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DESIGNING CAROLINA:

THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN EARLY AMERICAN SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE, 1670-1719

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

---

by

Meaghan N. Duff

1998

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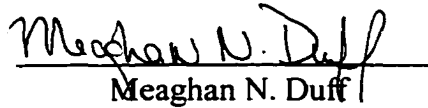

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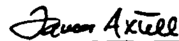

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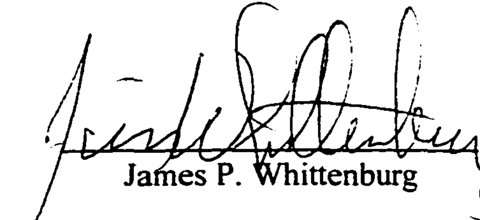

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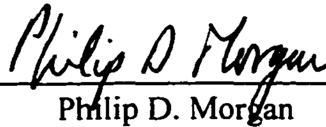

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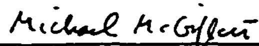

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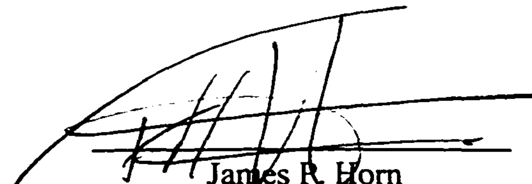

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ABBREVIATIONS

BPRO	Salley, A.S., Jr., ed. *Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1663-1710.* 5 Volumes. Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1928-1947.
CSCHS	Cheves, Langdon, ed. "The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676." *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.* Volume V. Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1897.
CSP, AWI	*Calander of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, 1661-1668, 1669-1674, 1675-1676, 1681-1685, 1685-1688.* London, 1880-1899.
SCDAH	South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.
SCH(G)M	*South Carolina Historical (and Genealogical) Magazine.* Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1900-present.
SCIAA	South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the promotion, population and settlement of the Carolina lowcountry and evaluates the colony's pioneer years, the period before an English-dominated plantation society achieved supremacy. Many designers participated in the construction of proprietary South Carolina's social and geographical landscapes. The explorers and propagandists who first characterized the colony for European audiences developed the region in the minds of potential emigrants. Their recruitment campaigns determined in part the people who colonized the province. The Lords Proprietors and their agents, who devised an elaborate settlement program set forth in the Fundamental Constitutions and other land policies, influenced how Carolina evolved physically and socially. The planters and surveyors who lived and worked within this system reshaped it to serve their own ends, thus altering the complexion of the colonial lowcountry landscape. Finally, the European and Indian cartographers who drew maps of the southeastern region created and interpreted the imagined and actual geography of Carolina.

Despite the small number of private papers surviving from the proprietary period, extant records reveal a considerable amount about white Carolinians' approaches to and occupation of lowcountry lands. The sources examined in this study include exploratory narratives and promotional literature, correspondence and journals of colonial officials, land warrants and grants, surveyors' guidebooks and plats, and historical maps of southeastern North America. Indeed, the public records dating from 1670 to 1710 are particularly suited to a geographic interpretation of South Carolina.

In one sense, the story of South Carolina's first settlement and initial development suffers from the tendency of scholars to read history backwards from the fully-evolved plantation societies of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and to apply predominately economic interpretations to the colony's earliest years. This dissertation takes another approach and concentrates on the creation of the colony both in perception and practice. As the first comprehensive analysis of the conceptualization, peopling, and construction of social and geographical landscapes in South Carolina, it integrates the history of a single southern colony within the broader contexts of early American and Atlantic world histories.

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DESIGNING CAROLINA:

THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN EARLY AMERICAN SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE, 1670-1719

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INTRODUCTION

BEFORE THE ENGLISH ARRIVED

> And wee doe further avouch that this Country may bee more securely settled and cheaply defended from any the attempts of its native Inhabitants then any of those other places which our Countrymen have refined from the Dross of Indian Barbarisme.
>
> – "Principall Gentlemen" accompanying Robert Sanford on his voyage to Carolina[1]

Beginning in the sixteenth century, three European nations repeatedly explored, claimed, and occupied the southeastern coast of North America. Spain initiated this imperial contest for control of the continent in the 1510s, eventually building a chain of fortified missions from St. Augustine to Santa Elena. The Spanish held this northernmost outpost until 1587. The French also attempted settlements, one on Port Royal Sound and another along the St. John's River. These short-lived colonies perished at the hands of Spanish invaders in the mid-1560s. England entered the fray somewhat later with several ill-fated efforts to plant a colony at Roanoke in the 1580s.

---

[1]Henry Brayne, Richard Abrahall, Thomas Giles, George Cary, Samuel Harvey, and Joseph Woory, "Testimoniall given of this Country," July 14, 1666, with Robert Sanford, *A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina* (1666), in A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708,* Original Narratives of Early American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 108.

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All tenuous garrison towns lying on the Atlantic's western fringe, none of these European settlements ever extended their colonial reach or control far inland.[2] By the time the English settled at Charles Town in 1670, the Indians living in this lowcountry region–variously referred to in literature and on maps as Chicora, Guale, La Florida, Virginia, and later Carolina–had experienced one hundred and fifty years of interaction with Europeans.[3]

After first contacts in the sixteenth century, warfare and missionary settlements

---

[2]On European expectation, exploration, and colonization of the southern mainland in the "forgotten century"of North American history, see Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

[3]Every author writing about this region defines *lowcountry* somewhat differently. For Philip D. Morgan the cultural region designated as the "Lowcountry" included the area extending from southern North Carolina through South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida [*Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), xvii]. Taking a more political or administrative approach, Peter A. Coclanis viewed the "low country" as "that part of South Carolina included in Georgetown, Charleston, and Beaufort districts during the late eighteenth century" [*The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 268]. Other historians of South Carolina juxtapose the Low Country with an Up Country and Back Country, or write generally about the Lower South. I prefer a more geologically-driven definition and use the term lowcountry to refer to South Carolina's coastal zone and outer coastal plain. Less than two hundred miles long and laced with rivers and streams, the coastal zone extends about ten miles inland and includes the area from the Grand Strand southwest to the Savannah River [Illustration 0.1]. Lying east of the coastal zone and more than 120 miles wide, the outer coastal plain contains flat, sloping land with alluvial soils deposited along its rivers' wide floodplains. Settlement in proprietary South Carolina was restricted to the lowcountry area lying between the Black and Savannah rivers. See Charles F. Kovacik and John J. Winberry's *South Carolina: The Making of a Landscape* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), chs. 2-3, for a more detailed discussion of the region's topography.

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drove many natives farther into the continent's interior and away from their previously populated coastal habitations. When he first arrived, Jesuit Juan de Rogel believed that "there are more people [Indians] here than in any of the other lands I have seen so far along the coast explored," and he thought that "the natives are more settled than in other regions I have been."[4] Approximately nineteen Indian groups lived exclusively in the Carolina lowcountry between the mid-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. Perhaps as many as ten additional native communities, parts of larger tribes living elsewhere, resided in this area for more limited periods of time.[5] Unlike the peripatetic peoples hunting and gathering in cooler climes, the Indians of southeastern North America depended heavily, though not exclusively, upon agriculture to meet their food needs. Coastal Indians typically located their villages ten to twenty miles inland where they would be sheltered by the forests from harsh storms and could plant their crops on less sandy ground. Though sedentary, these natives were far from stationary. Before and after the arrival of Europeans, they relocated seasonally, to hunt in winter, fish through the spring, and plant by summer. They moved longer distances once multiple harvests depleted local soils.[6] The mobility of southern native communities continually

---

[4]Juan de Rogal to Francisco Borgia, 28 August 1572, in David Beers Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, 5 vols. (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 2:559-61.

[5]Gene Waddell, *Indians of the South Carolina Low Country, 1562-1751* (Columbia, S.C.: Southern Studies Program, University of South Carolina), xiii.

[6]Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 42-55.

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frustrated Spanish missionaries in their efforts to proselytize and minister to the Indians. Writing to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés of his inability to win more souls for God and Spain, Rogel explained the reasons for his failure. "[T]he result was, that after having promised me many times to come and plant, the inhabitants of these twenty houses scattered themselves in twelve or thirteen different villages, some twenty leagues, some ten, some six, and some four. Only two families remained." From this "the scanty return" for all his efforts, Rogel deduced that there was "little likelihood of their becoming Christians unless God our Lord miraculously interposes." The primary reason was that "for nine out of twelve months they wander about without any fixed abode. Even then, if they only went together, there would be some hope that, going with them, by ceaseless iteration one might make some impression, like drops of water on a hard stone. But each one takes his own road."[7] Though Rogel mistook seasonal migration for constant drifting, his portrait of the coastal Indians' dwelling patterns reflected a reality in which Indian groups disbanded into smaller communities during winter months.

Repeated conflicts with the Spanish between 1576 and 1579 drove many coastal Indians–notably Escamacu, Edisto, and Kussoe–to permanently abandon their towns between the Broad and Savannah rivers and to move further north and west. In the early years of the seventeenth century the Spanish encountered several other Indian

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[7]Juan Rogal to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, December 9, 1570, in Waddell, *Indians of the South Carolina Low Country*, 147-51.

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groups living near Kiawah, the place later renamed Charleston Harbor.[8] When the English explorers William Hilton and Robert Sanford reconnoitered the southeastern coastline almost a century later, they both found these and other natives living on the same lands they were believed to have occupied when the Spanish vacated Santa Elena deeming Fort San Marcos too difficult to defend. Later English settlers referred to friendly coastal Indians collectively as the Cusabos; they recognized the hostile natives living further inland as the Westos, a name thought to mean "enemies" or "man-eaters."[9] Though always a presence in the region, and usually reckoned a danger by individual settlers, the lowcountry Indians rarely posed a serious threat to the survival of the Carolina colony. Sanford, a Barbados planter who toured the southeastern coast in 1666, easily procured Indian guides and translators to aid in his exploration of the region. By his account, dealings with the Indians were peaceful; the natives competed with one another for English favor. "All along," wrote Sanford, "I observed a kinde of Emulacon amongst the three principall Indians of this Country . . . concerning us and

---

[8]Ibid., 3-4.

[9]Ibid., 346, 362-63. The names attributed to Indian communities dwelling in the Carolina lowcountry varied from explorer to explorer. The Kiawah, Etiwan, and Stono likely lived near Charleston harbor. The Wimbee, Combahee, and Ashepoo, probably resided south of the Edisto River. The English later designated local waterways with many of these indigenous names. Larger and better organized tribes lived much further inland. The Yamassee occupied lands along the lower Savannah River, while the Catawbas, Creeks, and Cherokees controlled the piedmont area to the west and far northwest of Charles Town. The Tuscaroras usually resided north of Carolina, but occasionally migrated into and out of the lowcounty region (Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940], 35-50, 73-112, 203-230, 266-285, and John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* [Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1952, reprint 1969], 90-104).

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our Freindshipp, each contending to assure it to themselves and jealous of the other though all be allyed." Carolina was perfect for English settlement in part because it was "secured from any possible general and from all probable particle Massacres."[10] Sanford and his fellow explorers championed the region as a perfect place for plantation in part because the coastal Indians' disposition would secure the settlement. The English could safely colonize Carolina without fear of displacing or provoking the natives still residing in the region.

* * * * *

Histories of colonial South Carolina written since the late nineteenth century have recounted and attempted to explain the lowcountry region's meteoric rise and the massive accumulation of wealth by propertied whites using the labor of enslaved blacks. Older interpretive variations on this theme focused on South Carolina's political contests and usually championed the provincials over the proprietors.[11] More recent studies have approached the subject from economic and social perspectives, tracing the colony's development from a utopian proprietary scheme to a prosperous

---

[10]Robert Sandford, *A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of Carolina* (1666) in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 106, 107.

[11]William J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina to the Close of the Proprietary Government by the Revolution of 1719* (Charleston: McCarter, 1856); Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1897, reprint 1969). Eugene Sirmans's more nuanced political history situated the early Carolina colony in an imperial English context, analyzed the factions competing for power within the province, and better integrated Indian and African relations with Charles Town affairs (*Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966]).

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plantation society. Some authors, such as Converse Clowse in his synthesis of the colony's first six decades, view every aspect of South Carolina's early evolution through an economic lens.[12] The English acclimation to the lowcountry's physical environment, migration to the region, relations with the Indians, slavery, and the development of local and imperial politics are all analyzed within a material context. In a more forceful and methodologically-driven analysis of the region, Peter A. Coclanis argues that "the area's precocious and prepossessing economic experience was due in large part to markets, merchants, and merchant capital." From the colony's inception, the market controlled all the factors of production–land, labor, and capital. "Despite considerable scholarly chatter about seigneuries and baronies and about landgraves and leets, it is clear that it was not such feudal curios but the market–the merchant's stage, as it were–that informed and animated South Carolina's history from the start." Indeed, Coclanis believes that in no other British American colony was "the determinative power of the market" so great in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[13]

Even scholars writing less market-oriented histories have similarly emphasized the integral role economic pursuits played in South Carolina's proprietary period. When considering the social and cultural development of the nascent colony, Richard

---

[12]Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1730* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971).

[13]Peter A. Coclanis, "The Hydra Head of Merchant Capital: Markets and Merchants in Early South Carolina," in David R. Chesnutt and Clyde N. Wilson, eds., *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr.* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 2. For Coclanis's comprehensive analysis of the Carolina economy, see *The Shadow of a Dream*.

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Waterhouse and Jack P. Greene both stress the importance of Carolina's early and lasting ties to the Caribbean. Not only did Barbados supply the majority of white emigrants to Carolina, they believe that "the social and cultural system that had been so fully articulated in the island over the previous four decades" came intact as well.[14] Anglo-Carolinians' demonstrated preference for African slave labor "early revealed that strong commercial, materialistic, and exploitative mentality that had found such a ready field for action in the West Indies. For at least a generation, the colony functioned effectively as its West Indian proponents had initially intended, as an adjunct to the Barbadian economy." While this approach properly positions the lowcountry region within the "extended Caribbean," viewing Carolina simply as "the colony of a colony" underestimates the impact of non-economic influences on the province, particularly

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[14]Jack P. Greene, *Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 74. Richard Waterhouse's research indicates that "of the approximately 683 colonists arriving in South Carolina during the first decade of settlement, 117, amounting to almost half those whose place of origin can be identified, came from Barbados. Of the remainder twenty-five came from other Caribbean islands, nine from mainland colonies and 129 from England. Although it slowed considerably after 1680, emigration from the Caribbean islands to South Carolina continued even into the early eighteenth century" ("England, the Caribbean, and the Settlement of Carolina," *Journal of American Studies*, 9 [1975], 271). Greene makes similar claims about the character of South Carolina's early population. According to his unnamed source, "of the 1,343 white settlers who immigrated to South Carolina between 1670 and 1690 . . . more than 54 percent were probably from Barbados" (*Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities*, 73). Waterhouse and Greene likely exaggerate the numerical preponderance of Carolina settlers with roots in the Caribbean. Large-scale migration to the colony did not begin until the early 1680s, after Waterhouse's survey, and many emigrants who departed from Europe stopped over in the West Indies. In addition, fragmentary shipping records and frequent exchanges of slaves and goods between mainland and Caribbean colonies may overemphasize the demographic connection between Carolina and Barbados.

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local circumstances and Atlantic world trends.[15] The timing of Carolina's founding, the fact that several proprietors shared a single colonial grant, the unique land system designed to create a stable society, and the unfamiliar physical landscape emigrants encountered–all distinguished this settlement from previous English plantations. Furthermore, the colonization of South Carolina involved the migration of Scotch, Irish, French, and German settlers, not just planters from England and Barbados. It occurred in an increasingly competitive environment where colonists chose from many New World destinations. The settlements they subsequently built in Carolina naturally exhibited characteristics found in other English colonies throughout the Atlantic world. The economic interpretations of proprietary South Carolina advanced in recent works are neither false nor flawed. Individually and collectively, however, they present a one-dimensional picture of this colony's evolution. The following chapters present another view, one centered around the social and geographical construction of the early Carolina landscape.

Southeastern North America has long drawn the attention of historical geographers and cartographers. In the early twentieth century, Henry A.M. Smith pioneered the study of lowcountry land occupation. Using archival records such as

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[15]Coclanis uses the term "extended Caribbean," which comes from Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World-System* ([New York: Academic Press, 1974], 2: 103), to describe the entire southeastern coast of North America. Peter Wood coined the phrase "colony of a colony" when he described the early South Carolina as "the dependent servant of an island master" (*Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* [New York: W.W. Norton, 1974], 34).

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colonial warrants, grants, memorials, wills, inventories, and plats, Smith pieced together the genealogies of particular properties. He then created thirty-three maps of the region which illustrated and analyzed the spatial relationships of Carolina's rivers, plantations, neighborhoods, and towns.[16] While Smith drew large-scale maps to explain early settlement patterns, William Patterson Cumming studied small-scale historical maps to show the expansion of geographical knowledge over three centuries of exploration and colonization. A magnificent example of carto-bibliography, Cummings' work continues to guide the study of southeastern maps.[17]

In the past twenty years or so, historical geographers and historical cartographers have pioneered new ways of interpreting literary and pictorial representations of the early American landscape. Their work moves beyond "the search for illustrations of the influence of the physical environment on historical events" and away from an understanding of maps as "inert records of morphological landscapes or passive reflections of the world of objects." Instead, geographical descriptions are increasingly regarded as "refracted images contributing to dialogue in a socially

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[16]Henry A.M. Smith, *The Historical Writings of Henry A.M. Smith*, 3 vols. (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1988). Smith originally published this work in the *SCH(GM)* between 1905 and 1928.

[17]William Patterson Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps: With an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America During the Colonial Period* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2nd ed. 1962). Louis DeVorsey recently published a third revised and enlarged edition of Cumming's book. All references to *The Southeast in Early Maps* in the following chapters are to Cumming's second edition.

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constructed world."[18] Among the chief practitioners and theorists of these geographical and cartographical approaches are H. Roy Merrens, the late J.B. Harley, and D.W. Meinig. Merrens has examined descriptive literature in South Carolina specifically, while Harley wrote more broadly on mapping in early modern Europe and colonial America.[19]

In an influential 1978 article titled "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians," Meinig outlined a "geographic view" of American development.[20] The analytical perspective he described in this essay and adopted in subsequent works frames this study of the colonial Carolina lowcountry. Meinig identified New World commercial outposts and settlements as *points of attachment*, some of which became the "nuclei of discrete colonization areas." Each of

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[18]H. Roy Merrens, "Historical Geography and Early American History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 22 (October 1962), 547; J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representations, Design and Use of Past Environments* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 278. Merrens's article, though dated, concisely reviews the contributions made by historical geographers to early American history from 1900 to 1965.

[19]H. Roy Merrens, "The Physical Environment of Early America: Images and Image Makers in Colonial South Carolina," *Geographical Review*, 59 (1969), 530-56; H. Roy Merrens and George D. Terry, "Dying in Paradise: Malaria, Mortality, and the Perceptual Environment in Colonial South Carolina," *Journal of Southern History*, 50 (1984), 533-50; J.B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," *Imago Mundi*, 40 (1988), 57-76; J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica*, 26:2 (1989), 1-20; J.B. Harley, "Cartography, Ethics, and Social Theory," *Cartographica*, 27:2 (1990), 1-23.

[20]D.W. Meinig, "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians," *American Historical Review*, 83:5 (December 1978), 1186-1217.

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these areas can be analyzed as a *spatial system* or "a network of nodes and links that channeled the movement of peoples, goods, and messages within the bounds of a defined territory." The operative word is *territory* because Meinig premised his prospectus more on *area* than environment. The nuclei may also be studied as a *cultural landscape*, which he regarded as "the result of the domestication of a particular kind of country by a particular group of immigrants that imprinted the area with a geometry, morphology, and architecture of settlement; introduced a selection of crops, animals, technology, and economic activities; and created particular patterns of ecological alteration." Or the nuclei can be considered in terms of *social geography*, which includes "the distribution and demographic character of its population, the locations of important social groups (however identified), and the basic social institutions and contexts (such as the village, market town, country, plantation, tenant estate, freehold farm, and so forth) that served as matrices for the emergence of distinctive local societies." The ultimate task of early American historians writing a geographic study of colonization, assertsed Meinig, is "to define as clearly as possible this sequence of territorial formation from points to nuclei to regions on the North America seaboard and to describe the changing geography of each in terms of spatial systems, cultural landscape, and social geography."[21]

This project focuses on one American nucleus, the Carolina lowcountry region, and places the area in comparative colonial and Atlantic contexts when necessary. It

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[21]Ibid., 1190-91.

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explores the interaction between Europeans and the landscape exclusively. Other studies of South Carolina have addressed thoroughly the experiences of Indians and Africans and their influence on the social and cultural development of this southern colony.[22] Chapter one explores English ideas about the Southeast's physical environment and native inhabitants articulated through promotional materials. It traces how these perceptions were developed and then dispersed as propaganda through western Europe. Using official literary and land records, chapter two analyzes the practical considerations and outcomes of proprietary efforts to build a colony in the late seventeenth century. It concentrates on the dynamic interplay between land policies, settlement patterns, and social geography in the creation of early South Carolina. Chapter three, a case study in the transmission of information and technology across the Atlantic, evaluates the transformation and application of English surveying practices in American frontier environments. It describes one important aspect of the lowcountry cultural landscape by juxtaposing Carolina land-measuring methods with those employed in the Chesapeake and Caribbean. Chapter four builds on the characterizations of land and creation of property discussed in the previous chapters.

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[22]Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority*; Daniel C . Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*; James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); James Axtell, *The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997).

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Using map images and other spatial representations, it demonstrates how Europeans and Indians designed Carolina cartographically and challenged each other for possession of the southeastern geographical landscape. This final chapter also suggests how contemporaries perceived the eighteenth-century lowcountry and Carolina's place within the British-American and Atlantic worlds.

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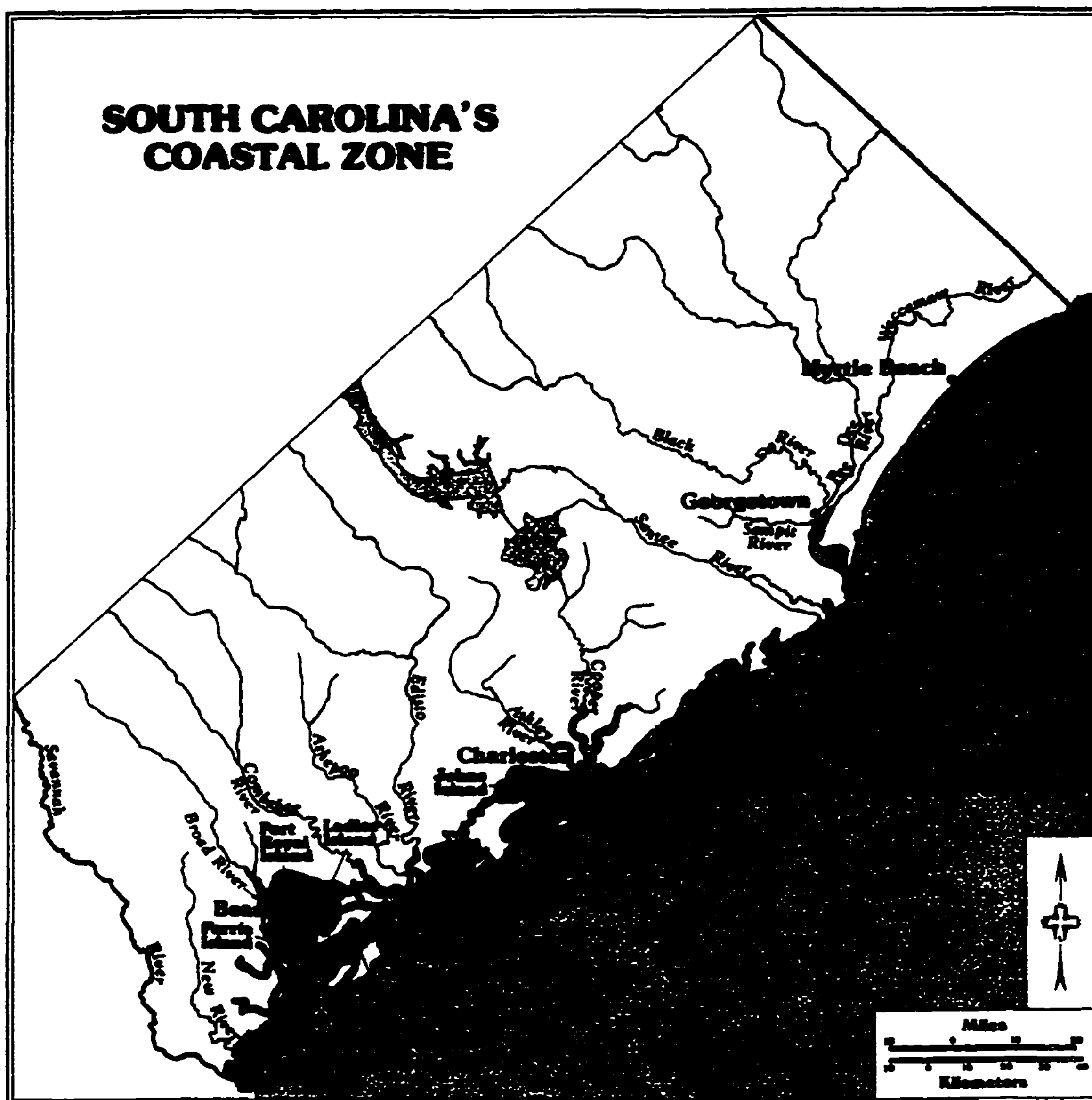
ILLUSTRATION 0.1

THE SOUTH CAROLINA LOWCOUNTRY



Source: Charles F. Kovacik and John J. Winberry, *South Carolina: The Making of a Landscape* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 24.

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CHAPTER I

CHARACTERIZING CAROLINA:

LAND AND ITS INHABITANTS IN SOUTHERN PROMOTIONAL LITERATURE

> Lands, though excellent, without hands proportionable, will not enrich any kingdom . . . Most nations in the civilized parts of the world are more or less rich or poor, proportionably to the paucity or plenty of their people, and not to the sterility or fruitfulness of their lands.
>
> – Josiah Child, *A New Discourse on Trade* [1]

"Wee found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age," reported Captain Arthur Barlowe upon his return to England from a 1584 exploratory voyage among the sounds, inlets, and islands of the Carolina coast.[2] His agreeable and oft-reprinted description of the Roanoke Indians first appeared in Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*–the great anthology of Elizabethan colonial literature published in 1589 and intended to

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[1]Josiah Child, *A New Discourse on Trade* (London, 1689), 167.

[2]Arthur Barlowe, "Discourse of the first voyage" (1584-85), in David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), 1:108.

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promote English settlement overseas.[3] But before its publication, Barlowe's discourse on the environment and inhabitants of Carolina, then called Virginia, circulated in manuscript as part of Walter Ralegh's effort to excite interest in future expeditions and plantations.[4] The commentary's portrait of friendly, benign Indians and its use as propaganda hint at the connection between early English views of Indians and the future plans for Anglo-American settlement. The corpus of southern promotional literature reveals that as colonial agendas and motives shifted over time, so the English image of the Indians and the land reflected the change.

Designed to encourage exploration, trade, and settlement in the New World, English promotional literature varied in character, form, and effectiveness with each author and his audience.[5] The distinction between ordinary travel narratives and colonial promotional literature lies in the objectives of the writer. All promotional tracts emphasized New World opportunities and offered few, if any, unfavorable observations. In appeals to the nobility and gentry for personal involvement, authors highlighted the heroic nature of colonial enterprises and the potential for winning

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[3]Richard Hakluyt, *The principall navigations, voiages, and discoveries of the English nation* (London, 1589), 728-33.

[4]Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 1:15-17.

[5]The forms of writing of the promotional genre included formal treatises on colonization such as Hakluyt's famous *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584), reports of exploratory voyages like Barlowe's narrative, patents and requests for territory overseas, laws and regulations regarding land acquisition in the colonies, official letters and advertisements to induce emigration, sermons, diaries, early histories, and personal reports.

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immortal fame. Other propagandists used promotional literature to justify national empire building or suggest solutions to domestic problems such as overpopulation and underemployment. For the more acquisitive, promotional literature sought to stimulate economic investment and recruit land-hungry settlers. Finally, and most important in any discussion of Indians and land, many promoters offered moral justifications for colonization that emphasized native conversion and territorial acquisition and improvement. As one historian rightly noted, promotional discourse was a "literature of action and a literature of persuasion directed to a non-literary audience," one written plainly and without "Euphuism or the tortuousness of Jacobean experimental prose."[6] In general, the promotional literature of the seventeenth-century English colonies reached an eager audience. Southern propaganda, in particular, met or exceeded the quality, quantity, and effectiveness of propaganda in the other regions of Anglo America.[7]

Although by their very nature designed to influence public opinion, promotional tracts are also extraordinarily revealing about the perceptions of Englishmen in America and the preconceptions of Englishmen and women at home. This is particularly true regarding the image of the Indian. Authors, publishers, and booksellers peddled for profit startling tales of native savagery. When writers such as George Peckham

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[6]Howard Mumford Jones, "The Colonial Impulse: An Analysis of the 'Promotion' Literature of Colonization," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 90 (May, 1946), 131-61 at 133.

[7]Hugh T. Lefler, "Promotional Literature of the Southern Colonies," *Journal of Southern History*, 33 (1967), 24-25.

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described "Savages . . . at continuall warres wyth their next adjoyning neighbours, and especially the Caniballs, beeing a cruell kinde of people, whose foode is mans flesh, and have teeth like dogges," they aroused the interest of a sensation-hungry audience. At the same time, they provided religious and secular justifications for the displacement of Indians from their lands and the establishment of large-scale English settlements. According to Peckham, "wee shall not onely mightely stirre and inflame theyr rude myndes gladly to embrace the loving companye of the Christians, . . . [b]ut also by theyr francke consents, shall easily enjoy such competent quantity of Lande . . . considering the great aboundance they have of Lande, and howe small account they make thereof."[8] In exchange for insufficiently exploited lands, the godless and savage Indians would gain exposure to the Christian gospel. But there were clear rhetorical limits to the emphasis on Indian savagery. Colonization of the New World also required English emigrants and thus demanded that natives be viewed as an attractive feature of the landscape, or at least not as an impediment to plantation. Hence some promotional writers, like Barlowe, described the Indians as a benevolent and harmless people living an almost civilized life. This second type of description encouraged the prospect of trading with the natives and saving their souls, but it undermined the rationale for seizing their lands. In reality, the English portrayal of Indians fell within a broad rhetorical spectrum ranging from savage to civilized.

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[8]George Peckham, *A true report of the late discoveries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of England, of the New-found Landes* (1583), in David Beers Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, 5 vols. (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 3:44.

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Elizabethan promotional writings, notably those penned before the 1590s, included numerous translations of Spanish tracts that emphasized the treachery and barbarism of the Indians. This negative characterization served the *conquistadores* and their audiences well by highlighting the danger, glory, and virtue surrounding Spanish activities in the New World. Unlike with the English, their goal was seldom to recruit investors or procure settlers. In translation, the anthology of Spanish promotion served as a model for English writers theorizing about future colonial ventures.[9] When English propagandists started to write about their own actual settlements, the Indians began to appear less barbarous and more benign. The literature surrounding the Roanoke Voyages of the 1580s provides the most dramatic example. Written in part to counter "the slaunderous and shamefull speaches" of colonists returning from previous settlement attempts, these commentaries paid considerable attention to the Indians. In his lengthy treatise on the Algonquin Indians of Carolina entitled *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1588), settler and "ethnographer" Thomas Harriot wrote that the natives he encountered "in respect of troubling our inhabiting & planting, are not to be feared." Indeed, he believed that in response to English settlement "they shall have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with

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[9]Loren E. Pennington, "The Amerindian in English Promotional Literature," in K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, eds., *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America 1480-1650* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 179-84. Pennington argues convincingly that the English failure to seize on and reprint Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, a critique of the Spanish conquest of the Indians, demonstrates that English propagandists favored a repressive native policy and accepted a pessimistic view of the Indians.

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them."[10] As Harriot detailed the simple, unsophisticated nature of native dress, weaponry, architecture, and religion, he painted a literary portrait of a people whom the English could expect to control and convert with minimal coercion. While this more optimistic image of the Indians far surpassed the Spanish representation, it paled in comparison with the hopeful portrait drawn by Virginia propagandists in the early seventeenth century.

Virginia enjoyed the greatest propaganda of any colony in quantity, variety, exaggeration, and perhaps persuasiveness. Like the Roanoke literature, it attempted to combat a constant stream of gossip, or "demotional" writing, that denigrated English plantations in America and filtered back across the Atlantic. As the first permanent English settlement–and one plagued with high mortality rates, the occasional exercise of martial law, and numerous governmental reorganizations–Virginia needed a substantial promotional literature to induce investors and recruit laborers.[11] Not surprisingly, the production of this writing peaked between 1609 and 1615, one of the most turbulent periods of the colony's early history. Official literature commissioned and distributed by the Virginia Company of London, stressed the moral sanction of settlement and often took the form of preached and printed sermons. In one such lecture, appropriately titled *Good Newes from Virginia* (1613), minister Alexander

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[10]Thomas Harriot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1588) in Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages,* 1:320, 368.

[11]Jones, "The Colonial Impulse," 131; Lefler, "Promotional Literature of the Southern Colonies," 4-6.

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Whitaker argued that "One God created us, they [the Indians] have reasonable souls and intellectual faculties as well as wee." Though "barbarous people," he found the natives "quicke of apprehension, suddaine in their dispatches, subtile in their dealings, exquisite in their intentions, and industrious in their labour." Whitaker believed that Indian conversion depended upon English control of the land and recruitment of settlers. "If we were once the masters of their Countrey, and they stoode in feare of us (which might with few hands imployed about nothing else, be in short time brought to passe) it were an easie matter to make them willingly to forsake the divell, to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ, and to be baptized."[12] Official secular propaganda echoed the flattering descriptions and moral arguments of Whitaker and other ministers. While diarist Gabriel Archer maintained that the Indians of the Chesapeake "are naturally given to treachery," he "could not finde it in our travell up the river, but rather a most kind and loving people." Indeed, on behalf of so "very witty and ingenious people, apt both to understand and speake our language," Archer hoped that God would make the English "authors of his holy will in converting them to our true Christian faith."[13]

With the issue of a second charter in 1609 the Company's directors refined and expanded its promotional efforts; they believed that the failure of the colony to turn a quick and early profit stemmed from recruiting the wrong kind of settler to labor on the

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[12]Alexander Whitaker, *Good newes from Virginia* (London, 1613), 24, 25, 40.

[13]Gabriel Archer, "A Breif discription of the People" (London, 1607), in Quinn, ed., *New American World*, 5:276.

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investor's behalf.[14] In an ambitious discourse entitled *Nova Britannia* (1609), Robert Johnson made an aggressive case for the morality of settlement and the glory to be attained by planting. In his view the Indians, though typically "wild and savage," were "generally very loving and gentle, and doe entertaine and relieve our people with great kindnesse: they are easy to be brought to good, and would fayne embrace a better condition." So open were the natives to the Christian entreaties of the English, that according to Johnson "their children[,] when they come to be saved, will blesse the day when first their fathers saw your faces."[15] By portraying the Indians as easily manipulated, promoters aided the larger goals of the plantation–to maintain peaceful relations with the Indians while colonists searched for profitable exports. Apparently Johnson's promotional rhetoric carried some force, for although white Virginians only sporadically proselytized among the Indians, after 1609 the colony enjoyed a great increase in investment and immigration.

As effective as the Company's promotional writers were in securing additional resources and settlers, they had tremendous difficulty silencing critics of the colony's inept administration, limited opportunity for individual enrichment, and precarious

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[14]For a discussion of the relationship between the Indians and Virginia's labor and land policies in the first decade of settlement, see Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century 1607-1689* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949, 1970), 80-92, and Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 44-107.

[15]Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia: offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia* (1609) in Quinn, ed., *New American World*, 5:238-39, 247; Lefler, "Promotional Literature of the Southern Colonies," 9.

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relations with the Indians. Foremost among these dissenters was Captain John Smith, the one-time leader of the nascent settlement. Tellingly, the Company never permitted his works to appear under its imprint, in part because it disapproved of his coercive Indian policy. While historians have long debated the rationale and intended result of Smith's forceful approach, he certainly felt the natives to be unfriendly, treacherous, and in need of firm management.[16] In his description "Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia," Smith asserted that the Indians "are inconstant in everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keep, Craftie, / timerous, quicke of apprehension & very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage."[17] This position notwithstanding, the authors of Virginia's promotional literature retained a largely positive view of the Indians until 1622. On March 22 of that year, the Powhatans rose in rebellion, killing 347 of the 1,240 Virginia colonists.[18] Once they recovered from the shock of the attack, the English retaliated with both weapons and words. After the uprising, the culture and demeanor of Indians in the Chesapeake were

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[16]On Smith's motivations and objectives, see Pennington, *Westward Enterprise*, 191; Gary B. Nash, "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 29 (April 1972), 217-19; Alden T. Vaughan, *American Genesis: Captain John Smith and the Founding of Virginia* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975), 57-73; and Karen Kupperman, ed., *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 137-203.

[17]John Smith, *A map of Virginia* (Oxford, 1612), in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609*, 2 vols., Publications of the Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., 136-137 (Cambridge, 1969), 354 (continuous pagination).

[18]James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 215.

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rarely praised or positively described. Edward Waterhouse, colonial pamphleteer and secretary of the London Company, led the verbal assault on the Indians, who were now deemed "by nature of all people the most lying and most inconstant in the world . . . lesse capable then children of sixe or seaven yeares old, and lesse apt and ingenious."[19] This transformation of the English view of the natives corresponded with the colony's drive to exterminate existing populations and seize Indian lands to grant to new settlers by any means necessary. In the next decade, as Virginia gradually recovered from the Indian assault, found a cash crop, and became a royal colony, the production of promotional literature effectively ended.[20]

Carolina promotional literature written in the last half of the seventeenth and first decades of the eighteenth centuries did not display the great variety of forms and appeals found in the Virginia propaganda. There were no official sermons and little concern for converting heathen souls. But as in the Chesapeake, discourses designed to promote settlement in the Lower South reflected the motives and agendas of the colony's organizers, particularly those of the Lords Proprietors and their agents. From the beginning, these interests were largely commercial. In the 1660s and 1670s the plantation of Carolina depended upon the sponsorship of individuals in England and

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[19]Edward Waterhouse, *A declaration of the state of the colony and affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), in Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3:562-63.

[20]Nash, "The Image of the Indian," 219-20; Lefler, "Promotional Literature of the Southern Colonies," 12.

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Barbados rather than an extensive, published literature.[21] In their relations with the natives, the first explorers to Carolina sometimes claimed, like William Hilton, to be "in great fear of the Indians treachery."[22] But most attributed such perfidy to the natives' associations with the Spanish. Only in the earliest exploratory narratives were the Indians portrayed as barbaric.[23]

In keeping with the mercantile orientation of the nascent colony, Carolina propagandists emphasized the usefulness of Indians in the settlers' pursuit of profit. Rather than separately considering the "naturall inhabitants" of the country as had the Virginia writers, Carolina promoters intertwined their examination of the colony's extraordinary natural resources and economic potential with descriptions of the local Indians. In his lengthy advertisement of Carolina real estate, Thomas Amy described the "Natives of the Country" as "of a deep Chesnut Colour, their Hair black and streight, tied various ways, sometimes oyl'd and painted, stuck through with Feathers for Ornament or Gallantry." His portrait of these "well limb'd and featured" Indians betrayed no sign or fear or disgust. Instead, Amy wrote of "excellent Hunters" who

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[21]Lefler, "Promotional Literature of the Southern Colonies," 15; Hope Frances Kane, "Colonial Promotion and Promotion Literature of Carolina, 1660-1700," (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1930), 66.

[22]William Hilton, *A Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida* (London, 1664), in A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708,* Original Narratives of Early American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 40.

[23]Letter of Governor Sayle and Council, September 9, 1670, in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina,* 122-23.

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dressed "after their Country Fashion" in mantels and "hitherto lived in good Correspondence and Amity with the English." When treated justly, "the Neighbouring Indians are very kind and serviceable, doing our Nation such Civilities and good Turns as lie in their Power."[24] Amy's natives desired trade with the English, not conflict. This image both resulted from and furthered the aims of Proprietors desperate for settlers of any social class to take up land in Carolina.

Though first planted in 1670, the seeds of Carolina settlement did not take firm root in the fertile lowcountry soil until the early 1680s. Spurred in part by an effective and well-orchestrated advertising campaign, thousands of emigrants throughout the Atlantic world landed at Charles Town and fanned out on burgeoning plantations along the banks of the Ashley and Cooper rivers.[25] Promotional materials sponsored and created by the Lords Proprietors and their agents recruited settlers from England,

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[24]T[homas] A[my], *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of that Country, and the Natural Excellencies therof* (London: Printed for W.C. and to be Sold by Mrs. Grover in Pelican Court, in Little Britain, 1682), in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 156-57.

[25]Robert M. Weir estimates that the white population probably reached 6,000 before the end of the seventeenth century, but emphasizes that this total declined by 1720 (*Colonial South Carolina: A History* [New York: KTO Press, 1983], 205). Converse Clowe suggests that this number included both the Europeans and the Africans living in the colony (*Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1730* [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971], 251). Peter H. Wood speculates that there were 1,400 whites living east of the Appalachian Mountains in 1685 and only 3,800 by 1700 ("The Changing Population of the Colonial South," *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989], 38, 46-51). His latter estimate is based on a report to the Board of Trade in 1708 which reckoned that 3,800 white men, women, and children lived in the colony in 1703 (*BPRO*, 5:203-204).

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Scotland, Ireland, Holland, France, and other English colonies in the Atlantic world. These colonial salesmen headquartered their campaign at a London tavern where potential colonists seeking information on emigration were invited to come and study published literary tracts, colonial constitutions, maps of the region, and shipping schedules. A close look at the Carolina Coffee House, its patrons and their activities, demonstrates that the early efforts to publicize and people South Carolina were considerable, coordinated, and, by contemporary standards, largely successful.

