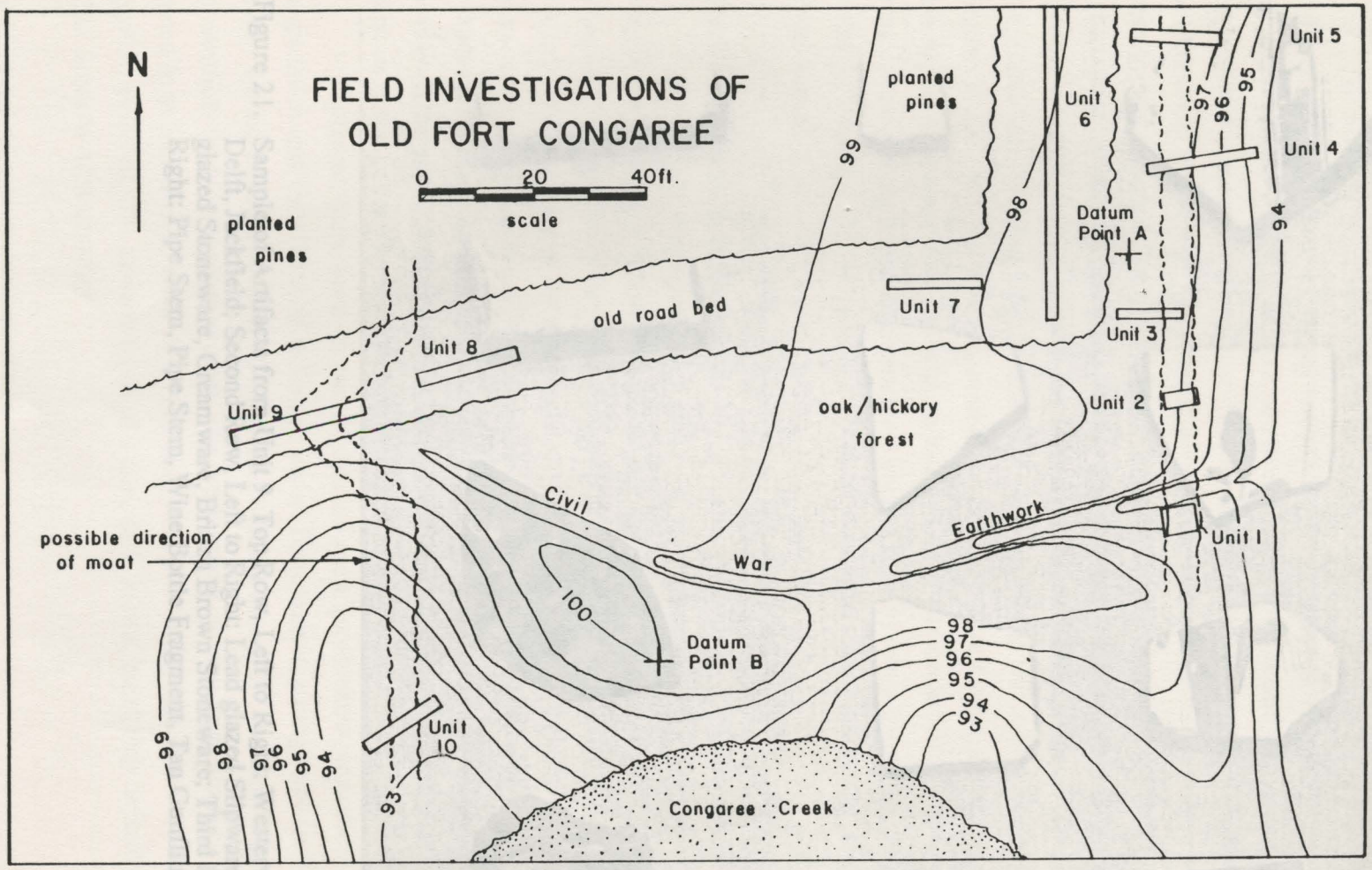


Figure 20. Field Investigations of Old Fort Congaree.

Figure 32. Field investigations of Old Fort Congaree.

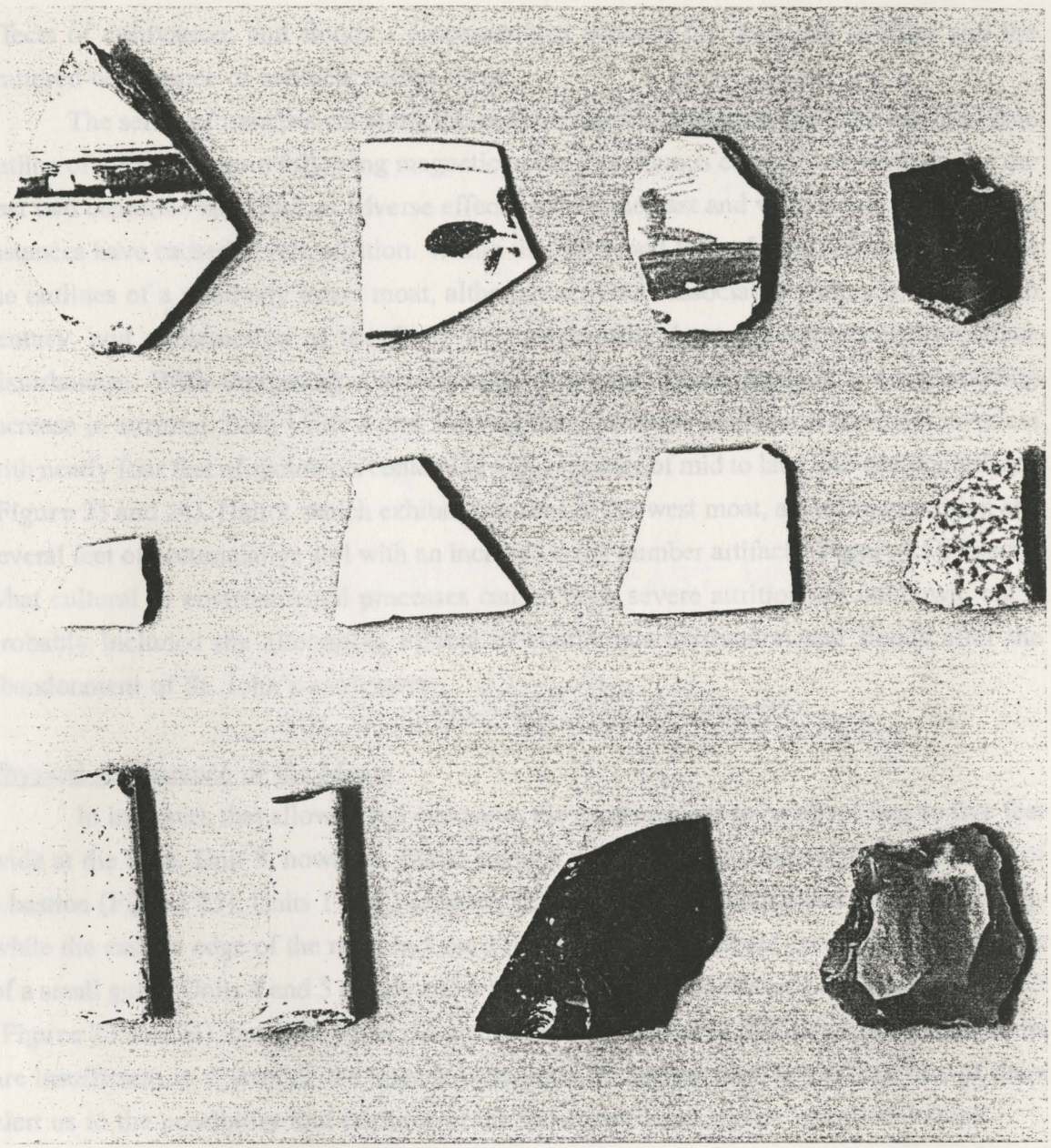
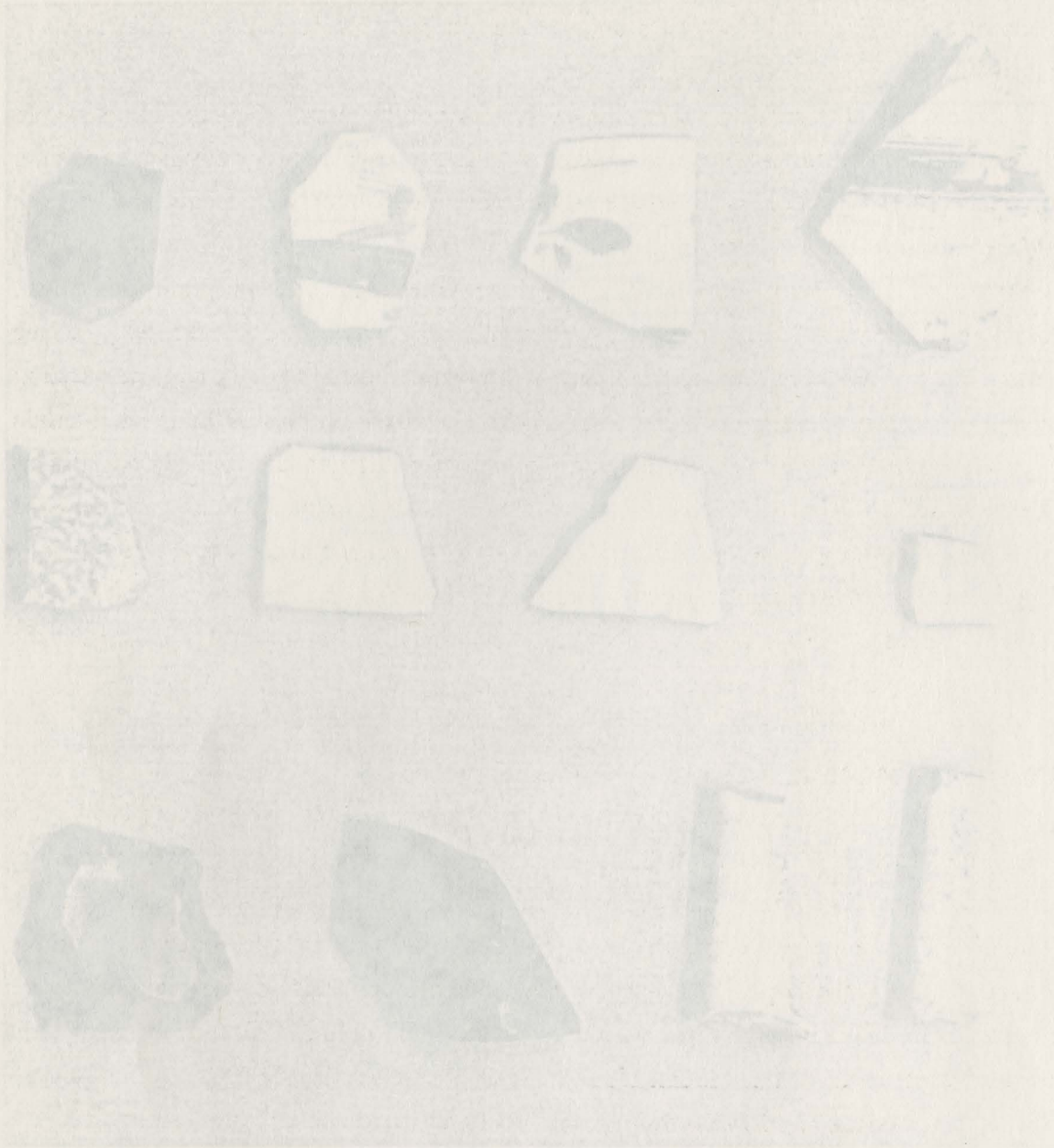


Figure 21. Sample of Artifacts from Unit 9. Top Row, Left to Right: Westerwald, Delft, Delft, Jackfield; Second Row, Left to Right: Lead glazed Slipware, White Salt-glazed Stoneware, Creamware, British Brown Stoneware; Third Row, Left to Right: Pipe Stem, Pipe Stem, Wine Bottle Fragment, Tan Gunflint.



effects of cultivation, and floods - processes that account for deep soil profiles and the scattered occurrence of artifacts within them.

The series of trenches cut along the eastern edge of the terrace show the unmistakable outline of a linear feature following magnetic north. Continuous cultural activities during the past two centuries have had an adverse effect on both the east and west moats, and in some instances have caused severe attrition. Within the hardwood forest Units 1, 2, and 3 revealed the outlines of a relatively intact moat, although activities associated with mid to late 18th century, and construction of the Civil War earthworks, have caused extensive surface disturbances. With increasing distance away from the forest, there is a corresponding increase in attrition. Both Units 4 and 5 reveal only the basal portions of the moat, overlain with nearly four feet of sediments containing a light scatter of mid to late 18th century artifacts (Figure 23 and 24). Unit 9, which exhibits portions of the west moat, also shows attrition and several feet of accumulative soil with an increase in the number artifacts (**Figure** 25). Exactly what cultural or environmental processes caused such severe attrition are unknown, but it probably included the alternating effects of continuous cultivation and floods after the abandonment of St. John's settlement.

Physical Appearance of the Moats

In instances that allowed full exposure, the moats appear to be about four to five feet wide at the base. Unit 9, however, shows a much wider moat and may represent portion of a bastion (**Figure** 25). Units 1 and 2 (**Figure** 22) show only horizontal and vertical portions, while the eastern edge of the moat in Unit 3 (not illustrated) suffered recent erosion because of a small gully. Units 4 and 5 clearly show that the moat sloped towards the center of the fort (**Figure** 23 and 24), but Unit 10 shows a centered slope (**Figure** 26). Obviously, three units are insufficient to determine the intended character of construction, but at least two of them alert us to the possibility that portions of the moat may have had an intentional slope.

Sediment beds seen in the profile of each moat show periodical episodes of aggradation and the effects of stationary water. For example, stratigraphy in Unit 5, and the badly eroded remains in Unit 4, show rapid filling along the western edge of the moat, presumably from an eroding parapet. The precipitation of clays from standing water are also noted in at least two separate layers of thin, dark brown deposits. Unit 10 shows a similar profile, especially the accumulation of a thin, dark brown, basal clay deposit overlain with thin deposits of sandy clay.

Age of the Moats

Continuous attrition has destroyed a great deal of associative evidence, and as a result,