Located in Birchin Lane near the Royal Exchange, the Carolina Coffee House served as a repository for information about South Carolina and functioned as a meeting-place for the most active proprietors and their agents to discuss the business of managing the colony. As Secretary Samuel Wilson noted in his own promotional piece *An Account of the Province of Carolina* (1682), "Passage of a man or woman to Carolina is five Pound, Ships are going thither all times of the year. Some of the Lords Proprietors, or my self, will be every Tuesday at 11 of the clock at the Carolina-Coffee-house in Burching-Lane near the Royal Exchange, to inform all people what Ships are going, or any other thing whatsoever."[26] Wilson's tract–which included a brief history of Carolina, details of its environment and inhabitants, and an abstract of the royal patent–certainly circulated at the tavern and may have been distributed for free to

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[26]Samuel Wilson, *An Account of the Province of Carolina, in America: together with an Abstract of the Patent, and several other Necessary and Useful Particulars, to such as have thoughts of transporting themselves thither. Published for their Information.* (London: Printed by G. Larkin, for Francis Smith, at the Elephant and Castle in Cornhil, 1682), in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 176.

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interested patrons. At a cost of £10, Wilson printed at least six hundred copies of his pamphlet, five hundred for two of the proprietors, and one hundred more to be distributed as ordered (presumably by individuals outside of London) for four pence each.[27] As Wilson emphasized at the conclusion of his discourse, an emigrant who visited the Carolina Coffee House would find officials ready to answer any of his questions about transportation to and settlement in the colony. *The True Protestant Mercury*, a popular Whig newsletter, reported on March 21, 1682, that "the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, viz. the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, the Earl of *Craven*, the Earl of *Bath*, Sir *Peter Colleton*, Mr. *Archdale*, and Mr. *Vivion* (for the Duke of *Albemarle*)" congregated at the Coffee House "at 11 of the Clock" and intended "to meet at the said place, every *Tuesday* morning, at the same hour, finding great numbers of People, dayly Transporting themselves to that flourishing Province." Thus, the holders or representatives of six of the eight patent shares, appeared publicly to address and solicit the "great resort of the people of all sorts" desiring to learn more about or arrange passage to Carolina. *The Mercury* further indicated that the prospective migrants "who came to receive satisfaction in several particulars . . . do find all things so well answer their expectations, that they entered very speedily, with their Wives and families, to Transport themselves thither" to the colony.[28] While this announced appearance of

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[27]William L. Saunders, *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: P.M. Hale and Josephus Daniels, 1886-1890), 1:344.

[28]*The True Protestant Mercury: or, Occurrences Foreign and Domestick*, No. 126, March 21, 1682, transcriptions from copies at the John Carter Brown Library by J. Alexander Moore, Subject File, SCDAH.

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several proprietors at the Carolina Coffee House may have been their first *public* attempt to stimulate emigration, commissioning Wilson's *Account of the Province* in 1682 was hardly their first effort to recruit settlers with published literary propaganda.

As early as the 1660s, exploratory narratives of the whole province of Carolina, such as William Hilton's *A Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida* (1664) and Robert Horne's *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina* (1666), began to appear in print in London.[29] These travelogues emphasized the Edenic qualities of the Carolina environment. Hilton observed that the "Ayr is clear and sweet, the Countrey very pleasant and delightful." Describing the area around Port Royal, he wrote that the "Land generally, except were the Pines grow, is a good Soyl," and he speculated that it "may produce any thing as well as most part of the Indies." The quality of life enjoyed by the local Indians, despite their "laziness," led Hilton to promote the region as a perfect site for English settlement. Even the natives who planted on "the worst Land, because they cannot cut down the Timber in the best," he argued, "have plenty of Corn, Pumpions, Water-Mellons, [and] Musk-mellons." Moreover, the Indians were "very healthful," and Hilton "saw many very Aged amongst

[29]William Hilton, *A Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida* (London: Printed by J.C. for Simon Miller at the Star neer the West-end of St. Pauls, 1664) and Robert Horne, *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina, on the Coasts of Floreda, and more perticularly of a New Plantation begun by the English at Cape Feare* (London: Printed for Robert Horne in the first Court of Gresham-Colledge neer Bishopsgate-street, 1666), in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 37-61, 66-73.

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them."[30]

Horne's glowing assessment of the environment surpassed that of Hilton. "The whole Country consists of stately Woods, Groves, Marshes and Meadows; it abounds with a variety of as brave Okes and Eye can behold, great Bodies tall and streight from 60 to 80 foot." Both indigenous crops and those imported from other colonies thrived in the friendly Carolina soil. Never too hot or too cold, Horne found the climate "best agreeing with English Consitutions." Over and over, early explorers promoted the province's healthfulness, raved about its natural attributes, complimented the climate, and emphasized the availability of fertile lands.[31] Even when new and sometimes disparaging information became available in subsequent decades, these early tracts continued to circulate with their rosy accounts "of the nature and temperature of the Soyl, the manners and dispositions of the Natives."[32] Though not sponsored by the Lords Proprietors themselves, these first-hand narratives clearly advanced the proprietors' cause. Prospective emigrants with access to this literature would expect to live long, healthful, and profitable lives in Carolina.

In the 1670s, the proprietors undertook more active and decidedly covert

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[30]Hilton, *Relation of a Discovery*, in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 44-45.

[31]Horne, *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina*, in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 68-70; H. Roy Merrens and George D. Terry, "Dying in Paradise: Malaria, Mortality, and the Perceptual Environment in Colonial South Carolina," *Journal of Southern History*, 50 (1984), 535.

[32]Hilton, *Relation of a Discovery*, in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 37.

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efforts to promote Carolina. When the king's cosmographer John Ogilby implored Proprietor Peter Colleton to provide a map and description of Carolina as an addition to his massive compendium *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World* (1671), Colleton requested that Secretary John Locke "doe us the favour to draw a discourse to bee added." He specifically indicated that if "the nature of a description" be written "such as might invite people without seeming to come from us it would very much conduce to the speed of settlement." Locke complied with these instructions. On the pages of Colleton's letter appear notes in Locke's hand on the region's early explorers, writers, topography, and natural resources. Ogilby's chapter on Carolina, while blatantly propagandistic, made no mention of his source of information. Only on his title page did he indicate that he collected his narratives "from most Authentick Authors."[33] A shorter "Description of Carolina," published by Richard Blome in 1672 under the title *A Description Of the Island of Jamaica*, also celebrated the region's environment and later mentioned the Lords Proprietors, their plantation scheme, and "two considerable Settlements of the English, . . . one at Albemarle-River in the North, and the other about the midst of the Countrey on Ashley River." Yet

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[33]John Ogilby, *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World Containing The Original of the Inhabitants, and the Remarkable Voyages thither* (London: Printed by the Author, 1671); Peter Colleton to John Locke, [1671?], in *CSCHS*, 5:264-66. According to William S. Powell, Ogilby's *America* may have been a translation and/or plagiarism of Arnoldus Montanus's *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld* (Amsterdam, 1671) ["Carolina in the Seventeenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography of Contemporary Publications," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 41 (January 1964), 87]. Although a Carolina chapter did not appear in Montanus's volume, Ogilby's work highlights the widespread and rapid circulation of literature about the Americas throughout the Atlantic world.

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Blome credited only "Experienced Persons in the said Places" with providing this information, naming no Carolina official or settler as his source.[34] By consciously concealing their role in producing reports on the province, the proprietors demonstrated not only an understanding of the importance of promotional information but an awareness of its need to *appear* both accurate and unbiased to potential emigrants, regardless of its actual character and quality.

The content of Ogilby's and Blome's descriptions of Carolina rehearsed themes introduced by earlier writers, but used favorable accounts of the Indians and environment to underscore the economic opportunities available to potential settlers. Locke likely provided much of the information that Ogilby presented to his readers.[35] Describing the Indians as "a stout and valiant People," Ogilby noted that the "constant Wars they are engag'd in" stemmed "not out of covetousness, and a desire of usurping others Possessions, or to enrich themselves by the Spoils of their Neighbors, but upon a pitch of Honor, and for the glory of Victory." Since the first English colonists arrived in Carolina, the natives "have continu'd to do them all manner of friendly Offices, ready on all occasions to supply them with any thing they have observed them to want, not making use of our Mens Necessities, as an opportunity to enhance the Price of their Commodities." Such honest and trustworthy traders, Ogilby remarked, "we could

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[34]Richard Blome, "A Description of Carolina," *A Description Of the Island of Jamaica; With the other Isles and Territories in America, to which the English are Related* (London: Printed by T. Milbourn, and sold by I. Williams Junior, in Cross-Keys-Court, in Little Brittain, 1672), 125-38.

[35]Locke's Carolina Memoranda, *CSCHS*, 5:250-51.

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scarce have promis'd them amongst civiliz'd, well bred, and religious Inhabitants of any part of *Europe*." Just as the Indians provided goods desired by the setters, so the land yielded valuable crops. "Besides those things which do serve to satisfie Hunger, or provoke it, the Land doth with great return produce Indigo, Ginger, Tobacco, Cotton, and other Commodities fit to send abroad and furnish foreign markets."[36] Not only would Carolina planters feast on exotic foods at home, they would grow rich by selling raw materials abroad. At the conclusion of his chapter Ogilby included information on provincial land policies and an overview of the colony's political constitutions. He expected that the prospect of liberal land grants, religious toleration, and established government would induce more emigrants to choose Carolina. Blome followed Ogilby's example when he noted that the proprietors "have formed a Model [of government] so well framed for the good and welfare of the Inhabitants that it is esteemed by all judicious persons without compare."[37]

The trend toward more substantial and organized promotion of the Carolina project in the 1680s, evident in the founding of the Coffee House and the dissemination of literature known to originate with the proprietors and their agents, corresponded with three other transitions in colonial propaganda and recruitment. First, efforts to populate Carolina shifted away from relatively small-scale settlement schemes conceived of and sponsored by officials in the province or Caribbean colonists like the Barbados

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[36]Ogilby, *America*, 207-210.

[37]Blome, "A Description of Carolina," 125-38.

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Adventurers. Second, as an understanding of the needs and demands of settlers in Carolina grew, promotional literature became more detailed and useful. Third, the area for soliciting potential settlers expanded dramatically. Instead of concentrating their efforts exclusively on England, Barbados, Bermuda, and the mainland colonies, the proprietors now sought freemen and servants in Ireland, Huguenot refugees from the European continent, and Presbyterians in Scotland. These changes resulted from the general failure of the colony to attract large numbers of emigrants in the early years (or to turn a profit for the Lords Proprietors) and occurred at the behest of the Charles Town leadership. Governor William Sayle "wrote to the people of the Sumer Islands & to New England to gaine what people wee may to promote the designe" of Carolina, but with limited results.[38] As provincial secretary Joseph Dalton eloquently expressed to Shaftesbury, officials within the province believed that the "free disbursement of a penny in the morning may have a pound at night." After begging "carefull supplyes"–by which he specifically meant "a speedy peopling of this place" and assistance with the transportation and provisioning costs of new arrivals–Dalton urged his lordship "to cause to be published in England and other his Majesties plantations" the colony's settlement terms in "a very great invitation for people to come hither."[39]

The Lords Proprietors waited more than a decade to heed Dalton's advice. In 1682 a tract titled *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of that Country,*

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[38]William Sayle to the Lords Proprietors, 1670, *CSCHS*, 5:176.

[39]Joseph Dalton to the Earl of Shaftesbury, September 9, 1670, *CSCHS*, 5:182-85.

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penned by "T.A. Gent, Clerk on Board his Majesties Ship the *Richmond*," addressed "To the Reader," and written in the form of a letter to prospective settlers, appeared in London. Evidence of the continued circulation and significance of earlier promotional literature, the letter began by referring its audience to the previously published works of Blome and Ogilby for "a further Satisfaction to those Gentlemen that are curious concerning the Country of Carolina." The pamphleteer, once thought by historians to be Thomas Ashe, was more likely Thomas Amy.[40] A kinsman of Proprietor John Colleton and later a proprietor in his own right, Amy received the title Cassique, a provincial noble rank, as a reward for his efforts to the settle the colony in October 1682.[41] Accompanied by forty-five French Protestant emigrants, he claimed to be "sent out in the Year *1680*, with particular Instructions to enquire into the State of that Country." His narrative provided the most detailed and generally accurate description of South Carolina's population, land, flora and fauna, inhabitants, and commerce yet issued in England. Amy acknowledged that he wrote in an established tradition which rightly championed Carolina as the superior colonial destination. "The Discourses of many Ingenious Travellers . . . have for Salubrity of Air, Fertility of Soyl, for the Luxuriant

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[40]A[my], *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of that Country*, in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 138-59; St. Julien Ravenel Childs, *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940), 189 n.40.

[41]*BPRO*, 1:13.

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and Indulgent Blessings of Nature, justly rendered Carolina Famous."[42] More than any other previous author, Amy positioned Carolina demographically and economically within the Atlantic world. He "judged in the Country a 1000 or 1200 Souls" at the time of his arrival. When writing just three years later Amy thought that "the great Numbers of Families from England, Ireland, Berbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribees, doubled that Number." In addition to welcoming the overflow of people from Europe and other American colonies, Carolina would export raw materials and import trade goods. "The Commodities of the Country as yet proper for England, are Furrs and Cedar: For Berbadoes, Jamaica and the Caribbee Islands, Provisions, Pitch, Tarr and Clapboard, for which they have in Exchange Sugar, Rumm, Melasses and Ginger." Of the items which a merchant should send to Carolina "for his advantage" Amy listed clothing, spices, guns and ammunition, and cordage and sails.[43] *Carolina; or a Description Of the Present State of that Country* successfully accomplished four of the Lords Proprietors' primary promotional goals: it was written by a close associate of the proprietors; it offered a veneer of official approval without seeming unduly biased; it favorably reviewed the resources and opportunities available in the province; and it highlighted the migration of hundreds of settlers to Carolina from throughout the Atlantic world. The tract also applied the literary technique of writing to a friend, a device employed in the promotional literature of other colonies and soon to become commonplace in

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[42]A[my], *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State*, in Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 138-39.

[43]Ibid., 158.

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Carolina propaganda.

Following the appearance of Amy's discourse, an explosion of printed propaganda inundated London's Coffee House with information. Invariably, all tracts emphasized Carolina's social and economic opportunities and offered few criticisms of the faraway land they described. Without undermining the proprietors' promotional goals, this literature assumed an increasingly instructional tone and more directly anticipated and addressed the concerns of potential emigrants. Writers advised Carolina-bound settlers what provisions and trade goods to carry across the Atlantic, how to secure passage, and where to find further information. Robert Ferguson, a friend of Shaftesbury, based his lengthy commentary in *The Present State of Carolina with Advice to the Setlers* (1682) on "my own observation" and, more vaguely, evidence "from very good hands." In response to those readers who might object that "*I have published a Description of a Country whereof hitherto I have only inspected by Relation, without occular proof*," Ferguson touted his "Credit, and Reputation for those worthy Gentlemen that ushred it to me." Like Amy, he employed an open-letter format, but unlike earlier commentators, Ferguson carefully assessed the safety of the colony. In addition to the defense supplied by fifteen hundred fighting men, Anglo-Carolinians enjoyed extra protection from their "Negro slaves, whose labour proclaims the Setlers plenty; and whose service doubles their security." Ferguson argued that physical threats to the province came from foreign invaders, presumably the Spanish, rather than from the "feminine Native." Indeed, he thought that "the natural antipathy the *Native*, and the *Negro* has one against another . . . rather confirms the Setlers security." Nor

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would disease unduly threaten new emigrants, for the heavens blessed Carolina with "a serene Air, and a lofty Skie, that defends it from noxious Infection." Ferguson knew of no "Distemper incident to the inhabitant" that could "terrify, and affright him." Instead, a Carolina colonist "lives by the law of plenty, extended to the utmost limits of sanity."[44]

In a bid to attract non-English emigrants, Ferguson emphasized that in Carolina there was "no distinction betwixt those . . . native Subjects born in England; and those implanted and born in America." He specifically listed Barbados, New Providence, Bermuda, New York, New Jersey, New England, Long Island, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Scotland, Ireland, and England as the known points of origin for recent arrivals in the province. A sign of the proprietors' desperate desire to increase the size of the colonial population, Ferguson promoted Carolina not only as a fountain of wealth for artisans and planters but as a refuge for the persecuted and a haven for the sick and poor.[45] At the end of his pamphlet Ferguson attached an "Advertisement" for land-clearing services available in the province by one Nathan Somers. Perhaps he hoped to allay the fears that potential planters might have about preparing their property for cultivation once they read his detailed descriptions of the region's environment. More likely, he included the advertisement to defray the expense of publishing his tract. John

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[44]R[obert] F[erguson], *The Present State of Carolina with Advice to the Setlers* (London: Printed by John Bringhurst, at the Sign of the Book in Grace-Church-Street, 1682), 5, 6, 17.

[45]Ibid., 6-7, 30.

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Bringhurst, printer of Ferguson's *The Present State of Carolina*, also published and sold a separate broadside for Somers titled *Proposals for Clearing Land in Carolina* in 1682.[46] Ferguson, like Wilson, concluded his pamphlet with an invitation for prospective settlers to visit the Carolina Coffee House in Birchin Lane.

Less than a year after the intensification of literary promotion in England, propaganda began appearing overseas. *A New and Most Exact Account Of the Fertiles and Famous Colony of Carolina*, published in Dublin in 1683, contained John Crafford's concise, yet typically enthusiastic, description of his journey from Scotland to the colony. Though his account differed little in character from earlier narratives, he singled out Port Royal to the south of Charles Town for special praise. "In short my opinion is that *Portryal* is the choyest place in *Carolina*, a very rich soyl, and good Clymate, and I judge it to be a most healthy Country."[47] In writing for his Irish audience, Crafford may have wished to emphasize that nonconforming newcomers could take up land a comfortable distance from the colonial center and still suffer no

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[46]Nathan Somers, *Proposals for Clearing Land in Carolina, East Jersey, Pensilvania, West Jersey: Or any other Parts of America* (London: Printed and Sold by John Bringhurst, at the Book in Grace-Church-Street, 1682). Powell writes that the "Lords Proprietors had entered into an agreement with Sumers [sic] it was reported, to give him and his heirs a 14-year monopoly in this undertaking since he would use an engine which he had invented ["South Carolina in the Seventeenth Century," 94]. A search of the proprietary records has yet to locate such a contract. It is interesting to note that while Somers advertised his services throughout America, he listed the proprietary colonies by name.

[47]John Crafford, *A New and Most Exact Account Of the Fertiles and Famous Colony of Carolina* (Dublin: Printed for Nathan Tarrant at the Kings-Arms in Corn-Market, 1683).

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economic disadvantage. This policy would have been consistent with proprietary concessions already granted "to certain persons in Ireland" who "might (if they please) take up one or more Collonys according to their number, and . . . have the free exercise of their Religeon according to their owne discipline."[48] A year later a compilation of previously published documents concerning Carolina appeared in Dublin under the heading *Carolina Described more fully then heretofore*. Written anonymously, the pamphlet reproduced Wilson's tract, his abstract of the patent, a summary and full text of the Fundamental Constitutions, and shipping schedules for towns across Ireland. The author stressed in his introduction that he had "seen most of the *Relations* that have come into this Country [Ireland], of this *Province of Carolina*; whether by Letter[,] Prints or discourses with those who were of the first planters there" and "heard many discourses pass for and against the Country." Yet he believed potential emigrants with "thoughts of removing themselves and families thither" remained "much in the dark about the true state of that *Province*." Hence his publication of *Carolina Described more fully then heretofore*. In an attempt to enhance his credibility with the reader, the author suggested that some potential colonists might "doubt of the truth" of "Mr. *Willson's Relation* it being in behalf of his Masters the *Lords Proprietors* interest." Yet in considering the reports of Ogilby, Blome, Crafford, and correspondence from the

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[48]Concessions of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to certain persons in Ireland, August 31, 1672, in William J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina to the Close of the Proprietary Government by the Revolution of 1719. With an Appendix Containing Many Valuable Records Hitherto Unpublished* (Charleston, S.C.: McCarter, 1856), 365.

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colony, the author completely concurred with Wilson's assessment in *An Account of the Province of Carolina*.[49] If penned and published by an official agent of the colony, as its content and tone suggest, the strategy of this anonymous tract underscored the great importance the Lords Proprietors placed on promoting Carolina across the Irish Sea. Indeed, the need for promotional literature to appear unbiased was even greater outside England.

Although few French men and women migrated to Carolina in the first decade of settlement, the remarks of Crafford and others attested to their recruitment by the Lords Proprietors. In late 1679, the king granted Réné Petit and Jacob Guérard permission to transport approximately twenty French Protestant families to the colony. As an influential member of the Board of Trade, Shaftesbury certainly knew of, consented to, and perhaps even invited the French petition.[50] In this same year, an anonymous three-page pamphlet called *Description du Pays nommé Caroline* appeared in London. It briefly summarized the location, administration, and resources of the colony, but without mentioning the Coffee House or any proprietor by name.[51] The Petit-Guérard effort brought a small number of settlers to South Carolina. Yet as in

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[49]*Carolina Described more fully then heretofore: Being an Impartial collection Made from the several Relations of that Place in Print* (Dublin, 1684), 2-3.

[50]St. Julien Ravenel Childs, "The Petit-Guérard Colony," *SCH(G)M*, 43 (1942), 1-4.

[51]*Description du Pays nommé Caroline* (London? 1679?). The British Museum assigns the date [1679?], but the document is filed in the Public Record Office with the Shaftesbury Papers for 1671-1672.

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England and Ireland, the trend in France in the 1680s was toward more widespread recruitment. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the subsequent flight of Protestants from France to England and Holland first provided the Lords Proprietors with a large pool of potential settlers, many with skills and capital accumulated on the continent. However, recruiting Huguenot refugees both in London and across the English Channel required publishing and circulating promotional literature written in French. Only four known tracts survive from this decade, though most mention the existence of "other relations." *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline* (1685) contained lengthy and typically glowing descriptions of South Carolina's climate, geography, agriculture, and government. The author, who claimed to have recently returned from the province where he had taken up land, advised emigrants first visit the "*le Cafe-hous de la Caroline*" in London where "they would ordinarily find those who will transport them to the new colonies." He further noted passage costs and the amount of allowable cargo migrants might carry to Carolina.[52] Much more than a traditional promotional tract, *Plan pour former un Establissement en Carolina* (1686) outlined a corporate program, called a "Confederation," for settling a sizable Huguenot community in the colony. Those interested in more information were instructed to contact "Monsieur _________" in London, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam. The name was purposefully left

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[52]*Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline par un Gentil-homme François arrivé, depuis deux mois, de ce nouveau pais. Où il parle de la route qu'il faut tenir, pour y aller le plus furement, & de l'état où il a trouve cette Nouvelle contrée* (Hague: Chez Meyndert Uytweft, Marchand Libraire de Meurant dans le Gortstraet, 1685); Kane, "Colonial Promotion," 111-13.

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blank to be supplied in manuscript by agents in each city.[53] Both *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline* and *Plan pour former un Establissement en Carolina* originally appeared in The Hague. In Geneva, another urban center for Huguenot refugees in the early 1680s, printer Jacques de Tournes circulated *Description de la Carolline* (1684) and *Suite de la Description* (1685). The former, an anonymous translation of Wilson's *Account of the Province of Carolina*, also attached two personal letters from the colony. The words of Carolina governor Joseph Morton–himself an English Dissenter–were likely thought to carry increased weight with emigrants fleeing religious persecution, while the thoughts of South Carolinian and Huguenot Louis Thibou obviously targeted this French audience.[54] *Suite de la Description* excerpted unsigned letters from Huguenot colonists to family and friends in London. The carefully editing of these letters to include only complimentary assessments of the Carolina province suggest that proprietary agents had an active hand in their collection and dissemination.[55] While no large-scale,

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[53]*Plan pour former un Establissement en Caroline. A vant que d'entrer dans l' examen particulier de ce project, il faut faire quelques considerations* (Hague: Chez Meyndert Uytweft, Marchand Libraire de Meurant dans le Gortstraet, 1686); Kane, "Colonial Promotion," 114-19.

[54]*Description de la Carolline* (Geneva: Jacques de Tournes, 1684). This tracts survives as a manuscript copy in Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, ms.francais, nouvelles acquisitions n.5052, fol.177-184 [Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, "A 'Best Poor Huguenot's Country'?: The Carolina Proprietors and the Recruitment of French Protestants," Working Paper No. 96-20, International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1800, Harvard University, 1996, 7]. The South Caroliniana library at the University of South Carolina holds a manuscript copy and translated transcript of Louis Thibou's letter dated September 20, 1683.

[55]*Suite de la Description* (Geneva: Jacques de Tournes,1685); Van Ruymbeke, "A 'Best Poor Huguenot's Country,'" 7.

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coordinated Huguenot transplantation materialized in the seventeenth century, hundreds of refugees migrated to South Carolina in the 1680s and 1690s. Despite their reputation as artisans and merchants, the promotional literature targeting Huguenots focused on farming and the majority of migrants settled outside of Charles Town in ethnic communities along the Cooper and Santee rivers.[56]

Neither the Lords Proprietors nor colonial administrators in South Carolina mandated separate settlements for English and non-English emigrants. Instead, individuals and groups generally took up land where they chose. On March 4, 1684, the proprietors instructed the governor to settle the "several Scotch goeing from Glasco to Carolina" at Port Royal according to terms previously agreed upon, "or if they desire to settle among the English you are to direct the setting out of the Lands to them as wee have by our Instructions appoynted for all that come to settle in our province."[57] Like many Huguenot colonists, the Scottish migrants selected a site away from Charles Town. Under the primary direction of Lord Cardross and William Dunlop, a company of Scots families planted to the south near Port Royal at a place they named Stuart Town. Given the increasing tension with the Spanish in Florida, this creation of a

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[56]Jon Butler argues that "the Huguenot migration to America was far smaller than historians have previously believed. Census figures, naturalization lists, and other available seventeenth-century documents suggest that no more than 1,500 Huguenots lived in the American colonies by 1700" (*The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983], 47). A census of Huguenots dated March 14, 1699, counted 438 "French Protestants to this day in Carolina," 195 in Charles Town and 243 in outlying areas of the province (*BPRO*, 4:75).

[57]*BPRO*, 1:271.

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Scottish buffer between the English and their enemies pleased the Charles Town leadership. While in its size the Scots' settlement may seem like a return to the small-scale, privately-sponsored schemes of the 1670s, the Scottish undertakers intended to transport thousands of emigrants and often acted like unofficial agents of the Lords Proprietors. Just months before the Scots embarked for Carolina, there appeared a broadside titled *Proposals* by Walter Gibson detailing migration costs for freemen, labor terms for servants, and the author's willingness to discuss the cargo and tools that emigrants ought to carry to Carolina. While Gibson's own financial stake in transporting passengers to the colony was reason enough to advertise, his concluding comments suggest that a colonial agent commissioned the tract. All who journeyed with Gibson "in this vessel will have the occasion of good company of several sober, discreet persons, who intend to settle in Carolina, will dwell with them, and be ready to give good advice and assistance to them in their choice of their Plantation."[58] For political and strategic reasons, Stuart Town foundered in its first two years. A massive emigration by Scottish settlers to South Carolina awaited the eighteenth-century efforts of other promoters and adventurers.

As the proprietors' recruitment of French and Scottish settlers illustrated, religious nonconformists were among the most visible and motivated potential

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[58]Walter Gibson, *Proposals. By Walter Gibson, Merchant in Glasgow, to such persons as are desirous to Transport themselves to America, in a Ship belonging to him, bound for the Bermudas, Carolina, New-Providence, and the Caribby-Islands, and ready to set Sail out of the River Clyd* (1684), in George Pratt Insh, ed., *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson, 1922) 278-79.

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emigrants. However, Carolina was not the only attractive destination in the New World. For example, Lord Cardross first considered leading his followers from southwestern Scotland to New York.[59] Other restoration colonies such as Pennsylvania and the East and West Jerseys directly challenged Carolina for the finite supply of available settlers. The agents for these other American colonies used promotional literature to solicit potential emigrants and sometimes to defame Carolina explicitly. The head-to-head competition began in 1675 when John Fenwick published a brief tract, *Proposals for Planting His Colony of New Caesarea or New Jersey*, and intensified through the 1680s with William Penn's founding and aggressive marketing of Pennsylvania to Palatine Germans. The northern colonies followed the Carolina example in excerpting their constitutions or concessions and by advertising liberal settlement terms. Eventually all the colonies began publishing broadsides with abstracted or abridged versions of longer promotional narratives.[60]

While descriptive narratives remained an essential element of promotion, the Jerseys and Pennsylvania initiated the widespread circulation of personal letters proffering information on migration and plantation. Ostensibly written by immigrants in these northern colonies, propagandists issued many of these testimonials to combat negative critiques of the early settlements. Though Carolina promoters published few

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[59]Peter Gouldesbrough, "An Attempted Scottish Voyage to New York in 1669," *Scottish Historical Review*, 11 (1961), 56-62; Linda G. Fryer, "Documents Relating to the Formation of the Carolina Company in Scotland, 1682," *SCH(G)M*, 99 (1998), 114.

[60]Kane, "Colonial Promotion," 125-38.

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letter collections, the colony did suffer the sting of printed demotional or counter-promotional attacks.[61] Surviving remarks from immigrants suggest that many potential settlers approached colonial propaganda with a healthy skepticism. One Huguenot refugee acknowledged that while "in France I had perused pamphlets concerning Carolina, & during our voyage had often discussed them with the lady. I made careful inquiry in order to ascertain whether they told the truth."[62] Similarly, an advance team sent to evaluate Carolina on behalf of potential emigrants from Essex County, Massachusetts, carried instructions ordering them to "Take an Exact Surveye of the Countrie." The colony's propaganda seemed so persuasive that the New Englanders chastised themselves for doubting the province's well-publicized merits. "We think our selves and all men must be very full of humane Distrust if we or they should not Believe Carolina to be a Rich and Plentifull Countrie by what we have heard of it."[63]

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[61]Among the most influential personal letter collections Kane noted *An Abstract of Abbreviation of some few of the Many (Later and Former) Testimonys from the Inhabitants of New Jersey and other Eminent Persons. Who have Wrote particularly Concerning that Place* (1681) and *A Letter from Doctor More, with Passages out of several Letters from Persons of Good Credit, Relating to the State and Improvement of the Province of Pennsilvania* (1687). The best examples of an attempt to imitate this promotional style by southern writers were *Carolina Described more fully then heretofore*, which included "Divers Letters from the Irish settled there," and *Suite de la Description*, which abstracted Huguenot correspondence.

[62]Durand of Dauphine, *A Huguenot Exile in Virginia; or, Voyages of a Frenchman exiled for his religion, with a description of Virginia & Maryland; from the Hague edition of 1687*, in Gilbert Chinard, ed. (Elmira, N.Y.: The Press of the Pioneers, 1934), 86.

[63]"Instructions for Emigrants from Essex County, Mass., to South Carolina, 1697," *New England Historical and Geneaological Register*, 30 (1876), 64-67; H. Roy Merrens, "The Physical Environment of Early America: Images and Image Makers in

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However, they insisted that the expedition assess the piety of the people, the healthfulness of the climate, the quality of the soil, the availability of land, and the range of crops produced. Though rumor and gossip could damage the region's reputation and discourage some emigrants, published criticism of the Carolina environment troubled promoters far more. Negative publicity might cost the colony hundreds or thousands of settlers. Demotional literature usually originated with European governments eager to check emigration or with agents working on behalf of other colonies. Just a year after the publication of *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline* at the Hague, there appeared a page by page attack of the tract titled "Remarques sur las Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline."[64] Its anonymous writer first challenged the authority of the French gentleman who penned the original relation. "[A]lthough he writes much, he has yet seen but little. For, he was in the country but about two months, in which time it was scarcely possible for him to visit the settlements which are scattered here and there, much less to know the seasons of the year, and the state of the country under the ordinary revolutions of nature." Instead of describing only what he observed firsthand, "[h]e believes in the accounts of others, and adopts them as his own."[65] As the author of "Remarques" pointed out to his readers, the hearsay reported by the

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Colonial South Carolina," *Geographical Review*, 59 (1969), 534.

[64]"Remarques sur las Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline, par un Gentilhomme François," (1686), trans. in *The Magnolia; or Southern Appalachian*, New Ser., Vol. 1:3 (1842), 226-29.

[65]Ibid., 227.

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gentleman could well have been obtained without ever having visited Carolina. "For the Coffee-House to which he refers us in London, might at least have procured him one friend of the Province, who could have furnished him with an account as ample as that which he gives us." In his "Remarques" the author then contested nearly every assessment of Carolina's waterways, land quality and price, rate of development, climate, and general healthfulness put forth in *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline*. He used direct comparisons with other American colonies, Ireland, and Europe to support his criticisms. "A simple Virginia planter could buy half-a-dozen" Carolina manors and baronies. "And yet there are scarcely any of these estates,–or if there be some few, they are not very rich." What towns have they built, he queried, "save Charleston, that great charnel-house of the country?"[66] Far more important than the substance of these attacks was the call for skepticism, implicit in all demotional literature, which "Remarques" stated plainly. The gentleman's narrative "is rather an account of his own credulity, than of the country; and how it can be a good foundation for his countrymen to build upon, *it is for them to judge*." Suspicion and doubt notwithstanding, the appearance of counter-promotional discourse signaled the widespread influence and persuasiveness of Carolina propaganda literature.[67]

Many early narratives continued to circulate in various editions and languages long after their initial publication. For example, Blome reissued his original

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[66]Ibid., 228.

[67]Ibid., 227 (my emphasis added); Merrens, "The Physical Environment of Early America," 535-36.

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"Description of Carolina" in 1678. A revised form, which bears strong resemblance to Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina*, appeared in a 1687 volume titled *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*. This later version was translated and republished in Amsterdam the following year.[68] The expansion of colonial propaganda and recruitment efforts overseas did not diminish the importance of London's Carolina Coffee House as a center for promoting migration. In addition to sponsoring and disseminating informational accounts of their colony, the Lords Proprietors revised the Fundamental Constitutions, the articles outlining the government and official plan for plantation of Carolina, in order to stimulate emigration. They also commissioned maps of the province indicating the region's topography, the progress of plantation already underway, and the large amounts of land still available. Even with access to the persuasive and seemingly objective promotional literature available in the 1680s, men and women risking their lives and fortunes in the New World continually craved and consumed additional types of information on settlement across the Atlantic Ocean. The Lords Proprietors and their agents attempted to quench emigrants' thirst for knowledge both at the London Coffee House and abroad. Since some individuals and groups of emigrants acquired grants for land before setting sail or selected South Carolina as their destination for religious reasons, the quality and influence of other

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[68]Richard Blome, "A Description of Carolina," *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America* (London: Printed by H. Clark, for Dorman Newman, at the Kings-Arms in the Poultrey, 1687), 150-82; Richard Blome, *L'Amerique angloise, ou Description des Isles et terres du Roi d'Angleterre* (Amsterdam, 1688).

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promotional materials became extremely important.

Most colonial propagandists included references to the structure of South Carolina's government in their pamphlets. *An Account of the Province of Carolina* and *Carolina Described more fully then heretofore* each reprinted a summary and full text of the Fundamental Constitutions, commonly called the "Grand Model." On March 21, 1682, *The True Protestant Mercury* reported that "to satisfye such as have a desire to see the *Fundamental Constitutions*" of Carolina, "by Order of the *Lords Proprietors* they are now in the Press, and will be published this next week, and may be seen at the *Carolina Coffee-House*."[69] From its adoption in 1669 through the end of the century, the Lords Proprietors, provincial leaders, and planters continually clashed over the Grand Model's authority and implementation. The Lords Proprietors twice changed the Constitutions in the hope of luring more settlers, particularly men of means and those seeking religious toleration, to Carolina. First, they increased the power of freemen in the province. In a letter to Governor Morton dated May 10, 1682, the proprietors explained that they "left the Senate or Grand Councill at liberty to propose to the Parliament all such things as they shall, upon mature consideration, thinke fitting for the good of the people." Furthermore, if the Council failed to recommend necessary legislation, "it shall be lawfull for any of the chambers to take cognizance of it, & propose it to the house."[70] In effect, these changes included ordinary colonists in the

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[69]*The True Protestant Mercury*, March 21, 1682, London.

[70]Letter from the Lords Proprietors, May 10, 1682, in Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 395-96.

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legislative process. Given the overwhelmingly feudal character of government defined under the Fundamental Constitutions, these concessions could have carried significant weight with wealthier emigrants. Second, the proprietors exempted dissenters from financially supporting the Church of England. Under the August 1682 revisions, "no man shall be chargeable to pay out of his particular Estate that is not conformable to the church as aforesaid; but every church or Congregation of Christians . . . shall have power to lay a tax on its own members."[71] This alteration addressed the concerns of French Huguenots and Scottish Presbyterians who feared the financial burden of supporting an established church in Carolina.

Through a series of instructions to the governors, the Lords Proprietors modified the impractical plan of government outlined for Carolina in the Fundamental Constitutions. To the extent that the Grand Model acquainted potential emigrants with the design of the colony, its publication was essential. However, its value as a recruiting device was limited to those seeking more than cheap land and economic opportunity in the New World. Far more intriguing to ordinary emigrants, and far more illustrative of the proprietors' propagandizing of their province, were commissioned cartographic renderings of Carolina. Five of these early maps propounded a particular and carefully conceived picture of Carolina's land and its inhabitants.

The most important and persuasive literary accounts of the Carolina landscape

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[71]*Fundamental Constitutions, August, 1682*, reprinted in Mattie Edwards Parker, ed., *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698*, Colonial Records of North Carolina, Second Series (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 227.

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typically attached a map of the region. Similarly, the most significant and influential maps of the province usually included at least a short written description of the lands they represented. Horne's *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina* (1666) appeared "Together with a most accurate Map of the whole Province" called *Carolina Described* as its frontispiece [Illustration 1.1]. This cartograph, probably the first printed map of Carolina to bear this title (though not to name the region), sketched the coastline and river system. Now quite rare, a fact which may indicate its limited circulation, Horne's map both introduced the proprietors and the first settlers to an image of Carolina and also influenced later artists. *A Generall Mapp of Carolina*, included in Blome's *A Description of the Island of Jamaica* (1672), copied Horne's map though it added several placenames and omitted artistic details such as sailing ships and animal figures [Illustration 1.2]. By foregrounding the eight coats of arms, the cartographer symbolically claimed Carolina for the Lords Proprietors and their settlers on the "Ashly Riv." The blank interior depicted a land ripe for English plantation, unoccupied by Indians or the plants and animals found on Horne's map. The Blome map's variations on the Horne model certainly reflected an expanded understanding of the region's topography. However, the cartographic portrayal of Carolina changed more for promotional purposes than as a result of new explorations or advancements in surveying technology.[72]

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[72]William Patterson Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps: With an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America During the Colonial Period* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2nd ed. 1962), 147-48, 151.

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Often called the First Lords Proprietors' Map, *A New Discription of Carolina* originally appeared in Ogilby's *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World* (1671), and later in Wilson's widely-read promotional tract *An Account of the Province of Carolina* (1682) [Illustration 1.3]. Ogilby was the official cosmographer for Charles II. In his politically-charged map the proprietary seal, surrounded by acres and acres of empty space, is central both literally and figuratively. An inset of the Ashley and Cooper rivers sits prominently across from the seal, suggesting to potential settlers the colony's accessibility and the ease of transatlantic migration and commerce. The seal and names, in symbol and nomenclature, claimed Carolina for the English. Though native names were beginning to disappear from the landscape, Indians still occupied significant space in Ogilby's cartouches, even in the map's foreground. Yet to allay the fears of future migrants, these natives appeared as benign creatures living close to nature. In the lower right cartouche beside the maps' scale a group of Indians gather around the pool beneath a waterfall. Four are armed, yet the manner in which they hold their weapons seems more decorative than dangerous. One Indian glances over his shoulder at a ship sailing toward Carolina. His relaxed posture demonstrates a casual attitude toward the arrival of English colonists. While four of the natives look on, one pans for gold and another presents his ore to the chief. Europeans always hoped to discover great mineral wealth in North America and rumors of rich inland tribes circulated for centuries. In the cartouche in the upper right corner, the map's title was printed on an animal skin (more cow or buffalo than deer) suspended by two Indian men. A crucial part of the early

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Carolina economy, deerskin trading with inland natives drove European exploration and settlement of the region's interior. In picturing Indians with gold and skins, Ogilby portrayed the natives as gatekeepers of Carolina's material wealth. The iconography on this map reflected the centrality of Indians and their trade goods in the lives and livelihoods of white settlers.[73]

The Second Lords Proprietors' Map further excised Indian place-names from the drawn landscape. Produced by Joel Gascoyne, *A True Description of Carolina* advertised itself as "A New Map of the Country of Carolina. With it'[s] Rivers, Harbors, Plantations, and other accomodations" [Illustration 1.4]. Appearing in late 1682, its attributes reflected both the proprietors' security in their possession of the province and their urgent desire to recruit more settlers. Unlike Ogilby, Gascoyne does not etch "C-A-R-O-L-I-N-A" across his mapface. Rather than claim possession of the region with bold lettering, his lines, nomenclature, and insets emphasized individual land ownership and the progress of settlement up the rivers and along the coast. The table on the right listed the names of thirty-three planters, while the lower left inset situated settlers upon *their* land. In the early 1680s, the Carolina proprietors belatedly accepted that the feudal system of property ownership outlined in the colony's constitutions discouraged migration. With "the welfare of the plantation depending upon the increase of peoples," as Locke observed, the Second Lords Proprietors' Map explicitly highlighted individual

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[73]Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 151-52; William Patterson Cumming, "Mapping of the Southeast: The First Two Centuries," *The Southeastern Geographer*, 6 (1966), 13.