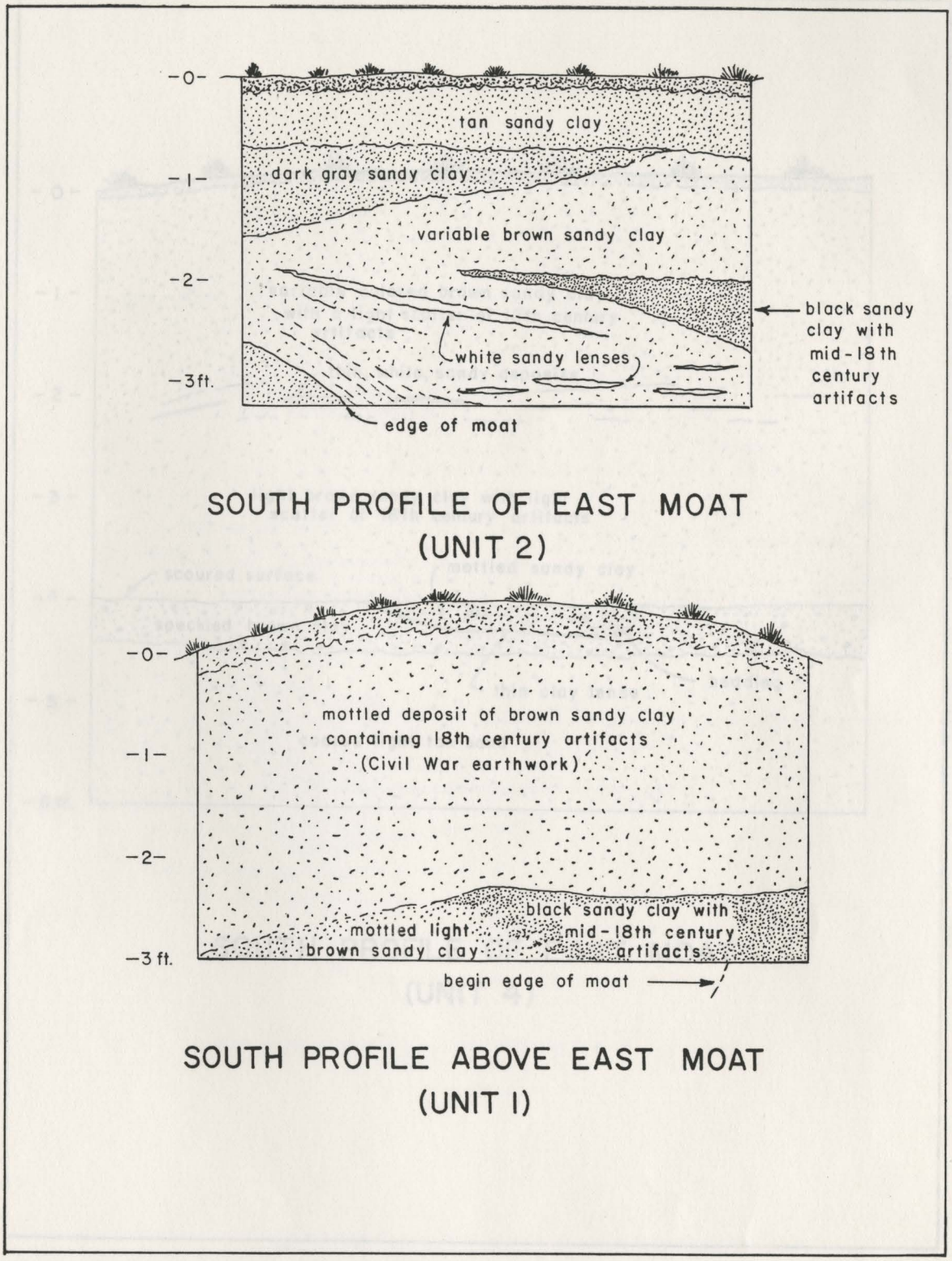
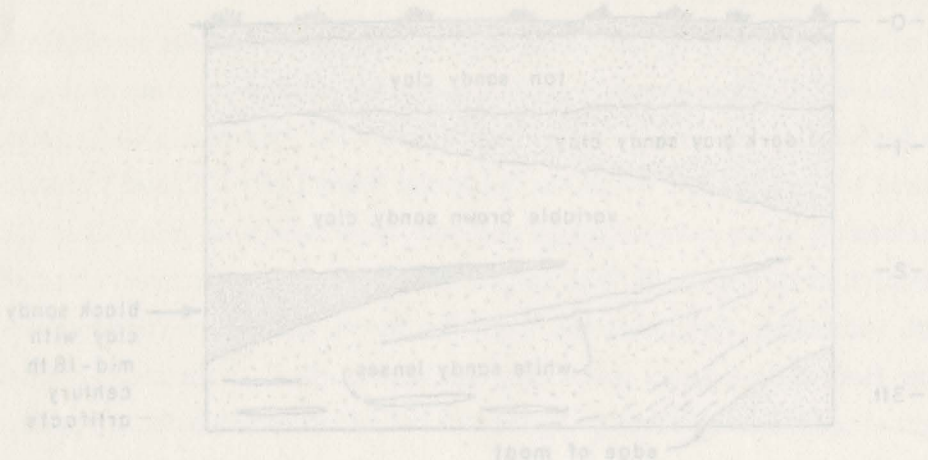
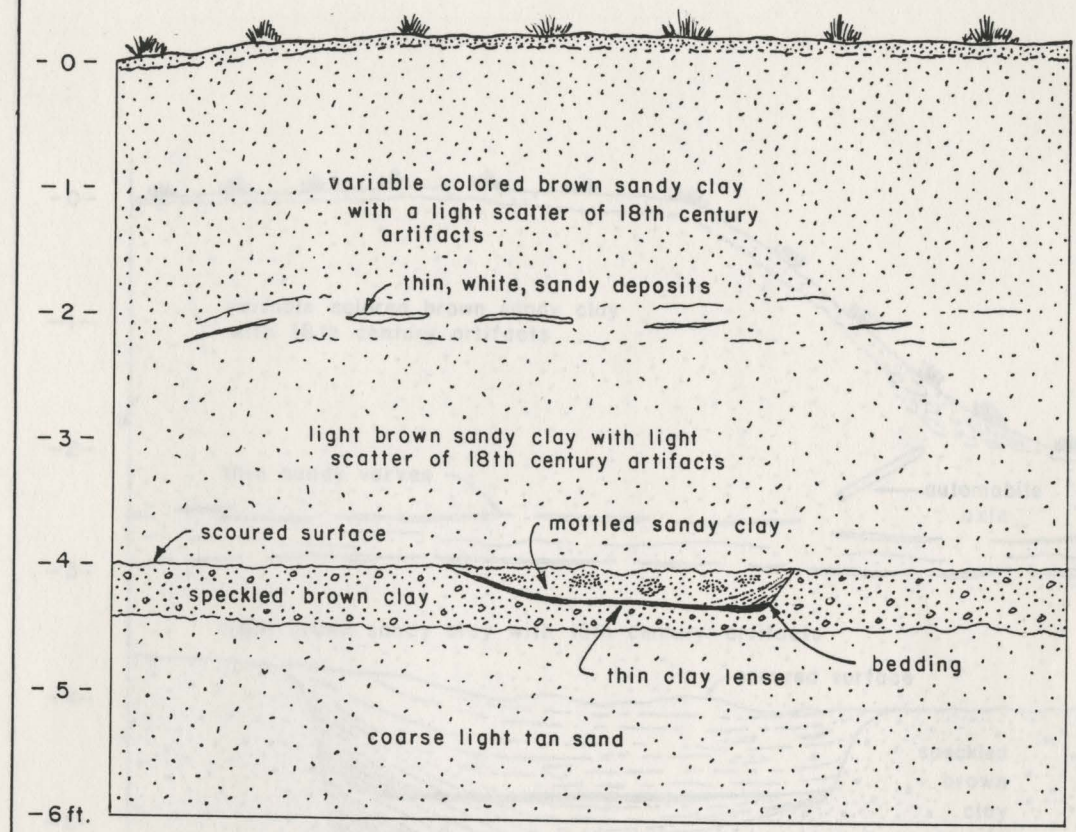


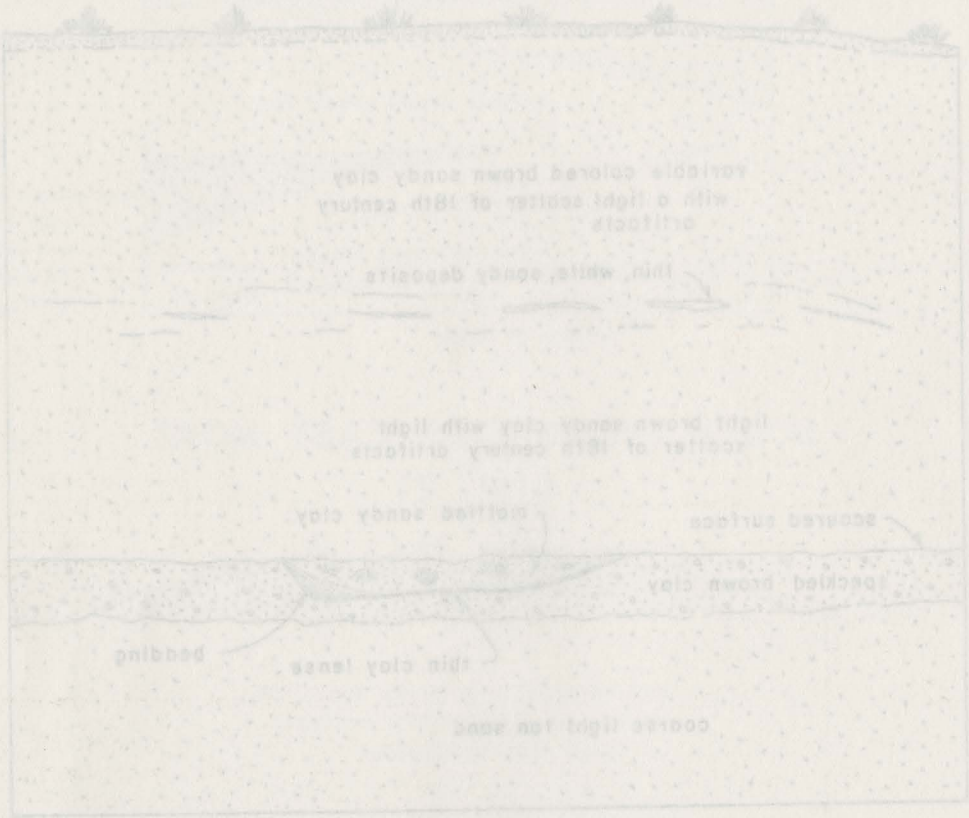
Figure 22. Profiles of Units 1 and 2 Showing East Moat.





SOUTH PROFILE OF EAST MOAT
(UNIT 4)

Figure 23. Profile of Unit 4 Showing East Moat.


- 0 -
- 1 -
- 2 -
- 3 -
- 4 -
- 5 -
- 6 ft.

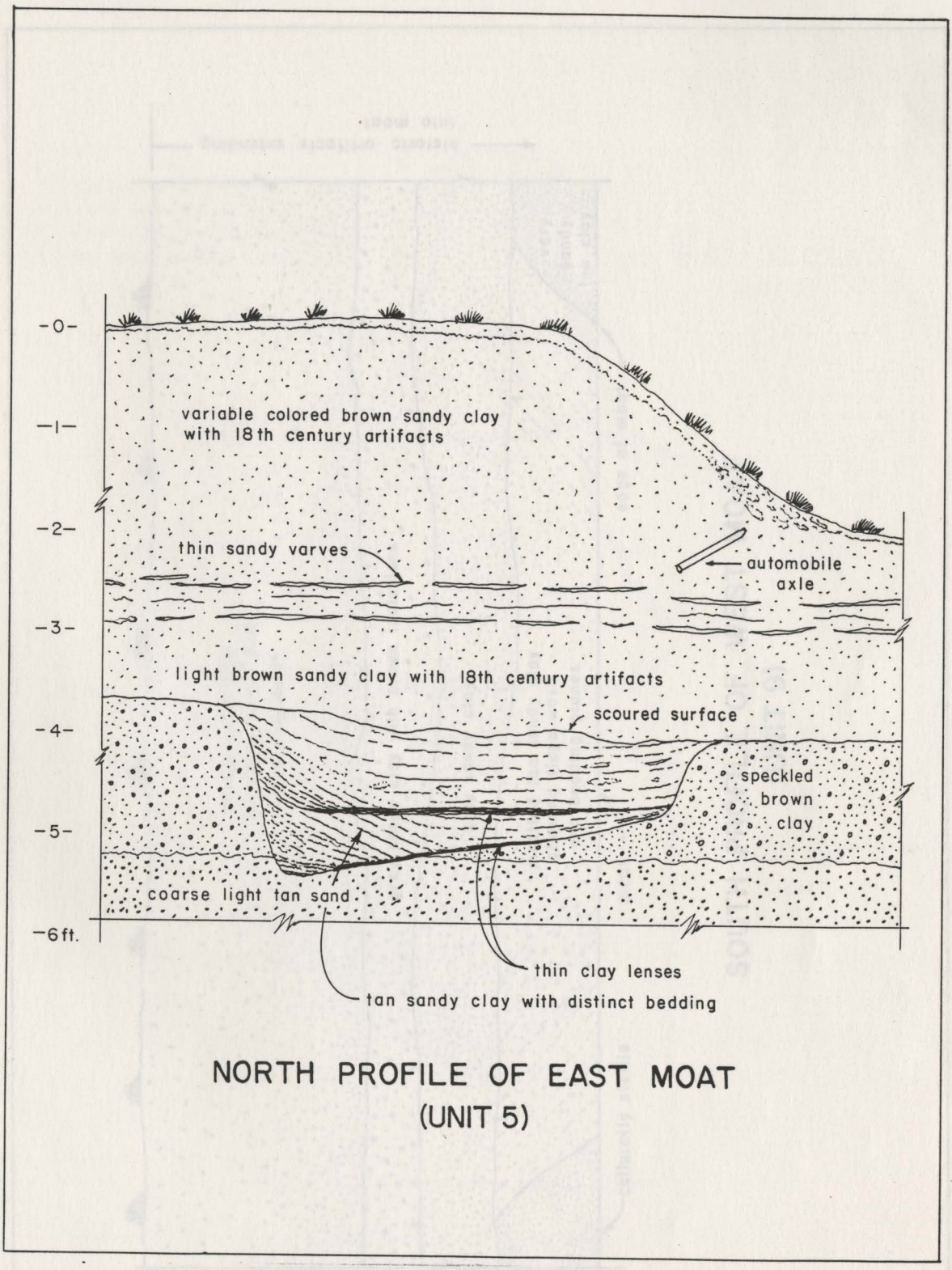
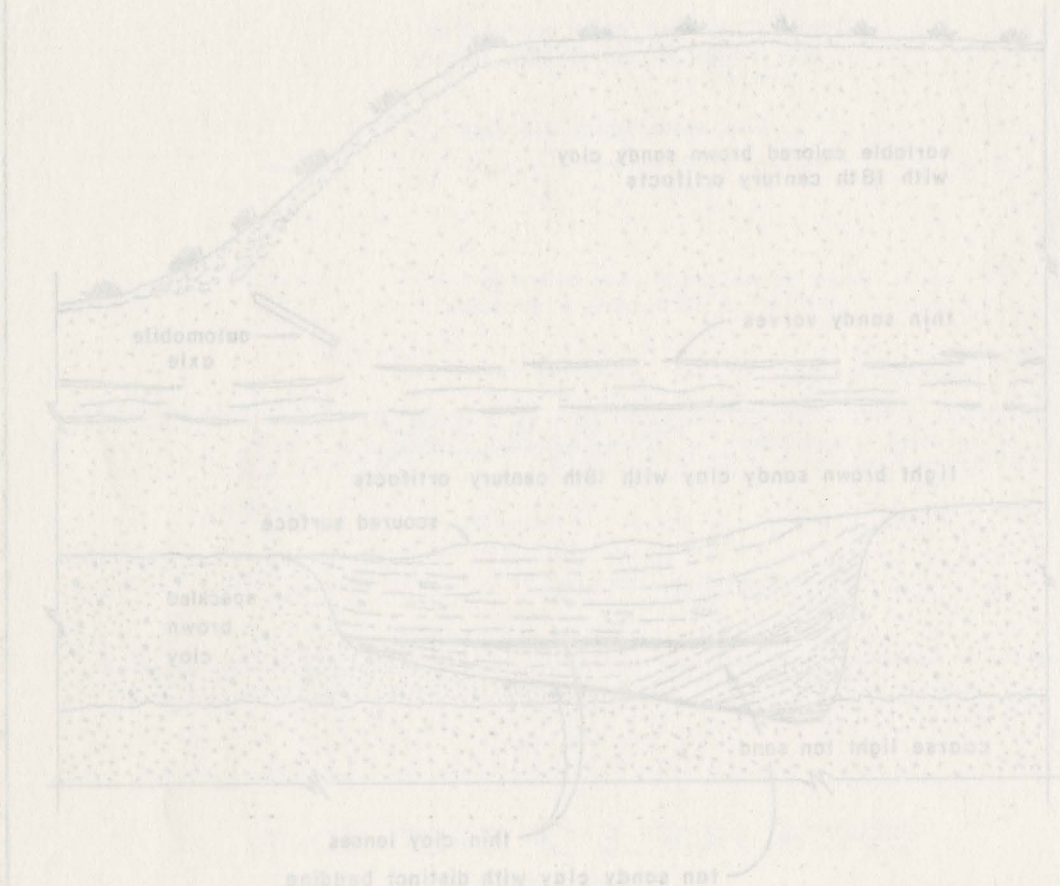


Figure 24. Profile of Unit 5 Showing East Moat.