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landholding.[74] The names of only two native communities persisted on this drawing, "Westoh" and "Cafitaciqui," an Indian community on the Wateree River long thought by Europeans to possess great stores of gold. Yet interestingly, a river designated with an English name in Ogilby's map, "Craven River," received the Indian name "Cambahe" from Gascoyne.[75] Toponymic dispossession of the Indians was never a complete or unidirectional process. One scholar argues that "[n]o more careful or accurate printed map of the province of Carolina as a whole was to appear until well into the eighteenth century than the Gascoyne map and its imitators. Perhaps its rather unimaginative accuracy militated against it."[76] More likely, this map remained influential not for its accuracy but because it continued to project an image of Carolina consistent with the promotional goals of the proprietors and their agents. If Carolina had a founding document of English colonization and a corresponding map describing the region's toponymic development, they would undoubtably be Wilson's *Account of the Province* and Gascoyne's *A True Description of Carolina*.[77] Gascoyne depicted an

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[74]Locke's Memoranda, *CSCHS*, 5:261.

[75]Worthington Chauncey Ford, "Early Maps of Carolina," *Geographical Review*, 16 (1926), 273.

[76]Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 159-60.

[77]J.B. Harley argues that "the founding documents of European colonization, as well as its modern cartographic and topynymic [sic] history," are John Smith's map of Virginia, his *New England Observed* (1616), and Samuel de Champlain's map of New France ("New England Cartography and the Native Americans," in Emerson W. Baker, et al., eds., *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994], 297).

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expanding colony bounded only by the Atlantic Ocean and Appalachian Mountains, with plenty of available land and few natural impediments. *The True Protestant Mercury* announced the availability, price, and purchase place for each of the proprietor's official maps.[78]

Promotional concerns and objectives continued to shape cartographic representations of Carolina throughout the proprietary period. Edward Crisp's *A Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina*, undated though probably drawn before 1711, was the largest, most detailed, and explicitly promotional map of the colony yet to appear [Illustration 1.5]. It noted the location and names of nearly three hundred landowners and displayed a detailed understanding of the topography of South Carolina's interior. One of the first regional maps to show a separate plan of Charles Town in an inset, the drawing, enlarged and set to the east of the shore, highlighted the increasing centrality of this port to both colonial and English commerce. From a promotional perspective, the town appeared both accessible and habitable with its straight streets and rectangular lots. Even in the settlements and plantations distant from Charles Town, people fanned out along the rivers in an orderly fashion. The keyed table located at the base of the map and containing the names of churches, meeting houses, bridges, and taverns signaled the end of Carolina's pioneer years. Yet even in this rapidly-expanding society, acres of land free from any threatening Indians remained available. According to the cartouche, Crisp "Humbly Dedicated" his map to

[78]*The True Protestant Mercury*, March 29-April 1 and September 16-20, 1682.

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the Lords Proprietors and "Sold it at the Carolina Coffee House inn Birchen Lane London."[79]

The promotional materials circulating through the Carolina Coffee House reveal little about the tavern's customs and culture. As Wilson and others assured their readers, proprietary agents were available to answer questions about the colony and to discuss emigration opportunities. In 1721, Edward Crisp (perhaps the cartographer or a relation) identified himself as "of Birching Lane London" and a "Coffeeman by Trade or profession," but offered no description of his responsibilities and activities.[80] In 1729, the descendants of Proprietor Thomas Amy (the pamphleteer) claimed that he "had been industrious in promoting the interest of the province, and procuring people to go thither" by "meeting and treating them at the Carolina coffee-house and elsewhere, and might expend therein £50 a-year, and deserve for his trouble £80 a-year."[81] How many Coffeemen worked at the House and what exactly "treating" entailed remains unknown. Yet information about Carolina clearly flowed into and out of the coffee house. Both colonists in the province and Carolinians abroad used the London tavern as a mailing address. At the conclusion of a lengthy letter to her cousin describing life

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[79]Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 179-80.

[80]Edward Crisp Deposition, May 5, 1721, Chancery, Town Depositions, Public Record Office (C24/1392/39), photocopy in the North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

[81]Danson v. Trott, March 27, 1729, *The English Reports, Volume III, House of Lords, Containing Brown, Volumes 7 and 8, and Dow, Volumes 1 to 6* (London: William Green and Sons, 1901), 175.

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in the colony, Mary Stafford instructed her correspondent to "be so kind in inquire at the Carolina Coffee house in Birchin Lane and there you will meet with an oppertunity of sending to me, you need only direct for me in South Carolina and I shall have it." When the bishop of London sought information about several Carolina settlers, Alexander Garden recommended that he ask at the coffee house.[82] Anecdotal evidence suggests that even when the active promotion of Carolina ceased in the 1720s, the coffee house remained a social and business center for Carolina colonists visiting London. The members of several prominent South Carolina families such as the Laurens and the Manigaults frequented the tavern, though some felt that its atmosphere left much to be desired. Peter Manigault wrote his mother in early December, 1753, that "I am determined to keep the best Company I can get into, & do nothing inelegant." To that end, he said sarcastically, "I do not lounge away my Mornings at that Most elegant Place the Carolina Coffee House in Birchen Lane." In spite of these declarations, his letter home the following April rhetorically asked, "Where do you think I am? At the Carolina Coffee House smoaked to Death with Tobacco, between two very greasy old Gentlemen, who perhaps are at this Moment looking at what I am writing." Even his dislike of "Tobacco Smoak, & an eternal Buz of Busy Gentry" could not keep Manigault from the camaraderie of the coffee house, a colonial home away

[82]Mary Stafford, August 23, 1711, *SCH(G)M* 81 (1980), 5; Alexander Garden to the Bishop of London, July 16, 1724, *SCH(G)M* 32 (1931), 318.

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from home.[83]

While emigration to South Carolina increased throughout the proprietary period, the colony never grew at the rate expected or sustained the white population size desired by the Lords Proprietors. Disease, warfare, and the exigencies of frontier life hindered Carolina no less than any of the other English colonies. Thus promotional materials continued to play a crucial role in the recruitment of settlers more than forty years after the region's initial settlement. Rather than signal the failure of Carolina's promotional campaign, this activity reflected the challenges of building a society in the New World, the success of promoters in reaching and expanding their audience, and the pressures of competing with other British colonies for a finite number of available emigrants. While the goals of this literary propaganda remained constant, its form and focus shifted with the changing needs and orientation of the colony. Two of the later promotional tracts, Thomas Nairne's *A Letter from South Carolina* (1710) and John Norris's *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor* (1712), rarely concerned themselves with native Americans. Throughout their early history, Anglo-Carolinians were successful in the minor skirmishes with their European rivals and Indian opponents. Nairne briefly discussed the natives in his description of colonial defenses, and then only to note that English officers "train our *Indian* Subjects in the Use of Arms, and Knowledge of War,

[83]Peter Manigault to Mrs. Manigault, December, 8, 1753, ibid., 271; Peter Manigault to Mrs. Manigault, April 26, 1754, *SCH(G)M* 33 (1932), 59.

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which would be of great Service to us."[84] Norris, for his part, mentioned Indians only in passing, as slaves originating with the French and Spanish and purchased from other Indians "whom we then make Slaves of, as of the *Negroes*."[85] Written in the second decade of the eighteenth century, Naime and Norris's commentaries alluded to the Indian trade and traders but never discussed the practice or its participants in any detail. In 1719 proprietary control of South Carolina ended, and in the 1720s rice cultivation with black slave labor dominated the colony's economy. With South Carolina on a more firm agricultural footing, the influx of immigrants increasing at a swift pace, and few problems managing the local natives, Naime and Norris directed their attentions away from Indian relations and almost exclusively to the agrarian pursuits available to potential migrants. "Nothing can be more reasonable than the Price of Lands in this Province" because, said Naime, the Lords Proprietors "have always, in that Respect, dealt with great Favour and Gentleness" by remitting rents until planters had time to improve their property and purchase slaves.[86] Norris assured his readers that lowcountry soils sowed with rice yielded twice as much profit per acre as any English lands planted with another grain. "One Hundred Acres there [Carolina] to be bought for less Money than Ten Acres here [England], and Ten Acres there, well Husbanded in

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[84]Thomas Naime, *A Letter from South Carolina* (London, 1710) in Jack P. Greene, ed., *Selling a New World: Two Colonial South Carolina Promotional Pamphlets* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 53.

[85]John Norris, *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor* (London, 1712) in ibid., 87.

[86]Naime, *A Letter from South Carolina*, 60-61.

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proper Grain of that Country [rice], will produce more Profit than Twenty Acres here, in the general Way of Husbandry."[87] The introduction of Africans and rice meant that Indians were no longer the sole gatekeepers to economic prosperity in Carolina and thus of diminished interest to colonial propagandists. As evidence of the Indians' ancillary importance in the later promotional literature, Norris admitted in his pamphlet's conclusion that he could comfortably postpone a discussion "in relation to the several Nations of *Indian People*, living within my knowledge" until a later time.[88] Of course, travelers among the Indians in the South Carolina interior would continue to characterize and discuss the natives–some at great length like John Lawson in his *New Voyage to Carolina*. No longer either barbaric or beneficent, Indians were written out of promotional literature as they faded from the profit-minded consciousness of English proprietors and lowcountry planters. Instead of praising the security and healthfulness of the land and its pacifistic native inhabitants, eighteenth-century propaganda increasingly emphasized the great abundance of land in the backcountry and the widespread opportunities for both transatlantic and inland trade. These later promotional tracts typically targeted small farmers, artisans, merchants, and the indigent poor.[89]

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[87]Norris, *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor*, 84-85.

[88]Ibid., 143.

[89]Three good examples of later South Carolina promotional literature are Jean Pierre Purry, "A Description of the Province of South Carolina" (1731), in Bartholomew R. Carroll, ed., *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1836); James Oglethorpe, *A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces*

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The continued creation and circulation of all promotional forms satisfied a persistent demand by potential emigrants for knowledge about America. Agents for Carolina lured settlers with propaganda; moreover, their actions and materials generated and supplied a receptive audience. Given each emigrant's freedom to choose among many potential destinations, recruitment became an increasingly competitive process. Descriptive narratives and maps of Carolina existed well before the Lords Proprietors and their officials began disseminating this information widely in the 1680s. However, their actions in this crucial decade influenced its content and increased its production, thereby spurring the demand for promotional material. The Carolina Coffee House operated as a storefront in the colonial marketplace, a place for peddling ideas about America. Its patrons–the producers and consumers of propaganda–traded, not always honestly, the valuable commodity of information about the changing character of Carolina.

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of South Carolina and Georgia (London, 1732), in Trevor Reese, ed., *The Most Delightful Country of the Universe: Promotional Literature of the Colony of Georgia, 1717-1734* (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1972); James Glen, *A Description of South Carolina* (London, 1761) and George Milligen-Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South-Carolina* (London, 1770), in Chapman J. Milling, ed., *Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), 1-104, 105-206.

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ILLUSTRATION 1.1

ROBERT HORNE'S *CAROLINA DESCRIBED*, 1666

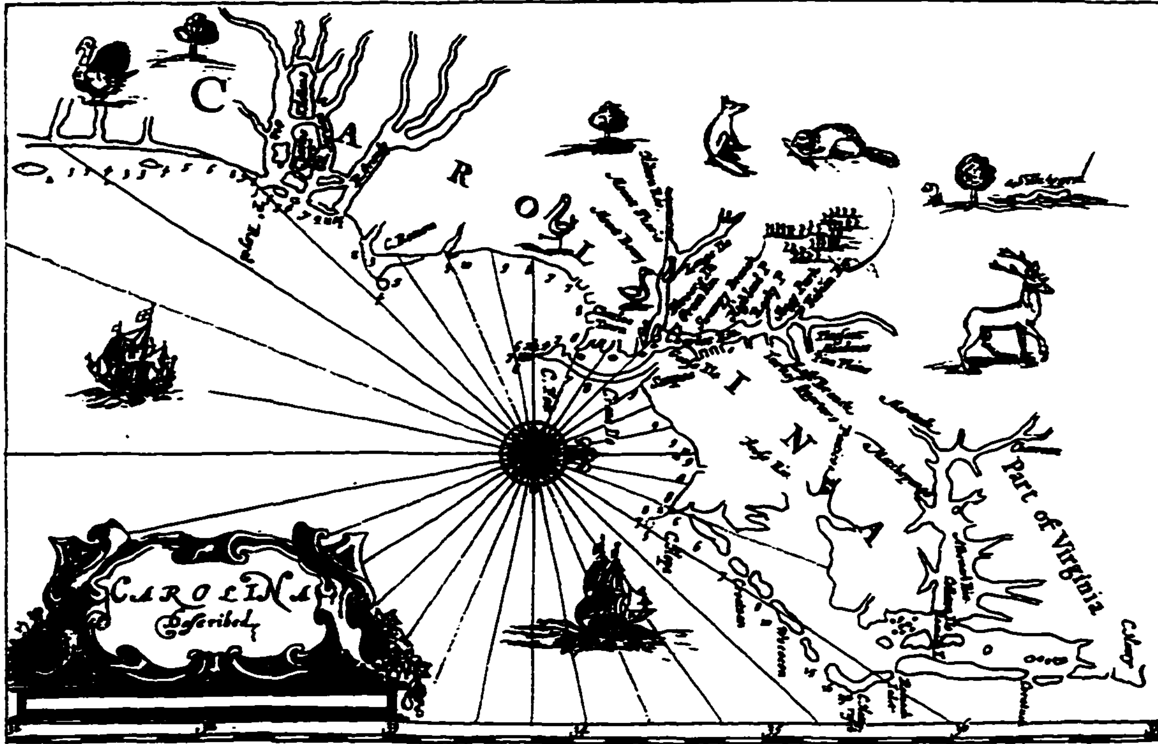

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ILLUSTRATION 1.2

RICHARD BLOME'S *A GENERALL MAPP OF CAROLINA, 1672*

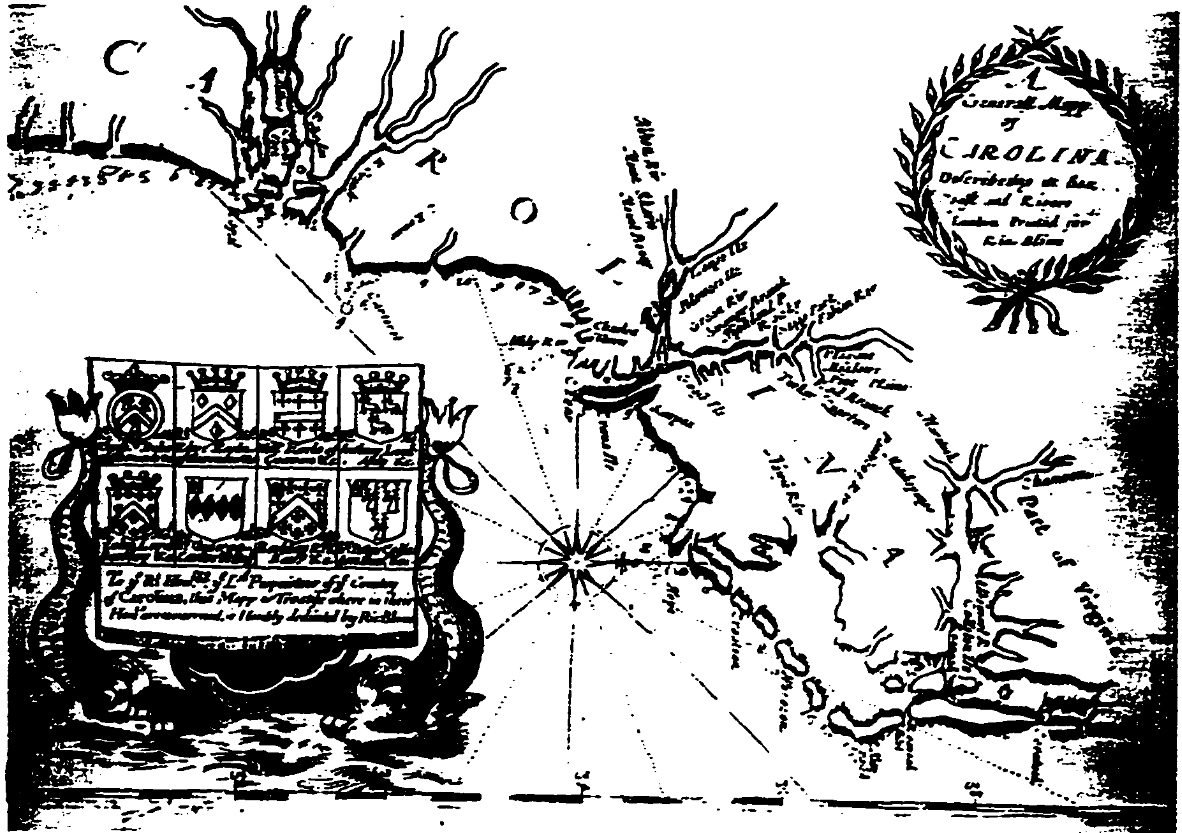

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ILLUSTRATION 1.3

JOHN OGILBY'S A NEW DISCRIPTION OF CAROLINA, CA.1672

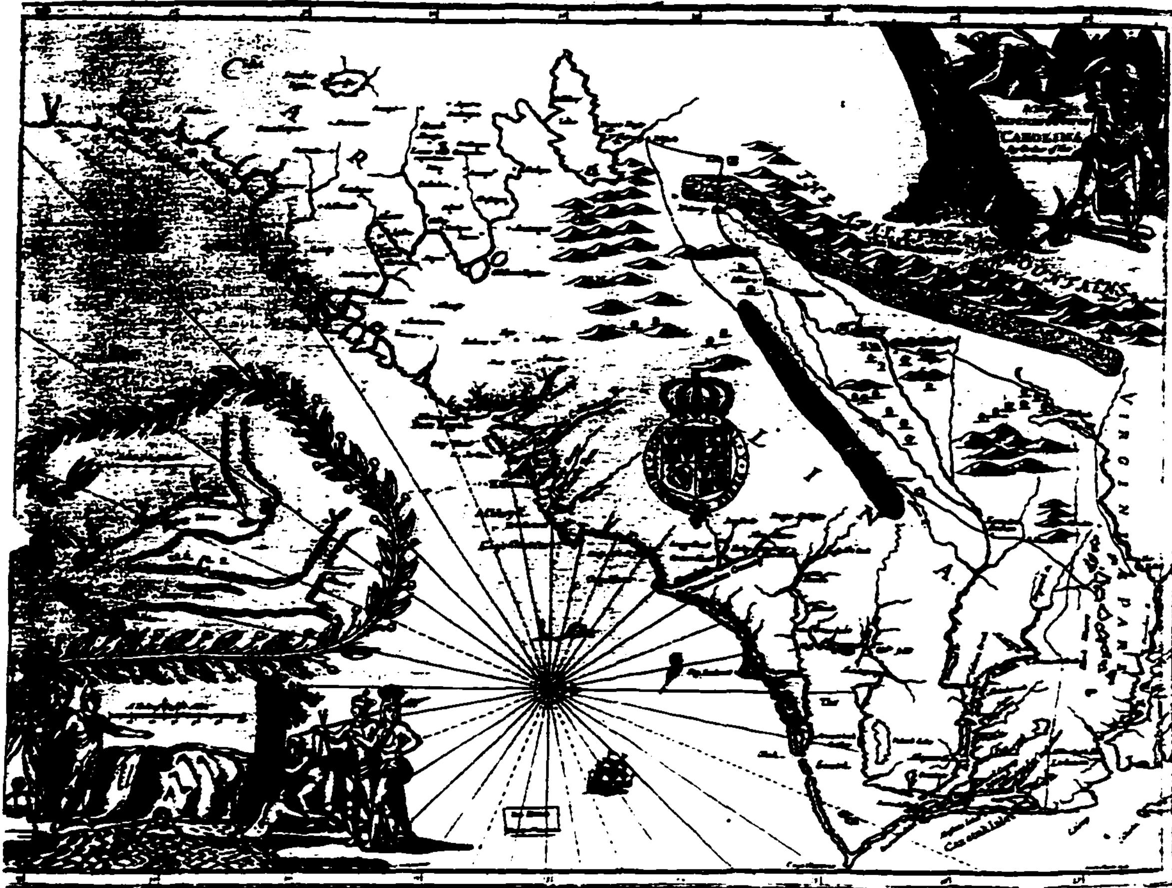

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ILLUSTRATION 1.4

JOEL GASCOYNE'S A NEW MAP OF THE COUNTRY OF CAROLINA, 1682

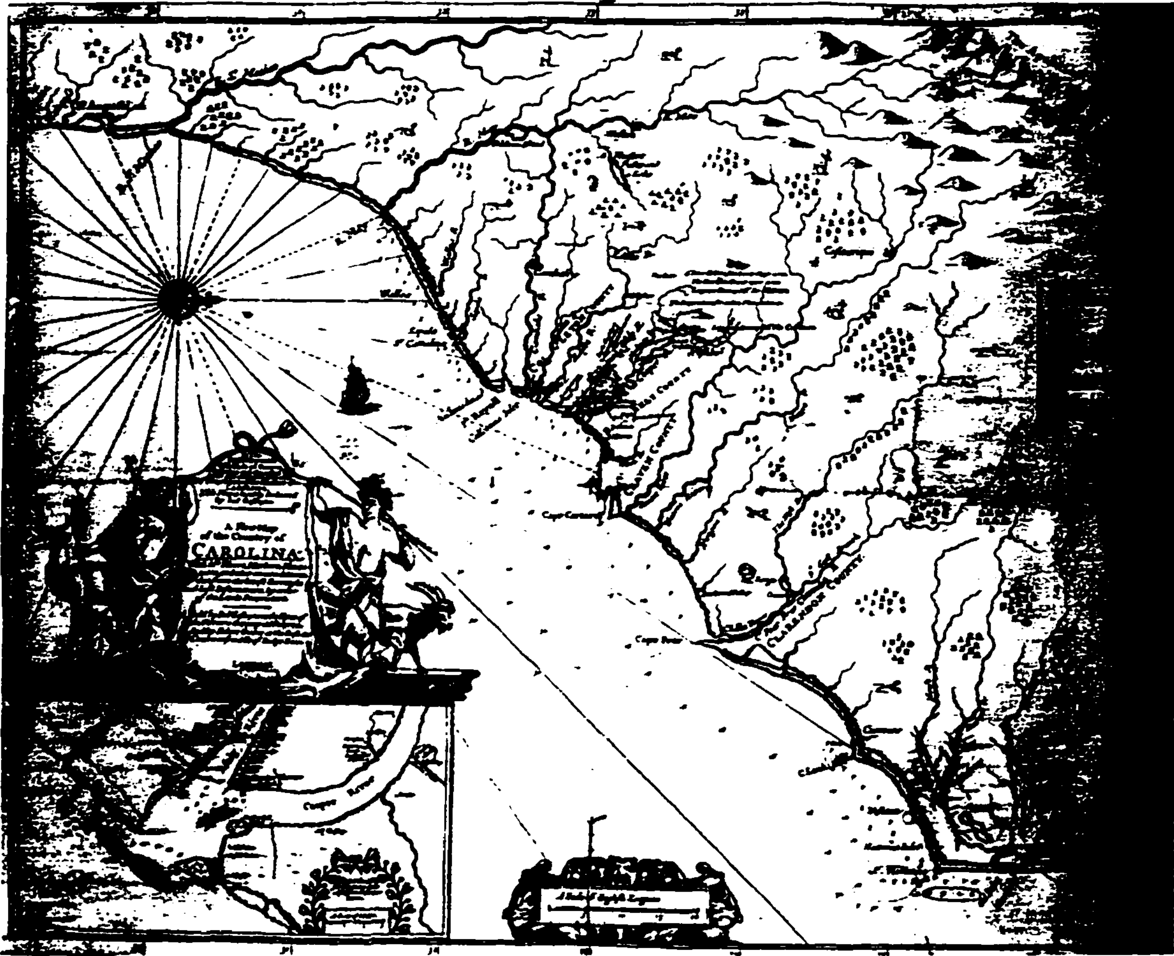

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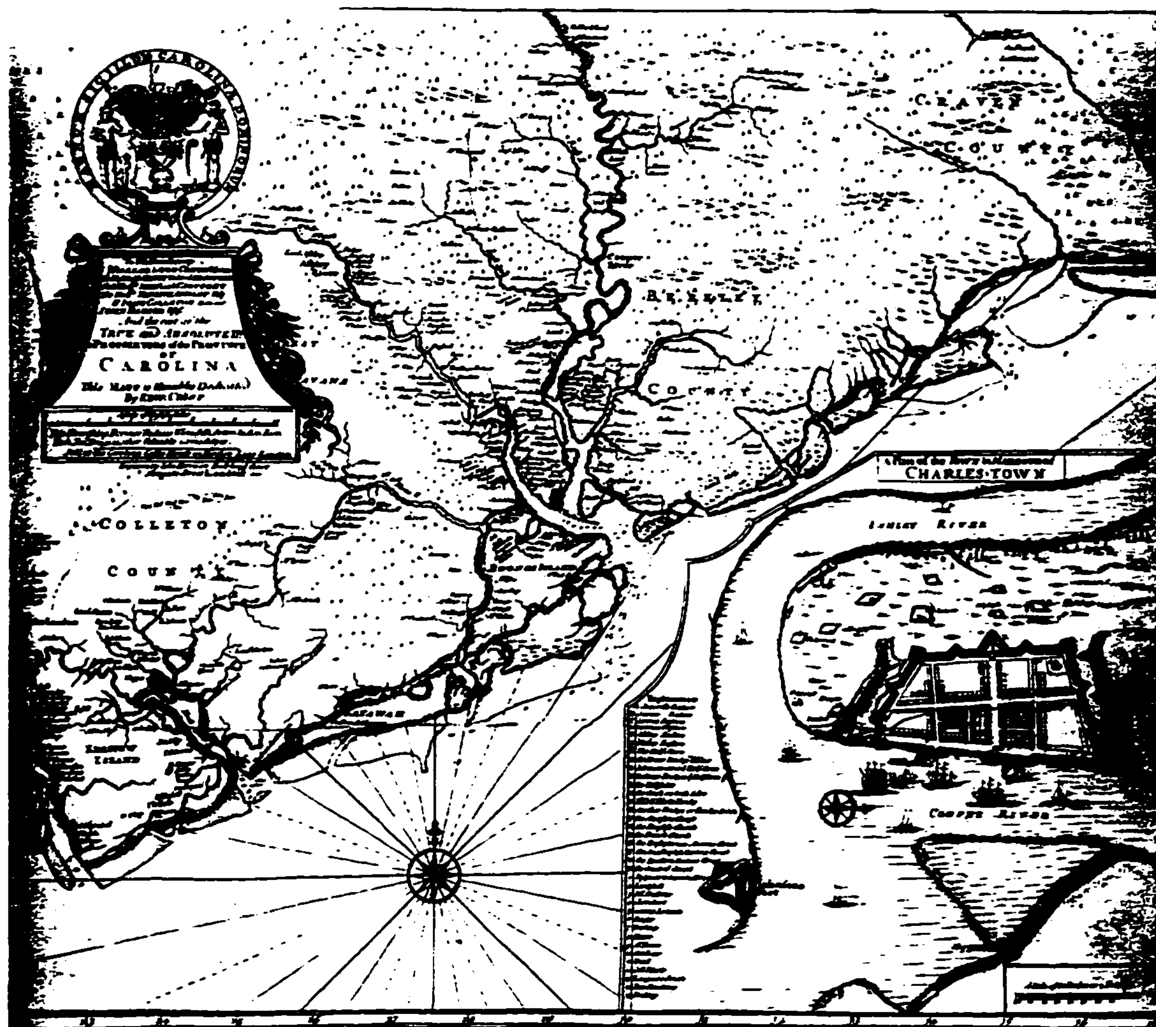
ILLUSTRATION 1.5

EDWARD CRISP'S A COMPLEAT DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE, [1711]



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CHAPTER II

CREATING A PLANTATION PROVINCE:

PROPRIETARY LAND POLICIES AND EARLY SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

> Numbers of men are to be preferd to largenesse of dominions, . . . the increase of lands and the right imploying of them is the great art of government.
>
> And hence subduing or cultivating the Earth, and having Dominion, we see are joyned together. The one gave Title to the other. So that God, by commanding to subdue, gave Authority so far to appropriate.
>
> – John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* [1]

Upon regaining the English throne in 1660, Charles II rewarded eight of his loyal noblemen with a vast tract of land in southeastern North America. Originally named "Carolina" by his father in a patent given to Robert Heath in 1629, the territory granted by charter in 1663 and 1665 included all the land lying between the latitudes 36°30′ and 29° North, stretching from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific shore.[2]

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[1]John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 292, 297-98.

[2]By letters patent issued on October 30, 1629, Charles I gave Sir Robert Heath, "all that River or Rivelett of St Matthew on the South side and all that River of Rivelett of the great passe on the North side, and all the lands Tenements and Hereditaments lying, beeing and extending within or between the sayd Rivers by that draught or tract

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Proclaiming the recipients the "true and absolute proprietors" of this province, the king collectively bestowed on the region's new rulers the responsibility and right to populate, govern, and profit from settlement on the southern frontier of England's continental colonial empire. The language of the charters clearly indicates that the crown envisioned the creation of a colony distinctly feudal in character.[3] The Lords Proprietors held their land from the king "in free and common socage," enjoyed the power to grant lands by "rents, services and customs" in fee simple or entailed, and received the authority to appoint a provincial aristocracy by conferring "marks of honor and favors."[4] The governing privileges extended by the charters far exceeded those permitted palatine or sovereign lords in England. Moreover, the form of provincial

---

to the Ocean upon the east side and soe to the west and so fare as the Continent extands." By his "Kingly Authority for us our heires and successors," he named "the same Carolina or the province of Carolina" [William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: P.M. Hale and Josephus Daniels, 1886-1890), 1:5-13.] The sixteenth-century French designation "Caroline" referred only to Ribault's fort and did not name the region.

[3]Mattie Erma Edwards Parker, ed., *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698*, The Colonial Records of North Carolina, Second Series (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 1:74-104. The thirteenth-century English statute of *Quia Emptores* prohibited subinfeudation (creation of new fiefs and vassals) by the nobility. However, the Carolina charters specifically exempted the colony from this law, thus allowing the proprietors to create their own landed aristocracy in the province. Robert K. Ackerman, *South Carolina Colonial Land Policies* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), 6-10.

[4]In America, "free and common socage" implied that the land grantee owed fealty and rent to the land grantor on penalty of escheat or forfeiture. This was the typical form of landholding throughout the colonial period. Land possessed in fee simple provided the owner and inheritor the unqualified power to dispose of the property. Entailed land was limited to a particular class of owners and heirs. The proprietors generally granted Carolina lands in fee simple, not fee tail.

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government outlined by the Lords Proprietors in the Fundamental Constitutions maximized the feudal nature of their administration of the colony. While the tenets and revisions of this governing document were never implemented fully, its spirit and scope dramatically shaped the land policies and settlement patterns in early Carolina.

More than any other incentive to migrate, liberal land policies lured settlers to England's southernmost mainland colony. While colonial promoters widely advertised the vast acreage available in South Carolina, the Lords Proprietors desired strict control over distribution of land in the region. By issuing an explicit program for settlement, appointing land agents, instituting a headright system, and collecting quitrents, the proprietors expected to create a compact colony with nucleated towns. The dispersed plantation province that ultimately developed resulted from ineffectual government, environmental circumstances, and the individual and collective refusal of settlers to adhere to the letter and spirit of proprietary land policies. Evidence surviving from the colony's beginning in the 1670s to the assumption of royal control in the 1720s suggests how the planters and proprietors each responded to and shaped the procedures for obtaining and distributing land, the pattern of settlement, and thus the contest for control over the character of South Carolina's geographic and human landscapes. Legal mandates concerning property acquisition, correspondence of the lords with colonial officials regarding land allocation, statistical records of land warrants and grants, and documents revealing the responsibilities and practices of contemporary surveyors and land grantees all illustrate how the proprietors and planters negotiated the occupation of Carolina lands. As colonists staked claims to property and shaped individual land

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parcels, they directed or subverted policy and shaped collective land patterns. When, where, and how settlement occurred resulted from struggles waged between opposing interests in law, letters, land patents, and lines drawn on surveyors' plats.

In the Fundamental Constitutions of 1669 and Temporary Agrarian Laws issued in 1671-72, the Lords Proprietors articulated their vision of a provincial society founded upon land tenure. "Since the whole foundation of the Government is setled upon a right and equall distribution of Land," they argued, "the orderly takeing of it up is of great moment to the welfare of the Province."[5] However, their motives and methods for constructing a colony based primarily on property holding were not original to this or any American plantation enterprise. The practice of seizing lands and granting lordships possessed a centuries-long history in England's oldest colony across the Irish Sea. In particular, the sixteenth-century Munster plantation attempted to reorganize escheated lands into feudal colonies.[6] George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, gained his title and a seignorial grant in Ireland in the early 1620s. In 1632 he received the first proprietary grant in North America, land which became the settlement of Maryland.[7] Yet without the unitary leadership characteristic of its Chesapeake

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[5]Agrarian Laws or Instructions, June 21, 1672, in William J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina to the Close of the Proprietary Government by the Revolution of 1719. With an Appendix Containing Many Valuable Records Hitherto Unpublished* (Charleston, S.C.: McCarter, 1856), 355.

[6]Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 30.

[7]Russell R. Menard and Lois Green Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," in David B. Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World*

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counterpart, the Carolina patent-holders designed a land system considerably more complex than that proposed in Maryland. The Fundamental Constitutions mandated that land in Carolina be rigidly divided into *counties* of 480,000 acres. Each county would contain eight *seignories* of 12,000 acres belonging to the eight proprietors, eight *baronies* of 12,000 acres granted to a hereditary nobility, and four *precincts* (each with six 12,000-acre *colonies*) to be planted by freemen.[8] Thus, within the 750 square miles of an idealized county, the proprietors held 96,000 acres, three noblemen (one landgrave and two cassiques) also held 96,000 total acres, and the common settlers owned 288,000 acres collectively [Table 2.1, Illustration 2.1]. By design, the proprietors and aristocrats would each control one-fifth of the land in Carolina while freemen would occupy the remaining three-fifths.[9] The Lords Proprietors clearly understood that provincial governors could not immediately implement this elaborate plantation program. In order to prevent the "takeing up [of] great Tracts of land sooner than they can be planted . . . and exposeing the safety of the whole by stragling and distant Habitations," they suspended or modified property laws and plantation instructions in the first years of settlement. These changes effectively limited the amount of land anyone could claim upon arrival. Not "till by the increase of the Inhabitants," or the migration of enough common settlers when sufficient land "shall be

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(Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), 176-215.

[8]First Set of the Constitutions for the Government of Carolina, *CSCHS*, 5:94.

[9]Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 83-84; Ackerman, *South Carolina Colonial Land Policies*, 15-16.

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possessed by the people," would it be time "for every one to take up the proportion of Land due to his dignity."[10] Provincial noblemen were instructed to settle their granted lands with at least a minimum number of colonists. While the landgrave or cassique "who first makes his demand, and plants on it" could choose the location of his estate, he "shall not choose a second Barrony till he hath one hundred inhabitants upon his first." The lords similarly restricted their own ability to claim specific tracts of land. Recognizing that the challenges of peopling a frontier colony required some flexibility in the beginning, the proprietors pragmatically amended their original plantation program. However, they never wavered in their commitment to principle that "in Governments the Laws regulate the right of property and the possession of land is determined by positive constitutions."[11] The proprietors wrote the Fundamental Constitutions and remained adamant that "the land is ours and we shall not part with it, but on our own terms."[12]

The terms set by the Lords Proprietors for securing land changed frequently, and often in direct response to the disregard with which the colonists received them. The conflict over where colonists should settle and who selected the land's location generated the most controversy and thus correspondence. The proprietors feared that

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[10]Temporary Laws, [1671?], in Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 351-59.

[11]Locke, *Two Treatises*, 302.

[12]A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Commissions and Instructions from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Public Officials of South Carolina, 1685-1715* (Columbia, S.C.: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1916), 71.

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their colony might falter if they granted tracts of land too large for immediate cultivation, too distant from the provincial capital for effective governance, and too isolated on the frontier for adequate defense.[13] The language in their letters to Carolina's colonial leaders reinforced the content of their instructions. "Wee haveing noe other Aime in the frameing of our Laws but to make . . . us a quiet equall and lasting Government wherein every mans Right Property and Welfare may be soe fenc'd in and secured that the preservation of the Government may be in every ones Interest."[14] Only fenced property–or a well-designed system of land ownership–would secure public welfare, undergird a stable government, and create a prosperous colonial society pleasing to planters and proprietors alike. Toward that end, the Lords Proprietors instructed the governor and council as early as 1669 "to order the people to plant in Townes," and to create "one Towne at least in each Collony" in a manner "most Convenient & profitable for the people y^t are to inhabitt them."[15] Acutely aware of the settlement experiences in other colonies, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury and the proprietor most active in Carolina affairs, argued that this settlement program was "The Cheife thing that hath given New England soe much the advantage over Virginia and advanced that Plantation in so short a time to the height it

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[13]R. Nicholas Olsberg, "Introduction," in A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina 1672-1711* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), ix-xii.

[14]To Sir John Yeamans, *CSCHS*, 5:314.

[15]Copy of Instructions Annexed to the Commission for the Governor and Council, *CSCHS*, 5:121.

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is now." Shaftesbury recognized that despite "requiring that all the Inhabitants of every Colony should set there houses together in one Place," the selection of said "Place wee leave to the choice of the Inhabitants themselves."[16] This practice of indiscriminate location, of allowing individual settlers to choose the site and shape of their property, consistently undermined the proprietors' plantation objectives.[17]

The array of provincial agents contracted to carry out these objectives, coupled with a cumbersome appointment system and delays in executing proprietary instructions issued across the Atlantic, further limited the implementation of the land program. The Fundamental Constitutions created seven administrative offices within the proprietorship–chief justice, chancellor, constable, high steward, treasurer, chamberlain, and admiral–to be held exclusively by the lords, depending on their seniority and rank.[18] The chief justice appointed the colony's register of the province, while the high steward typically selected the surveyor general. By requiring that planters register their lands and have them surveyed by an official in the colonial administration, the proprietors exceeded practices common in contemporary England.[19]

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[16]To Sir John Yeamans, *CSCHS*, 5:315. For simplicity's sake, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, once Baron Ashley, then Lord Ashley, and finally the Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord High Chancellor of England, shall be referred to throughout the text as Shaftesbury.

[17]Edward T. Price, *Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 14.

[18]First Set of the Constitutions, *CSCHS*, 5:94.

[19]Charles H. Lesser, *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663-1721* (Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Department of Archives and

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On June 24,1672, Shaftesbury commissioned Joseph West "register for the Province of Carolina" and ordered him to record "not onely the Titles of the Lords Proprietors but of all Deeds amongst yourselves." Accentuating the importance of West's new office, Shaftesbury observed "noe Deed being good that is not registered."[20] Although the Fundamental Constitutions called for the appointment of registers in every county, and despite the commission of Andrew Percival as "Register of Berkeley County & the Parts adjoyneing" in 1675, multiple offices were never created.[21] Conflicting instructions from England and a considerable overlap between the offices of the secretary and register of the province created great confusion within the colony. Although the secretary eventually assumed most of the register's responsibilities, frequent changes in the former office impeded the land allocation process. Before the turn of the eighteenth century, no fewer than ten secretaries and eight deputy secretaries had administered the affairs of Carolina.[22]

The efforts of the Lords Proprietors to appoint capable surveyors to carve counties out of the Carolina landscape were even less effective. At a meeting in April 1672, the Grand Council called "for the laying out of three Colonies or Squares of twelve thousand acres" near Charles Town, James Town, and Oyster Point.[23] Few land

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History, 1995), 428.

[20]To Mr. Joseph West, *CSCHS*, 5:405-06.

[21]Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, SCDAH, 1.

[22]Lesser, *South Carolina Begins*, 155-57.

[23]Council Journals, *CSCHS*, 5:391.

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surveys survive from the proprietary era, and it is unlikely that agents surveyed much, if any, property in the 1670s besides laying out town lots in the colonial capital. The Lords Proprietors removed Florence O'Sullivan, an Irish mercenary who became the first resident surveyor general, from office once the colonists complained of his abusive behavior and poor skills. O'Sullivan's "absurd language" and "base dealings" notwithstanding, most upsetting to the settlers were that "the lands that he hath pretended to lay and run out is verie irregular" and he knew not "how to give us sattisfaction in things of plaine cases."[24] Much more capable than O'Sullivan, Carolina's next surveyor general, John Culpeper, quickly set about platting the lands of three proprietors (Shaftesbury, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Peter Colleton) near Charles Town and creating an overall map of plantations in the region. Culpeper's short tenure as surveyor ended in the summer of 1673 when he and several members of the Grand Council rebelled and fled to the Albemarle colony in North Carolina. The proprietors then appointed Stephen Bull, John Yeamans, and Stephen Wheelwright as the collective surveyors of the colony. Not until April 1677 did Maurice Mathews, a man with considerable scientific, artistic, and managerial talents, assume the office of surveyor general.[25] In the spring of 1682, more than a decade after the colony's founding and five years after Mathews's appointment, the Lords Proprietors reiterated the necessity of surveying county boundaries, namely Berkeley, Craven, and Colleton, in squares of

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[24]Henry Brayne to Shaftesbury, *CSCHS*, 5:215.

[25]Lesser, *South Carolina Begins*, 436-37; Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, SCDAH, 54.

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12,000 acres. Despite their promise to pay Mathews £150 for his services, once again there is no evidence that the surveyor general staked out any county.[26] When these county names began appearing on maps and in grants in 1683, they merely indicated general areas, not defined territories. Yet as these same maps and land grants reveal, the failure to complete county surveys in no way hindered the pace of settlement. The proprietors, in particular, took up property without following their own procedural guidelines. Before his appointment as surveyor general and in his role as Shaftesbury's agent or deputy, Mathews "marked 12000 acres of land for my Lord Ashley on the first bluff bank upon the first Indian plantacon on the right hand in the Westerne branch of the North [Cooper] river." The Grand Council reserved this land for Shaftesbury in March 1673, but it was never officially granted to him. In 1679, Lord Proprietor Sir Peter Colleton added the property to his own sizable holdings adjacent to the north at a place he called Fair Lawn Barony.[27] Without first obtaining a warrant, the legally required order for survey, Shaftesbury secured a formal grant for another seignory in March 1675. It was located, appropriately, along the Ashley River and he named it St.