automobile
axle
scoured surface
speckled
brown
clay

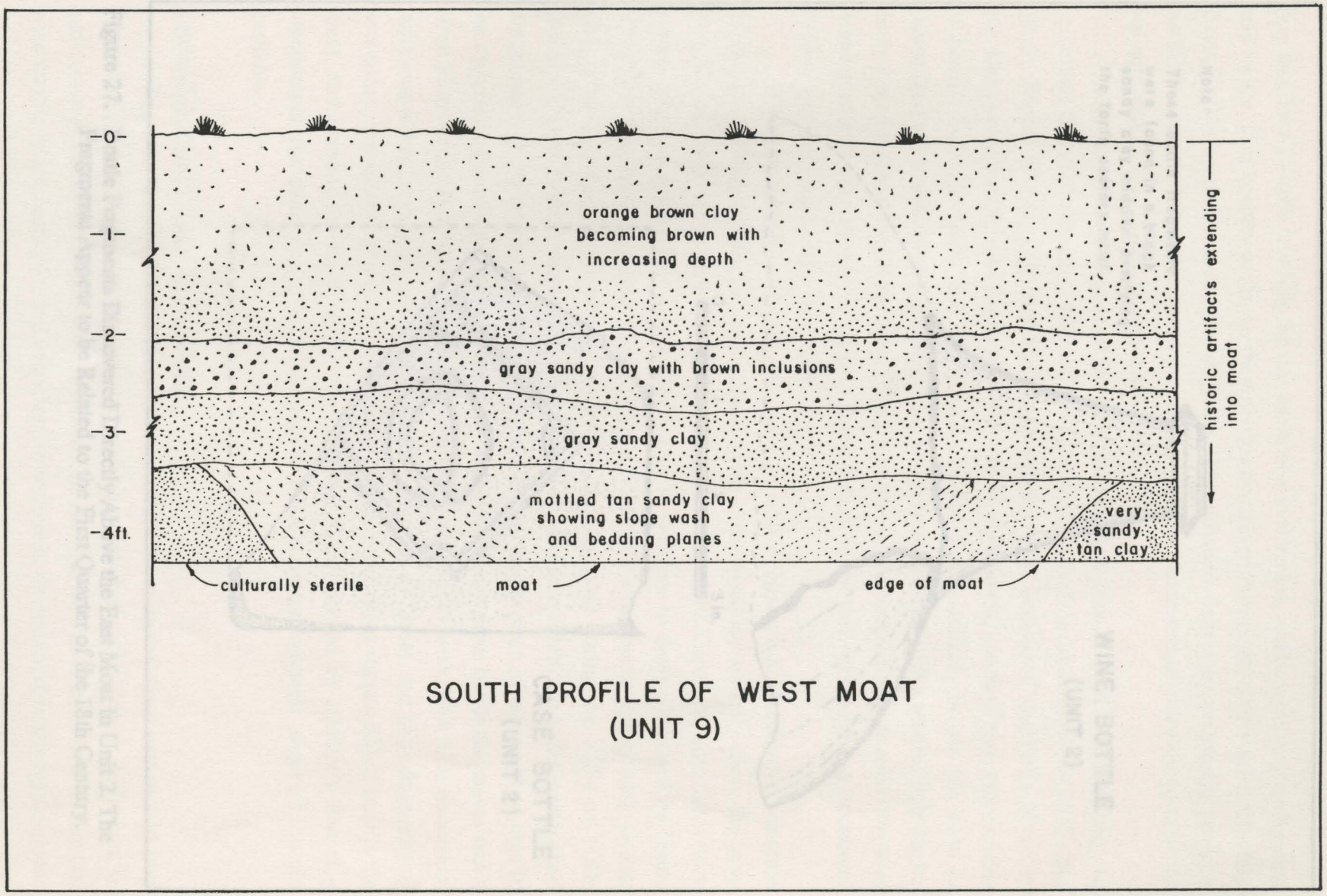


Figure 25. Profile of Unit 9 Showing West Moat.

Figure 25. Profile of Unit 5 Showing Wet Moat

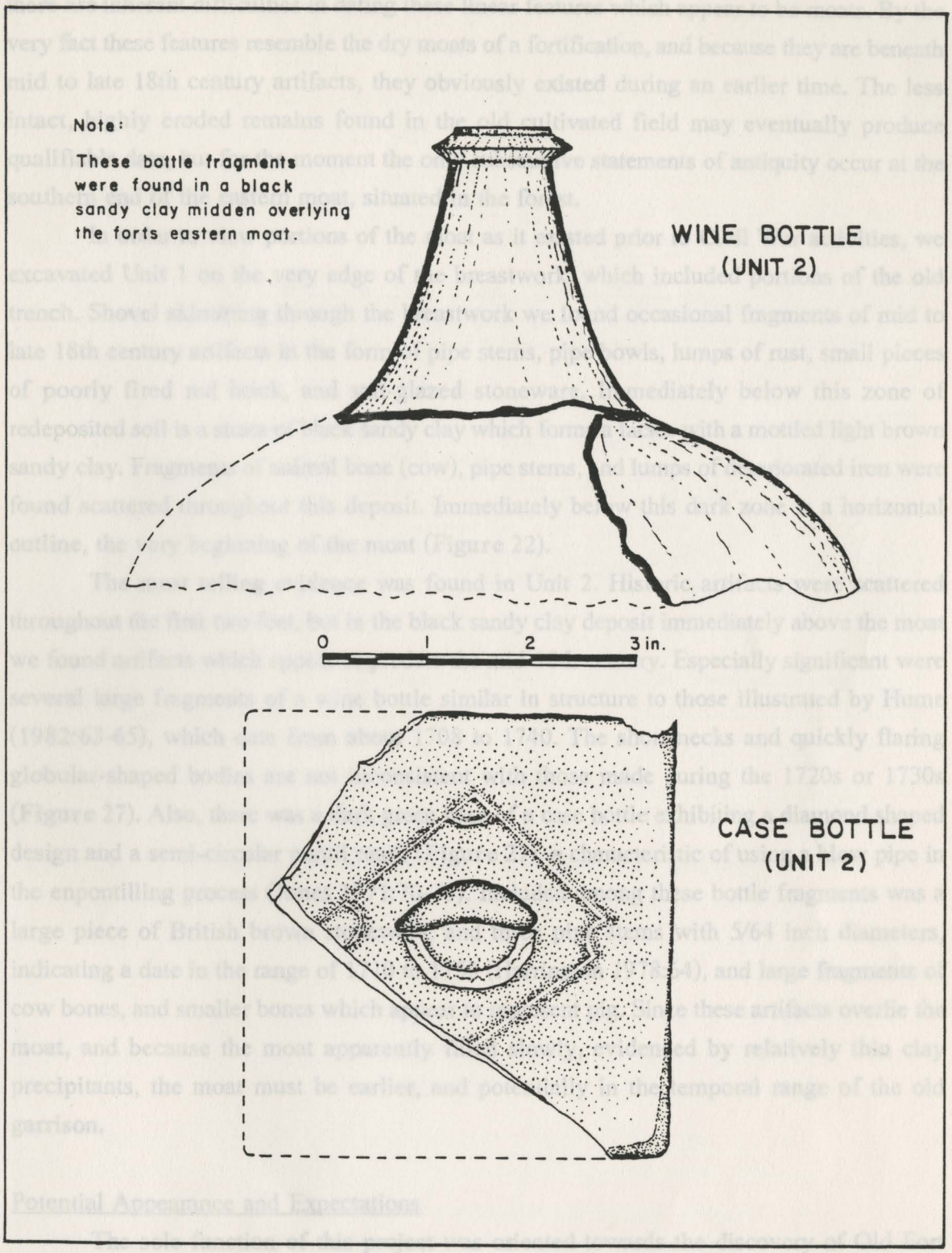


Figure 27. Bottle Fragments Discovered Directly Above the East Moat in Unit 2. The Fragments Appear to be Related to the First Quarter of the 18th Century.