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[26]Proprietors to Maurice Mathews, *BPRO,* 1:130-37. For maps and plats detailing settlement in the colony's first years, see Culpeper's *Draught of Ashley* (1671), *CSCHS,* 5:frontispiece; Culpeper's *Plot of the Lords Prop* (1672/3), Public Record Office, London; and Joel Gascoyne's *A New Map of the Country of Carolina* (1682), Illustration 1.4.

[27]A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Journal of the Grand Council, August 25, 1671-June 24, 1680* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907), 55; Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, SCDAH, 15.

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Giles Plantation.[28] This behavior–staking out and reserving lands, receiving grants without warrants–sent a twofold message. First, the Lords Proprietors approached land settlement and the implementation of their program with considerable flexibility, at least in the beginning and where their own seignorial lands were concerned. Second, it signaled the ease with which all colonists could disregard the proprietary land policies set forth in the Fundamental Constitutions and Temporary Agrarian Laws.

Land could be acquired legally in Carolina in five main ways: feudal grants to provincial noblemen, headright grants, compensation grants, gifts, and outright purchase. The proprietors distributed the vast majority of land in Carolina through headright grants. Grantees received property in exchange for paying the passage of themselves and other emigrants. The amounts of land granted varied over time and ranged from 50 to 150 acres per person. Feudal grants to the indigenous aristocracy were much larger, usually 12,000 acres. The proprietors and their provincial magistrates occasionally compensated settlers for services rendered to the colony with sizable land grants. For example, in 1677 Shaftesbury ordered the governor to give the explorer Dr. Henry Woodward 2,000 acres for his efforts on behalf of Carolina.[29] Other potential emigrants received gifts of land for promising to transport settlers to the province. The open sale of Carolina land in England and the colony began in the 1680s,

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[28]Henry A.M. Smith, "The Ashley Barony" and "The Fair Lawn Barony," *The Historical Writings of Henry A.M. Smith* (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1988), 1:2-28.

[29]April 10, 1677, *BPRO*, 1:50.

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but purchased property never constituted a significant proportion of the total land granted in the proprietary era. From the records it is impossible to determine with certainty the type of grant received in most cases. The size of a grant sometimes suggests its type, and occasionally other sources indicate if land was given or sold to the grantee. In order to obtain a legal patent, a settler initially petitioned the governor and council for land. He then received a warrant instructing the surveyor general to prepare a plat of the property. The potential grantee next took a certified survey of the land to the secretary of the province and acquired a sealed grant. Once signed by the governor and council, the register of the province recorded the official land grant.[30] This was not a simple process even, or perhaps especially, in a nascent colony with a small population.

During the first two decades of settlement, the proprietors modified the language, terms, and procedures for recording warrants and grants (later called indentures). Legitimate and logical reasons drove these constitutional amendments and administrative changes. In addition to establishing an orderly and effective process for land distribution, the Lords Proprietors wanted to prevent property engrossment and speculation, curtail abuse of loopholes in the original system, and most important, reap financial rewards from their investment in Carolina. Hence, they gradually reduced the size of headright grants from 150 acres to 50 acres, depending upon an individual's sex,

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[30]Copy of Instructions annexed to the Commission for the Governor and Council, in Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 347-50; R. Nicholas Olsberg, "Introduction," in Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina*, ix-xii.

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social status, and arrival date [Table 2.2].[31] The largest tracts went to colonists who migrated in the first years of settlement and thus assumed the greatest risks.

As the plantation began to prosper and landowners imported slaves in increasing numbers, the proprietors reduced the headright grants for servants to impede the formation of large estates. To minimize fraud they also ordered the secretary of the province to record in the warrants the names of all household members claiming a headright grant. Free men and women always received headrights in equal proportion; male servants earned larger grants than did their female counterparts or minors.[32] Settlers seeking grants of land larger than 640 acres after 1709 required a warrant issued directly from the proprietors.[33] In their eagerness to profit from the province, the proprietors attempted to secure monies and goods for granted lands. In 1682 they changed the commencement date of quitrent dues from 1689 to just two years after the register sealed the grant. When the first deadline approached in 1684, the proprietors offered to remit and abolish the quitrents in exchange for one-time cash payments of twelve pence per acre.[34] They also sold land outright–at variable rates of £25 for five hundred acres or one shilling per acre–with explicit instructions to the provincial governor that revenue from each sale be returned to the proprietors in London instead of

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[31]Proprietors to Governor and Council, *BPRO*, 1:82-84, 138-41.

[32]Instructions for Joseph Morton, *BPRO*, 1:149-50.

[33]Proprietors to Deputies and Council, *BPRO*, 5:271-74.

[34]Instructions for Governor, *BPRO*, 1:150; Proprietors to Governor, *BPRO*, 1:291-92.

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filling the administrators' coffers in Carolina.[35] Finally, the Lords Proprietors threatened to seize or sue for the personal property of grantees in default.[36]

The Lords Proprietors' efforts to shape early settlement patterns towards their own ends met with qualified success, and this suited many colonists. In the contest for Carolina the objectives of the settlers and the proprietors did not always or necessarily conflict. Despite their frequently tense relations and terse exchanges, the members of both groups desired a secure, populated, and prosperous province. However, not all colonists–noblemen, freeholders, or servants–shared the same outlook on plantation policy. There were significant differences in the experiences of large land magnates such as Jonathan Amory, who accumulated at least twenty-one grants of land totaling more than 7,850 acres, and Hannah Smith, who received a single 50-acre headright grant. In the end, the value of statistical evidence derived from the catalogs of proprietary land records is limited by the quality and quantity of extant sources. Fortunately, of all the literary materials surviving from seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century South Carolina, the official land records are among the most complete.

The database assembled for this study contains 3,656 land warrants issued between 1672 and 1711, and 1,327 land grants registered from 1670 to 1722 [Tables 2.3 and 2.4]. Each record contains all extant information concerning grantee names,

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[35]Proprietors to Trustees, *BPRO*, 2:296.

[36]Proprietors to Governor, *BPRO*, 3:87-88.

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recording dates, acreages, geographic locations of granted properties, household members, and neighbors. The land warrants are printed in A.S. Salley's *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina, 1672-1711,* a literal transcription of two manuscript volumes. It contains instructions from the provincial governor (addressed to the surveyor general and recorded by the secretary) regarding the allocation of land in the colony to specific individuals. These early warrants contain invaluable biographical and demographical information about potential grantees, but the descriptive quality of these records vary over time and decline markedly in the late 1690s with changes in the secretary's office. Nevertheless, the warrants are the best surviving source for understanding proprietary efforts to control land distribution and settlement in the first few decades of lowcountry colonization. The land grants, by contrast, illustrate when, how, and often where actual grantees took possession of real property.[37]

The number of warrants issued in the first four decades of settlement varied dramatically from year to year. In 1672 the secretary wrote 113 permits to acquire land, while the very next year he signed only fifteen such documents. More warrants were issued during the last year of extant record-keeping than in any previous year. However, this increase was not dramatic when compared with the total number of warrants signed in several previous years. The range varied from as few as three

[37]The original warrant and grant records are located in the SCDAH. Ten of the eleven proprietary conveyances volumes kept by the register of the province are available on microfilm in the Library of Congress's Early State Records Project and the collections of the Genealogical Society of Utah. Volume C has been microfilmed by the SCDAH.

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warrants issued in both 1690 and 1691 to as many as 252 signed in 1711 [Figure 2.1]. Changing rates of immigration do not explain these fluctuations in the number of warrants recorded annually in the secretary's office. Census statistics for proprietary South Carolina are notoriously difficult to attain because few contemporaries took time to estimate the size of the colonial population, whether free, servant, or slave.[38] This paucity of data notwithstanding, there is no correlation between the number of warrants issued and the best estimates of the number of white settlers living in the province. When the colony expanded most rapidly between the mid-1680s and early 1690s, the number of warrants fell to the lowest recorded levels. Politics, not population, thwarted land allocation in Carolina. The proprietors dismissed secretary John Moore in 1685 for poor performance, and they replaced his successor Robert Quary in 1687 amidst allegations that he "misbehaved himselfe." In addition to the many charges leveled at the secretaries (both men held multiple offices in the colonial administration), the lords criticized their management of land records specifically and complained that they failed to send copies of the documents to England as required. The number of warrants issued during Moore and Quary's tenure declined dramatically from 184 in 1684 to four in 1687. This trend reversed in the next two years when a more faithful administrator

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[38]Estimates for the size and character of the colonial population in South Carolina's early years of settlement are found in Converse Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina 1670-1730* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 251-52, and Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South," Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 38, 46-51.

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named Paul Grimball assumed the office. He remained secretary until a coup d' état led by Seth Sothell (and supported by Moore and Quary) temporarily unseated the established government.[39] After Grimball's release from prison and return to office in 1692, the number of warrants issued to settlers soared and remained high until his death in 1697. Thereafter, secretaries recorded only abstracted warrants, which typically noted just the date, acreage, and recipient name.

Beginning in the 1680s, the Lords Proprietors vigorously promoted their colonial enterprise both in England and abroad in the hope of recruiting more emigrants. Shipping lists and detailed correspondence do not survive to indicate whether the influx of settlers met their expectations in quality or quantity. Since the number of warrants correlate with changes in the secretary's office, not changes in total population, they cannot reveal the frequency of requests for land among new migrants or earlier settlers. Yet over time, the warrants better demonstrate the proprietors' practical efforts to apportion property and power among free white Carolinians than any other extant source. They further reflect the provincial governors' attempts to implement proprietary policy and to direct the colony's development geographically and socially. Thus, land warranting patterns reveal the proprietors' actions and effectiveness apart from the desires and demands of colonists.

The number of warrants issued annually fluctuated wildly, peaking in 1694, 1696, 1704, and 1711 [Figure 2.1]. Perhaps because of sailing schedules or the planting

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[39]Lesser, *South Carolina Begins*, 136-43, 426-27.

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and harvest seasons, the secretary recorded almost one-third more warrants in March and April (749) than during September and October (498) [Figure 2.2]. The governor and council ordered warrants issued in any size, small or large, though they tended toward round figures. Robert Gibbs received three warrants for marsh lands in increments as small as half an acre in 1694 and 1702. By contrast, the Lords Proprietors had a warrant for 48,000 acres of land "in or about Coleton County" in May 1711. More than half (53.3%) of the warrants allocated land in multiples of one hundred acres. The average person received 2.3 permits for lands totaling 355 acres. The median warrant size was two hundred acres. In 603 cases (16.5%) the secretary indicated no precise amount of land. Instead, he issued permits for unspecified acreage often lying between established properties or other natural boundaries. In sum, the secretaries ordered surveys of more than 1,298,794 acres–over two thousand square miles–in nearly forty years. Yet the warrants rarely indicated where in the province settlers should take up land. In only one-quarter (25.4%) of the cases did the proprietors or governor assign land in a specific county. Of those warrants that did, more named Berkeley County (406) as the location for future landholdings, than Colleton (355), Craven (125), or Granville (42) counties. However, the secretaries warranted more acres in Colleton County (214,237) than in Berkeley (173,389) or the other two proprietary counties [Table 2.5]. The dynamics of warranting land did little to ensure that colonists settled in compact communities or defensible locations. Instead, the proprietors permitted surveys of more land than could possibly be cultivated by the number of residents in the province and they allowed individuals to choose the site of

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their land with little restriction.

Although the land warranting process thoroughly failed to guide the geographical settlement of Carolina along the lines articulated by the Lords Proprietors, it enjoyed somewhat more success in shaping the social development of the colony. Of the forty-four recipients of an individual warrant for 1,500 acres of land or more, twelve can be identified as provincial nobles and ten were proprietors or their deputies. Similarly, among the fifty people receiving warrants for the most total land, at least eleven were provincial aristocrats and thirteen were proprietors or their deputies.[40] So in keeping with the spirit of the original land scheme described in the Fundamental Constitutions, one half of the recipients of the largest warrants were colonial aristocrats, proprietors, or their agents. Together, the proprietors and provincial nobility, though less than two percent of the people receiving warrants, claimed more than one-fifth (22.55% or 292,820) of the total acres warranted. Collectively, they received almost five percent of the total warrants issued with an average permit of 1,664 acres, an amount almost five times greater than the mean warrant size for the total population. The land-warranting process implemented in the province did not allocate property in strict accordance with the proprietors' instructions. Yet had the settlers occupied all the lands for which the secretaries ordered surveys in the first four decades of settlement, the highly stratified society with rank and privilege based on property holding described

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[40]Agnes Leland Baldwin, *First Settlers of South Carolina 1670-1700* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1985), 267; Lesser, *South Carolina Begins*, 513, Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 683, 700.

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in the colony's founding documents would have materialized in South Carolina. Much more than the land-warranting process, the procedures for and patterns of land granting demonstrate what actually occurred and the roles played by both the proprietors and provincials in shaping the region's geographical and social landscapes.

From the 1670 advent of English settlement in South Carolina to the third decade of the eighteenth century, the proprietors and their agents granted almost 715,000 acres of land lying between the Santee and Savannah rivers. Interestingly, this sum does not equal the size of just two idealized counties envisioned by the Lords Proprietors in their Fundamental Constitutions. In 1,327 separate grants, 580 individuals received lands by headright, purchase, gift, and/or for services rendered to the colony.[41] Ordinary colonists, then, averaged 2.3 grants per person during the first three decades of lowcountry colonization [Table 2.4]. The mean (arithmetic average) of all grants equalled 539 acres, with plots ranging in size from the minimum of one-eighth acre to the maximum of 48,000 acres retained by individual proprietors. The median grant was 212 acres. Half of the total acres granted were located along the early settlement's primary waterways–the Ashley, Cooper, Edisto, Santee, and Stono

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[41]My aggregate figures differ from Converse Clowse's statistics in Table II of the Appendix in *Economic Beginnings*. He uses contemporary indices, which he acknowledges are incomplete, to estimate the lands granted annually. He finds that between 1670 and 1719 the proprietors disbursed 552,361 acres in 1,062 separate grants. I believe that there is a conveyance volume containing grants from the 1680s and 1690s that no longer survives from the colonial period. I expect that my future research in an Abstract of Grants complied in 1765 for the Board of Trade and sent to London (Public Record Office CO5/398, British Manuscript Project roll D460) will reveal a significant number of missing land grants.

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rivers–or their tributaries [Illustration 2.2]. One-eighth of the total grants were designated as whole or partial town lots typically dispersed in half-acre increments. Forty-two percent of the grants ordered plantation in a specific county, with almost one-third of the indentures lying in Berkeley (267) and Colleton (173), the counties closest to Charles Town [Table 2.6]. Thus, in keeping with the proprietors' wishes, most colonists possessed at least a small parcel of land in town. A majority, perhaps, also settled along the province's main transportation arteries or near the colonial capital in accessible, if not always contained and easily guarded, locations.

As with the land warrants, the frequency of land grants could vary dramatically from year to year. Grants to settlers peaked in 1684, 1694 to 1696, and in 1711 [Figure 2.3]. The increase in the amount of land taken up by the colonists correlates roughly with changes in the population and political administration of the province. Partly a positive response to a promotional campaign begun by the proprietors in the early 1680s, the population of Carolina doubled from 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants in the first few years of this decade.[42] The register of the province recorded 126 grants between 1680 and 1683. In the following ten years, as promotion of the colony waned and as more provincials refused to comply with the proprietors' changing land policies, he registered only thirty such indentures. The next surge in land grants resulted from the arrival of Governor John Archdale and the settlers' assumption of greater control over land distribution in the colony. In 1693, the provincial assembly sent a list of

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[42]Clowse, *Economic Beginnings*, 251.

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grievances to the governor and the proprietors' deputies. Chief among the fourteen complaints was "That the Right Honorable the Lords proprietors have not all agreed to the same forme for conveyancing of Land, and that the latest forme agreed to by some of them [is] not satisfactory to the people." In response, the Lords Proprietors dissolved the assembly, appointed Archdale governor, and empowered him to bring order to the land system.[43] Mediating between the demands of the proprietors and the wishes of the settlers, the governor approved and the new assembly passed a series of acts (later called Archdale's Laws) in March 1696. The most sweeping of these acts remitted all arrears in rents for legally granted land. Henceforth, headright grants carried quitrents of one penny per acre, payable in currency or commodities. Purchased lands sold at a minimum of £20 per one thousand acres and carried quitrents of twelve pence per hundred acres. The proprietors also abated the rents on all new grants for five years; thereafter, those who failed to pay arrears would forfeit their land. Finally, in the future the lords agreed not to alter the terms for granting land without one year's notice.[44] Although intended to encourage immigration, these laws were designed primarily to compel settlers to confirm their title to lands held only by warrant, survey, or mere occupation, and to begin paying rents. Only then would Carolina turn a profit for its proprietors. In direct response to these policy changes, the colonists certified their land grants in unprecedented numbers. From 1694 to 1698, the register recorded 458

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[43]Representation of Grievances, in Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 433-34, 439; Instructions for Archdale, *BPRO*, 3:140-42.

[44]Ackerman, *South Carolina Colonial Land Policies*, 38-40.

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indentures for 108,705 acres of land. The final spike in proprietary grants in 1711 coincided with the passage of an assembly act validating the title of all lands held for seven consecutive years. The Lords Proprietors consented. By the turn of the eighteenth century, they no longer set the terms for parting with their lands.

Despite obtaining legal grants, the settlers in South Carolina seldom paid rents on their property sufficient to satisfy the proprietors. The failure of provincial agents to keep a regular rent roll suggests that tax collectors rarely knocked on the colonists' doors.[45] Though frustrated in their effort to turn a profit on Carolina lands, the proprietors did not lose complete control over the system of property distribution or, by extension, the character of the colony's physical and social topography. The land policies instituted in Carolina, while increasingly a product of negotiation with the provincials, often reflected the intentions of the proprietors. For example, when the assembly suggested in February 1699 that preventing "no greater quantities than one thousand acres of Land" to be granted would "much strengthen this Settlement," the proprietors concurred. The following October they ordered "[t]hat where a Settlement is designed no great Shares of land ought to go to one person by which means the Growth of the Settlement may be prevented."[46] While far from groundless, the concerns of contemporaries about land aggrandizement may well have been exaggerated by the large acreages apportioned to aristocrats in the Fundamental

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[45]Nathaniel Sayle to Proprietors, *BPRO*, 5:300-303.

[46]Humble Address and Remonstrance, in Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 441-42; Proprietors to Governor Blake, *BPRO*, 4:111-14.

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Constitutions and by the contentiousness of subsequent debates over land policy. The land system successfully limited the engrossment of property. Ninety-three percent of grants were for plats smaller than 1,000 acres. Forty percent of the land grants were in the precise amount of various headright sizes or in simple multiples thereof (specifically 50, 70, 100, 140, 150, 200, 210, 280, 300, 400, and 500 acres). In other words, the headright was the most common type of land grant. As the only form of indenture directly linked to the size of the expanding colonial population, the headright more effectively controlled the acreage-to-settler ratio in Carolina than could any open sale of lands.

The idea of offering free land as an incentive for settlers to migrate to America coincided with the earliest English effort to plant a colony in the New World. In 1588, Thomas Harriot praised Sir Walter Ralegh's "large giving and graunting lande" to the Roanoke voyagers and noted that the "least that hee hath graunted hath beene five hundred acres to a man onely for the adventure of his person."[47] These first headright grants well exceeded later allowances, but the idea took firm root. All the southern colonies offered some form of headright as a primary means for settlers to obtain land. In theory and often in practice, this system distributed property in some proportion to the number of settlers able to work the land or in need of the fruits of this labor. When combined with the practice of indiscriminate location (allowing individual site

[47]Thomas Harriot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1588), in David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1991), 1:385.

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selection), such reliance on the headright system in Carolina could have created circumstances conducive to rapid and chaotic settlement, not the planned and orderly growth so favored by the proprietors and provincials alike.[48] That it did not resulted from the constraints of proprietary land policies and the tactics surveyors and settlers used to maneuver within that system.

In addition to frequently modifying land warranting and granting policies, the proprietors also restructured the official procedures for conducting, certifying, and recording property surveys. They issued and reissued instructions with precise measurements to govern the size and shape of granted lands. Yet individual site preference and intended use of the property–not colonial policy–ultimately determined where an immigrant settled. Since waterways served as the basic routes for colonial transportation and commerce, the proprietors limited the amount of river frontage per tract.[49] In theory, no planter, whether nobleman or freeholder, could engross the most valuable properties in his community, and all settlers would enjoy some access to the region's transportation network. The land warrants routinely ordered the surveyor that if property "happen upon any navigable River or any River capable of being made

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[48]Price, *Dividing the Land,*14, 334-35. In her study *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Surveyors Foundation and Virginia Association of Surveyors, 1979), Sarah Hughes argues that once established in the Old Dominion, the practice of indiscriminate location promoted rapid economic development at the expense of more orderly expansion.

[49]Ackerman, *South Carolina Colonial Land Policies*, 30-31.

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navigable, you are to allow only one fifth part of the depth thereof by the water side."[50] For example, a tract fifty acres long could have only ten acres fronting a navigable river. In practice, colonial surveyors derived much of their authority from the responsibility for certifying a river's navigability. Grantees often circumvented this policy and maximized frontage along the rivers by exploiting natural bends or selecting land at an angle to the waterway.[51] Though agents of the proprietors, colonial surveyors were also settlers. They could not always be relied upon to implement official land policies, particularly at the expense of their neighbors' property. By the mid-1680s, no provincial leader could ignore that where colonists chose to settle, along the rivers and marshes, conflicted with the proprietors' expressed intention that "people shall plant in Townes which are to be laid out into large, straight & regular streets."[52] However, the proprietors came to understand that mandating where freemen settled might alienate potential emigrants to Carolina and risk the survival of the province. Secretary Joseph Dalton informed his lords as early as 1671 that as "more people are come, we find that if they be not suffered to choose their own conveniencyes, it may prove a great retarding of a speedy peopling this Country; for non omnibus arbusta juvant [not all plantations are pleasing]; some delighting to be near the sea, and others from it, the

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[50]Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 4.

[51]Linda M. Pett-Conklin, "Cadastral Surveying in Colonial South Carolina: A Historical Geography" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1986), 87, 111-14.

[52]Agrarian Laws, in Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 358.

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denyall of which we find to have been fatall."[53]

While unsuccessful in their attempts to control completely the allocation and distribution of land in Carolina by setting policy, the proprietors' also shaped settlement patterns in more subtle ways. When selecting their personal lands, the proprietors influenced by their own example where other colonists chose to plant. Shaftesbury established St. Giles Plantation along the banks of the Ashley River in 1675. In the same year, his agent Andrew Percival settled on two thousand acres a few miles north of the earl's estate, Jacob Waight received a grant for 764 acres immediately to the south, and John and Robert Smith obtained grants for 2,400 acres on the opposite side of the Ashley River.[54] The proprietors also eventually ordered the surveyor general to return certified plats directly to the secretary of the province rather than to the prospective grantee. This further prevented settlers from claiming lands without signing an indenture, assuming responsibility for quitrents, and receiving a sealed land grant.[55] Finally, the two-dimensional surveys and plats, unlike the topography they depicted, usually formed the rectilinear shapes prescribed in the Fundamental Constitutions.[56]

The experiences of two grantees and their families illustrate the variety and

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[53]Dalton to Proprietors, *CSCHS*, 5:284-85.

[54]Smith, "The Ashley Barony," *Historical Writings*, 1:10-11.

[55]Proprietors to Governor, *BPRO*, 2:93-94; Olsberg, "Introduction," in Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, xi.

[56]Pett-Conklin, "Cadastral Surveying in Colonial South Carolina," 104-116.

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complexity of land acquisition patterns in the province. John Ashby, a London merchant and investor in several overseas adventures, received his first warrant for two thousand acres in Carolina on November 17, 1680.[57] Just five months later, on April 25, the proprietors granted the gentleman "2000 acres on the Southernmost side of the Eastern branch of Cooper River."[58] Not a headright or purchase, this land grant most likely reflected a noble claim or the proprietors' gratitude for favors rendered the colony. The following year Ashby became a Cassique, and a letter to the governor and council instructed that "Mr John Ashby who has done us much good service in procuring seeds wishes to enlarge his plantation. Permit his agent to take up not more than three thousand acres."[59] Whether John Ashby ever visited the colony remains unclear. The Charles Town lot warranted in October 1681 was not granted until two decades later, suggesting that the provincial nobleman may have administered his lands *in absentia* and built no house in town.[60] His son and agent John Ashby, Jr., appears to have emigrated to Carolina or visited on more than one occasion and acquired grants in his father's name. Seven warrants for land dated between January 1696 and October

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[57]Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, SCDAH. Ashby was a member of the Royal African Company along with Proprietors Shaftesbury, Craven, Berkeley, Carteret, and Colleton (*CSP, AWI*, Vol. 1669-1685, 242).

[58]Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, SCDAH; Smith, "Quenby and the Eastern Branch of Cooper River," *Historical Writings*, 1:149.

[59]*CSP, AWI*, Vol. 1669-1685, 339.

[60]Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 236-37; Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, SCDAH.

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1704 correspond with grants received in the same period [Table 2.7]. Given their size, the grants appear be headrights.[61] In this instance, the number of acres warranted to Ashby equalled the total amount of land granted. But this was not typical of most property distribution in the province. In the first two decades of settlement, the number of acres warranted to an individual exceeded the number granted more than seventy-five percent of the time. In only ten percent of 1,641 cases did granted acres precisely equal warranted acres [Table 2.8, Figure 2.4]. Thus, Ashby's experience was not representative of most grantees' land acquisition patterns. Many settlers staked a land claim with only a warrant or plat in hand. The proprietors exacerbated this situation by warranting more lands than could reasonably be cultivated and by recognizing the squatters' claims in their demand for quitrents from individuals without sealed grants. In 1696 the Commons House ordered that "all Lands Possest by any Persons by their running out the same and sitting downe thereon by warrants" were responsible for quitrent dues since they "hinder[ed] others from settling thereon."[62] Other planters bypassed the warranting process completely. After Ashby's death in 1699, his son received a 1,500-acre grant in January 1705 without previously securing a warrant.[63]

Even the men most familiar with the dictates of proprietary land policy, the

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[61]Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 531, 572-73, 622; Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume C, SCDAH.

[62]A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, January 30-March 17, 1696* (Columbia, S.C.: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1908), 31-41.

[63]Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume G, SCDAH.

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colonial agents, circumvented and often ignored the warrant-plat-grant system. Stephen Bull, who served as both register of the province and surveyor general, claimed at least two tracts of land equaling 270 acres without obtaining official grants [Table 2.9]. Instead he relied upon warrants (and perhaps surveyed plats, though they do not survive) to certify his ownership. The language of the early grants stated that the proprietors would not begin collecting quitrents until September 1689. In effect, this policy allowed the settlers years to complete the land acquisition process and to obtain sealed grants, all while avoiding their rent burden. Many planters, like Bull, never secured grants.[64] More often, years and even decades lapsed between the issue of a warrant and the registry of a corresponding grant. In Bull's case, four hundred acres of land warranted in May 1672 were not officially granted until October 1676, more than four years later. The proprietors attempted to correct this problem by stipulating in the warrants that prospective grantees "Signe the Counterpart of the Indented Deed with[in] ninety days after the said Land is admeasured" or surveyed on threat of forfeiture.[65] Their effort failed to alter this colonial practice significantly. The duplication of warrants and erratic record-keeping further confused the land distribution process. Three warrants issued to Bull in 1672 reappeared in the records in 1674. In each case, the language was so similar that the second warrants even repeated the names of the

[64]Ackerman, *Colonial South Carolina Land Policies*, 34.

[65]Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 5-6, 490-91; Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, SCDAH.

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servants in his indenture.[66] In general, it is more difficult to distinguish new warrants for additional lands from duplicate patents.

The pattern of seventeenth-century land warrants and grants reveals that the changes made in proprietary policies did not disrupt or hinder, and may even have encouraged, migration to the province. The vast majority of land grants occurred in the early 1680s and mid-1690s, both periods when revisions of the procedures for allocating land occurred and the population increased. The simple correspondence of these events does not provide enough evidence for reaching definitive conclusions. Still needed is a thorough analysis of the changes in land grant numbers, acreages, and locations over time, as well as an examination of the nature of grants to emigrants of varying social status. However, these findings suggest that the Lords Proprietors and their land policies had a greater effect on the settlement patterns of early Carolina than contemporaries and historians have acknowledged. In 1808, historian David Ramsay observed that the proprietary governors "were either ill qualified for their office, or the instructions given them were injudicious." The "weak, unstable, and little respected" government "did not excite a sufficient interest for its own support." He criticized the creation of a landed aristocracy as particularly damaging to the process of settlement. "The title of landgraves were more burthensome than profitable," he wrote, "especially as they were only joined with large tracts of land, which, from the want of laborers, lay

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[66]Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 5-6, 70-71.

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uncultivated."[67] Certainly, the Lords Proprietors recognized what historian Converse Clowse called "the erosion of their brand of feudalism by the South Carolina governments." But Clowse's assertion that they tried "[i]n vain . . . to keep the pattern of land development under their own control," overlooks the influence their guiding vision, policy changes, and personal examples exerted in shaping the early settlement of the colony.[68]

This does not diminish the importance of the planters' individual and collective control over the character of the settled and social landscape in the colony's pioneer years. By petitioning governors and deputies for redress of their grievances, choosing the location of their lands, influencing the shape and surveys of plats, and agreeing or refusing to pay quitrents, emigrants to South Carolina played as pivotal a role in creating a plantation province as did the Lords Proprietors who governed this enterprise. Rather than apportioning blame for the strife surrounding land allocation and acquisition in Carolina, it is more productive to simply recognize that "controversies concerning the land policies had much to do with the ultimate failure of the proprietary regime."[69] In the geographical and social contest for Carolina, land was the penultimate spoil. Only profit surpassed property in the desires of settlers.

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[67]David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina From its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808* (Newberry, S.C.: W.J. Duffie, 1858), 23.

[68]Clowse, *Economic Beginnings*, 102-103.

[69]Ackerman, *South Carolina Colonial Land Policies*, 38.

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TABLE 2.1

LAND SYSTEM DESCRIBED IN FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS

Unit	Acres/ Unit	Owner	Total Acres
County	480,000	8 Seignories, 8 Baronies, 4 Precincts	
Seignory	12,000	1 per Proprietor per County	96,000
Barony	12,000	4 per Landgrave and 2 per Cassique per County	96,000
Precinct	72,000	All for common planters, 4 per County	288,000

Source: First Set of the Constitutions for the Government of Carolina, *CSCHS*, 5:94.

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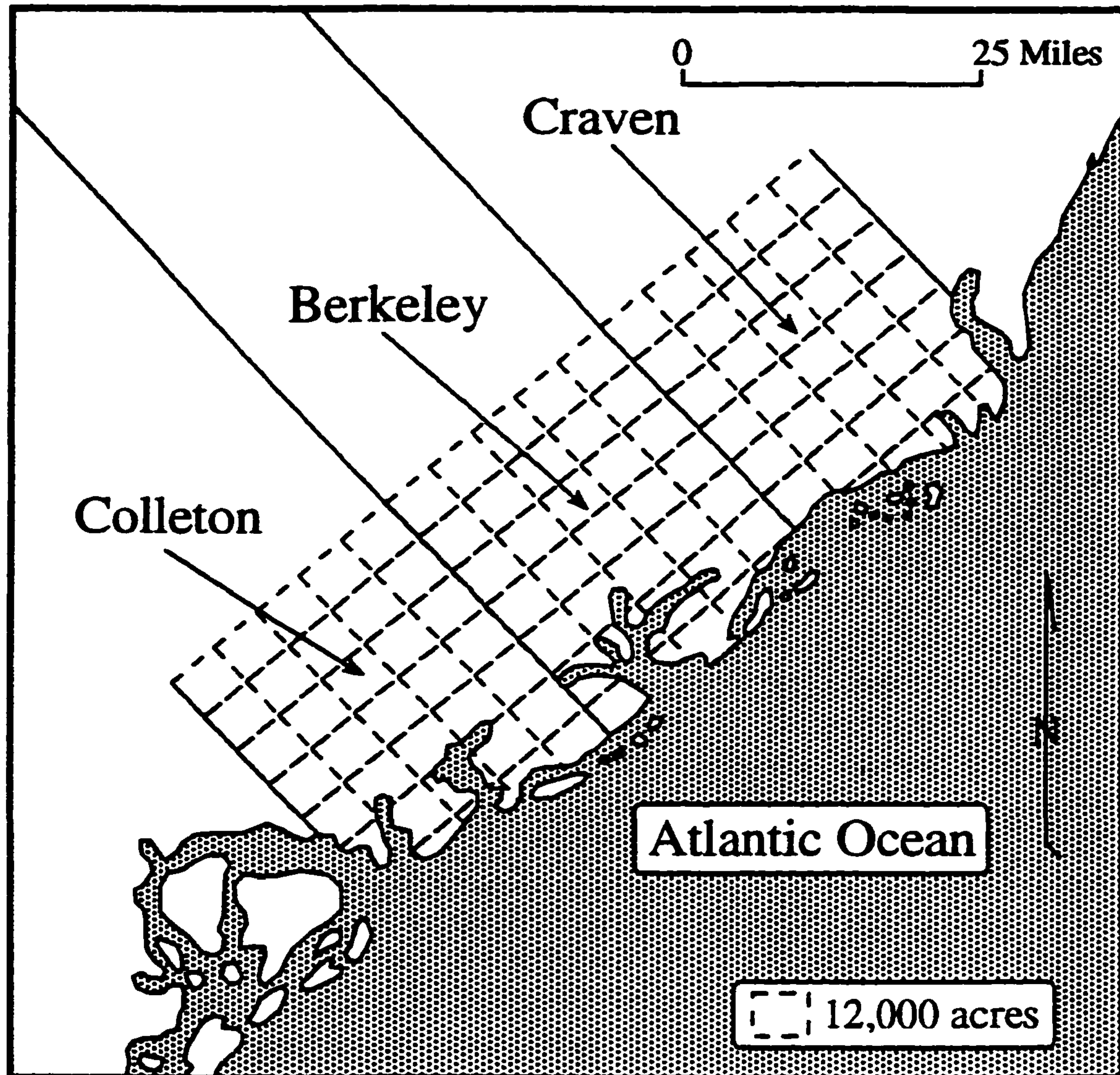
ILLUSTRATION 2.1

IDEALIZED PROPRIETARY COUNTIES



Source: Charles F. Kovacik and John J. Winberry, *South Carolina: The Making of a Landscape* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 26.

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TABLE 2.2

SIZE OF HEADRIGHT GRANTS OVER TIME

Status of emigrant	Arrival before 1671	Arrival before 1672	Arrival after 1680	Arrival after 1682
All free persons above 16 yrs	150 acres	100 acres	70 acres	50 acres
Male servants above 16 yrs	150 acres	100 acres	70 acres	50 acres
Female servants/servants under 16 yrs	100 acres	70 acres	50 acres	50 acres
All servants with completed indenture	100 acres	70 acres	60 acres	50 acres
Umarriageable female servant	n/a	n/a	n/a	40 acres

Sources: Copy of Instructions Annexed to the Commission for the Governor and Council, *CSCHS*, 5:121; Instructions to Governor, *BPRO*, 1: 82-84, 138-41.

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TABLE 2.3

LAND WARRANTS, 1671-1711

Number of warrants	3,656
Number of persons receiving warrants	1,641
Mean warrants per person	2.2
Mean warrant size in acres	355
Median warrant size in acres	200
Total acres warranted	1,298,794

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TABLE 2.4

LAND GRANTS, 1670-1722

Number of grants	1,327
Number of persons receiving grants	580
Mean grants per person	2.3
Mean grant size in acres	539
Median grant size in acres	212
Total acres granted	714,838.875

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FIGURE 2.1

FREQUENCY OF WARRANTS BY YEAR

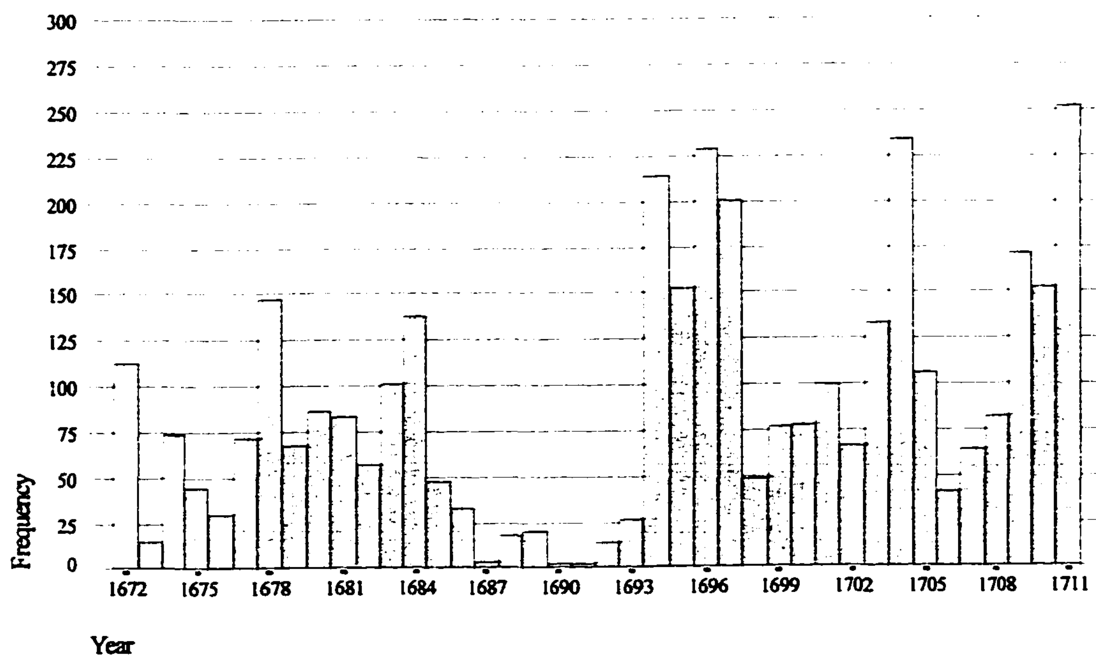

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FIGURE 2.2

FREQUENCY OF WARRANTS BY MONTH

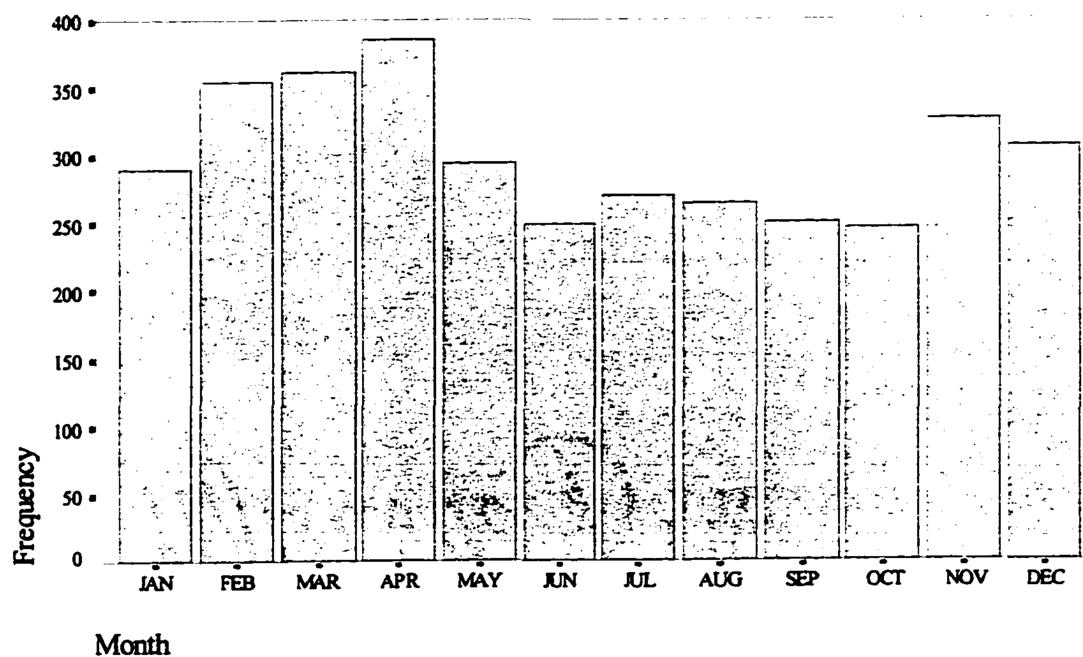

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TABLE 2.5

ACRES WARRANTED BY COUNTY

County	# of Warrants	Acres Warranted
Unspecified	2728	844,416
Berkeley County	406	173,389
Colleton County	355	214,237
Craven County	125	46,6122
Granville County	42	20,140
Total	3656	1,298,794

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TABLE 2.6

ACRES GRANTED BY COUNTY

County	# of Grants	Acres Granted
Unspecified	769	451,022
Berkeley or Colleton	1	1000
Berkeley or Craven	2	1300
Berkeley County	267	147,663
Colleton County	173	68,115
Craven County	65	25,414
Granville County	50	20,325
Total	1327	714,839

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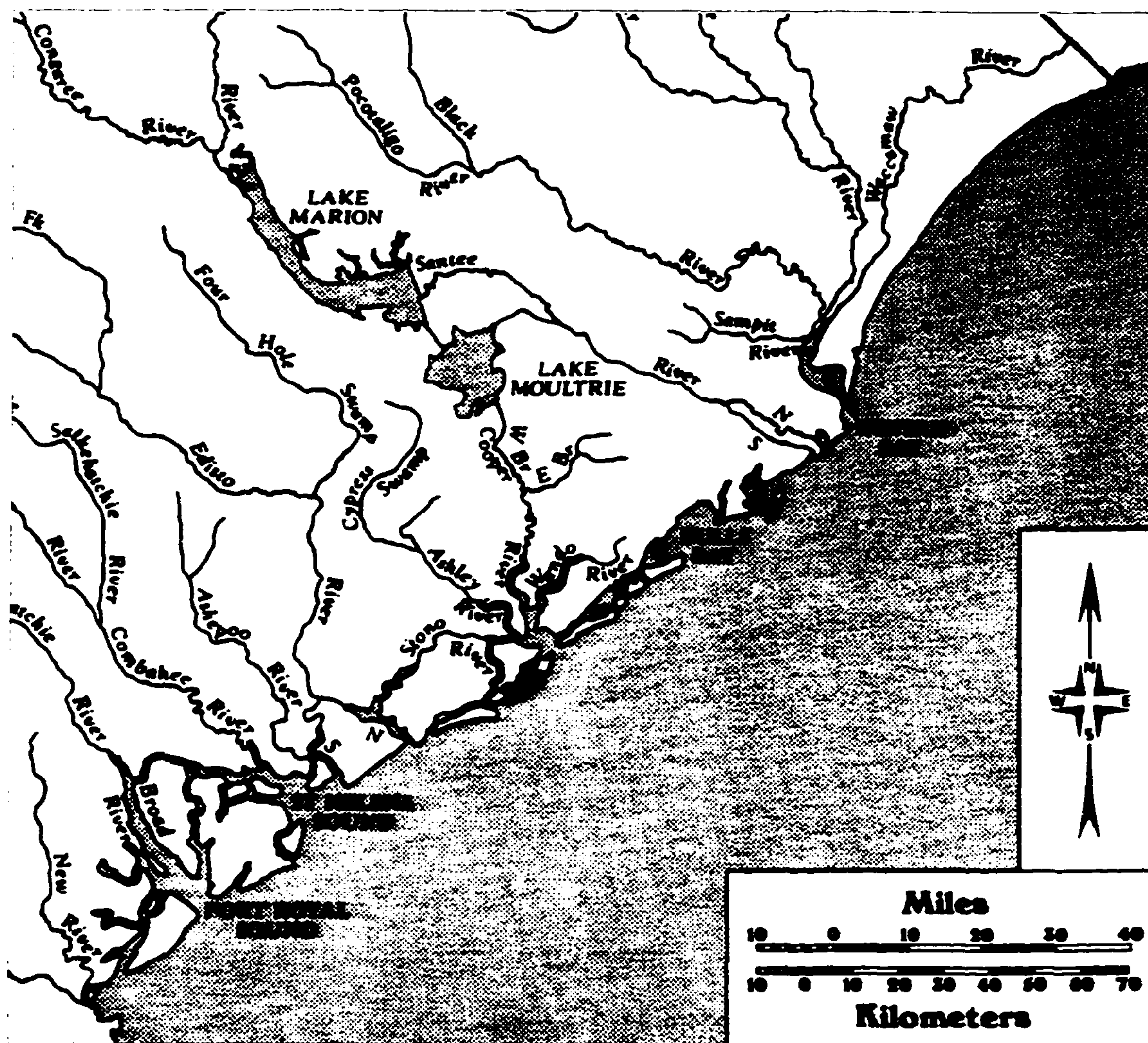
ILLUSTRATION 2.2

RIVERS, BAYS, AND SOUNDS



Source: Charles F. Kovacik and John J. Winberry, *South Carolina: The Making of a Landscape* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 26.