WINE BOTTLE
(UNIT 2)
CASE BOTTLE
(UNIT 2)

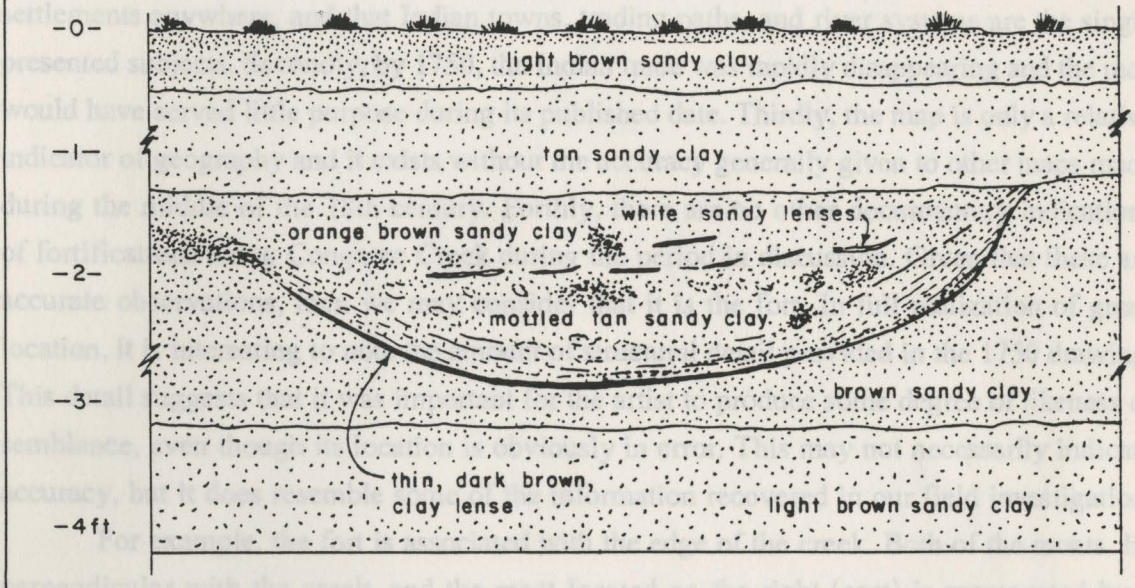
there are inherent difficulties in dating these linear features which appear to be moats. By the very fact these features resemble the dry moats of a fortification, and because they are beneath mid to late 18th century artifacts, they obviously existed during an earlier time. The less intact, highly eroded remains found in the old cultivated field may eventually produce qualifiable data, but for the moment the only substantive statements of antiquity occur at the southern end of the eastern moat, situated in the forest.

In order to view portions of the moat as it existed prior to Civil War activities, we excavated Unit 1 on the very edge of the breastwork, which included portions of the old trench. Shovel skimming through the breastwork we found occasional fragments of mid to late 18th century artifacts in the form of pipe stems, pipe bowls, lumps of rust, small pieces of poorly fired red brick, and salt-glazed stoneware. Immediately below this zone of redeposited soil is a strata of black sandy clay which forms a facies with a mottled light brown sandy clay. Fragments of animal bone (cow), pipe stems, and lumps of deteriorated iron were found scattered throughout this deposit. Immediately below this dark zone is a horizontal outline, the very beginning of the moat (**Figure** 22).

The most telling evidence was found in Unit 2. Historic artifacts were scattered throughout the first two feet, but in the black sandy clay deposit immediately above the moat we found artifacts which appear to predate the mid-18th century. Especially significant were several large fragments of a wine bottle similar in structure to those illustrated by Hume (1982:63-65), which date from about 1708 to 1740. The short necks and quickly flaring globular-shaped bodies are not inconsistent with those made during the 1720s or 1730s (**Figure** 27). Also, there was a dark green base of a case bottle exhibiting a diamond shaped design and a semi-circular pontil mark (**Figure** 27), a characteristic of using a blow pipe in the enpontilling process (Jones 1971:70-71). Included among these bottle fragments was a large piece of British brown stoneware, and three pipe stems with 5/64 inch diameters, indicating a date in the range of 1710 to 1750 (Harrington 1978:64), and large fragments of cow bones, and smaller bones which appear to represent pig. Since these artifacts overlie the moat, and because the moat apparently filled slowly, evidenced by relatively thin clay precipitants, the moat must be earlier, and potentially in the temporal range of the old garrison.

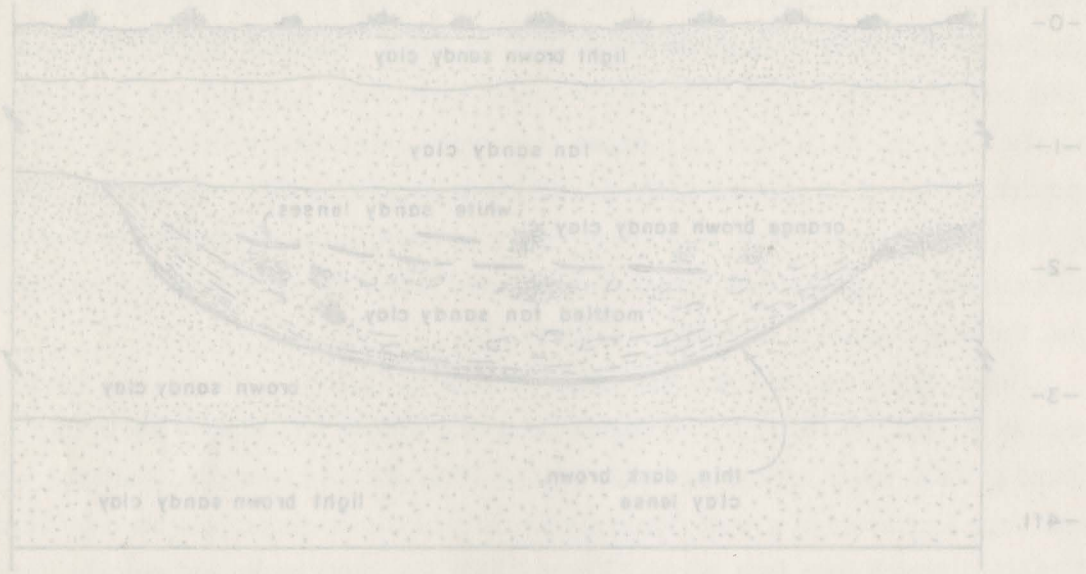
Potential Appearance and Expectations

The sole function of this project was oriented towards the discovery of Old Fort Congaree. Although the project was also seeking some form of structural definition, in addition to discovery, admittedly we over-extended our field time in order to find the fort and were unable to conduct additional inquiries. Nevertheless, the information strongly suggests



NORTH PROFILE OF WEST MOAT
(UNIT 10)

Figure 26. Profile of Unit 10 Showing West Moat.


0
1
2
3
4 ft.

the discovery of the fort. Without further field work there are inherent problems in reconstructing basic appearances, but we may be able to offer a tenuous speculation.

The most revealing document associated with the project regards the British Public Records Office map of 1750. Given that the map fails to identify the stockade enclosure on Congaree Creek as Fort Congaree, we may presume that it is indeed the fort for a number of reasons. First of all, the map is apparently earlier than its published date by the very fact that the second garrison of 1748 is not indicated, that there are no indications of European settlements anywhere, and that Indian towns, trading paths, and river systems are the single presented subjects. Secondly, by 1750, the Indian trade was rapidly disappearing and the map would have served little purpose during its published date. Thirdly, the map is only a relative indicator of geography and it exists without the accuracy generally given to other maps made during the middle of the 18th century. Forthly, there are no other documentary indications of fortifications along Congaree Creek during the period in discussion. Given that these are accurate observations, then we may consider that it is the fort. In full realization of gross location, it is interesting to note the amount of structural detail provided in the 1750 drawing. This detail suggests that it was important for the artist to produce some degree of likeness or semblance, even though its location is obviously in error. This may not necessarily indicate accuracy, but it does resemble some of the information recovered in our field investigation.

For example, the fort is associated with the edge of the creek. Both of the moats lie perpendicular with the creek, and the moat located on the right (east) is represented by a straight, unbroken line, which reflects the BPRO map (Figure 6). If we were to draw connecting lines between the moat profiles in the western trenches, the moat would not parallel the east moat, which leads us to suspect a greater form of symmetry. Possibly, the moat assumes an alternate route between Units 9 and 10, as indicated in **Figure** 20. If this is true, then the wide moat profile in Unit 9 may represent the corner or portion of a wall bastion, similar to the one depicted on the map.