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FIGURE 2.3

FREQUENCY OF GRANTS BY YEAR

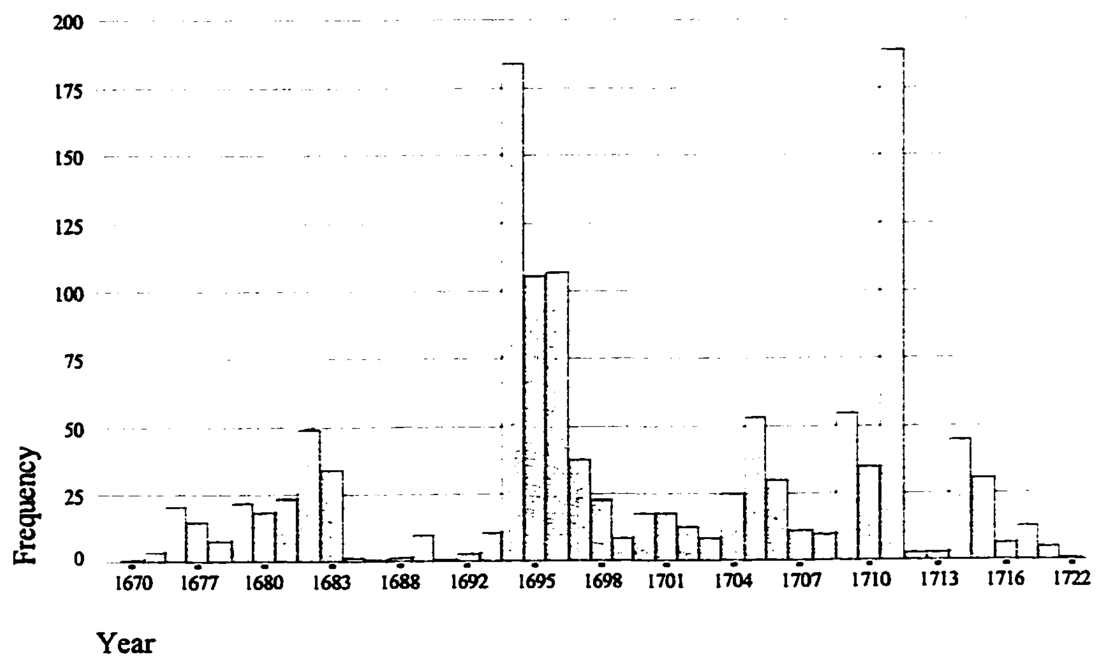

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TABLE 2.7

JOHN ASHBY'S LAND ACQUISITIONS

Warrant Date	Warranted Acres	Grant Date	Granted Acres	Time Elapsed
17-Nov-1680	2000	25-Apr-1681	2000	5 months
06-Oct-1681	town lot	28-Aug-1701	town lot #18	20 years
17-Jan-1696	250	09-Sept-1696	250	9 months
01-Apr-1697	140	↓	↓	5 months
01-Apr-1697	280	01-Sept-1697	490	5 months
01-Apr-1697	70	↑	↑	5 months
24-Oct-1704	200	12-Jan-1705	200	2.5 months
24-Oct-1704	200	12-Jan-1705	200	2.5 months
24-Oct-1704	500	12-Jan-1705	500	2.5 months
Total	3640		3640	

Sources: Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 236-37, 260, 531, 572-73, 622; Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, Volume C, Volume G, SCDAH.

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TABLE 2.8

COMPARISON OF ACRES WARRANTED AND ACRES GRANTED, 1670-1722

Acres warranted < Acres granted	219 cases	13.3%
Acres warranted = Acres granted	161 cases	9.8%
Acres warranted > Acres granted	1261 cases	76.8%
Total	1641 cases	100%

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FIGURE 2.4

COMPARISON OF ACRES WARRANTED AND ACRES GRANTED, 1670-1722

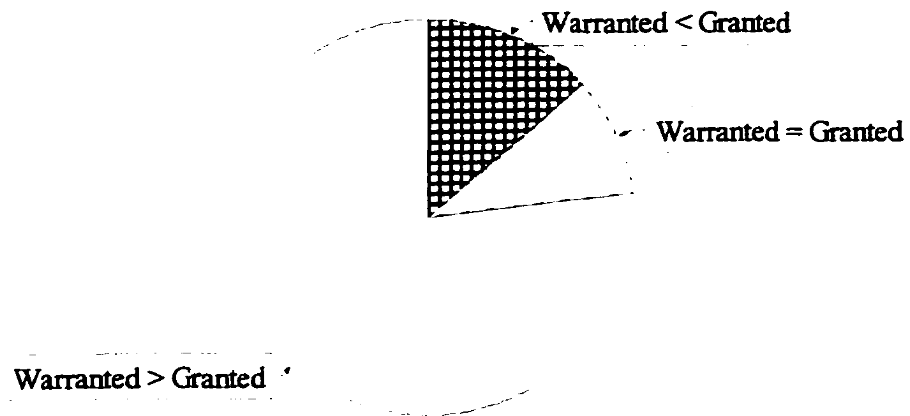

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TABLE 2.9

STEPHEN BULL'S LAND ACQUISITION

Warrant Date	Warranted Acres	Grant Date	Granted Acres	@Time Elapsed
21-May-1672	170	none	0	n/a
21-May-1672	400	31-Oct-1676	400	4.5 years
21-May-1672	100	none	0	n/a
18-Apr-1674	(duplicate) 170	none	0	n/a
18-Apr-1674	(duplicate) 400	none	0	n/a
18-Apr-1674	(duplicate) 100	none	0	n/a
10-Nov-1674	100	16-Dec-1676	97	2 years
22-June-1680	70	1699	70	19 years
10-Nov-1680	town lot	18-Nov-1680	town lot # 17	1 week
06-Oct-1681	not stated	22-Oct-1681	190	2 weeks
22-Nov-1694	100	Jan-1695	100	2 months
17-Nov-1704	200	15-Sept-1705	110	10 months
no source	no source	04-Jan-1714	town lot # 276	n/a
no source	no source	not stated	town lot # 277	n/a
Total	1810		967	

Sources: Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 5-6, 70-71, 91, 226, 236, 264, 490, 624; Records of the Register, Conveyances, Volume 2, Volume F, Volume K, SCDAH.

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CHAPTER III

BY THE COMPASS AND THE CHAIN:

SURVEYING AND SETTLING THE SOUTHEASTERN FRONTIER

> Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance. — Deuteronomy 19:14

The natives of southeastern North America had little need for measuring their land or carving their property into discrete units for occupation and cultivation. Holding land in common and farming collectively, eschewing fences and other enclosures, they rarely competed with one another for the most fertile fields or the richest natural resources.[1] These Indian agrarian customs challenged European notions of private property which based ownership on the improvement of land through labor. "*As much Land* as a Man Tills, Plants, Improves, Cultivates and can use the Product of, so much is his *Property*. He by his Labour does, as it were, inclose it from the Common."[2] In the English view, improvement included not only agricultural labor but

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[1]Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 313.

[2]John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 290-91.

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fixing the land in space, bounding it physically with fences and hedges, and symbolically with property lines and land marks. John Locke argued that the "several Nations of the *Americans*," or Indians, "who are rich in Land and poor in all the Comforts of Life; whom Nature having furnished as liberally as any other people, with the materials of Plenty, *i.e.* a fruitful Soil, apt to produce in abundance, what might serve for food, rayment, and delight; yet for want of improving it by labour, have not one hundreth part of the Conveniencies" England enjoyed. He asked rhetorically "whether in the wild woods and uncultivated wast of America left to Nature, without any improvement, tillage or husbandry, a thousand acres will yield the needy and wretched inhabitants as many conveniencies of life as ten acres of equally fertile land doe in Devonshire where they are well cultivated?"[3] For the English, improvement of land–whether in Devonshire or Carolina–meant enclosure, and enclosure entailed surveying.

European settlers carried a complex system of surveying with them across the Atlantic. Designed to demarcate individual properties by laying boundaries, measuring areas, and establishing values, the modern cadastral survey originated in the sixteenth-century enclosure movement and the abolition of medieval forms of land tenure.[4] Colonial "landmeters" imported from England the theories and textbooks, the

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[3]Ibid., 294, 296-97.

[4]Cadastral surveys are maps drawn in the service of the state for administrative purposes. They typically depict property boundaries, location, size, ownership, and often fiscal value.

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technology and tools, necessary to divide property in Carolina. To satisfy the voracious appetites of land-hungry planters and to meet the physical challenges of living in the New World, provincial surveyors also adopted new measuring methods particularly suited to settlement along the rivers and tributaries of the southern coastal plain. The cadastral systems developed in other English colonies, especially those with plantation-style agriculture and a similar physical environment, served as working models for Carolina. In particular, the surveying practices employed in Virginia and Jamaica reflected the range of land-measuring techniques available to lowcountry landmeters in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries..

Early modern English surveyors typically acted as both land measurers and land stewards. In addition to setting boundaries and drafting terriers, they appraised land, interviewed tenants about established property lines, and enforced customary dues, rents, and tenures.[5] So entwined were these activities that the first surveying text printed in English, John Fitzherbert's *Boke of Surveyeng* (1523), appeared with a companion text, *Boke of Husbandry*, issued in the same year.[6] Later writers emphasized the reciprocal nature of a surveyor's responsibilities by addressing all facets of a landmeters' occupation within a single volume. In *The Most Profitable and Commendable Science of Surveying* (1577), Valentine Leigh set out to "teacheth the governmente of the Mannours, landes and tenementes of each person, and how to make

[5]Terriers were written descriptions of private estates.

[6]E.G.R. Taylor, "The Surveyor," *Economic History Review*, 17 (1947), 121-23.

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a perfecte Survey of the same."[7] The majority of his treatise described the proper definition and administration of manorial lands. Only in the final chapter did Leigh direct the reader how to figure the area of simple shapes because "it is partely appertaining to the Office of a Surveiour, to have some understandyng in measuryng and meating of Lande and wood grounde, and how to reduce the same into true Contentes and numbers of Acres." An experienced surveyor by trade, Leigh, like his audience seems to have had little, if any, university training for he fails to describe the geometrical surveying methods pioneered in the 1560s. Straightforward and popular, Leigh's book was also among the last of its kind.[8] A signal of the increasing sophistication of surveying and the more technical knowledge required for its execution, later works reversed the emphasis Leigh placed on land stewardship over measurement.

Like most craftsmen, sixteenth-century surveyors learned their art through apprenticeship and without the benefit of much formal education. Their meager mathematical training seldom exceeded basic arithmetic. The first mathematics text published in English, *An Introduction for to Lerne to Recken with the Pen or with the*

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[7]Valentine Leigh, *The Most Profitable and Commendable Science of Surveying of Landes, Tenementes, and Hereditamentes* (London, 1577), preface. Leigh's discourse was reprinted this book at least four times in the sixteenth century.

[8]A.W. Richeson, *English Land Measuring to 1800: Instruments and Practices* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1966), 74.

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Counters, did not appear until 1537.[9] Unable to comprehend the geometric principles necessary to calculate the areas of irregular figures, early land measurers required mechanical instruments with scales and indices to simplify their computation of heights and distances. These poorly-educated surveyors also needed practical instruction manuals with figure tables they could carry into the field. Nearly every surveying guidebook published before 1700 included fifty to one hundred pages explicating the simple arithmetic and geometric principles derived from Euclid. Most manuals also contained illustrations, charts, and other shortcuts to aid in multiplication.[10] Leonard Digges first explained the mathematical principles necessary to calulate the areas of simple shapes in *A Booke Named Tectonicon* published in 1556. Fifteen years later, his son Thomas printed *A Geometrical Treatise Named Pantometria*, which detailed the elder Digges's construction of the topographical instrument used to measure angles in both horizontal and vertical planes with a single setting.[11] Ironically, the very apparatus that announced the age of scientific surveying temporarily enabled men of lesser ability to undertake the trade. Calibrated instruments performed mechanically the complicated calculations required in land measurement. Not until the advent of trigonometry in the seventeenth century did the need for a theoretical grounding in

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[9]A.W. Richeson, "The First Arithmetic Printed in English," *Isis*, 37 (1947), 47-56.

[10]Richeson, *English Land Measuring to 1800*, 45-47.

[11]Leonard Digges, *A Booke Named Tectonicon* (London, 1556); Leonard Digges, *A Geometrical Treatise Named Pantometria* (London, 1571); Richeson, *English Land Measuring to 1800*, 58, 65.

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advanced mathematics outstrip the capability of mechanical tools.

Although the Diggeses originally intended their texts for the common land surveyor, later writers felt the works too complicated for the ordinary practitioner. In 1582, Edward Worsop published a more accessible and balanced description of the surveyor's responsibilities. He abandoned the rigid treatise in favor of a dialogue between fictional characters, a prose form popular with Elizabethan readers. *A Discoverie of Sundrie Errours and Faults Daily Committed by Landmeaters* clearly distinguished between skilled surveyors and unqualified pretenders. Worsop argued that "[e]very one that measureth Land by laying head to head, or can take a plat by some Geometricall instruments, is not to be accounted therefore a sufficient Landmeater." Only he that "can also proove his instruments, and measurings, by true Geometricall Demonstrations" deserved the title of surveyor.[12] By his account, surveyors bore three types of responsibilities: mathematical measurement and definition of the land; legal record-keeping of rent rolls and other obligations; and judicial consideration of soil quality, land value, and relations between landlords and tenants.[13] A complete inversion of Leigh's assessment, Worsop considered setting boundaries and measuring areas foremost among the surveyor's several responsibilities. This transition reflected, in part, his association of surveying with the new art of estate mapping.

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[12]Edward Worsop, *A Discoverie of Sundrie Errours and Faults Daily Committed by Landmeaters* (London, 1582), title page.

[13]Ibid., 70.

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In *A Discoverie of Sundrie Errours* Worsop first encouraged surveyors to draw scaled plans of the private property they measured. The rise of estate mapping in England occurred suddenly in the 1570s and did not corresponded with any single technological innovation or a specific change in land management practice.[14] As graphic representations of the work surveyors had already completed, scale maps required little additional labor. Moreover, they conveyed complicated spatial information in a more comprehensive or digestible manner. The drawing of large-scale plans complemented rather than supplanted the traditional responsibilities of land surveyors. Most professional surveys retained written descriptions of bounded property, though the overall importance of terriers did diminish.[15] While the emergence of estate plans reflected the growing map consciousness of sixteenth-century Europeans, the origin of this development lay in the social and economic motivations of the plans' commissioners and artists. Large-scale maps certainly aided in the efficient administration of manorial lands, but they were by no means indispensible. Instead, the landowner's desire to picture and display his propertied wealth matched the surveyor's willingness to produce plans for profit. Textbook author William Leybourn observed in *The Compleat Surveyor* that "these things being well performed, your plot will be a neat

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[14]P.D.A. Harvey, "Estate Surveyors and the Spread of the Scale-Map in England, 1550-1580," *Landscape History*, 15 (1993), 37-49; P.D.A. Harvey, "English Estate Maps: Their Early History and Their Use as Historical Evidence," in David Buisseret, ed., *Rural Images: Estate Maps in the Old and New Worlds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 30-31.

[15]A similar development occurred in ocean mapping when portolan charts augmented, yet did not replace, written *portolanos*.

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Ornament for the Lord of the Mannor to hang in his study, or other private place, so that at pleasure he may see his land before him."[16] By the close of the sixteenth century, commentators agreed that "[n]o man may arrogate to himselfe the name and title of a perfect and absolute Surveior of Castles, Manners, Lands, and Tenements, unlesse he be able in true forme, measure, quantitie, and proportion, to plat the same in their particulars *ad infinitum*."[17] Drafting scaled estate plans became another of the surveyor's many and varied tasks, but not "the chiefe part of a Surveyors skill."[18]

John Norden's *Surveiors Dialogue*, the first surveying text published in the seventeenth century, expanded the measurement and stewardship conversation to include the surveyor, farmer, lord, bailiff, and a land purchaser. Like Worsop, he described the skills and talents of a qualified surveyor in order to distinguish the professional from the amateur. In addition to "measuring and plotting, he must have the understanding of the latine tongue, and have some sight in the common lawes, . . . must be able to reade and understand any ancient deeds or records, . . . and to judge of the values of land.[19] No longer could an apprenticeship alone provide surveyors with the education necessary for their specialized occupation. Besides proven mathematical

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[16]William Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor: Containing the Whole Art of Surveying of Land* (London, 1653), 275.

[17]Ralph Agas, Lansdowne MS 165, fol. 91, British Library, quoted in P.D.A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 168.

[18]John Norden, *Surveiors Dialogue* (London, 1607), 17.

[19]Ibid.

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skills, reliable surveyors increasingly possessed a knowledge of letters and understood the practical foundations of law. They could "cast up" or calculate areas, gauge the value of particular properties, decipher boundaries marked long ago, and interpret contracts and set rents for leaseholders. With the execution of a "due and true survey," Norden asserted, "there is peace maintained between the Lord and his Tenants." Without the survey (and its creator), "all things rest betweene them [the lord and tenant] confused, questions and quarrels arise, to the disturbance of both."[20] Not all Englishmen agreed with Norden's assessment. Tenants often objected that surveying increased their rents and a few suspected diabolical practices of a man who claimed he could measure their land without traversing the property. Worsop's surveyor acknowledged that the "common people are in great fear when survey is to be made of their land." As Norden's farmer explained, "I have heard much evil of the profession and I tell you my conceit plainly, I think the same both evil and unprofitable."[21] From the late sixteenth century forward, the English surveyor assumed the role of a social intermediary, a referee in a contest of interests waged by those who owned the land and those who worked it. This responsibility conferred a greater professional status upon the surveyor. The dramatic expansion of technical knowledge and mechanical tools employed by land measurers in the seventeenth century further enhanced their occupational standing.

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[20]Ibid., 29-30.

[21]Worsop, *Discoverie of Sundrie Errours*; Norden, *Surveiors Dialogue*.

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English surveyors used the standard unit of an acre to measure geographic area. Derived from the Anglo-Saxon term *æcre*, meaning field, the English acre conventionally represented the amount of land a yoke of oxen could plow in one day. Before 1550 surveyors used wooden rods or waxed and knotted cords to gauge lineal distances. The standard unit of measure was called the *statute rod* and equalled sixteen and one-half feet. One hundred and sixty square rods, or four square roods, represented one *statute acre*. Though they may have carried magnetic compasses into the field, early landmeters used these instruments, called dials, only in determining their position and not for calculating areas. While the units of lineal and areal measurement were tied explicitly to England's agarian past, in the sixteenth century the future of surveying lay with scientific advances on the seas and in the stars. The creation of precision instruments in navigation and astronomy, and the increased mathematical understanding necessary for their invention and use, revolutionized the technology of land measurement after the mid-sixteenth century.[22] English surveyors freely borrowed from sailors the altitude tools (such as the astrolabe, quadrant, and cross-staff) used to orient ships at sea. They initially imported land surveying instruments from continental craftsmen, and eventually a domestic market developed. Because English instrument-makers worked independently, sharing their inventions only with their students and the readers of their own surveying manuals, the designs of similar devices with different names overlapped considerably. However, they may be divided into two general

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[22]Richeson, *English Land Measuring to 1800*, 19, 30.

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categories: angle-measuring and distance-measuring instruments.

In *Speculum Topographicum* (1611), Arthur Hopton reviewed all the tools available to land measurers and associated specific instruments with solving particular surveying problems. In addition, his explication of triangulation–locating geographic points from one or more fixed stations–revolutionized the science of land measurement.[23] This practice entailed surveying a single line and measuring a series of angles at specific points defined in relation to one another. Though calculating angles with the necessary degree of precision presented a sizable mathematical challenge, surveyors could easily confirm their accuracy by physically measuring the side of one triangle on the ground. Furthermore, once the surveyor fixed each successive point he would return to his starting position along the measured baseline.[24] In England the plane table (or plain table) became one of the most important tools for calculating the areas of small spaces by measuring angles. A board outfitted with a sight and ruler and then attached to a pole driven into the earth, this simple instrument enabled even the least skilled landmeter to create a field survey. As long as the surveyor could see each corner of the tract, the plane table allowed him to figure the area by measuring angles rather than traversing its perimeter.[25] For measuring horizontal angles on large tracts of

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[23]Arthur Hopton, *Speculum Topographicum: or the Topographical Glasses* (London, 1611).

[24]Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 162.

[25]Sarah Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Surveyors Foundation and Virginia Association of Surveyors, 1979), 31-32.

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land, most English surveyors preferred a circumferentor, a semicircle, or a theodolite [Illustration 3.1].[26] Surveyors used each of these instruments, alone or in combination, to measure angles and calculate the topographical area of large tracts of land.

As important as these angle-measuring instruments and techniques were for preparing precise surveys of England's enclosed properties, they did little to advance the technology of distance measurement. Seventeenth-century surveyors needed a line-measuring device more versatile and accurate than the cumbersome wooden rods and knotted cords carried by their predecessors. A decimal chain invented by Edmund Gunter provided landmeters with such an instrument. It measured sixty-six feet and contained one hundred links with a brass ring marking every tenth link. Based on the statute rod, Gunter's chain allowed surveyors to calculate areas using decimal fractions. Ten square chains totaled one statute acre, 160 square rods, or 100,000 square links. Eighty chains equaled one mile. Thus any area could be measured easily in acres or square miles and reduced to square rods and links [Table 3.1]. The attractiveness of Gunter's chain lay in its simplicity. Unlike earlier line-measuring instruments, the chain could be used either forward or backward and this reduced surveyors' errors when reading fractions of chains.[27] Minimizing mistakes was particularly important in

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[26]In *A Geometrical Treatise Named Pantometria*, Leonard Digges described two angle-measuring devices, a theodelitus and the topographical instrument. The theodelitus later became known as a semicircle or theodolitus. The topographical instrument was commonly called a theodolite. Confusingly, several early seventeenth-century writers referred to the semicircle as a theodolite.

[27]Richeson, *English Land Measuring to 1800*, 109.

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distance measurement because cumulative errors distorted not only the shape of the platted property but the size of surveyed lands. Many surveyors, particularly those with less mathematical ability, preferred chain measuring. By the mid-seventeenth century, textbook writers promoted "surveying with the long lines" alone as more efficient and reliable than using any one angle-measuring device.[28] However, perambulation with a chain was not foolproof. Unlike in triangulation, where consistent angle measuring ensured an estate plan's proportion, a traversed perimeter line could be checked only through remeasurement or astronomical observation of fixed points.[29] Executed correctly, both these methods could produce results accurate by contemporary standards. However, these standards varied widely in different environments. Landowners and landmeters alike demanded a much greater level of precision when measuring the well-plowed fields of a fifty-acre English manor occupied for centuries than they did when surveying the forested lands of a five-hundred-acre American plantation still awaiting its official grant. Once transplanted across the Atlantic, colonial surveyors retained much of the professional status accorded their predecessors in England. Although they were seldom equal in technical proficiency to their English brethren, Carolina surveyors expanded their influence over the shape and character of the provincial landscape. By using new tools in new ways, lowcountry landmeters

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[28]George Atwell, *The Faithful Surveyor* (London, 1654); Vincent Wing, *The Geodaetes Practicus: or the Art of Surveying* (London, 1664); Adam Martindale, *The County-Survey-Book* (London, 1682).

[29]Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 162.

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carved individual properties from the frontier lands of the New World.

Colonial survey systems evolved from the selective application of English technology and practice in American frontier environments. The unique circumstances of settlement in New England, the Chesapeake, the Caribbean, and Lower South meant that the influence of land surveying on the resulting cadastral pattern varied widely across the eastern seaboard. In particular, the surveying practices developed in Virginia and the Caribbean colonies influenced land measuring techniques adopted in Carolina as much as the theories and tools imported from England. Unlike later surveyors working in the Lower South, early land measurers in the Chesapeake and West Indies labored without surveying texts which explained the particular application English landmeting technologies in the New World. The first American surveyors forged their own way. The similarities and differences of the survey systems and cadastral patterns evolved in each region illustrate the manifold approaches available to Carolinians when creating their own land-measuring processes.

In New England, the colonists formed land companies which owned, divided, and distributed property in the towns and villages surrounding Massachusetts Bay. While each individual corporation allocated land by its own formula (such as wealth, status, family size, ability to use, or equally), most towns apportioned property according to fixed shares. Investors, who may or may not have inhabited the community, held proportions of interest in the company which purchased the town lands–often from the Indians. Called "accommodations" or "allotments," these shares entitled the holder to profit from repeated divisions of land according to the size of his

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or her original investment. The "rules of division" drafted by each township governed land distribution. Nonshareholders received small parcels of property by grant, gift, or "at the town's courtesy," but did not benefit from future division of the common lands. In a survey of sixty-three New England towns, forty-one apportioned land by fixed shares which could be transferred from person to person.[30]

Many New England towns followed the English open-field model in laying out lands, although the sizes of the American plots were greater.[31] Houses in the village center sat adjacent to an open green on tracts of land large enough to accommodate small gardens and outbuildings. Individual farmers owned a scattering of narrow strips of property (lots) carved from the arable fields surrounding the town. They also retained the right to pasture animals in common fields and collect wood from nearby forests.[32] New England town founders usually commissioned the survey of company lands before individuals took possession of particular parcels of property. However, Massachusetts did not appoint official colonial surveyors until 1682. For most of the seventeenth century, New England landmeasurers worked for the land corporations as private agents, just as they did in England. Though they set boundaries and assessed

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[30]John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 149-61, 328.

[31]Anthony N.B. Garvan, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), 56.

[32]Edward T. Price, *Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 32.

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land quality, decisions regarding the allocation of specific plots to individuals and families fell to the company, not the surveyors. This shares-based process of land division, the role of surveyors within this system, and the resulting cadastral pattern created a private property system responsive to the changing character of the land market and not the varying needs of the New England colonies or their settlers. Far different systems evolved in the plantation societies founded to the south.

The long process of building a cadastral system in Virginia took more than half a century. Thousands of extant land patents and deed books indicate that colonial surveyors revolutionized the techniques of land measurement in the Old Dominion between 1641 and 1700. In addition to employing superior equipment which increased precision, they improved the form of reporting results. These advances occurred in distinct phases interspersed with periods of decline, creating a cycle which corresponded with the ebb and flow of political turmoil in England and Virginia.[33] The public commissioning and employment of surveyors distinguished the Virginia land system from that in England and New England. In July 1621, the Virginia Company of London instructed Governor Francis Wyatt "to survey the planters lands and make a map of the country," a responsibility he delegated to William Claiborne, the colony's first surveyor general.[34] Without ever producing the desired map, or even expanding the duties of his office, Claiborne parlayed his position as chief landmeter into a series

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[33]Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 8, 39.

[34]Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-1935), 1:494, 3:477, 486.

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of powerful government appointments, including secretary of state, treasurer, and commissioner of the colony.[35] Like the majority of his successors, Virginia's first surveyor general practiced several occupations and held multiple colonial offices. Among the four surveyors known to have worked between 1671 and 1676, three also served in the House of Burgesses and two occupied important positions as clerks of the legislature.[36]

The methods and skills of Virginia's landmeters were reflected in the quality of surveys they produced and the subsequent number of boundaries disputed. Although neither the Company nor the General Court legally limited planters' ownership of waterfront property in the seventeenth century, Claiborne set the standard for early Virginia surveying by pioneering a technique for quickly and equitably laying out land along waterways.[37] The surveyor general allowed half a pole (8.25 feet) of river frontage for each acre granted and ran every property line one mile (320 poles) inland. Thus, a 50-acre tract measured 6.25 chains along the water's edge, while a 1,000-acre plantation possessed more than more than a mile and a half (125 chains) of land

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[35]Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 10.

[36]Ibid., 15. Burgess John Lear served from 1666 to 1676. During their tenure in the legislature, Robert Beverly was clerk of the Assembly (1670) and James Minge was clerk of House of Burgesses (1676). Thomas Kerton worked as a surveyor in this period without holding elective office.

[37]William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia . . .* , 13 vols. (New York, 1819-23), 1:116; Carville Earle, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 19; Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 5.

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adjacent to the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries [Figure 3.1]. Claiborne's less accomplished successors often assumed that tracts took the basic shape of rectangles and parallelograms when calculating, and sometimes merely estimating, geographic areas.[38] This surveying method carried significant social implications. Large planters, regardless of their wealth, could not engross all the valuable waterfront property within the colony or monopolize transportation routes. As John Hammond recounted in 1656, almost every inhabitant "lives in sight of a lovely river."[39] Through the 1630s Virginia surveyors relied heavily on the 320-pole formula, recorded few linear distances, and seldom noted the location of boundary trees and other markers.[40]

The political power of the early Virginia surveyors and the patronage system within which they labored squelched outright criticism of the quality of their work. Only at the end of the seventeenth century did commentators identify "the first great Abuse of this Design" and condemn "the Ignorance and Knavery of Surveyors, who often gave out Draughts of Surveys, without actually ever surveying it, or ever coming on the Land." Instead of executing precise metes and bounds surveys, "they [only] gave the Description, by some Natural Bounds, and were sure to allow large Measure, that so the Persons for whom they survey'd might enjoy Larger Tracts for Land, than

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[38]Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 40-44.

[39]John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel*, in Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1836-1847), 3:18.

[40]Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 40-44.

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they were willing to pay quit rent for."[41] The precision of property measurement improved dramatically in 1641-42 when colonial surveyors introduced the traverse method, began using decimal chains and 360-degree compass bearings, and started keeping fieldbooks and drawing plats. This revolution in Virginia's landmeting techniques predated similar advances in Jamaica in the 1650s or Carolina in the 1670s and likely influenced the development of survey systems in these colonies.[42] Abandoning the 320-pole formula opened the way for surveying irregular shaped tracts with more than four courses. Although standardized in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, these new landmeting methods did not prevent controversies over property lines surveyed in the first decades of settlement. Indeed, as more settlers arrived in the colony, boundary disputes proliferated.

In a 1653 petition to the Northampton County court, surveyor John James asserted that "there bee many and great controversyes amongst the Inhabitants Concerneinge the bounds of their Lands." He attributed these disputes to the fact that "many [who] have taken surveys and pattents alsoe have a longe tyme seatted their land, haveinge never measured nor knowne the just bounds and limmits thereof; whereby they often intrench upon their Neighbors." As the local surveyor appointed to mediate these arguments, James remarked upon the "great confusion and disturbance in

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[41]Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia and the College* (1697), ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Charlottesville: Dominion Books, 1940, 1964), 17-18.

[42]Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 45.

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this place" wrought by poorly measured and marked boundary lines.[43] Assisted by his deputy William Melling, James proposed that "they might goe together through the Country to survey and doe their Indevors to compose all Cases" or disputes. To prevent future controversies, he asked that "a Booke maye bee kept for the whole Country of Entrys for Land; And of the surveys granted; That heereafter all men maye knowe the Antiquitye thereof; the scituation; marks, Bounds and Lymmits of their lands and possessions." Although the court accepted James's plea, his partnership with Melling, and presumably his program for resolving and preventing boundary disputes, dissolved with a year. His failure did not diminish the issue's importance to colonial magistrates. Following James's petition and his signature, the court clerk recorded "Cursed is the man that removeth the marks of his Neighbors Land." His timely epigram echoed the Old Testament injunction against destroying thy neighbor's land-marker and signaled the elemental importance of private property in English and colonial societies.

While James and others located the source of boundary disputes in both the passage of time and the unsophisticated surveying practices of the colony's earliest landmeters, the legislature blamed the surveyors themselves. The 1659 act entitled "Concerning Surveighors" argued that "many contentious suites do arise about titles to land, occasioned much through the fraudulent and underhand dealing of surveighors who frequently make sale of the surveighs by them made." Their corrupt practices meant that "he that had the first and justest right is unjustly deprived of his due." The

[43]Northampton County Deeds, Wills, etc., No. 4, 1651-1654, fol. 212, 213.

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act recognized the superiority of the earliest settlers' claims and ordered that lands be "plainly marked and bounded for all persons to take notice of." Furthermore, it barred surveyors from giving "a plott of any land surveyed by him unto any other person whatsoever, until six monthes after such plott is drawn," and set a fine of 500 pounds of tobacco for each acre measured improperly.[44]

The Virginia legislature's move to tighten control over the survey system, like the earlier improvement in land-measuring precision brought by traverse method, reflected the changing needs of the burgeoning colonial population and economy. Granted more land than they could farm in a lifetime, settlers in the first generation seldom needed to know the exact area and boundaries of their property. But faced with soil exhausted by tobacco and competition from thousands of new emigrants arriving yearly, their sons and daughters demanded to know the limits of each plantation. Increasingly, class interests dictated cadastral pattern in the Chesapeake. Whereas the 320-pole formula ensured that small farmers would not be barred from the region's watery highways, and thus the Atlantic economy, later changes in the survey system (like that in the labor force) explicitly favored larger planters by allowing them to engross waterfront property and charging them a lower per-acre fee for surveying.[45] The reformed survey system in place in Virginia in 1670 offered one comparatively liberal model for the Carolina proprietors and planters to consider when devising their

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[44]Act V, March 1659, Hening, ed., *Statutes*, 1:518-19.

[45]Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 70-71.

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own landmeting practices. The more regimented program developed on the island of Jamaica provided another example, one particularly useful for slaveholding South Carolinians.[46]

The Jamaican Assembly, with the consent and approval of the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, established a land survey system considerably more structured and punitive than any instituted in the mainland British colonies. Initially, it also permitted relatively broader participation in the surveying process by allowing "any person or persons whatsoever to survey, resurvey, and run any dividing land, and give plats of any land," so long as the survey did not involve Crown lands. An *Act for Regulating Surveyors* (1683) required that the Jamaica surveyor general deposit a security of £4,000 currency as insurance against a "negligent or corrupt performance." If he failed to perform the duties of his office promptly, oftentimes within one month, he incurred a £100 fine. The burden of completing surveys rapidly fell disproportionately on the surveyor's shoulders. Landowners who did not appear and assist the surveyor with his appointed tasks were required to pay only ten shillings for each day they delayed the survey.[47] Despite enacting these stringent regulations, the Assembly heard grievances from the colonists almost immediately. In response they passed an *Act for Further Directing and Regulating the Proceedings of Surveys* (1683)

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[46]For a comprehensive discussion of surveying in Jamaica, see B.W. Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed: Plantation Maps and Plans of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaican Publications, 1988), 19-79.

[47]*Journals of the Jamaican Assembly*, Act 24 (1683). Note that in Jamaica £1.0 sterling equalled £1.4 currency.

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which targeted "the several abuses of sundry evil-disposed surveyors." While the act did little to ensure the qualifications of surveyors, it protected landowners by setting minimum standards for a complete survey and establishing a fee schedule. First, the surveyor must have "in his own person, actually surveyed and measured the said land on every side thereof, where it is accessible and possible to be done." Next, he will have "seen the lines fairly made, and the corner-trees marked with the first letters of his name and surname." Third, the plat produced "shall truly represent the respective parcels of land, with their true bounds and bearings." And finally, the surveyor must "also inset the scale of the same, either drawn or expressed therein" on the plat. Dereliction in any of these duties carried a £50 penalty, and surveyors could collect only three pence per acre for their services. The act further stated that receiving a commission from the governor to survey, presumably a new requirement for all landmeters on the island, entailed posting a £300 bond. The 1683 acts operated without further amendment until 1731 when the Assembly passed additional legislation specifically designed to prevent and mediate "vexatious and expensive suits" arising from boundary disputes.[48]

In Jamaica, as in England and Virginia, the legislature capitalized on the centuries-old image of surveyors as "evil" and "fraudulent" to justify their limited regulation of land distribution in colonial society. Natural allies in the pursuit of propertied wealth, planters and surveyors shared a common interest in the creation of a

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[48] *Journals of the Jamaican Assembly*, Act 25 (1683), Act 95 (1731).

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quick and practical landmeting system. Unwilling to challenge avaricious planters and to curtail land aggrandizement directly, the government enacted surveying laws that promoted security of land tenure. Collectively, boundary disputes permitted, indeed invited, the legislature to participate in the land allocation process. With the heavy capital investments required by sugar production, such as building mills and aqueducts, the need to define and enforce property boundaries persisted well beyond the land's initial cultivation. Though often decried as corrupt, surveyors functioned as legal and administrative vehicles for ensuring stability in colonial plantation societies. Reform of the Jamaican survey system in the mid-1680s coincided with the development and elaboration of the land survey practices in Carolina. Additionally, the instruction manuals penned in the latter part of the seventeenth century that addressed the difficulties of surveying land in the American Southeast resulted from practical experience gained in laying out land in the Caribbean.

The cadastral system developed in Carolina reflected the colony's physical environment, the capacities and tools of men available to survey, the proprietary need to divide land quickly, and the right of settlers to choose the locations of their own lands. Seldom able to visualize every corner of a large tract, Carolina surveyors, like other American land measurers, eschewed complex angle-measuring instruments in favor of simpler distance-measuring devices. Southern surveyors traversed by compass bearings and measured with chain almost exclusively. The equipment was inexpensive and the method was efficient. Gunter's chain sold for six to twelve shillings in London

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compared with more than three guineas for a plane table or theodolite [Table 3.2].[49] In an agrarian society short of labor and long on land, each acre alone possessed little value. In 1650, good farm land in England might bring £9 per acre, while the same amount of cleared land in Virginia sold for a little more than two shillings.[50] Carolina land cost even less, selling for £50 per thousand acres or one shilling per acre in England and twelve pence per acre in the colony.[51] Especially in the pioneer years when settlers raced to seize their share of the proprietors' grant, the merits of quick surveying far exceeded the virtues of precise landmeasuring. The immense acreages traversed by lowcountry surveyors in a single day satisfied an essential need of Carolina's rapidly expanding society.

An integral part of English colonization, dividing land among settlers required a system of assessing property and signaling its ownership. "For how could Men set down to Plant," queried John Love in his preface to *Geodæsia: or, the Art of Surveying and Measuring of Land, Made Easie*, "without knowing some Distinction and Bounds of their Land?" An accomplished surveyor with experience in the North Carolina and Jamaica, Love wrote with authority. He knew that colonial landmeters typically

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[49]Benjamin Cole's instrument list circa 1768, in E.G.R. Taylor and M.W. Richey, *The Geometrical Seaman: A Book of Early Nautical Instruments* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1962), 110-11.

[50]Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), 2:254; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 172.

[51]Proprietors to James Colleton, 31 August 1686, *BPRO*, 2:143-64.

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surveyed by metes and bounds, selecting markers as they measured lines, and that they grappled with problems uncommon in England and unaddressed in the existing instructional literature. He had seen "Young men, in *America*, often nonplus'd so, that their Books would not help them forward, particularly in *Carolina*, about Laying out Lands." Love intended *Geodæsia* for those landmeters "such as have no more of this [mathematical] Learning, than to know how to Measure a Field" and who considered laying out "a certain quantity of Acres . . . five or six times as broad as long" to be "a Difficult Question." In light of the book's popularity and longevity, he found a large and lasting audience on both sides of the Atlantic. The twelfth and thirteenth editions of *Geodæsia* became the first English surveying manuals reprinted in America.[52]

Love's characterization of Carolina surveyors as less skilled than their English counterparts contained an element of truth. Seventeenth-century English landlords prized the skills of competent surveyors, and the domestic demand for landmeters' labor typically exceeded the supply. Thus few experienced surveyors emigrated to America in search of greater professional opportunities.[53] Out of necessity in the early years of settlement, colonial governors often accepted the services of men without previous formal education in mathematics or land measuring. Florence O'Sullivan, Carolina's

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[52]John Love, *Geodæsia: or, the Art of Surveying and Measuring of Land, Made Easie* (London, 1688), preface. *Geodæsia* appeared in America in 1793 and 1796 and the text circulated in the colonies throughout the previous century (Louis Karpinski, *Bibliography of Mathematical Works Printed in America Through 1850* [Ann Arbor, 1940], 10).

[53]Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen*, 36-37.

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first surveyor general, spent more of his time in the West Indies battling the French than learning Caribbean methods of parcelling out private property. His successor John Culpeper also lacked an established surveying reputation. While practiced English surveyors chose to cast up land at home over casting their lot in the New World, the increased attention devoted to scientific education in England had a sustained impact in America. Where previously "the Mathematicall Sciences were lock't up in the Greeke and Latin tongues and there lay untoucht," authors and inventors like Gunter "did open men's understanding and made young men in love with that Studie."[54] An occupation devoted to scientific instruction developed in London as "Masters" offered training in "the Use of all the ordinary Sorts of Charts and Maps, whether Geographical, Hydrographical, Plans, Groundplots, or Perspectives" [Illustration 3.2].[55] John Locke numbered "Arithmetick, Geography, . . . and Geometry" among the subjects young gentlemen ought to learn, and added that a "good collection of maps is also necessary."[56] Presumably, he held Carolina gentlemen to the same educational standards as their English counterparts. Eventually instructors in Charles Town offered courses similar to those available in London. In a 1739 issue of the *South Carolina*

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[54]Oliver Lawson Dick, ed., *Aubrey's Brief Lives: Edited from the Original Manuscripts and with an Introduction* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1950), xxxiii.

[55]"Advertisement. Geography made Easy" with attached picture, British Library, Bagford Collection, Harl. 5947, nos.100-101.

[56]John Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (London, 1693), in James L. Axtell, *The Educational Writings of John Locke: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 289; John Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman* (London, 1751), in ibid., 402.

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Gazette, Robert Heron announced his willingness to teach, "either publickly or privately," such subjects as "algebra, Euclid's Elements of geometry, trigonometry, plain and spherical, gauging, surveying, navigation, dialing, conicksections, [and] astronomy."[57] By the turn of the eighteenth century, locally-educated land measurers carried the compass and the chain into the Carolina woods. Skilled surveyors passed on their knowledge and technical skills to younger apprentices. Indentured to Maurice Mathews for eight years, Isaac Guerard learned "the science of surveying lands and all other mathematical mensurations . . . Arethmetick and keeping of accounts."[58]

As in England and other English colonies, the responsibilities of the Carolina surveyor general far exceeded mere land measurement. A sign of the pivotal role the "Surveyor of Land" played in shaping the colony's social and geographic development, the eldest proprietor, known as the Palatine, appointed the surveyor general to his position [Tables 3.3 and 3.4].[59] Once in office, he accepted four duties which Secretary Joseph Dalton described clearly and in order of their importance in an early letter to

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[57]Robert Heron's Advertisement, *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston, S.C.: Published by Peter Timothy), 9 June 1739. Heron and other teachers may have offered mathematics instruction in the colony much earlier. No publisher printed a newspaper in South Carolina until 1732. More advertisements for training in surveying techniques appeared in the *Gazette* on 19 May 1733, 24 March 1759, 5 January 1769, and 10 October 1774.

[58]Indenture, 20 February 1683, Records of the Register of the Province, Conveyances, Volume 2, 154-55.

[59]Instructions for Colonel Phillip Ludwell Governor of Carolina, 8 November 1691, in A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Commissions and Instructions from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Public Officials of South Carolina, 1685-1715* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina), 10.

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Shaftesbury. First, "the lands in this Country lyes soe irregular that they must be squared by some skillful Artist to your Lords Proprietors directions." The proprietors always expected the chief landmeter in the province to lay out proportional and quadrilateral counties [Figure 3.1]. From the first year of settlement forward, they repeatedly ordered the surveyor general to mark the boundaries of the colony. Only then should he turn his attention to surveying private properties: the "Officer will satisfye all men in the bounds of their lands and soe prevent suits and differences." The proprietors believed that the swift settlement and peaceful governance of Carolina hinged on distributing land in a manner favorable to the colonists. In principle and in practice, provincial surveyors mediated colonial contests over land. Where English landlords matched interests with their tenants over rents and customary dues, the Carolina proprietors competed with their settlers at much higher stakes–for control over the character and possibly the survival of the colony. The surveyors' importance in this colonial society surpassed that of even their most regarded English colleagues.[60]

As his third responsibility, the surveyor general should, said Dalton, "strengthen and beautify the Country with those noble contrivances and that even ness proscribed by your Lords Proprietors [and] desired by all men." The idea of refining the landscape, of sculpting plantations and wringing profit from the raw material of Carolina's rich soil, remained a constant, albeit vague, theme in the proprietors' correspondence with provincial governors. Reminiscent of Locke's ideas regarding

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[60]Joseph Dalton to Shaftesbury, *CSCHS*, 5:381.

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land improvement, Dalton's language positioned the surveyor general squarely on the front lines of English colonization. By his labor, measuring lines and marking areas, the surveyor literally and figuratively produced property. Before a planter tilled and cultivated the soil, thereby rendering the land his own personal property, the surveyor claimed the land, for the farmer and the English, by "inclos[ing] it from the Common."[61] This was as close as the southern surveyor ever came to land stewardship. After surveying, land grantees bore sole responsibility for improving their property, often on the threat of forfeiture. Dalton's final instruction ordered the surveyor to "discover and examine all places about us or where the Lords Proprietors shall direct[,] and designe them for such settlements as may be most agreeable with their [the colonists'] contrivances." Keenly aware that potential emigrants might choose Pennsylvania or the Jerseys over Carolina, the proprietors intended surveyors to lay out good land quickly so that "people when they doe arrive may be satisfied without much trouble or expense of time." As Dalton well knew, gaining a reputation abroad for stingily or slowly distributing land would "create a disestime of the Country" and doom the colony.[62]

Dalton's list of duties enumerated his expectations of surveyor generals and did not describe their actual performance. Governor Joesph West found the colony's first

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[61]Locke, *Two Treatises*, 290-91. For a comprehensive discussion of English theories of property in nature generally, and the American colonial context particularly, see Barbara Arneil's *John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 132-67.

[62]Joseph Dalton to Shaftesbury, *CSCHS*, 5:381.

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"able Artist" in John Culpeper, a Barbadian emigrant who arrived in Carolina in 1671.[63] Upon his appointment as surveyor general of "all that Territory or part of our province of Carolina which lyes to the Southward & Westward of Cape Carterett," he immediately began inspecting land and drafting a plan of the original Charles Town settlement along the western bank of the Ashley River.[64] On August 21, 1671, the Council directed him to "layout and finish all lands, &c., about Charles Towne and within the Compass of ten acre lots and other small lots of land at present designed for the interment of people nere the Towne for their better safety and security." More a crude chart of the area than a meticulous survey, Culpeper seems to have spent little time measuring land or producing his manuscript sketch [Illustration 3.3].[65] After just ten days, the *Blessing* carried the map to England. Aware of the chart's deficiencies, Culpeper promised that another "perfecter" map would soon follow.[66] The map's keyed legend indicated the location of thirty-six long lots containing 2,845 acres belonging to individual settlers or reserved for public use [Table 3.5]. Although the colony was little

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[63]Joseph Dalton to Lords Proprietors, *CSCHS*, 5:285; Governor West to Shaftesbury, *CSCHS*, 5:298.

[64]John Culpeper's commission as surveyor general, 26 December 1671, recorded 21 June 1672, in A.S. Salley, ed., *Records of the Secretary of the Province and the Register of the Province of South Carolina, 1671-1675* (Coumbia, S.C.: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1944), 32-33. In 1680, Charles Town moved to its present location on Oyster Point at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers.

[65]John Culpeper, *Culpepers Draught of Ashley Copia vera*, reproduced in *CSCHS*, 5:frontispiece.

[66]Council Journal, *CSCHS*, 5:332; Locke's Carolina Memoranda, *CSCHS*, 5:355.

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more than a year old, Culpeper noted that "there are divers other Settlements scattering up & downe in this Draught." He also produced three other rough plats of the proprietors' private plantations, one occupied by Governor West and surveyed at his behest.[67] Endorsed by Locke, the *Plott of the Lords Proprietors Plantation* reveals the surveying methods Culpeper employed and illustrates how the earliest surveyor in Carolina measured, marked, and claimed the physical landscape for Englishmen.

> "PLOTT OF THE LORDS PROPRIETORS plant: 44 ½ acres land." 18 by 14 in: scale (*2 ch: to I inch:*) 66 foot a chain, *shewing star palisade. buildings within and gardens in front.* B & B. *East* "Along the great marsh of Ashly River" *the N E point* "the bridge foot where the landing now is" *then on N. irregularly* "Along the Creek & Small marsh sides" *past* "the old Landing" *and* "the tree that Lyes over the marsh" *to N W. corner thence on W. and S. lines* "to the Railes (*and road*) along the Rail said" *till* "here we leave the railes" *and* "along the point of wood" *5 chains to* the "great marsh side" *again.*[68]

Culpeper traveled the perimeter of this tract, taking direction by compass heading and gauging distance with Gunter's chain. After recording the details of his survey, most likely in a field notebook, he calculated the total area and drew a scaled plat of the property. Like most English surveyors, Culpeper used natural and man-made landmarks such as rivers, marshes, trees, and roads as boundary lines and markers.

Surveyor's plats could be simple line drawings or ornately decorated artwork,

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[67]John Culpeper, *Culpepers Draught of the Lds Prs Plantacon, Carolina*, 1671, and *Plott of the Lords Proprietors plantation*, 1672/3, in the Public Record Office, Shaftesbury Papers, Section IX, Bundle 48, nos. 79 and 72. These plats are not included in Langdon Cheves's edition of the Shaftesbury papers (*CSCHS*, 5), but the SCDAH holds microfilm copies of all the PRO manuscripts in bundles 47-49.

[68]Plot of the Lords Proprietors Plantation, *CSCHS*, 5:421.

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though just a few examples of either style survive from the proprietary period. The large illuminated parchment depicting Governor and Landgrave Joseph West's 1680 grant for 1,500 acres along the Cooper River near present day Moncks Corner best exemplifies the importance some provincials placed on pictorial representations of their land [Illustration 3.4].[69] Created for display and symbolizing both personal and colonial possession, West's vivid plat included not only a transcript of the grant, bounds of the property, a compass rose and scale but his family coat of arms and a fancy border entwining the English roses, Scotch thistles, and Irish shamrocks.[70] Historically, the shading and coloring on an estate map indicated land elevation, soil quality, and crop variety. In 1610, William Folkingham described what colors to use for different sorts of land on an property map and how to create particular visual effects. Thus "Arable for Corn may be dashed with a pale Straw-colour compounded of Yellow Oker, and White leade, or of Pincke and Verdigreece" and meadows were to be light green, pastures a deeper green, heaths and fens a "deader Greene," trees "a sadder Greene," and so on."[71] On the West plat, the water, trees, marshes, and low lying grounds all

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[69]Henry A.M. Smith, "Some Forgotten Towns in Lower South Carolina," *The Historical Writings of Henry A.M. Smith* (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1988), 2:167. Joseph West's land grant is on permanent display at the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston.

[70]Charles H. Lesser, *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663-1721* (Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995), 414-16.

[71]William Folkingham, *Feudigraphia: The Synopsis or Epitome of Surveying Methodized* (London, 1610), 57.

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have different coloring, but these distinctions were not directly linked to actual or potential use of the land. Elaborate survey maps reveal how a landowner perceived his possessions and not how he administered his estate.[72] West most likely displayed this plat as one symbol of his status, rather than using it to manage his property.

The typical Carolina traverse survey proceeded through five steps: selecting the site, discovering and marking its corners, connecting these corners with lines using compass directions, measuring the lines by chain, and figuring the total area of the tract. This final task could occur at the scene or sometime later when the surveyor produced a scaled plat and attached a brief written description of the newly bounded land called a certificate of admeasure. The survey of 422 acres for Richard Harris exemplified this process. Harris received a warrant for 500 acres of land on the Black River on February 10, 1707.[73] Later that year, the proprietors, "in Consideration of the Sum of Eight pounds Eight Shillings Ten Pence Give and Grant unto Richard Harris a Plantation containing Four hundred twenty two Acres of Land English Measure now in the possession of said Richard Harris—Scituate & Lying in Granville County butting and

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[72]Harvey, "English Estate Maps," 58-59. In her study of the mapping impulse in Dutch art, Svetlana Alpers observes that seventeenth-century English poetry "reflects the sense that a landscape inevitably involved issues of authority and of possession. The prospect or view was itself seigneurial in its assumption and assertion of power. Pride in estate was real and was related to the order of the state" [*The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 148].

[73]Salley, ed., *Warrants for Lands*, 637.

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bounding as appears by a Platt thereof hereunto annexed.[74] This plat of Harris's irregularly shaped tract located the property along a waterway and included a compass rose and scale in chains [Illustration 3.5]. In the certificate of admeasure written below the drawing surveyor Job Howes described the exact location of the land.

> By Vertue of a warrant under the hand and seal of Right Honorable Sir Nathaniel Johnson Governor of the Province . . . I have Caused to bee admeasured and Laid out unto Richard Harris a Plantation containing Four Hundred & Twenty Two Acres English measurers Lying on the Southside of Cumbee [Combahee] River In a Great Goose [Goode?] Marsh at the head of Bulls Creek In Granville County. Butting & bounding to the East on a Branch of Bulls Creek to the South & to the west on another Branch of Bulls Creek & to the North & to the N West on the Heads of Both Branch and on Marshes[,] Joyning to an Isle Belonging to said Harris And Hath Such Form and Marks as are Represented In the above Delineated Plat I have Certyfyed & Returned.

Howes relied on natural features of the landscape to bound the territory delineated on the plat and designated as Harris's property. The surveyor's language was both formal and formulaic. By invoking the governor's warrant, Howes asserted his authority as an agent of the state. In executing his survey–measuring and marking the acres, then and creating a cadastral map commemorating these events–Howes ritualistically claimed the land as (English) property and ascribed its possession to Harris. With only slight variations in practice, Carolina surveyors enacted this ritual hundreds of times for thousands of settlers. Though surveys often occurred deep in the woods far from the seat of colonial government in Charles Town, these were public events witnessed by the surveyor's assistants and sometimes the land grantees or neighbors. Sketches on a plat

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[74]Photostat of Richard Harris's 1707 grant and plat, Proprietary Era Grants in the Series Citizens' Copies, Private Papers, Box 7, SCDAH.

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surviving from the late eighteenth century depicts a tract laid out in eastern Georgia and shows a contemporary view of a surveyor at work with his crew [Illustration 3.6]. Using a circumferentor mounted on a staff, the surveyor sighted a black oak tree marking one corner of the tract. He is followed along the traverse by his chain carriers who measured the length of a property line using Gunter's chain. Blazed trees–poplars, hickories, and oaks–marked the land while compass bearings oriented the lines. Few advances in the technology and practice of surveying occurred over the course of the eighteenth century. Thus a plat drawn for a Georgia metes and bounds surveys in the 1780s differed little from those produced in proprietary South Carolina.[75]

The irregular shape of Richard Harris's 422-acre tract was not typical of most South Carolina grants. A majority of the landholdings in this colony bore a closer resemblance to the plat representing 500 acres granted to Ann Harris (no relation to Richard) recorded on March 8, 1717, by surveyor general Francis Yonge [Illustration 3.7].[76] Despite the importance of indiscriminate location in determining provincial settlement patterns and individual property values, colonial landmeters surveyed most

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[75]Sam B. Hilliard, "An Introduction to Land Survey Systems in the Southeast," *Geographic Perspectives on Southern Development* (Carrollton: West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences, 1973), 1-2. Not until the United States Congress passed the Land Ordinance of 1785 did uniform rectangular surveys, measuring only 90 degree angles oriented along North-South and East-West axes, dominate land subdivision [Norman J. W. Thrower, *Original Survey and Land Subdivision: A Comparative Study of the Form and Effect of Contrasting Cadastral Survey* (Chicago: Rand McNally for the Association of American Geographer, 1966), 4-5)].

[76]Photostat of Ann Harris's 1717 plat, Proprietary Era Grants in the Series Citizens' Copies, Private Papers, Box 7, SCDAH.

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properties as basic quadrilaterals. A study of more than 900 pre-revolutionary plats concluded that 65 percent of land grants were surveyed as perfect squares and rectangles or as linear shapes with only one irregular side. When considering only those properties lying along the rivers, a similar percentage of landholdings exhibited highly regular boundaries. Less than 10 percent of all the tracts studied contained more than six sides.[77] Proprietary land policies and plot shapes notwithstanding, creative surveyors and shrewd planters quickly found ways to maximize the amount of property fronting waterways. Stephen Bull laid out 170 acres for Martha Patey along the Ashley River in January 1685.[78] While three sides of the tract contained straight boundary lines, by exploiting a natural bend in the river Bull dramatically increased Patey's access to water and thus the value of her property [Illustration 3.8]. In all other respects, his survey and this plat conformed to proprietary standards.

Physical geography, Old World experience, provincial administrative policy, personal preference, and surveying methods and technology all influenced the patterns of landholding in each region of colonial North America. The relative weight of these factors in determining the tract size, shape and location varied from place to place. In New France, for example, seigneurs held land from the crown and laid out property in uniform long lots adjacent to rivers and roads in a manner reminiscent of the farms in

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[77]Linda M. Pett-Conklin, "Cadastral Surveying in Colonial South Carolina: A Historical Geography" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1986), 104-111.

[78]Photostat of Martha Patey's 1685 plat, Proprietary Era Grants in the Series Citizens' Copies, Private Papers, Box 11, SCDAH.

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medieval France. Rather than conforming to the natural terrain, this settlement system suited the centralized government in a colony where emigrants were comparatively slow to arrive. The Canadian cadastral pattern maximized access to transportation routes, reduced surveying costs, encouraged existing inhabitants and new immigrants to live contiguously, and distribute good land more evenly among all residents.[79] Individual preferences for particular lands were less important than governmental directives in determining local settlement patterns in New France.

In the southern English colonies, by contrast, surveying methods exerted a much greater influence on the cadastral evolution. Early Virginia landmeters, relying on the 320-pole formula, assured all settlers of open access to the region's waterways. Later, as land-measuring methods changed, the land system allowed larger planters to engross the best property. Of paramount importance in the Caribbean, Carolina lowcountry, and Chesapeake region, physical geography always circumscribed the range of settlement systems possible in these colonial societies. Yet within limits, southern surveyors, and especially those carrying a compass and chain in South Carolina, enjoyed considerable power over the shape of local landholding patterns. Theirs was an essential, some thought scientific, pursuit which gave a measure of order to society. "The Beame and Chaine balke no Truthes nor blaunch Un-truths. . . Take away Number, Weight, Measure you exile Justice and reduce and haile-up from Hell the olde and odious Chaos

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[79]R. Cole Harris, *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume I, From Beginning to 1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plate 52. For a complete analysis of landholding in New France, see Harris's *The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

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of Confusion."[80]

From the colony's inception in the 1670s to the overthrow of the proprietorship in 1719, South Carolina surveyors labored under difficult circumstances. Appointed by provincial officials, these land measurers worked on behalf of the proprietors yet needed the cooperation of planters to select and lay out property. When the desires of these groups conflicted–such as when the Lords Proprietors demanded that the colonists settle in towns and the people decided to take up land along the rivers–the surveyors mediated the disputes. This authority sharpened their control over the shape of the regional landscape. Most planters ultimately settled on quadrilateral plantations with access to navigable waterways. Given their basic skills and their need to measure huge tracts of heavily-wooded land quickly, lowcountry landmeters imported simple and inexpensive tools from England and used them to conduct straightforward and uncomplicated surveys. Their actions accommodated the needs of South Carolina's planters, satisfied the wishes of colonial governors, created English property from American land, and allowed settlement to expand physically as transatlantic migration increased population. The adaption of English technology in an American frontier environment resulted in a versatile survey system responsive to the numerous and sometimes contradictory demands placed on lowcountry surveyors.

When rice became South Carolina's the staple crop in the first decade of the eighteenth century, the cumulative impact of southeastern survey methods and

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[80]William Folkingham, *Feudigraphia: The Synopsis or Epitome of Surveying Methodized* (London, 1610), 57.

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indiscriminate site selection distinguished this plantation colony from its northern counterparts. In Virginia, tobacco quickly exhausted the soil, pushing new settlers further west in pursuit of fresh lands. In South Carolina, by contrast, rice cultivation generated more intensive use of lowcountry marshes. Settlers quickly began claiming parcels adjacent to their existing property which they previously disregarded as waste land. Surveyors responded to these new demands with remarkable ease because the existing survey system employed technically simple measuring methods and accommodated the wishes of landowners. Whereas Virginia experienced rapid economic development at the expense of more planned physical expansion, South Carolina expanded inland at a far slower rate and in a more orderly manner. By the 1730s, the complexity of South Carolina's lowcountry cadastral pattern rivaled that of Caribbean sugar colonies. Complexity did not imply disorder. Ironically, this patchwork landscape resulted from more, not less, attention to the finer details of surveying and settling the southeastern frontier.

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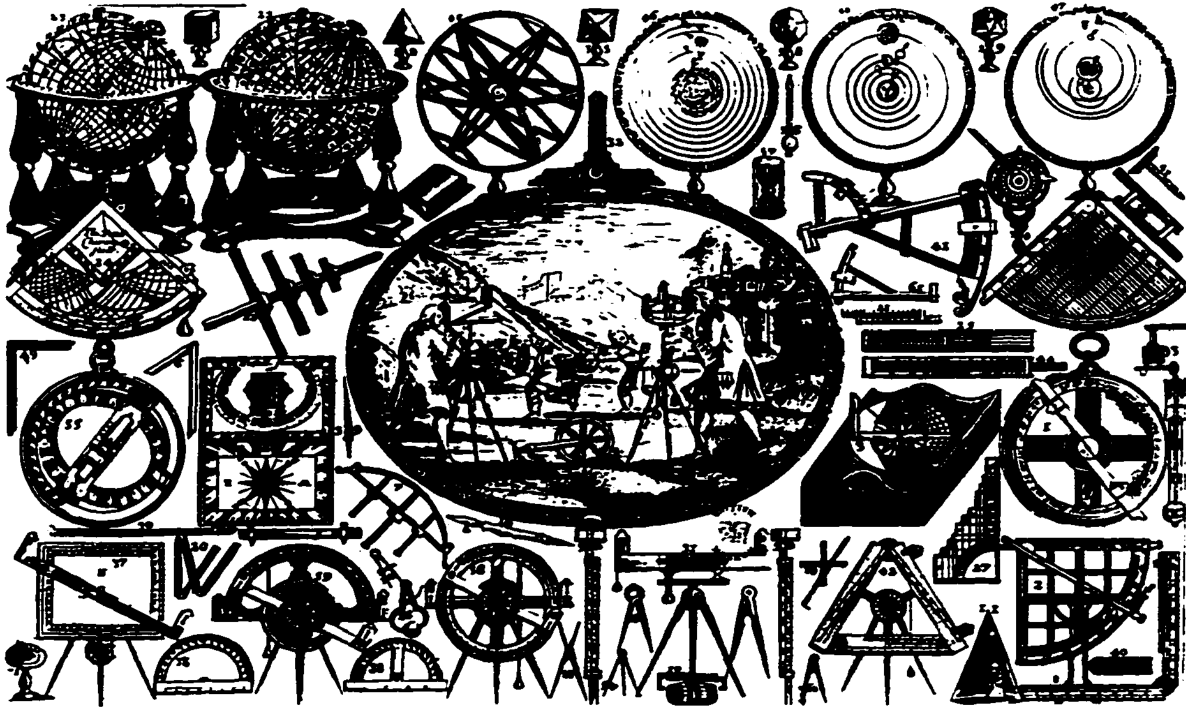
ILLUSTRATION 3.1

SURVEYING INSTRUMENTS



Source: Thomas Tuttell's advertisement of globes and other instruments for sale. British Library, Bagford Collection, Harl. 5947, no. 88, in Norman J.W. Thrower, ed., *The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart, Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeeth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 16.

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TABLE 3.1

LINEAR AND AREA MEASURES

Long	Link	Foot	Yard	Perch	Chain	Mile
Inches	7.92	12	36	198	792	63360
	Links	1.515	4.56	25	100	8000
		Feet	3	16.5	66	5280
			Yards	5.5	22	1760
				Perch	4	320
					Chain	80

Source: John Love, *Geodæsia: or, the Art of Surveying and Measuring of Land, Made Easie* (London, 1688), 40. Note: A *perch* is the same measure as a *pole* and a *rod.*

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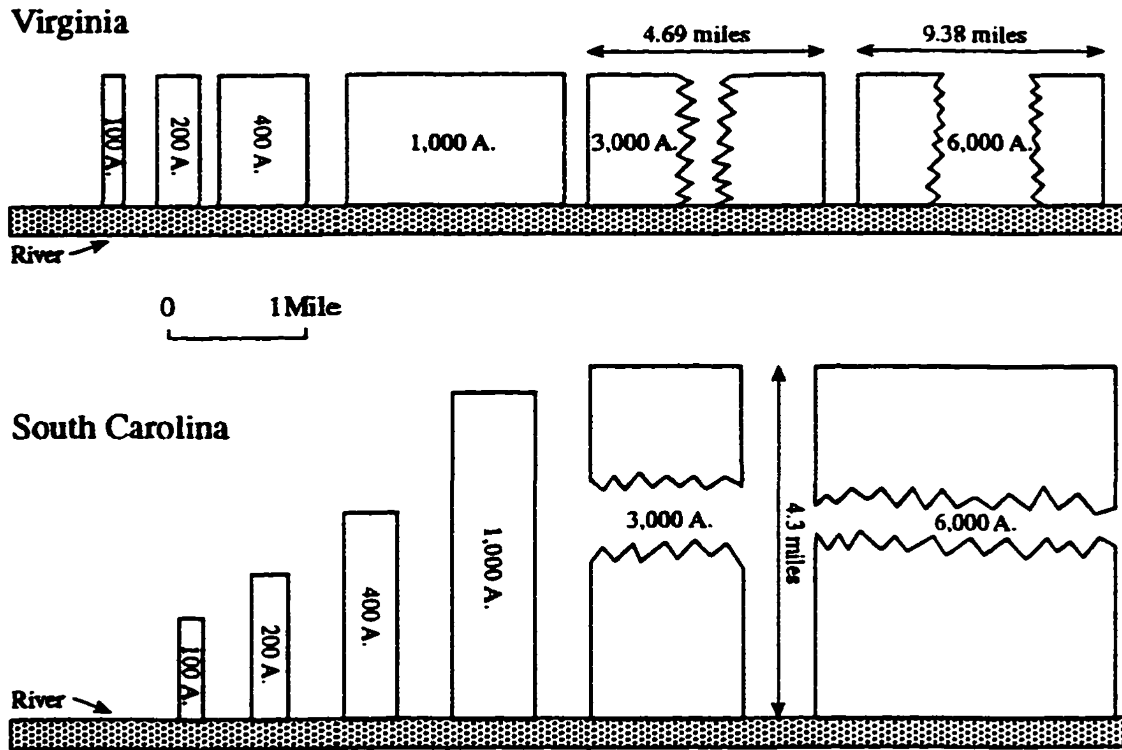
FIGURE 3.1

SURVEYING METHODS IN VIRGINIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA



Source: Adapted from Edward T. Price, *Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 95.

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TABLE 3.2

INSTRUMENT-MAKER'S INVENTORY C. 1768

Item	Price
Pocket cases of drawing instruments in silver	3 gns. to 20 gns.
The same in brass	5 *s*. to 5gns.
Plain and plotting scales in brass, ivory and wood	8*d*.to 18*s*.
Gunter's 2 foot and 1foot scales in brass and wood	2*s*. to 2 gns.
Protractors	1s. 6*d*. to £1. 16*s*.
Parallel Rules 6 inches to 36 inches	2*s*. 6*d*. to 18*s*.
Sectors in brass, ivory or wood	2*s*. 6*d*. to 4½ gns.
Theodolites	3 gns. to 6 gns.
Theodolites with vertical arcs, spirit levels, telescopes, etc.	10 gns. to 20 gns.
Plain Tables	3 gns. to 5 gns.
Circumferentors, the principal instruments for surveying in the West Indies	£1. 16*s*. to 3½ gns.
Gunter's four-pole chains	6*s*. to 12*s*.
Spirit levels	5*s*. to 12 gns.
Measuring wheels	4½ gns. to 6 gns.
Hadley's Quadrant with Diagonal Divisions	£1. 14*s*.
Hadley's Quadrant with a nonius	2 gns. to 3½ gns.
Hadley's Quadrant all in brass	3½ gns. to 6 gns.
Davis's Quadrant	12*s*. to 1 gn.
Cole's Quadrant	18*s*. to 25*s*.
Sutton's Quadrant	6*s*. 6*d*.
Gunter's Quadrant	3*s*. 6*d*. to 1 gn.
Azimuth Compasses	5 gns. to 10 gns.
Amplitude Compasses	£1. 7*s*. to 5 gns.
Mariner's Compasses either for the Cabin or for the Binnacle	7*s*. 6*d*. to 3½ gns.
Pocket Compasses	1*s*. to 1½ gns.
Armillary Spheres	£12 to £50
9 to 17 inch Globes	2 gns. to 6 gns.
3 inch Globes in case	8*s*. to 10*s*.
Speaking Trumpets	10*s*. to 1½ gns.
Reflecting Telescopes	£1. 16*s*. to £50
Reflecting Telescopes with 4 or 6 glasses	7*s*. 6*d*. to 6 gns.
Achromatic Opera or Prospect Glasses	1 gn. to £1. 16*s*.
Achromatic Telescope of any length	1 gn. each foot

Source: Instruments in Benjamin Cole's London shop, in Taylor and Richey, *The Geometrical Seaman: A book of early nautical instruments* (London, 1962), 110-11.

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TABLE 3.3

SURVEYOR GENERALS, 1670-1730

Name	Service Period	Source
Florence O'Sullivan	1670-1671	*CSCHS*, 5:195
John Culpeper	1671-1673	*CSCHS*, 5:298
Maurice Mathews	1677-1684	*Record of the Secretary of the Province*, 54
Stephen Bull	1685-1691	*CSCHS*, 5:192
Philip Ludwell	1691-?	*Commissions and Instructions*, 43
John Beresford	1695-1698	*Record of the Secretary of the Province*, 456
Edmund Bellinger	1698-1702	*BPRO*, 4:26
Job Howes	1702-1707	*BPRO*, 5:84
Thomas Broughton	1707-?	*BPRO*, 5:280
Henroydah English	1715-?	*BPRO*, 6:71
Francis Yonge	1718-1719	*BPRO*, 6:158
William Blakeway	1719-?	*Miscellaneous Records*, N: 99

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TABLE 3.4

DEPUTY SURVEYORS, 1670-1730

Name	Service Dates	Source
John Culpeper	1671	*CSCHS*, 5:285
Stephen Bull	1673	*Journals of the Grand Council*, 61-62
John Yeamans	1673	*Journals of the Grand Council*, 61-62
Stephen Wheelwright	1673	*Journals of the Grand Council*, 61-62
William Owen	1676	*Warrants for Lands*, 119
Job Howes	1689	*Warrants for Lands*, 426
James Jones	1689	*Warrants for Lands*, 427
Isaac Mazicq	1689	*Warrants for Lands*, 582
John Clifford	1692	*Warrants for Lands*, 541
James Witter	1694	*Warrants for Lands*, 450
John Bayly	1722	Surviving plats
Joshua Sanders	1723	Surviving plats

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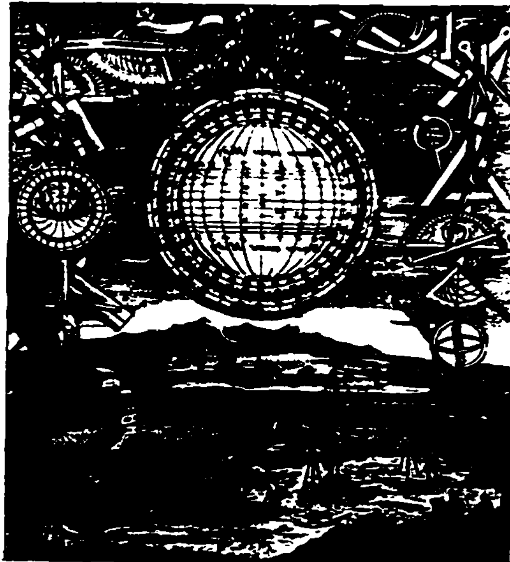
ILLUSTRATION 3.2

ADVERTISEMENT FOR MATHEMATICAL INSTRUCTION



Advertiſement.

GEography made Eaſy, and the Uſe of all the ordinary Sorts of Charts and Maps, whether Geographical, Hydrographical, Plans, Groundplots, or Perſpectives, Taught in a Week's time; with the Uſe of the Lines in the general Map, and taking of Longitudes and Latitudes, with the Uſe of Scales of Miles; And an eaſy Explication of the hard Words, which may diſcourage ſome People from this Neceſſary, Pleaſant and Eaſy Science. It is Taught to either Sex, whether Learned in other *Sciences* or not, if they be above the Age of twelve Years. The Maſter Teaches either in his own Chamber, or comes to the Scholars. Price

The Maſter may be heard of at *Mr* Bell's *Bookſeller at the* Bible *and* Croſs-Keys *in* Cornhil.

Source: British Library, Bagford Collection, Harl. 5947, nos. 100-101, in Thrower, ed., *Compleat Plattmaker*, 29.

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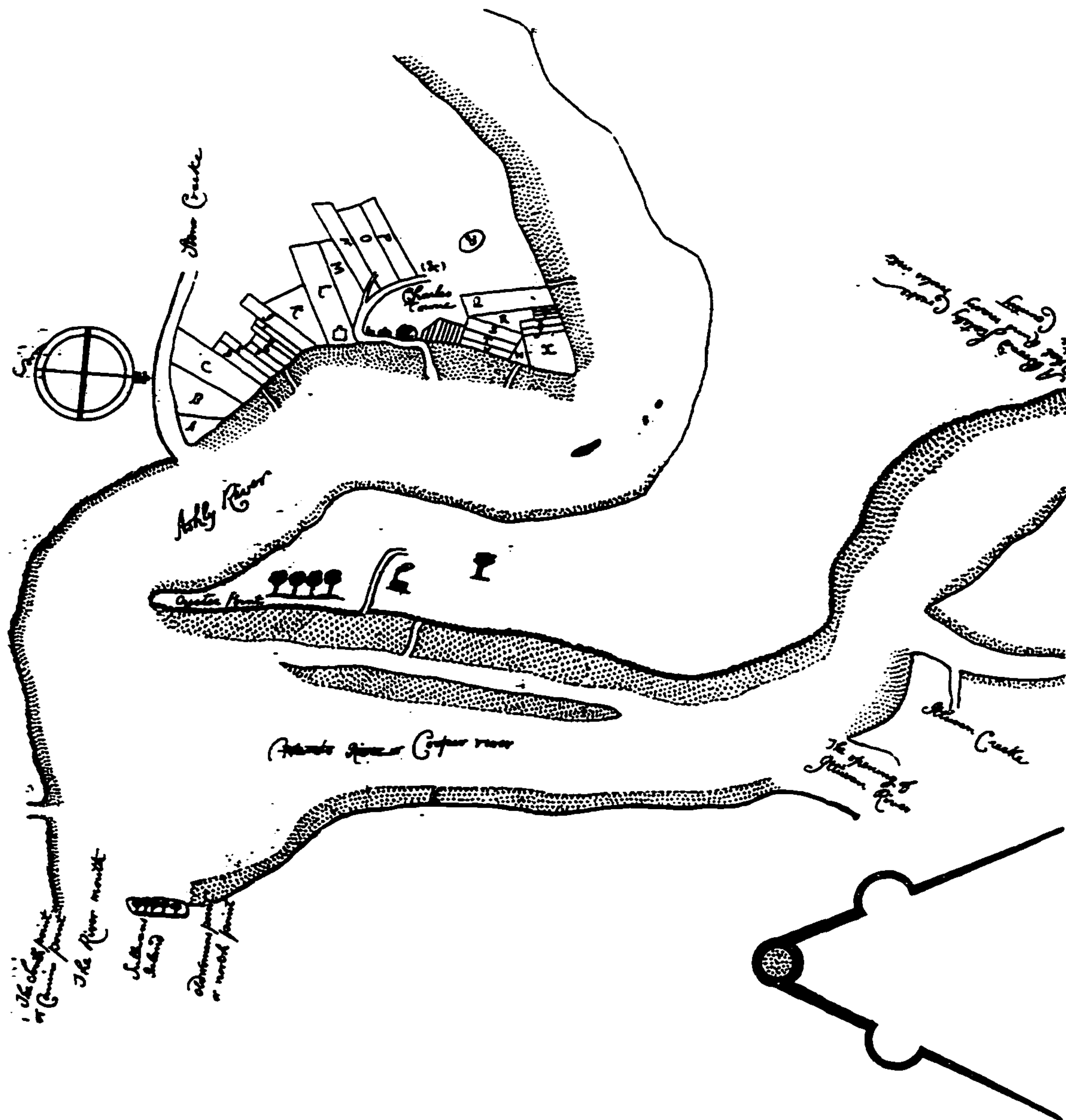
ILLUSTRATION 3.3

JOHN CULPEPER'S MANUSCRIPT MAP OF CHARLES TOWN, 1671



Source: Adapted from John Culpeper, *Culpepers Draught of Ashley Copia vera*, reproduced in *CSCHS*, 5:frontispiece. Size: 23½ x 18 inches. Scale: 1 inch = 1 mile.

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TABLE 3.5

LAND GRANTS REPRESENTED ON CULPEPER'S MAP OF CHARLES TOWN

Item	Land Grantee(s)	Acres
A	S[r] Jn[o] Yeamans Land con't	70
B	Land to be divided betwixt S[r] Jn[o] Yeamans & Thos. Grey	160
C	M[r] Thos. Grey & M[r] Jn[o] Fosters Land	140
D	Tho. Findens Land Cont:	40
E	Teagues Land	20
F	Oliver Spencers Land Cont:	30
G	M[r] Joseph Dowdens	30
H	Capt: Giles Halls Land	20
J:K	Land taken up By Samuel Boswood Tho: Thomson, Henry Wood & others But as yet nott devided	100
L	The Right Hon[ble] Anthony Lord Ashly, S[r] geo[r] Carterett & S[r] Peter Colletons Land	420
M	M[r] Jn[o] Maverrick & Comp[a]	285
N	Capt. Robert Dunne's Land	150
O	Cap[t] Joseph West our present governour Land Cont:	200
P	Capt George Thompson	170
Q	M[r] Tho Ingrams Land Cont.	150
S	Cap[t] Sullivans & Comp[a]	100
R	Land reserved By governor & Consell to be disposed of at their pleasure I suppose for a minister or governor	100
T	M[r] Tho[s] Smith & Comp[a] and company	100

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<table>
<tr><th>Item</th><th>Land Grantee(s)</th><th>Acres</th></tr>
<tr><td>V</td><td>Mr Will: Owens Land</td><td>60</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>The small division Betwixt t/wr & Towne aew two acres & four acre lots belonging to Hugh Carterett George Beadon & others Cont: about</td><td>20</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>a Little nearer (?) but Behind the towne Capt Sayle hath</td><td>16</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>& by him there is Laid out for a Church yard</td><td>4</td></tr>
<tr><td>W</td><td>Mr Jn^{o} Robinson & Mr Jn^{o} Culpeper Cont</td><td>60</td></tr>
<tr><td>X</td><td>Mr Maurice Mathews, Capt Henry Bryen & Mr Stephen Bull & m^{r} Nich^{s} Carterett</td><td>190</td></tr>
<tr><td>Y</td><td>m^{r} Joseph Daltons Land</td><td>80</td></tr>
<tr><td>Z</td><td>m^{r} Thos Holtons</td><td>100</td></tr>
<tr><td>1:2:3</td><td>George Canty philip Cumerton & James Donahue Cont: ten Acres a piece</td><td>30</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">There are divers other settlements scattering up & downe in this Draught where I have made marks for houses but I thought Itt Sufficient to gift y^{o} Lordshipps this accompt of what Land is taken up nearest the Towne there is others hair marked which is nott Laid then out by Reason they marked for the present wth other men for Shares The greatest Part of the Land where marke (&) is pine Land which is generally Refused the passengers wch arrived in the Shipp Blessing are to be setled up Stonoe Creeke where Lyes very good land & they Like it Well.</td></tr>
</table>

Source: *CSCHS*, 5:339-40.