Because of the planted pine forest and dense undergrowth in the old field, and the erosive appearance of soils in Unit 6 (not indicated), we were unable to confirm the northern moat. Furthermore, the presence of large trees deterred further investigations to locate the northeastern bastion. Given present similarities with the BPRO map, one may suspect that bastions exist at each northern corner, and that a palisade wall formerly existed along the edge of the creek (**Figure** 28). However, the probability of finding supporting evidence for a palisade along the edge of the bluff seems remote given the dynamics of stream flow and subsequent erosion of the bluff. Similarly, evidence for the gate may be difficult to find because of extensive cultural activities, i.e., St. John's settlement, continuous cultivation, and the effects of floods.

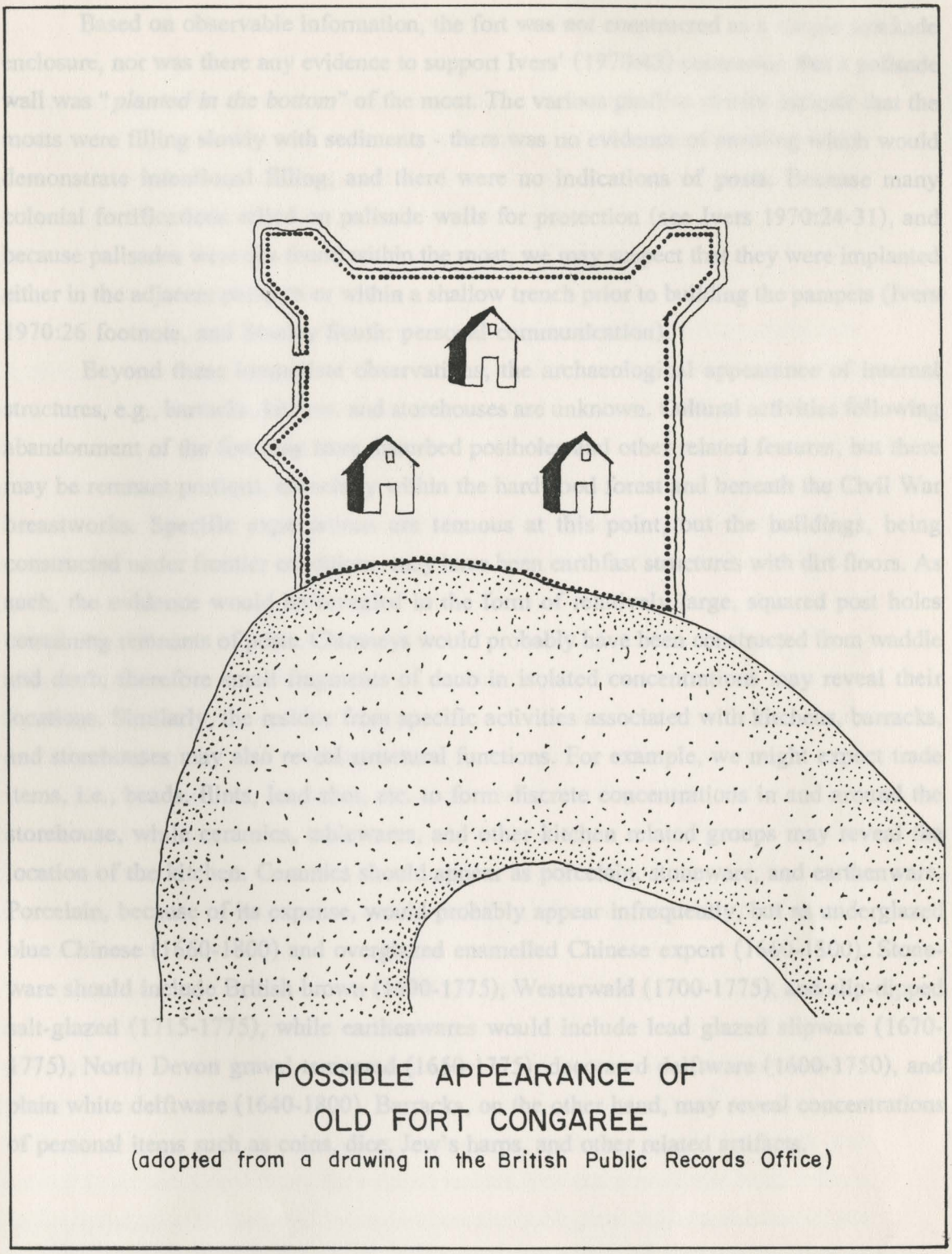


Figure 28. Possible Appearance of Old Fort Congaree, Adapted from a Drawing in the British Public Records Office.

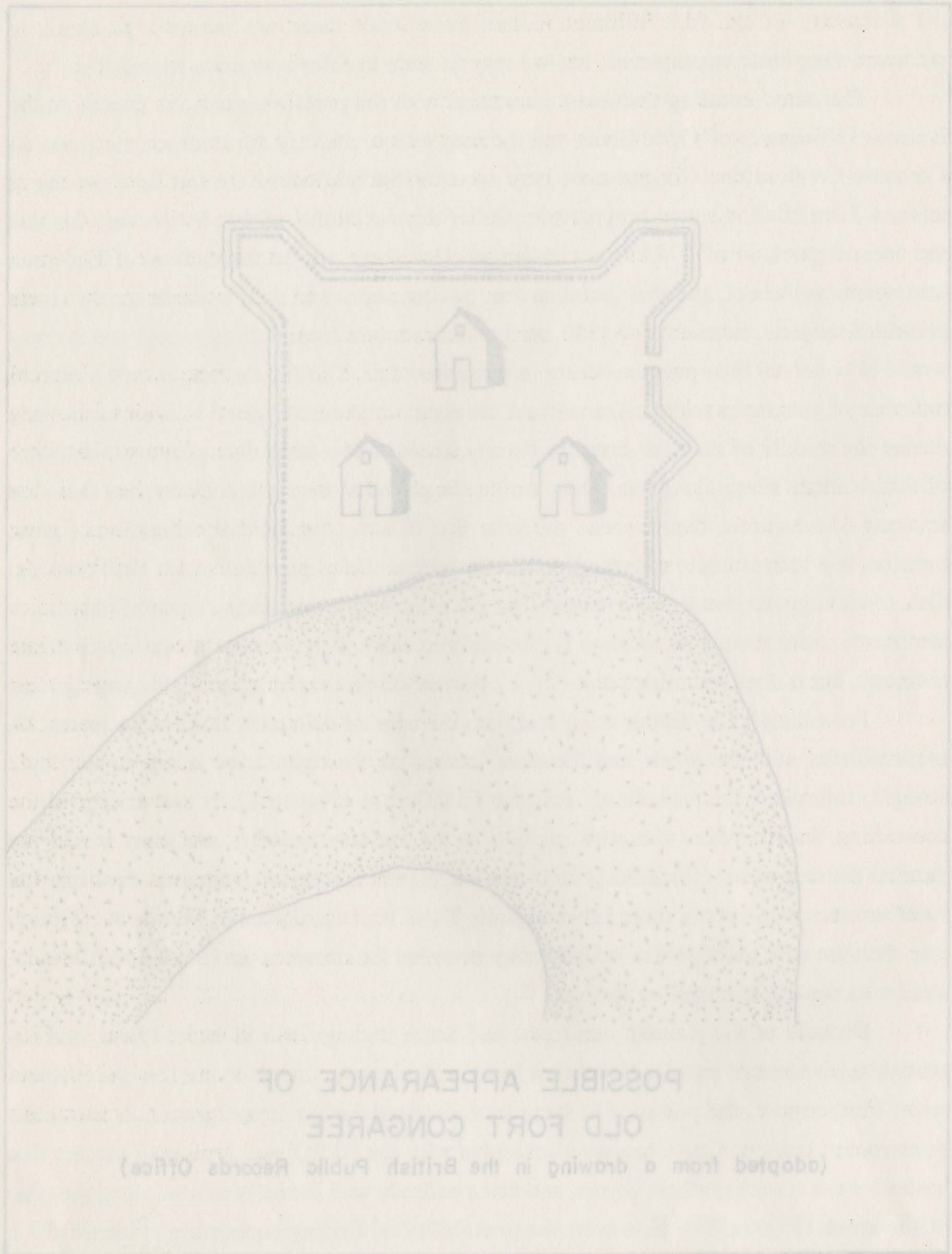


Figure 28. Possible Appearance of Old Fort Congaree. Adapted from a Drawing in the British Public Records Office.

Based on observable information, the fort was not constructed as a simple stockade enclosure, nor was there any evidence to support Ivers' (1970:43) contention that a palisade wall was "*planted in the bottom*" of the moat. The various profiles clearly indicate that the moats were filling slowly with sediments - there was no evidence of mottling which would demonstrate intentional filling, and there were no indications of posts. Because many colonial fortifications relied on palisade walls for protection (see Ivers 1970:24-31), and because palisades were not found within the moat, we may suspect that they were implanted either in the adjacent parapets or within a shallow trench prior to building the parapets (Ivers 1970:26 footnote, and Stanley South: personal communication).

Beyond these immediate observations, the archaeological appearance of internal structures, e.g., barracks, kitchen, and storehouses are unknown. Cultural activities following abandonment of the fort may have disturbed postholes and other related features, but there may be remnant portions, especially within the hardwood forest and beneath the Civil War breastworks. Specific expectations are tenuous at this point, but the buildings, being constructed under frontier conditions, may have been earthfast structures with dirt floors. As such, the evidence would be revealed in the form of relatively large, squared post holes containing remnants of posts. Chimneys would probably have been constructed from waddle and daub, therefore small fragments of daub in isolated concentrations may reveal their locations. Similarly, the residue from specific activities associated with kitchens, barracks, and storehouses may also reveal structural functions. For example, we might expect trade items, i.e., beads, flints, lead shot, etc. to form discrete concentrations in and around the storehouse, while ceramics, tablewares, and other kitchen related groups may reveal the location of the kitchen. Ceramics should appear as porcelain, stoneware, and earthenware. Porcelain, because of its expense, would probably appear infrequently, but as underglazed blue Chinese (1660-1800) and overglazed enamelled Chinese export (1660-1800). Stoneware should include British brown (1690-1775), Westerwald (1700-1775), and slip-dipped salt-glazed (1715-1775), while earthenwares would include lead glazed slipware (1670-1775), North Devon gravel tempered (1650-1775), decorated delftware (1600-1750), and plain white delftware (1640-1800). Barracks, on the other hand, may reveal concentrations of personal items such as coins, dice, Jew's harps, and other related artifacts.

The Direction of Future Investigations

Future investigations should be oriented towards: 1) continuous confirmation of discovery, 2) revealing the outline and construction techniques of the moat and palisades, 3) the discovery of architectural remains, and 4) the recovery of contextually associated artifacts. Concomitant with these objectives, the archaeologist should attempt to recognize and explain artifact patterns central to the understanding of behavior on colonial frontier fortifications (South 1977).

Research strategies are numerous and one could choose several effective approaches. However, with the diversity of expected cultural features and research objectives, more than one strategy seems applicable. If one uses a sampling approach involving small units, one will have difficulty recognizing discrete geological/cultural units and features, and relating artifacts to those features and specific episodes of occupation. It would appear, then, that large block units, relative to a master grid system, should be used on the interior of the fort, and that trenches should be used in tracing the moat and finding associated features such as evidence for palisades.

Within the interior, block units would allow the spatial discovery of associated features. By systematically establishing areas approximately 20 feet square, and removing discrete, contiguous units (five feet square) by means of shovel skimming within arbitrary levels, and then sifting the soil, artifacts are easily associated with structures, cultural features, and geologic deposits. Furthermore, the combined data from each discrete unit is amenable to statistical analysis, i.e., density interpolations or symaps. By the very fact that small beads and other artifacts may be lost through conventional hardware cloth, water-screening through a finer mesh (window screen or 1/8 inch hardware cloth) would significantly improve recovery techniques.

Trenches associated with investigations of the moat should also be tied into a master grid system, and soil should be removed in arbitrary levels until the moat is encountered. At this point the strategy should be altered for the removal of soil by trowels, which would allow the researcher to locate artifacts vertically and horizontally within the moat.

Because the fort was obviously constructed adjacent to the creek, the creek was probably used as an occasional dump for cultural residue. For this reason, the creek bottom should be systematically investigated by underwater archaeologists. An examination of the bottom's surface is not likely to yield an accurate representation of artifacts because of continuous bank erosion and subsequent deposition of soils, in addition to aggradation and natural processes of stream flow which tend to bury artifacts. The bottom, then, should be subjected to subsurface investigations using air- lifts and water screens in areas immediately associated with the fort.

Significance of Old Fort Congaree

Long before the fort was established, Indian traders had pushed deep into the interior of the state, past the location of "the Congarees". For reasons involving economics, the General Assembly passed an act in 1691, withdrawing Indian traders from the piedmont and set forth specific limits of their activities. One such limit was "the Congarees", where traders settled and waited for Indians to bring their deerskins. Exactly where these people settled is unknown, but the trade and growing settlements around the Congarees marked a beginning of strategic importance. Within a short time the traders became prosperous enough for the General Assembly to have real and personal estates evaluated for taxes (McDowell 1974:2).

The construction of the fort in the early part of the 18th century at the intersection of the Cherokee and Catawba trading paths followed the aftermath of the Yemassee War of 1715, and Virginia's interest in the Catawba and Cherokee trade. It was intended to protect the economic interests of a growing colony and to offer some protection to settlers who were beginning to move into the interior of the state. The significance of its location is demonstrated on successive 18th century maps that show trading paths leading into and out of the fort.

The Congarees was an important location, not only for a trade center and garrison, but it was a strategic place for people who traversed the interior of the state. From the crossroads of one path, travelers could reach Saluda Old Town, Ninety Six, and the Cherokee towns in the northwestern piedmont around the head of the Savannah River. If they chose the northeastern route, they could travel the Catawba path which would take them to the Waxhaws and the Waterees on the Wateree River, and eventually the old Occaneechi path which led to Virginia. John Barnwell and Maurice Moore followed these routes, via the Congarees, in 1711 and 1713, as did others who ventured out of Charles Town with business in the backcountry. It was Governor Glen, who met with the Catawbas at the Congaree location in 1746 to win their influence in settling old conflicts between various tribes (Milling 1969:242), and it was through this location that Sir Alexander Cuming, the English nobleman, visited with the Cherokees in 1730, and took six of them, upon invitation, to England to sign the Treaty of 1730 (Milling 1969:275-276).

Earlier, the crossroads were adjacent to the settlement of the Congaree Indians, a small group who relocated with the Catawba after the Yemassee War. Following the war, the noted Cherokee Conjuror, Charite Hagey, proposed in 1716 to General James Moore, the construction of a fortification at the Congarees to protect the lives and interests of the Cherokees, and the General Assembly proposed relocating the Catawbas to the Congarees at about the same period of time. It was the area of "the Congarees", then, that became a point

of access, a gateway to the development and control of the interior.

After the fort was reduced in 1722, and trade returned to the hands of private traders, the fort was used by local settlers who remained to exploit the lucrative flow of deerskins. Later, when Governor Robert Johnson initiated a system interior townships, the settlement of Saxe-Gotha appeared along with others who continued to trade with the Indians. Central to this trade continuance was Thomas Brown, who later built his store near the old garrison. During the expansion of Saxe-Gotha, St. John's settlement emerged on the north side of the old fort, and when river traffic began to quicken and when roads began to open between growing settlements, the area quickly responded economically. By the end of the 18th century the town of Granby had grown out of Saxe-Gotha, ferries crossed the Congaree River, and people had begun to settle on the red clay hills of Columbia, the newly formed capitol of South Carolina.

Fort Congaree, no doubt, was instrumental to the growth and development of central South Carolina, and ultimately its political position. As such, it occupies a significant position in historical developments.

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