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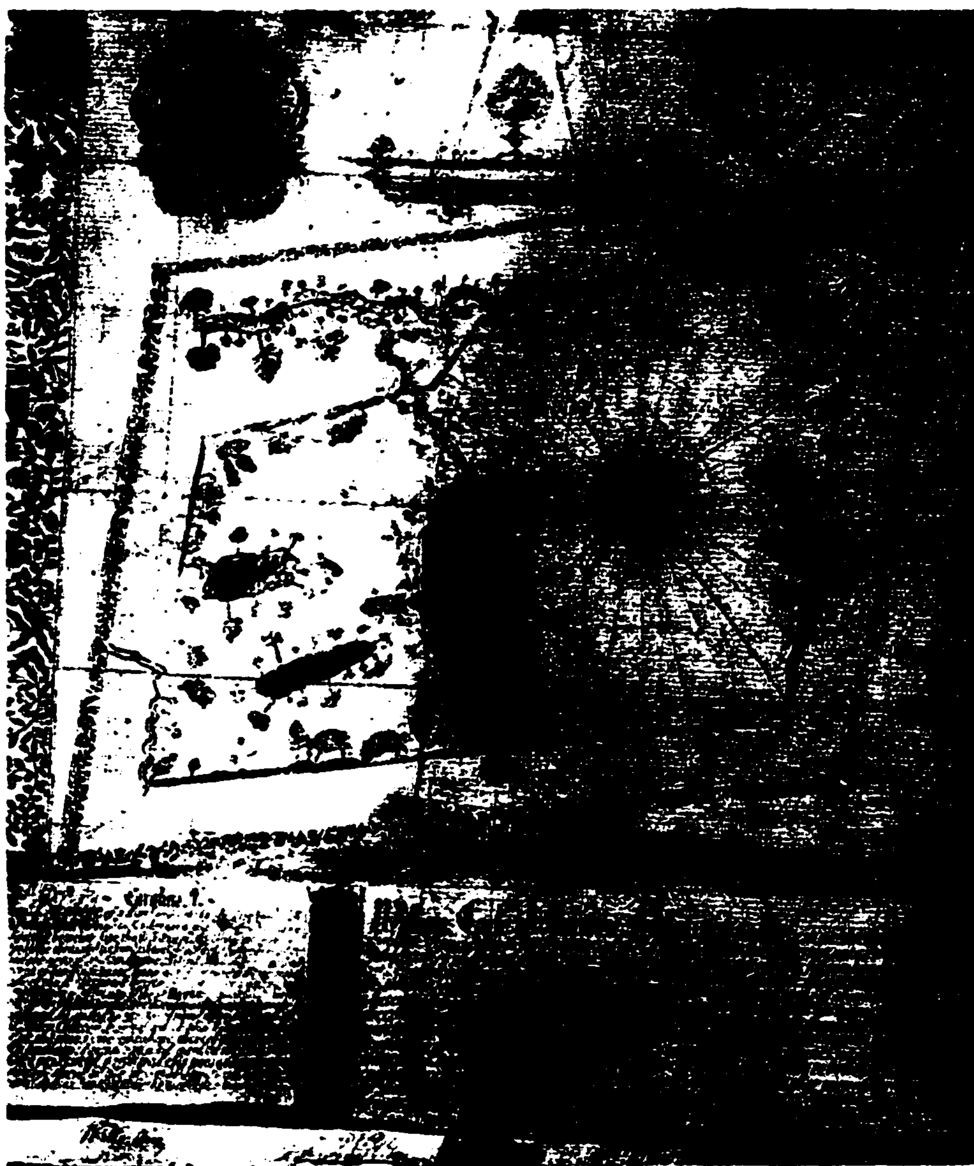
ILLUSTRATION 3.4

GOVERNOR JOSEPH WEST'S GRANT AND PLAT, 1680



Source: David Buisseret, ed., *Rural Images: Estate Maps in the Old and New Worlds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

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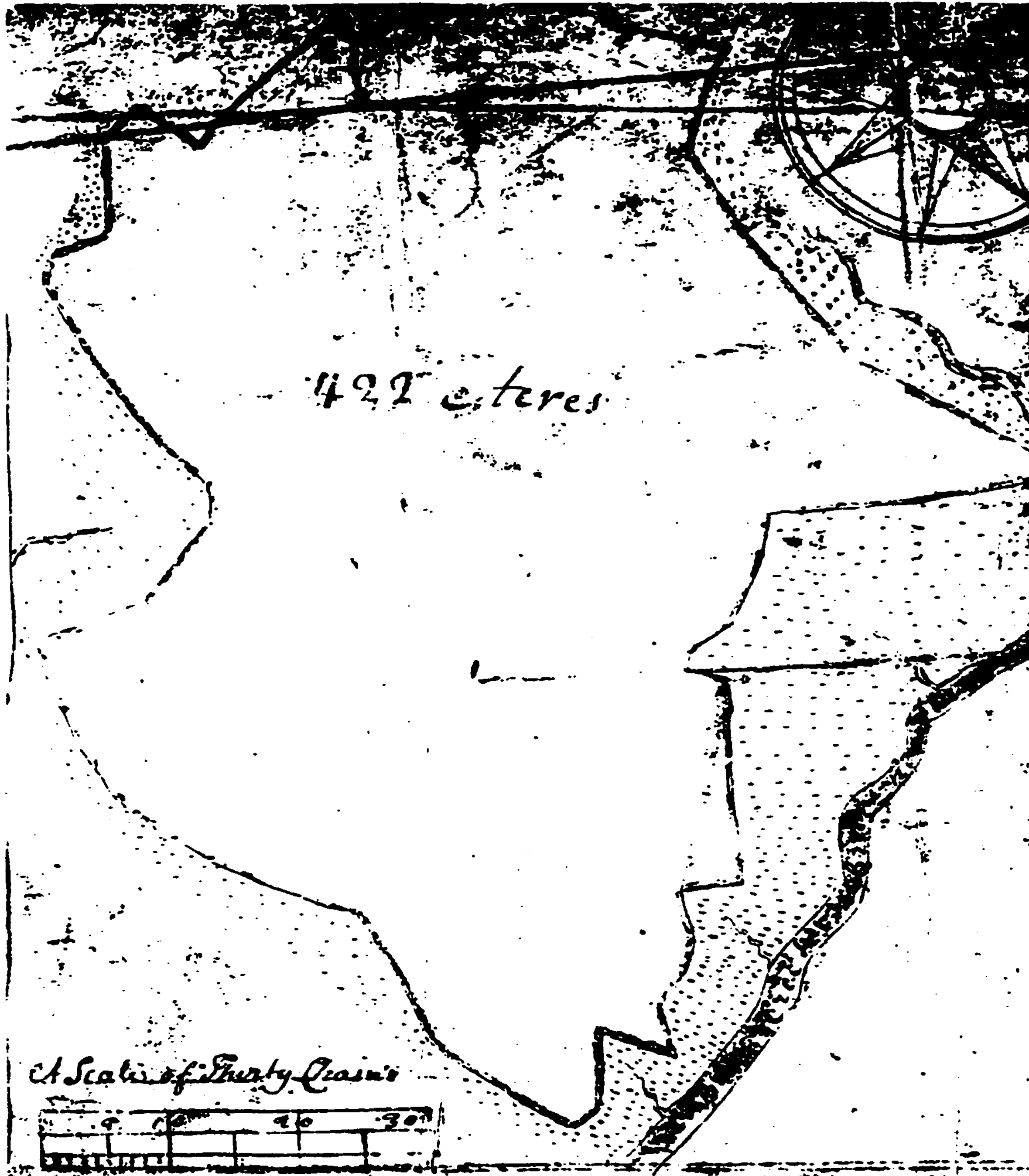
ILLUSTRATION 3.5

RICHARD HARRIS'S GRANT AND PLAT, 1707



Source: Photostat of Richard Harris's 1707 grant and plat, Proprietary Era Grants in the Series Citizens' Copies, Private Papers, Box 7, SCDAH.

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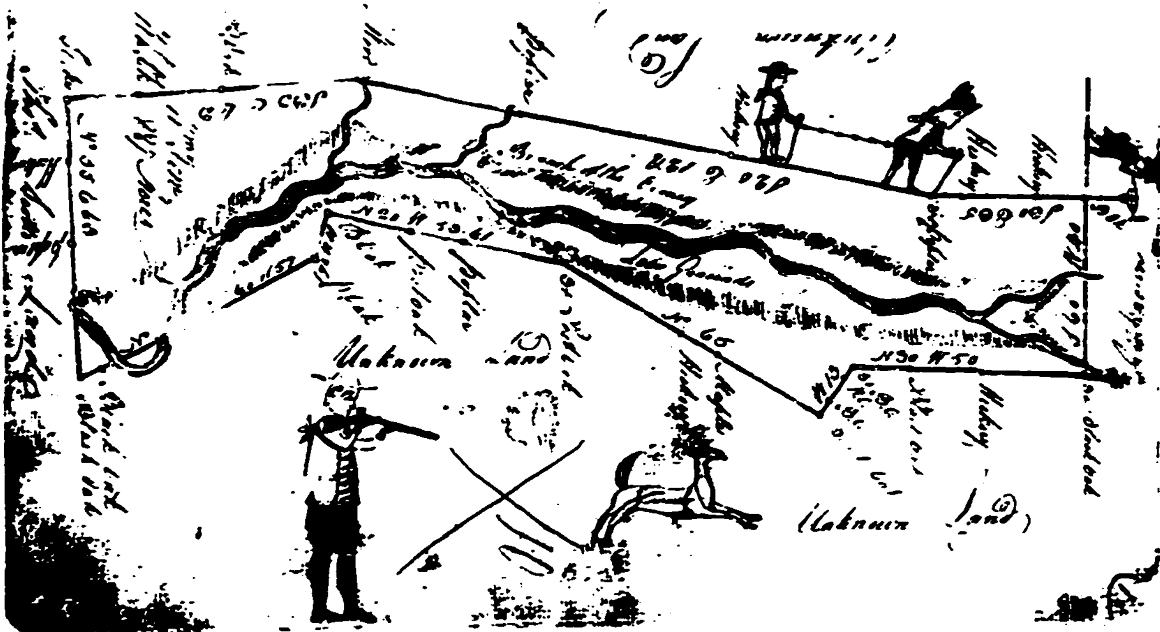
ILLUSTRATION 3.6

WILLIAM FEW'S GRANT, 1784



Source: Survey plat of William Few's grant of 1784 in the Georgia Surveyor General's Department.

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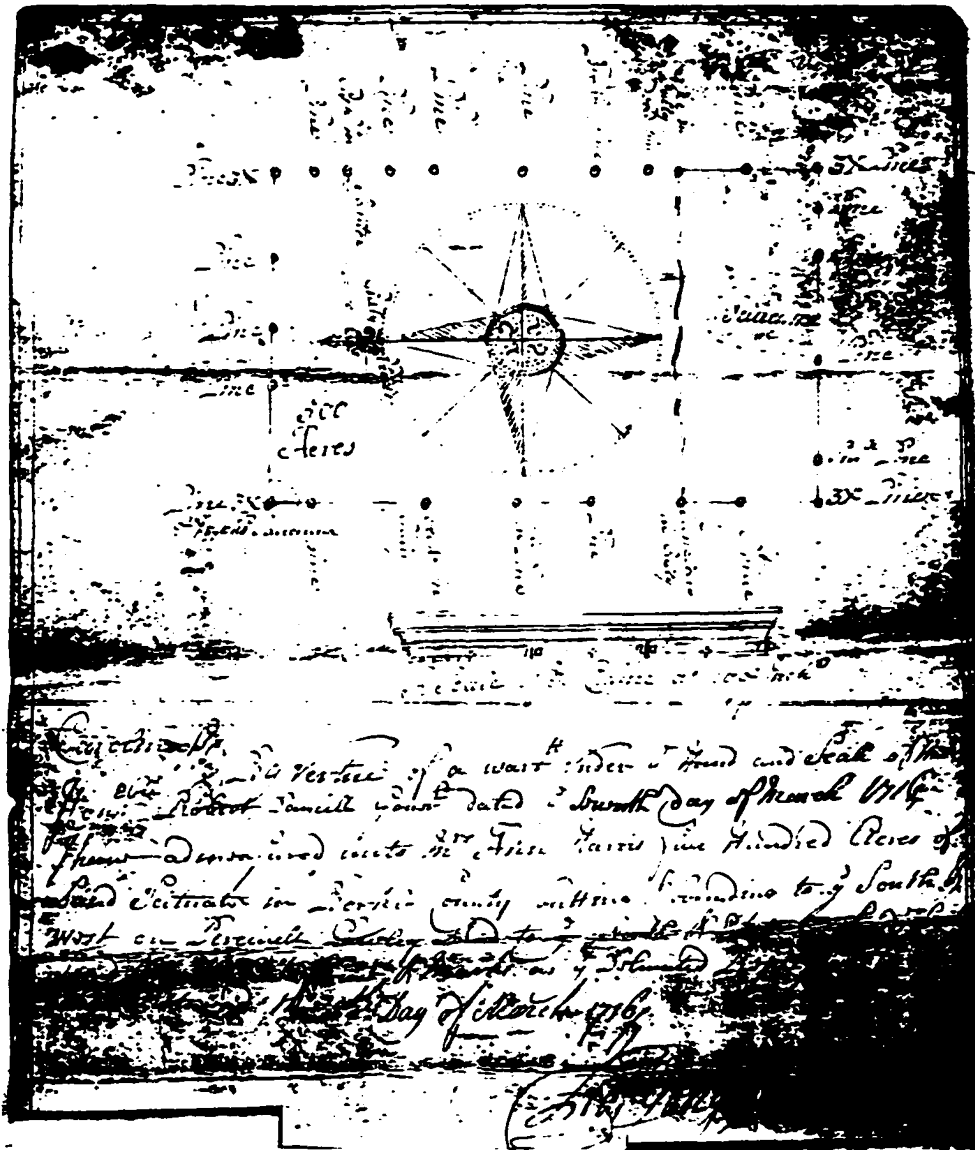
ILLUSTRATION 3.7

ANN HARRIS'S PLAT, 1717



Source: Photostat of Ann Harris's 1717 plat, Proprietary Era Grants in the Series Citizens' Copies, Private Papers, Box 7, SCDAH.

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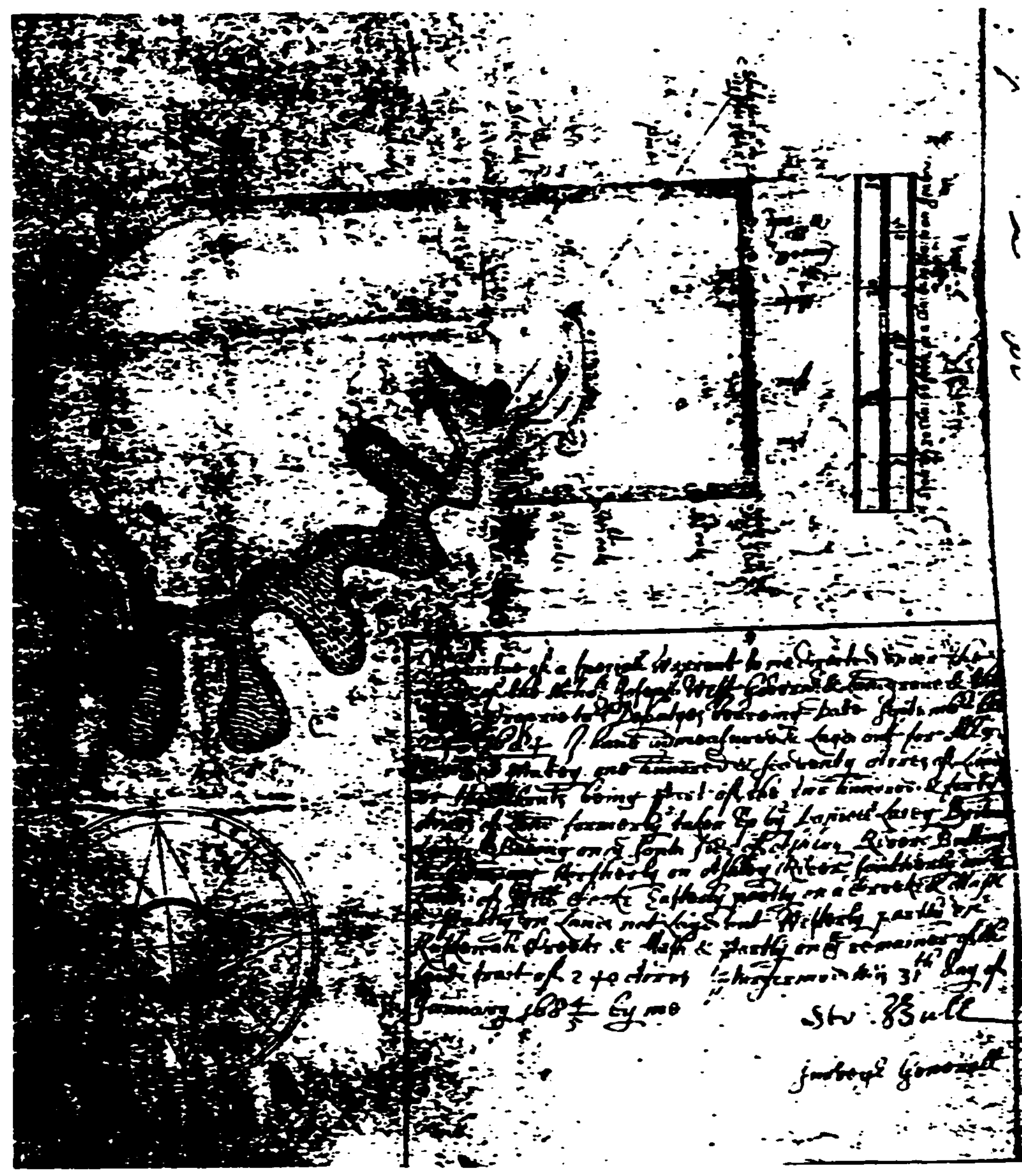
ILLUSTRATION 3.8

MARTHA PATEY'S PLAT, 1685



Source: Photostat of Martha Patey's 1685 plat, Proprietary Era Grants in the Series Citizens' Copies, Private Papers, Box 11, SCDAH.

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CHAPTER IV

CONTESTING SPACE:

CARTOGRAPHY AND THE COLONIZATION OF THE SOUTHEAST

The Bellman himself they all praised to the skies–
Such a carriage, such ease and such grace!
Such solemnity, too! One could see he was wise,
The moment one looked in his face!

He had brought a large map representing the sea,
Without the least vestige of land:
And the crew were much pleased when they found it to be
A map they could all understand.

"What's the good of Mercator's North Poles and Equators,
Tropics, Zones, and Meridian Lines?"
So the Bellman would cry: and the crew would reply
"They are merely conventional signs!

"Other maps are such shapes, with their islands and capes!
But we've got our brave Captain to thank"
(So the crew would protest) "that he's brought *us* the best–
A perfect and absolute blank!"

– Lewis Carroll, *The hunting of the snark*[1]

The blank map described by Lewis Carroll in his fanciful verse *The hunting of*

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[1]Lewis Carroll, *The hunting of the snark*, in Charles L. Dodgson, ed., *The Complete Works of Lewis Carroll* (New York: Random House, 1936), 760-61.

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the snark appealed to the Bellman's sailors for its simplicity. In his wisdom the captain carried a chart his crewmen could all understand. Yet devoid of any cartographical symbols–a compass rose, projection, navigational line, or even a named location–the map depicted nothing. Without "conventional signs" it served no meaningful purpose. Carroll's satire raises poetically a central point in the recent study of historical cartography: culture constructs the many and varied ways in which individuals perceive and portray geography. Previous colonial experiences and historical understanding, scientific knowledge and technological skills, material desires, and political circumstances all ground the lens through which Indians and Europeans envisioned early America generally and Carolina in particular. These cultural perspectives sharpened the land's most distinctive physical features and identified its most useful properties. The drawings that natives and newcomers created to define and describe geographic space were similarly shaped by culture. The placement of lines, the process of (re)naming and claiming territory, the descriptive symbols and lettering employed, even the level of detail included on a map–all constituted cartographic choices. These choices both resulted from and influenced relations among individuals and communities. The analysis of maps affords a prospect on the settlement of colonial South Carolina in a distinctly spatial context. It reveals the ways in which graphic representations of landscape projected powerful statements about each group's knowledge of and control over the physical environment.

Maps are any collection of graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the world. In the

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seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they could be simple coastline charts sketched by Atlantic explorers, elaborately-decorated prints of entire continents engraved by European artists, or topological drawings of indigenous settlements painted on deerskins by Indians.[2] Cartographers drew four kinds of maps in connection with colonial enterprises. Reconnaissance maps outlined the Atlantic coast and paid particular attention to sites that might be most suitable for settlement. Later, after the founding of a colony, locational maps showed potential investors and emigrants where they might settle, depicted the land's general topography, and indicated who already inhabited the area. Most promotional maps fell into this category. Once a settlement established a provincial government and the population expanded, officials and residents commissioned maps of the colonies themselves for administrative purposes. They demanded maps that showed property ownership, county boundaries, and the accessibility of local waterways and port towns. Lastly, cartographers produced detailed regional and continental maps. These maps usually served the imperial interests of a single European state and they could be created at any stage of colonization. These categories are not exclusive; one map could fall into two or more of these groups.[3]

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[2]J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xvi. Topological maps are those in which shapes, networks, and locations are of interest; calculated distances, angles, and areas are not important.

[3]Jeanette D. Black, "Mapping the English Colonies in North America: The Beginnings," in *The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart, Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Norman J.W. Thrower

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Regardless of their size, subject, and detail, all maps share a fundamental trait. They may be comprehended only within their unique historical contexts. Any element of a map–a cartouche, for example, a decorative inset sometimes containing the title, legend, and scale–derives its meaning and thus its power from social circumstances. The understanding of a map demands an awareness not just of the substance of its symbolic components but of its purpose and production. In a very real sense, the mapface was one of the surfaces on which the Carolina colonization process occurred. Participants included the cartographers themselves, their sources of information (often native guides and earlier cartographers), the maps' commissioners (European monarchs, the Lords Proprietors and colonial governors, Indian traders, and individual settlers), map printers and vendors, and in the broadest sense anyone who read and purchased maps. To fully comprehend the dynamics of this process, when gazing upon colonial maps historians should shift the locus of their attention away from questions of topographical accuracy and toward an appreciation of maps as forms of knowledge subject to interpretation and manipulation. Only by rejecting the idea of maps as singularly objective or scientific reproductions of a physical space can scholars begin to accept them as representations of individual and collective cultural perceptions of a land and its inhabitants. While the Bellman and his crew ridiculed the usefulness of cartographical symbols, the power of maps lies precisely in their combination of

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(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 104-106. These map categories are merely descriptive and do not constitute a classification system.

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conventional signs to depict knowledge in a culturally-specific and influential form.[4]

An analysis of selected early southern maps dating from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries demonstrates how Europeans and Indians revealed their conceptions of the southeastern landscape cartographically, and how these renderings reinforced the actual and imagined geography of Carolina colonization. Individually, they illustrate important features of New World map-making; collectively, they reflect the range of cartographic images surviving from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Though the size and detail of these maps varied dramatically, all contained information about and projected interpretations of the social and geographical construction of the colonial lowcountry landscape.

Manuscript and printed maps differed in their evolution, objectives, and importance for later cartographers. Maps created by artists with first-hand knowledge of a region typically shaped future drawings of the area for many decades. The influence of two early maps published by Theodor De Bry in the 1590s on the creation of a regional "type map" by Jodocus Hondius illustrates the enduring importance of an image and its constituent elements.[5] Products of their experiences with sixteenth-

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[4]N.J.W. Thrower, *Maps and Man* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 168; J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representations, Design and Use of Past Environments* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 278; David Turnbull, *Maps Are Territories: Science Is an Atlas* (Victoria, Australia: Deakin University Press, 1989), 26.

[5]A type map, often called a mother map, incorporates features from several earlier maps to produce a new and influential cartograph. It differs from a derivative map which appears after a type map and imitates the details, sometimes inaccurately, of

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century French and English colonizing expeditions, the cartographical works of Jacques Le Moyne and John White shaped later renderings of the southeastern coastline and the location of its native inhabitants for more than a century. Le Moyne's *Floridæ Americæ Provinciæ* (1591) represented the southern coast from "Prom Terra falg" or Cape Lookout southward to the island of Cuba [Illustration 4.1]. Sadly, a manuscript copy of this reconnaissance map does not survive from the 1560s. On the Latinized version De Bry published in the second volume of his *Grand Voyages* (1591), Le Moyne indicated French and Spanish names for several lakes lying within the continent and numerous rivers flowing into the sea.[6] Central features of the map's interior include a land-locked sea north of Florida, "Lacus aquæ dulcis," a freshwater lake described as so large that it is impossible to see from one shore to another, and the "Montes Apalatci" or the Appapachian Mountains which lay adjacent to a giant waterfall where "the natives find grains of silver." The inland ocean represented Verrazzano's Sea which sixteenth-century explorers and cartographers imagined as a passage to Asia. Le Moyne never personally viewed this channel to the Orient or even the mountain ranges he depicted along its shore. The great falls likely referred to Niagara, situated much farther north yet accessible through local Indian legend. Le Moyne used natives as one of his sources, and the facts he gained from them–whether literal, mythological, or

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previous images.

[6]Theodor De Bry, *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem ("Petits Voyages") et Indiam Occidendalem ("Grand Voyages")*, Part II (Frankfurt, 1591).

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intentionally misleading–shaped the content of his map.[7] His construction of *Floridæ Americæ Provinciæ* was the product of a complex process in which the cartographer gathered graphic, literary, and oral intelligence and then reconciled this information with earlier mapmakers' geographical ideas. Finally, he transmitted his new knowledge to the mapface with both conventional and specialized symbols and language.[8] For example, Le Moyne learned the proximate location of Indian villages through personal observation, communicating with native sources, and reading earlier maps and travel narratives. In rendering them on the map, he used the traditional symbol of a house to represent native communities. Yet the style of dwellings he drew took the shape of Indian mat-and-pole-style structures.

John White began geographically where Le Moyne left off and incorporated his predecessor's ideas into his own work. The watercolor drawing *Virginea Pars* (1585 MS) depicted the Atlantic region north to Cape Charles, south to Cape Lookout, and west to the confluence of the Albemarle and Pamlico sounds with the Chowan, Roanoke, and Neuse rivers [Illustration 4.2]. White based his images on French

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[7]William Patterson Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps: With an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America During the Colonial Period* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2nd ed. 1962), 124-25; William Patterson Cumming, "Geographical Misconceptions of the Southeast in the Cartography of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,"*Journal of Southern History*, 4 (November 1938): 477-79. "Carolina," located at the mouth of the "May" or St. John's River, referred to Laudonnière's fort La Caroline built in 1564, and not the entire region as later mapmakers and historians sometimes assumed when crediting the French with first naming the province.

[8]R.A. Skelton, *Looking at an Early Map* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1965), 4.

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manuscript maps, information gathered during his 1585 visit to the Roanoke colony, and observations made by English explorers the previous year. On this map he charted the coastline of the Outer Banks, located the region's numerous rivers and inlets, and pinpointed thirty-one Indian communities or placenames.[9] When De Bry published an engraved version of White's manuscript called *Americæ Pars* in Part I of his compendium *America* (1590), he slightly revised the coastal delineation, extended the map further west, added sixteen native names, and artistically enhanced the mapface with miniature reproductions from White's Indian drawings [Illustration 4.3].[10] The volume contained Thomas Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, and within the short space of ten days De Bry reprinted the map unchanged in English, French, German, and Latin editions.

Sir Walter Ralegh, who at one time or another held both Le Moyne and White in his service, observed in his commentary "Geographers in their Maps" the tendency of mapmakers to represent features "agreable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth."[11] The influence of White and Le Moyne's maps on Hondius's *Virginiæ Item et Floridæ* (1606), and the

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[9]Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 120-25; Paul Hulton, *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 32-34.

[10]Theodor De Bry, *America*, Part I (Frankfurt, 1590); David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), 461-62, 846-51 (continuous pagination); Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 15-17.

[11]Walter Ralegh, "Geographers in their Maps," in *History of the World* (London, 1614), bk. II, ch. xxiii, sec. 4.

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importance of the latter cartograph well into the eighteenth century, affirmed the veracity of Ralegh's remark.[12] Published in Gerard Mercator's *Atlas*, this locational map perpetuated the idea of a large interior lake, now flowing into the sea, and a great falls near the mountains [Illustration 4.4]. Hondius also more than doubled the number of Indian communities identified by Le Moyne. Later seventeenth-century cartographers such as Jan Jansson, Jean de Laet, and Willem Blaeu all reproduced the elements and names featured on the Mercator-Hondius map.[13] By incorporating dated information into their maps, often long after later expeditions had asserted different geographical perspectives and effectively created new knowledge of the region, these cartographers created derivative maps of the Southeast. They extended the hypotheses and speculations of earlier artists, applied their conventions without modification, and privileged past representation over recent experience.[14]

As significant as Hondius's topography and toponymy were, his typeface and cartouches reified the division of the Southeast into distinct regions. Published after the Ralegh's failure to permanently settle Roanoke and before the London Company's founding of Jamestown in 1607, this map perpetuated English claims to the area in the absence of any actual colonial presence. "Virginia" and "Floridæ" appeared in bold

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[12]In Appendix A of "Geographical Misconceptions," Cumming lists eighteen regional maps that exhibit influences of Le Moyne's *Floridæ Americæ Provinciæ* (1591) and the Mercator-Hondius type map *Virginiæ Item et Floridæ* (1606).

[13]Cumming, "Geographical Misconceptions of the Southeast," 479.

[14]Skelton, *Looking at an Early Map*, 15. Skelton characterized this practice as the "tendency toward inertia" in the continued use of cartographic images.

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block lettering adjacent to the past English and present Spanish settlements. Indian place-names, set in smaller more flowery type amid swirling lines, filled otherwise empty space. Far inland, in the map's most dominant lettering, "Americæ" visually supported the title and two contrasting cartouches. The oval on the left depicted "Civitatum Floridæ imitatio," an imitation or likeness of the buildings and surrounding fortifications of towns in Spanish Florida. On the right, an oval titled "Civitatum Virginiæ forma" illustrated the shape or model, but not the actually existence, of similar structures in Virginia. The small print of the cartouche's subtitles suggested the disparity between Spanish and English colonial progress. This directly contradicted or challenged the meaning inferred by Hondius's larger lettering. A Dutchman, Hondius drew the Southeast without any clear bias in favor of a single imperial power because Holland staked no claim to the area. The symbols occupying unknown or unexplored areas of the map reflected generalized European hopes and expectations about the inland landscape–two peaceful Indians, one with an outstretched hand, standing adjacent to the map's native settlements scattered both north and south. Significantly, most of the land's physical features still possessed Indian names, or what Hondius believed from White and Le Moyne to be the correct native terms for mountains, rivers, and localities.[15] His work exhibited the highly-decorative style, ornate script, and pictures of indigenous people and animals characteristic of most Dutch maps. Though the seventeenth century has been called the golden age of Dutch cartography, the

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[15]Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 18-19, 129-131; Cumming, "Mapping of the Southeast: The First Two Centuries," *The Southeastern Geographer*, 6 (1966), 10.

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collection of North American maps produced by Dutch artists was less distinguished than those of Europe or the world. As part of their efforts to build settlements in the New World and shape the geographical landscape toward their own ends, the English and Spanish needed to produce their own colonial and regional maps and not rely on imported plats and drawings.[16]

Understanding what "Carolina" signified for the French, English, and Spanish demands consideration of the region's exploration and representation in the context of Europe's expanding knowledge of all of North America. Small-scale maps depicting an entire continent could be as instructive as large-scale ones showing a single peninsula and town plan. Two regional maps by Nicolas Sanson, *Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France* (1656) and *Le Nouveau Mexique, et La Floride* (1656), divided North American both geographically and territorially [Illustrations 4.5 and 4.6]. In the northern half, a type map influential well into the eighteenth century, the cartographer drew boundary lines which separated "Nouvelle Angle Terra" from "Nouvelle France." Sanson was an official in the French colonial administration, and his map functioned as an authoritative imperial affirmation of possession of the interior region of northern North America. Unfortunately for the French, he could base these claims to the region only on the failed efforts of Ribault and Laudonnière to plant a colony near Port Royal a century earlier. When Sanson divided the continent on his maps he chose the precise location of these failed colonies in Carolina, thus advancing two separate, yet nearly identical claims to

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[16]Black, "Mapping the English Colonies in North America," 102-103.

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this region. *Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France* extend southward through "Floride Françoise." *Le Nouveau Mexique, et La Floride* positioned southern "Virginie" at the map's top just above "Floride Françoise" and barely noted any Spanish presence in the area. Both maps labeled the entire Southeast "Le France Floride." In effect, this artist asserted French control of the Carolina region four times. Sanson founded one of the great European mapmaking dynasties and began the French school of cartography. His maps minimized the use of decorative elements so characteristic of the Dutch school and increased the number of geographical references and placenames included on the mapface.[17]

Another small-scale map of the southern half of North America, John Locke's pencil and ink sketch *Map of Carolina* (1671) again claimed the Southeast, this time for England [Illustration 4.7]. Though Locke, like Sanson, worked as an official colonial agent, he did not produce this continental map as a confirmation for other countries of England's political control over the region. Rather, the map organized and tracked current knowledge about the territory originally conveyed to the Lords Proprietors by a grant from Charles II. Extending southward from the Chesapeake Bay to the Yucatan peninsula and eastward through the Caribbean, Locke's manuscript marked the southernmost extent of the proprietors' holdings using a dotted line lying along the 29° parallel. No corresponding notation identified the province's northern boundary at 36°30′ to the east of the Appalachian Mountains. Though still challenged by various

[17]Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 19-20, 143-44.

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Indian nations, in the late seventeenth century no European power seriously disputed England's control over land in Virginia and up the Atlantic seaboard. Locke's dotted lines indicated and acknowledged imperially contested borders. The medium he used in drawing other items on the map, whether ink or pencil, further reflected his certainty and uncertainty of regional topography and the security of English territorial possessions. For outlining the coast and drawing rivers, lakes, and mountains, Locke chose pencil. Both erasable and more lightly inscribed on the mapface, he based these leaden lines on information derived from Spanish sources. In pencil they could be revised easily and often as further English exploration and settlement of the region shifted political and geographic boundaries. He penned placenames only in the previously planted parts of the Caribbean and northern Carolina. The ultimate admission of England's precarious position in the early contest for control over the southeastern region, Locke etched "Carolina" across the continent in pencil not ink. Even though the Lords Proprietors' grant from the King gave them land as far west as the Pacific Ocean, Locke knew that the colony's possession of this region was not yet complete.[18]

The idea of Carolina required not just the knowledge that this land existed but a recognition of the opportunities it provided and an understanding of the means to seize these opportunities.[19] Advance-men in the colonization enterprise, explorers accessed

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[18]Ibid., 149.

[19]D.W. Meinig, "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians," *American Historical Review*, 83:5 (December 1978),

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local information and relayed their findings to cartographers for inclusion on new maps. Locke's source for the nomenclature found on much of his *Map of Carolina* was John Lederer, who spent eighteen months touring the Virginia and Carolina interiors, observing and trading with the Indians, and recording details about the region's topography. Often castigated and discounted by historians for his wild tales of endless deserts and nonexistent lakes, Lederer shaped contemporary and later cartographers' ideas about the natives and landscape of Carolina lying beyond Charles Town's immediate environs.[20] In 1672 he published his story, *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, accompanied by *A Map of the Whole Territory* [Illustration 4.8].[21] For more than a century, scholars have attempted to retrace Lederer's steps, verify his sightings, and judge the truthfulness of his reports. Far less important than whether he actually traversed a 180-mile desert or viewed the Catawba River in flood, Lederer understood the purpose of his marches through the Southeast and how to represent his findings forcefully and believably.

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[20]Cumming, "Mapping of the Southeast," 13; Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 150-51; Cumming, "Geographical Misconceptions of the Southeast," 479-84. In Appendix B of "Geographical Misconceptions," Cumming lists thirty-three maps showing the influence of Lederer's *Map of the Whole Territory* (1672).

[21]John Lederer, *The Discoveries of John Lederer, In three several Marches from Virginia, To the West of Carolina, An other parts of the Continent: Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670. Together with a General Map of the whole Territory which he traversed. Collected and Translated out of Latine from his Discourse and Writings, By Sir William Talbot Baronet* (London, Printed by J.C. for Samuel Heyrick at Grays-Inne-gate in Holborn, 1672); William P. Cumming, ed., *The Discoveries of John Lederer* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1958).

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The sponsors of his journey, Virginia's Governor William Berkeley and Sir William Talbot, hoped that he would locate a southern sea offering passage to the Pacific. Not one to disappoint, Lederer combined knowledge gleaned from Le Moyne and Hondius's maps, which indicated a large inland lake, with his own colorful descriptions of the region. Deriving authority from local Indians, he artfully supported his claims with statements such as "I have heard several Indians testifie" and "for one of the Usheryes told me." These declarations did more than enhance Lederer's credibility; they exposed the multiple and competing dialogues hidden within his map. The explorer knew what he needed to articulate (the possible existence of an interior ocean in order to please his patrons), gathered information supporting this assertion (from previous artists), and buttressed his interpretation by invoking knowledgeable sources (the local Indians). Whether a conscious and deliberate distortion of the regional topography for geopolitical purposes, or a reflexive application of conventional signs reinforcing the status quo, Lederer's map reveals the exercise of power inherent in map construction.[22] Everyone involved–the artist, his sponsors, earlier cartographers, and native informants–exerted influence and participated in the invention of *A Map of the Whole Territory*. Indians wielded no less power than Berkeley, Talbot, and even

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[22]"Behind the map-maker," argues J.B. Harley, "lies a set of power relations, creating its own specification. Whether imposed by an individual patron, by state bureaucracy, or the market, these rules can be reconstructed both from the content of maps and from the mode of cartographic representation. . . . Decisions about the exercise of power are removed from the realm of immediate face-to-face contacts" ("Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 287, 303). Though one would not know this from the map, Talbot dedicated Lederer's *Discoveries* to Lord Ashley, the South Carolina proprietor Anthony Ashley Cooper (Cumming, "Geographical Misconceptions," 483).

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Lederer himself. As another English traveler through the Carolina interior noted some years later, "you [the explorer] must be very much in their [the Indians'] Favour, otherwise they will never make these Discoveries to you; especially, if it be in their own Quarters."[23] Indeed the native information that found its way into European maps likely carried more weight with the cartographers who often went to great lengths to obtain it. Indian ideas about a region were transmitted by speech, gestures, and pictures. Oral communication typically involved translation and could convey spatial information only with great difficulty. Physical signs and pantomimes carried their own culturally-specific meanings and could often be misinterpreted. Visual images imparted geographic knowledge most easily and accurately, and they could sometimes be reproduced and saved for future reference. In fact, a large proportion of extant Indian maps are copies of originals that no longer survive.[24]

The English incorporated on their maps information gained not only from the Indians but from other Europeans. However, with the intensification of the physical battle for control over the Southeast in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, map-making became increasingly politicized. Attempts at displaying mastery over land led cartographers to minimize and consciously distort drawings of their

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[23]John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 214.

[24]G. Malcolm Lewis, "Indicators of Unacknowledged Assimilations from Amerindian *Maps* in Euro-American Maps of North America: Some General Principles Arising from a Study of La Vérendrye's Composite Maps, 1728-29," *Imago Mundi*, 38 (1986), 9.

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opponents' territorial possessions. The manuscript *Mapa De la Isla de la Florida* located Spanish settlements on the eastern and western coasts of Florida, as well as the "Puerto y Poblacion de S. Iorge de la Nacion Inglesa," otherwise known as Charles Town [Illustration 4.9]. Denying English land claims in the region, the Spanish referred to the Ashley River as St. George's Bay. Nor did *Mapa De la Isla de la Florida* show the Scots settlement near Port Royal or any English expansion south of Charles Town.[25] As a manuscript, this map was characteristically less decorative than its printed counterparts. Even a relatively plain map, though, exhibited culturally constructed knowledge. Its symbolism lay in the placement of cartographical lines and the orientation of the picture itself. The artist's borders and boundaries, more than his placenames, inscribed the geographical landscape with signs of ownership. Among those locations that the mapmaker designated specifically, he privileged places on the Gulf Coast over those along the Atlantic. The western region sits at the top of the map and its placenames are inscribed horizontally while the eastern portion of the continent lies at the bottom with nomenclature written vertically. In order to read the names of the rivers and settlements along the eastern coast of Florida one must physically turn the image counter-clockwise. The orientation of this map reflected the redirection of Spanish colonial attention toward the Gulf.[26] Not until the latter part of the eighteenth

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[25]Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 160-61.

[26]G.N.G. Clarke, "Taking Possession: The Cartouche as Cultural Text in Eighteenth-Century American Maps," *Word & Image*, 4:2 (1988), 473; William P. Cumming, *British Maps of Colonial America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 1-3.

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century did the north begin to appear regularly at the top of Western maps. This standardization, which resulted from technical advances in the science of cartography and the increased use of compasses in surveying and mapping, removed one of the key interpretive features of American maps. While placing north at the top of continental maps pushed Spanish colonial possessions in North America to the bottom, it also positioned them in the map's foreground nearest the reader.

One of the first printed English maps of the Southeast to situate north at the top, Thornton and Morden's *South Carolina*, captured the extent of the English province in 1695 [Illustration 4.10]. An unusual colonial map in that it did not depict county boundaries, it did emphasize other features common on this type of cartograph. The work of surveyor general Maurice Mathews provided most of the information for locating more than 250 plantations in the region. Indeed, the concentration of settlement along the waterways was the central feature of this colonial map. As the authors carefully noted in their subtitle, "This New Map of the Chief Rivers, Bayes, Creeks, Harbours, and Settlements" pictured that part of "South Carolina Actually Surveyed."[27] It extended from the French Huguenot settlements lying along the Santee River, southwestward below the South Edisto River. Drawing the reader's eye to the map's center, the winding outlines of the rivers and the sharp lines emanating from the compass rose all converged upon Charles Town. By naming planters directly and then focusing attention on the colony's government seat and trade center, Thornton and

[27]Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 166-67.

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Morden situated Carolina on the westward edge of the Atlantic world, not the eastern fringe of the southeastern frontier. Placed far inland to the northwest, the cartouche containing the map's title and scale faded away into the background. Even the name "Carolina" seemed hidden among the trees, with no letter larger than a bird or bear. "The Western Ocean," by contrast, followed the shoreline as it expanded across the map's foreground. Few signs of native inhabitants appeared anywhere in the picture other than an "Indian settlement" on Kiawah Island.

Of course, Indians always occupied some part of the colonial Carolina landscape, both actual and envisioned, and native influences shaped every cartographical rendering of the region. But as the eighteenth century progressed, attention to Indian communities on the mapface increasingly occurred only on drawings that detailed the continent's interior. Eventually published as an inset on Edward Crisp's *A Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina* [Illustration 1.5], Thomas Nairne's manuscript map of the southeast depicted "A Map of South Carolina Shewing the Settlements of the English, French, & Indian Nations" from Charles Town to the Mississippi River, yet it showed no native settlements in the lowcountry [Illustration 4.11].[28] A provincial Indian agent, Nairne corresponded with royal authorities in London regarding English defenses and economic prospects along the southeastern frontier. In a memorial dated July 10, 1708, and addressed to the Secretary of State, he argued that only "by trading and other Management," by which he meant forging

[28]Ibid., 179-80.

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alliances with the Indians, could England check French and Spanish expansion in area. He enclosed the manuscript map so that his "noble Lordship may at one View perceive what part of the Continent we are now possest off [sic], and what not, and procure the Articles of peace, to be formed in such manner that the English American Empire may not be unreasonably Crampt up."[29] Nairne labeled the entire southeastern region "South Carolina," even though other nomenclature revealed that England controlled far less territory. Accelerating the contest for Carolina specifically and the southern continent generally, Nairne described on his map the location and fighting strength of each Indian nation that hemmed in "English Settlement" between the Santee and Savannah rivers and separated it from the "French Settlement" along the Mississippi.

A collection of insets included on Hermann Moll's much larger continental map *A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain in the Continent of North America* (1715), expanded Nairne's division of South Carolina into subregions [Illustration 4.12]. Moll drew three separate insets containing all or part of the colony using Crisp's 1711 map as his main source. The first, based on Nairne's map, covered "the South part of Carolina, and the East Part of Florida." The second depicted "the Improved Part of Carolina With the Settlements." And the last showed "A Draught of the Town and Harbour of Charles-Town" reminiscent of an inset on Crisp's *A Compleat*

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[29]Thomas Nairne, quoted in Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929), 93-94; Alexander Moore, ed., *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1988).

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Description.[30] On such a small-scale map like Moll's, insets were needed to convey additional detail about specific areas and provinces. Yet Carolina received an unusual amount of attention and occupied a disproportionate amount of space on this important and influential engraving. Of the other two insets not related to Carolina, one depicted the entire North American continent on an extremely small scale (1 inch = ca. 1,135 miles) and the other pictured industrious Canadian beavers working at Niagara. Nominally produced to illustrate Britain's unified New World possessions, Moll's triple depiction of Carolina–as region, province, and port town–highlighted the competition of interests within the colony as well as those between the various European and Indian powers. A Dutch cartographer, Moll spent much of his career in England and drew maps promoting British territorial claims in North America. In 1720 he published another map, *A New Map of the North Parts of America claimed by France*, which specifically challenged the extent of French colonial possessions east of Louisiana that cartographer Guillaume Delisle had advance two years earlier.[31]

As with insets, other images on a map often conveyed information that was more compelling than or seemingly in conflict with the meanings projected by the whole cartograph. A derivative and comparatively plain map aimed at assisting potential German emigrants to America, Johann Homann's *Virginia Marylandia et Carolina* (1714) contained an elaborate cartouche in the lower right corner [Illustration

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[30]Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 181-83.

[31]Ibid., 43-44.

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4.13].[32] Positioning the image just off the eastern seaboard and directly across from Carolina, Homann hinted at the political and social relations between Englishmen and Indians in the southern colonies. Atop the title, in a superior position, sit two Europeans, one holding a staff and perched high upon a trunk or chest. They are surrounded by symbols of European material wealth, casks of liquor and bolts of cloth. Just below the whites stand two Indian men, each with arms outstretched, one proffering a beaver pelt and the other a deerskin. An Englishman points to his goods signaling the trade. Behind and slightly below these Indians stands a native women carrying a child on her back and dangling a beaded necklace from her fingertips. Beneath the title, in a subjugated position are two more Indian men, surrounded by heavy vegetation. More wild than their trading counterparts, these large natives clutch spears and rest on clubs. Homann thus depicts three kinds of Indians: the hunters and traders willing to supply the English with raw materials, consumers ready to purchase imported merchandise, and aggressors needing to be controlled or suppressed.[33] The imagery on a map often illustrated not only geographical competition for land but ethnopolitical contests as well.

Like their European counterparts, Indian-drawn maps almost always portrayed social, economic, and political relationships spatially and iconographically.

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[32]Ibid., 180-81.

[33]In his provocative article, "Taking Possession: The Cartouche as Cultural Text," Clarke deconstructs the images and icons of some of the most popular and well-known eighteenth-century American maps. Unfortunately, he does not discuss any cartouches or maps from South Carolina's proprietary era.

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Southeastern natives likely drew maps for their own use, though few still exist. Explorer John Lawson recorded that Indians in this region "will draw Maps, very exactly, of all the Rivers, Towns, Mountains, and Roads, or what you shall enquire of them." In place of parchment, "they will draw in the Ashes of the Fire, and sometimes upon a Mat or Piece of Bark." Having "put a Pen and Ink into a Savage's Hand," Lawson claimed that the Indian drew "the Rivers, Bays, and other Parts of a Country, which afterwards I have found to agree with a great deal of Nicety."[34] Baron Lahontan, an early eighteenth-century French mapmaker and observer of American natives, confirmed Lawson's observations. "They draw the most exact Maps imaginable of the Countries they're acquainted with, for there's nothing wanting in them but the Longitude and Latitude of Places." Lahontan maintained that Indians created these "Chorographical Maps [which] are drawn upon the Rind of your *Birch Tree*," for expressly political purposes, noting that "when the Old Men hold a Council about War or Hunting, they're always sure to consult them."[35]

Any understanding of indigenous mapping techniques and perspectives on the southeastern landscape depends primarily on the information derived from Indian sources and used to construct European-drawn maps. One of the most explicit examples of an English cartographers' incorporation of Indian knowledge on a colonial

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[34]Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, 214.

[35]Baron Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America*, 2 vols. (London: H. Bonwicke, 1703), 2:13-14. A chorographic map is one which represents large regions, countries, or continents on a relatively small scale.

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map is found on John Smith's *Virginia* [1612].[36] Smith represented the full Chesapeake Bay region from the Atlantic Ocean west to the Allegheny Mountains, however the level of detail he included varied with his knowledge of the interior [Illustration 4.14]. For the areas occupied and explored by the English, Smith's map contains specific placenames and carefully-drawn waterways. Twice along the coast, just below the source of each river, and at three inland locations, Smith positioned a Maltese cross. According to the *Virginia* key, the area "To the crosses hath bin discovered[,] what beyond is by relation." As the narrative accompanying the map made clear, Indians provided the information used to portray the lands outside of Smith's first-hand knowledge. "As far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places have been discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe, according to their instructions."[37] Other explorers, like Smith, gathered geographic intelligence from the natives personally. Captain Christopher Newport's relation of the "discovery" of the Powhatan or James River, recorded how one Indian "offred with his foote to describe the river to us [the English]. So I . . . gave him a pen and paper (shewing first ye use) and he layd out the whole River from Chesseian [Chesapeake] bay to the end of it so farr as passadg was for boates." The Indian further

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[36]G. Malcolm Lewis, "Native North Americans' Cosmological Ideas and Geographical Awareness: Their Representation and Influence on Early European Exploration and Geographical Knowledge," in John Logan Allen, ed., *North American Exploration, Volume 1: A New World Disclosed* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 116-17.

[37]John Smith, *A Map of Virginia with a Description of the Countrey* (Oxford, 1612), 10.

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described "an overfall of water" or the river's falls, and "beyond that the two kyngdomes which the Ryver Runnes by then a greate Distance of[f]."[38] This information found its way into Smith's hands and onto his map. In the upper left corner of *Virginia* he sketched the Powhatan River beyond the falls and named five native settlements in the area.

Many Indian maps, such as those drawn in the sand with a foot or sketched on paper for European explorers, are lost forever. However, two English copies of Catawba deerskin maps solicited by South Carolina Governor Francis Nicholson in the 1720s have survived. *A Map Describing the Situation of the Several Nations of Indians between South Carolina and the Massisipi* [1724] contains thirteen circles inscribed with the names of Indian communities and two linear figures representing European settlements [Illustration 4.15]. The Catawba cartographer who painted this map arranged his icons topologically. The shape of each feature and its location within the network were important, but mathematical distances and areas were not meaningful. The scale varied within the map. It depicted the geographical region from Charles Town, shown on an uneven grid to the left, to Virginia, which took the form of a rectangle on the lower right. The Catawbas (Nasaw) were positioned at the map's center midway along the only direct route connecting these two English colonies. Other native communities surrounded the Catawbas in a network of linked circles. Thus, this

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[38]"A Relatyon of the Discovery of Our River, from James Forte into the Maine: Made by Captain Christopher Newport," in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609*, 2 vols., Publications of the Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., 136-137 (Cambridge, 1969), 82-83 (continuous pagination).

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Indian artist graphically distinguished natives from newcomers, situating Indian communities at the map's center yet surrounded by encroaching European plantations. The double lines connecting the icons signified trading routes, political alliances, and/or social relationships. As the map illustrated, the Catawbas wished to broker European trade and relations with other Indians, particularly the powerful Cherokees (Cherrikies) and Chickasaws (Chickisa) to the west. In mapping Carolina's economic and political scene, the Catawba cartographer also constructed the colony's social landscape. He depicted symbolically the distance between the worlds of natives and newcomers–a difference as great as that between circles and squares. Yet with the increasing interaction and integration of these cultures by the 1720s, the artist used the same sign–the double line–to illustrate the connections among Indians and with Europeans.[39]

Human cultures constructed this Catawba map just as they shaped every European cartograph. The meaning inherent in all maps, and particularly those created in colonial arenas, may be comprehended only when viewed with a keen awareness of the varied individual and collective perspectives on geography. No group involved in the competition for control of the North America continent–whether Spanish, French, English, or Indian–shared a single objective depiction of the southeastern landscape. The explanatory power inherent in the pictures they created derived from the multiple

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[39]Gregory A. Waselkov, "Indian Maps of the Colonial Southeast," in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle: Southeastern Indians in the Colonial Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 320-24; G. Malcolm Lewis, "The Indigenous Maps and Mapping of North American Indians," *Map Collector*, 9 (1979), 15, 18.

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and sometimes conflicting influences evident in each cartographic rendering of Carolina. In 1663, the same year Charles II granted the province to the Lords Proprietors, Louis XIV received a new twelve-volume atlas of the world from cartographer Johan Blaeu. The artist elegantly introduced "Geography" to the king as "the eye and the light of history." Maps, asserted Blaeu, "enable us to contemplate at home and right before our eyes things that are farthest away."[40] They also allow historians to study in the present those physical spaces, constructed landscapes, and social worlds located in our most distant pasts.

[40]Johan Blaeu, *Le Grand Atlas* (Amsterdam, 1663), 1, 3.

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ILLUSTRATION 4.1

JACQUES LE MOYNE'S *FLORIDÆ AMERICÆ PROVINCIÆ*, 1591

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ILLUSTRATION 4.2

JOHN WHITE'S *VIRGINEA PARS*, 1585 MS

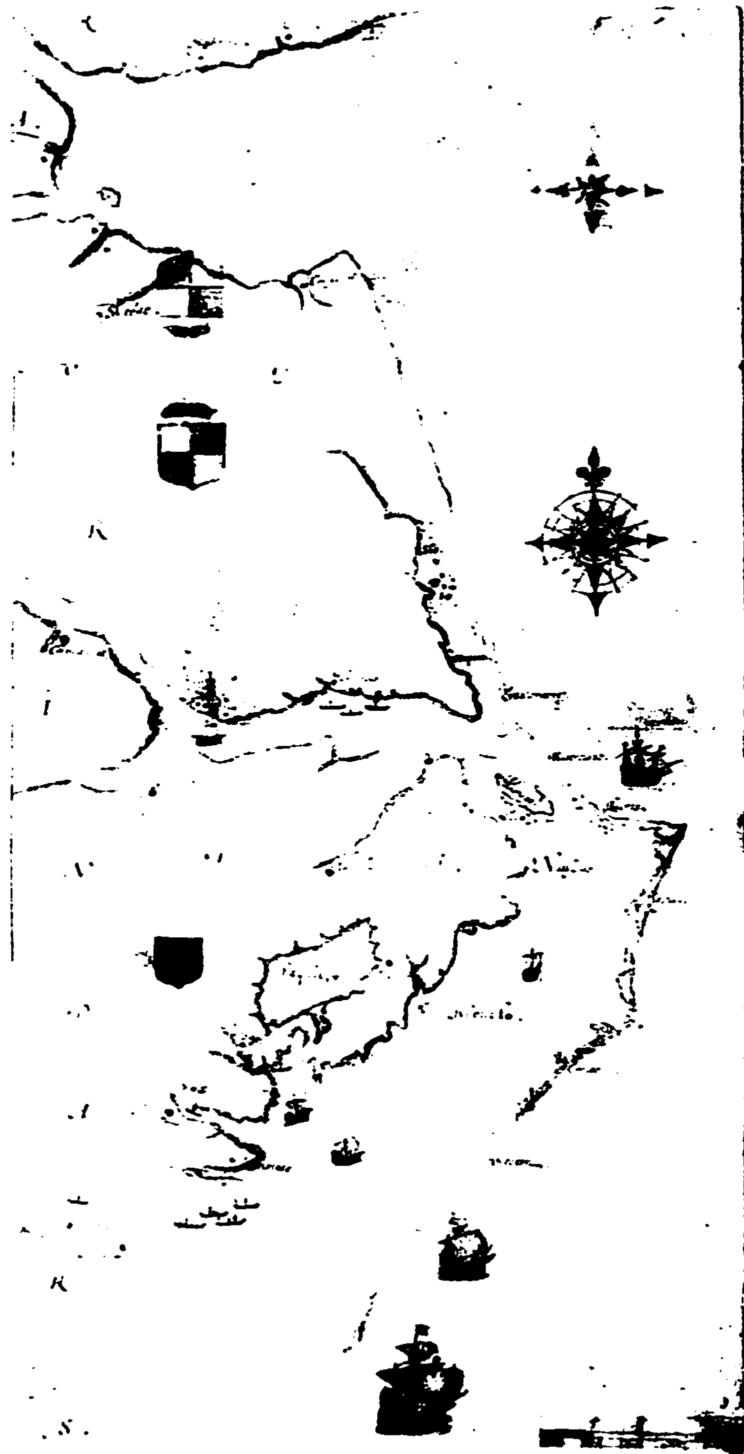

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ILLUSTRATION 4.3

JOHN WHITE AND THEODOR DE BRY'S *AMERICÆ PARS*, 1590

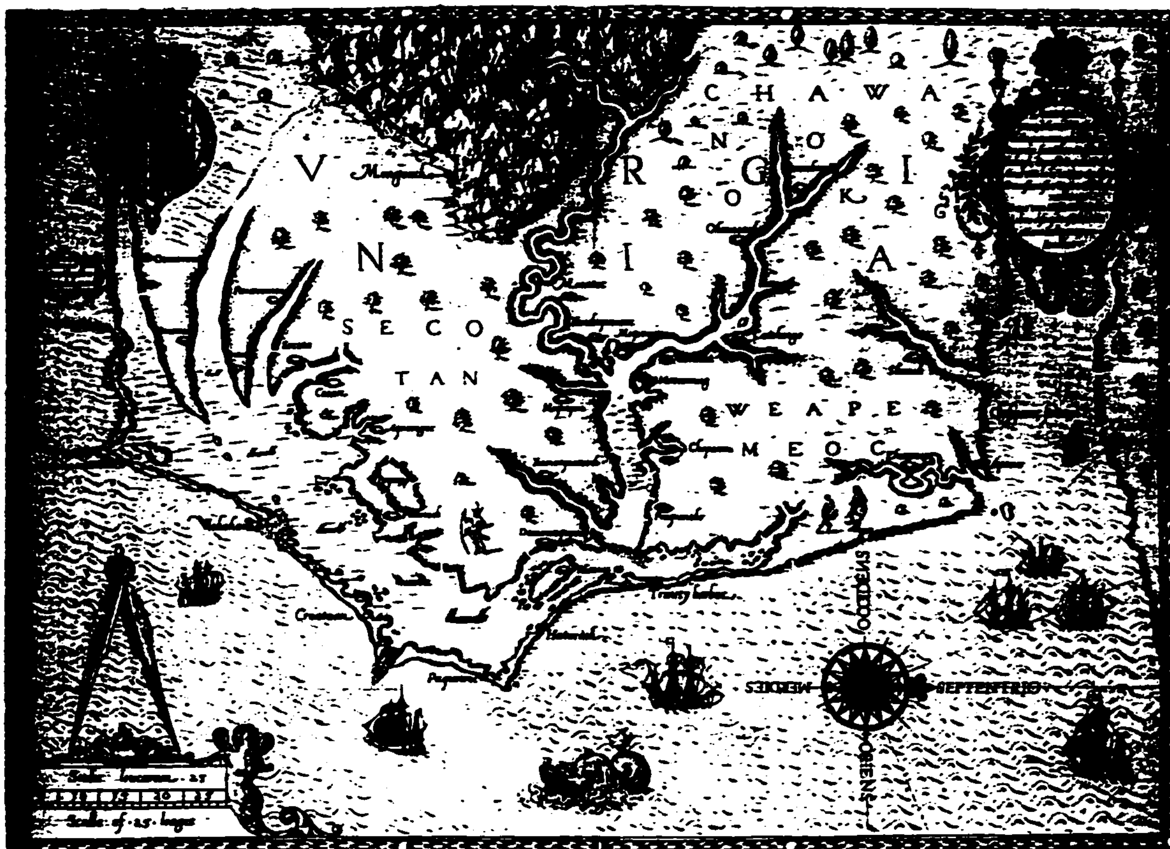

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ILLUSTRATION 4.4

JODOCUS HONDIUS'S *VIRGINIÆ ITEM ET FLORIDÆ*, 1606

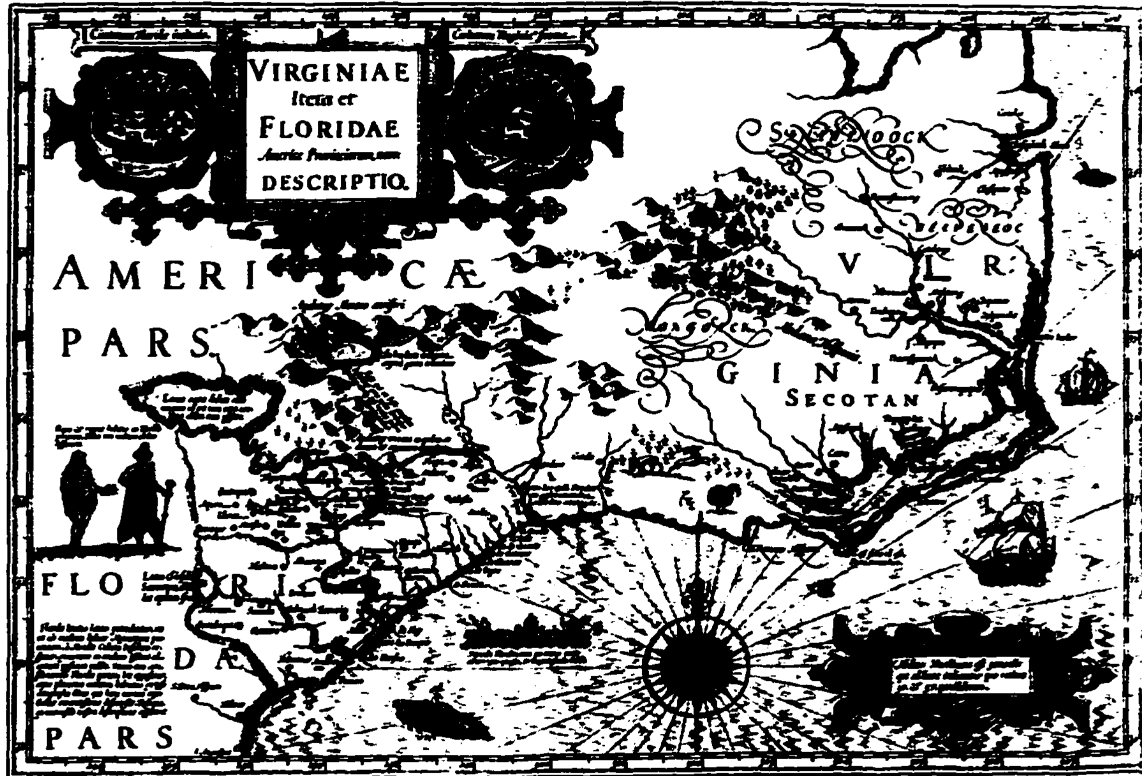

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ILLUSTRATION 4.5

NICOLAS SANSON'S *LE CANADA OU NOUVELLE FRANCE*, 1656

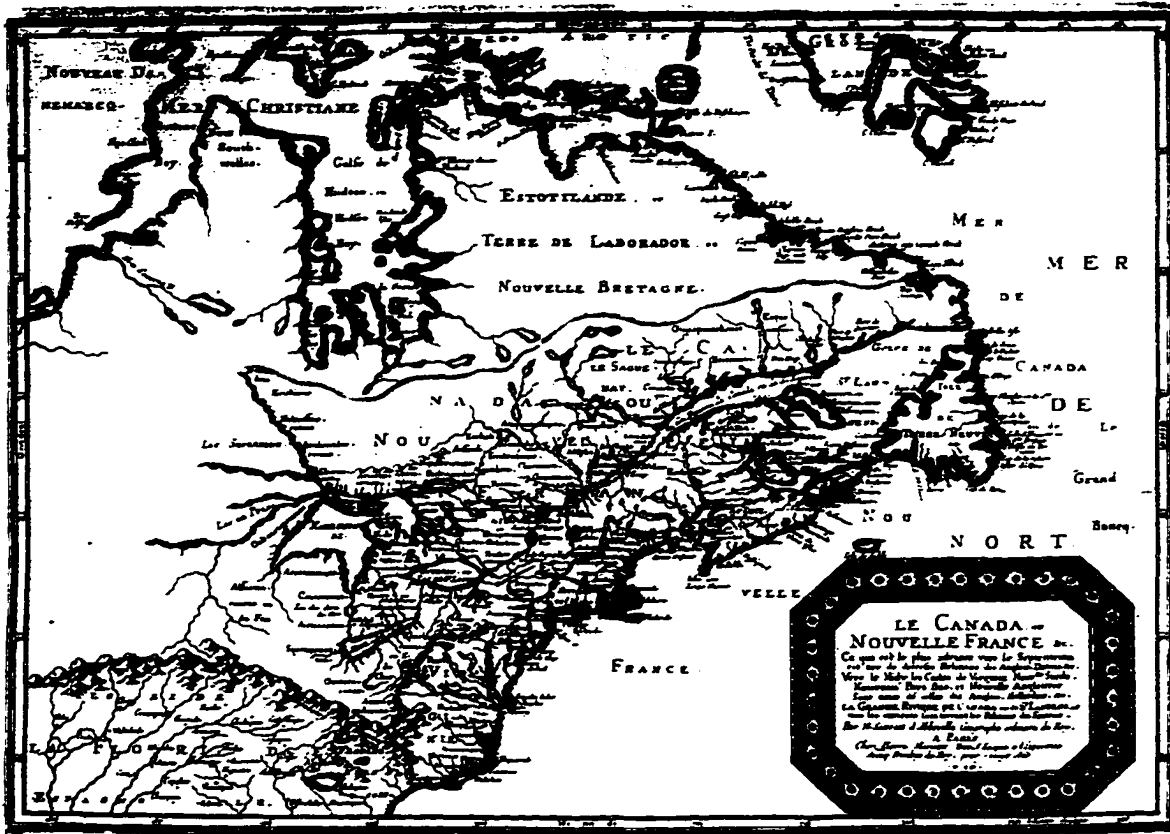

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ILLUSTRATION 4.6

NICOLAS SANSON'S *LA FLORIDE*, 1656 [DETAIL]

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ILLUSTRATION 4.7

JOHN LOCKE'S *MAP OF CAROLINA*, 1671 MS [DETAIL]

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ILLUSTRATION 4.8

JOHN LEDERER'S *A MAP OF THE WHOLE TERRITORY*, 1672

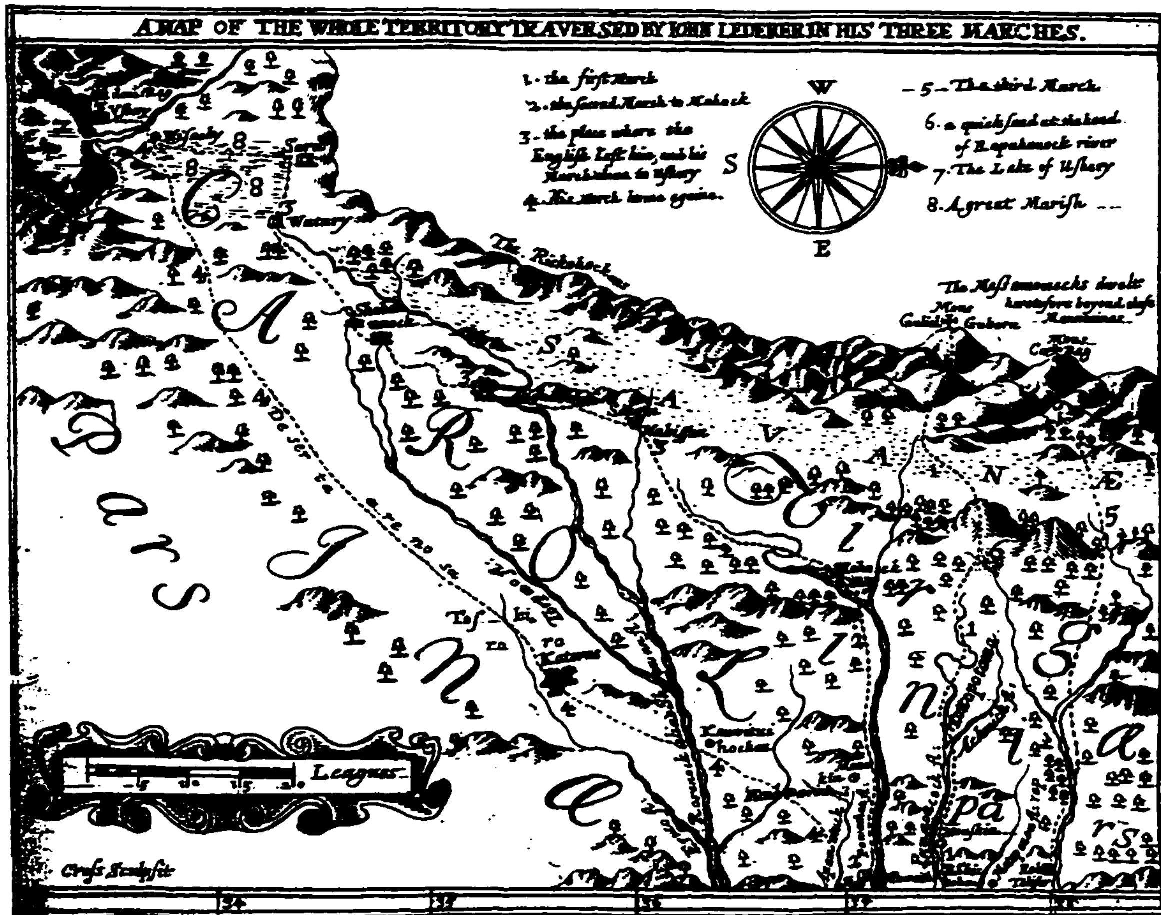

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ILLUSTRATION 4.9

SPANISH *MAPA DE LA YSLA DE LA FLORIDA*, 1683 MS

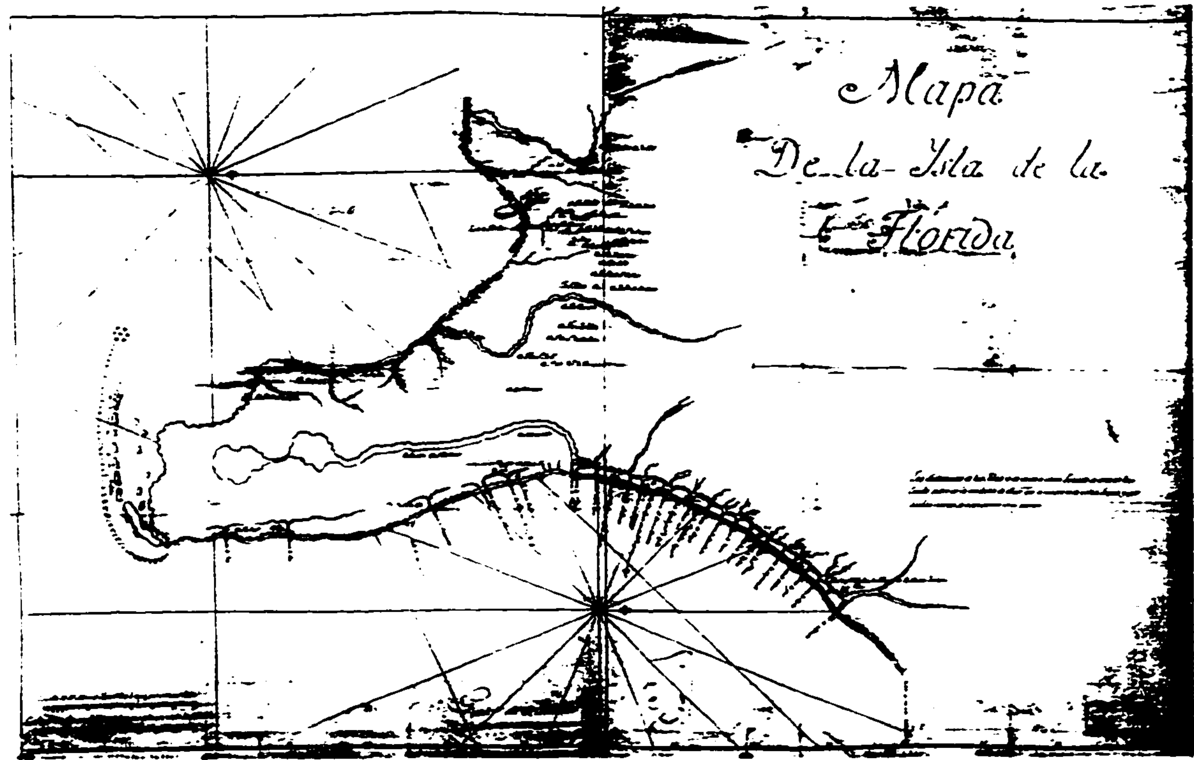

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ILLUSTRATION 4.10

JOHN THORNTON AND ROBERT MORDEN'S *SOUTH CAROLINA*, CA.1695

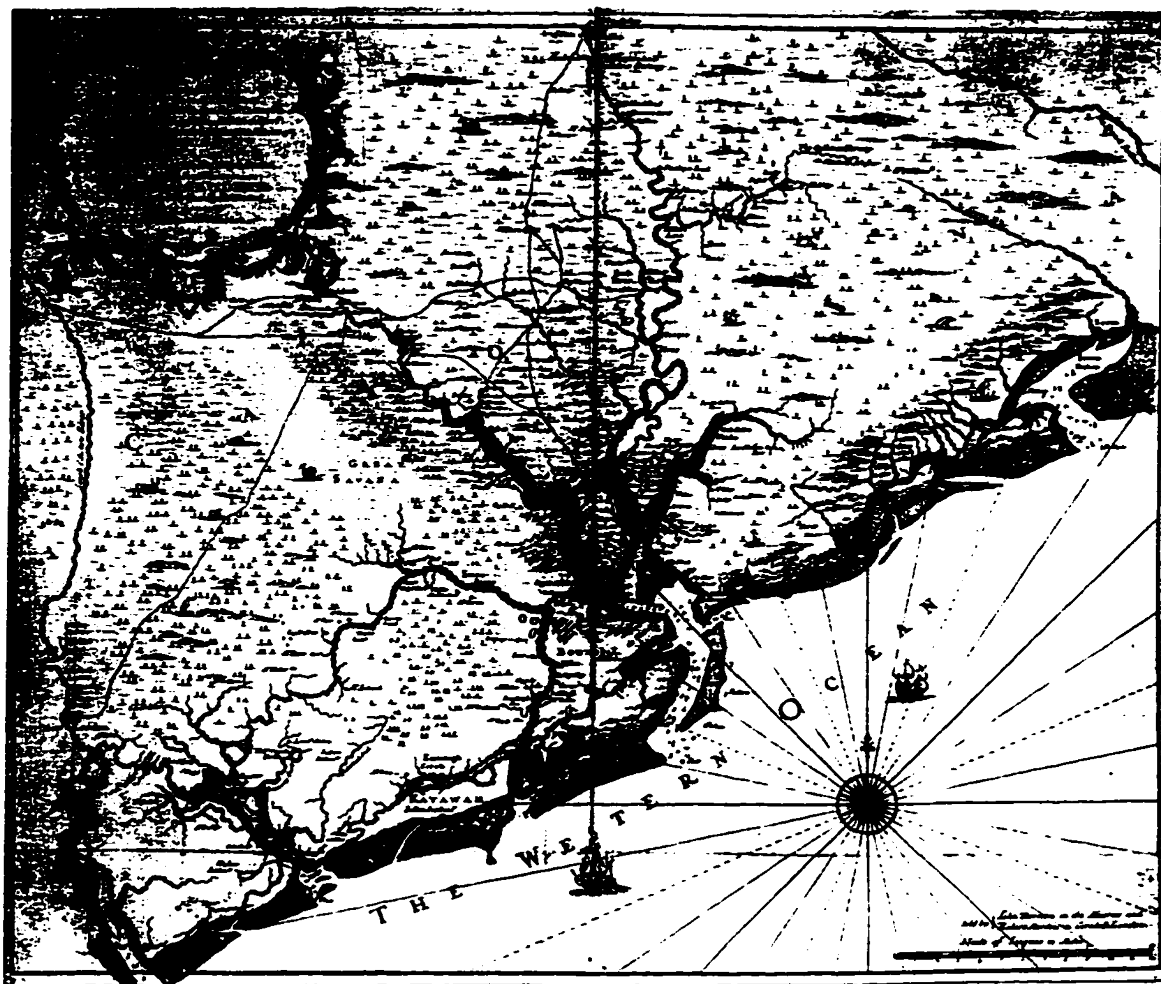

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ILLUSTRATION 4.11

EDWARD CRISP'S *A COMPLEAT DESCRIPTION*, [1711] [INSET]

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ILLUSTRATION 4.12

HERMAN MOLL'S *A NEW AND EXACT MAP OF THE DOMINIONS*, 1715

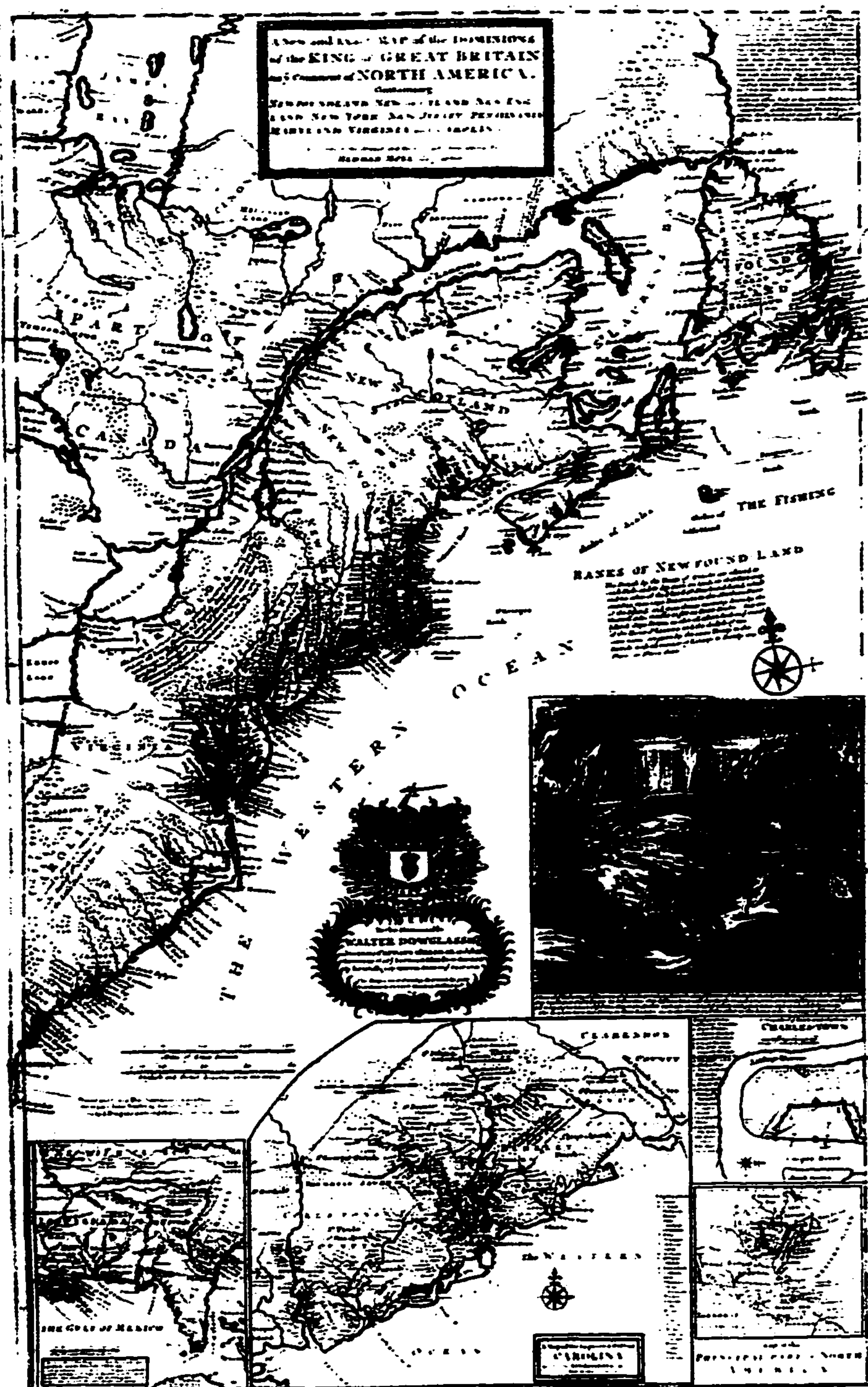

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ILLUSTRATION 4.13

JOHANN HOMANN'S *VIRGINIA MARYLANDIA ET CAROLINA*, 1714

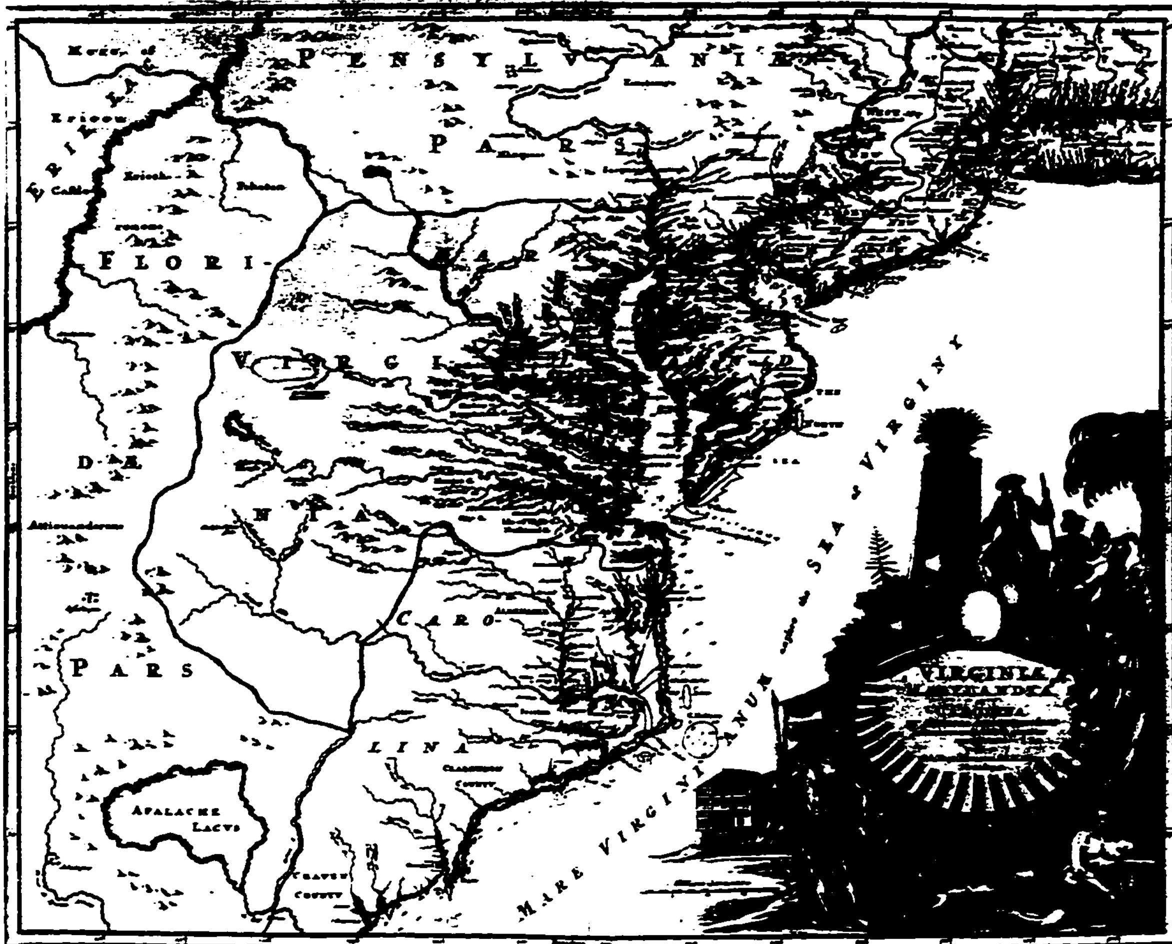

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ILLUSTRATION 4.14

JOHN SMITH'S *VIRGINIA*, 1612

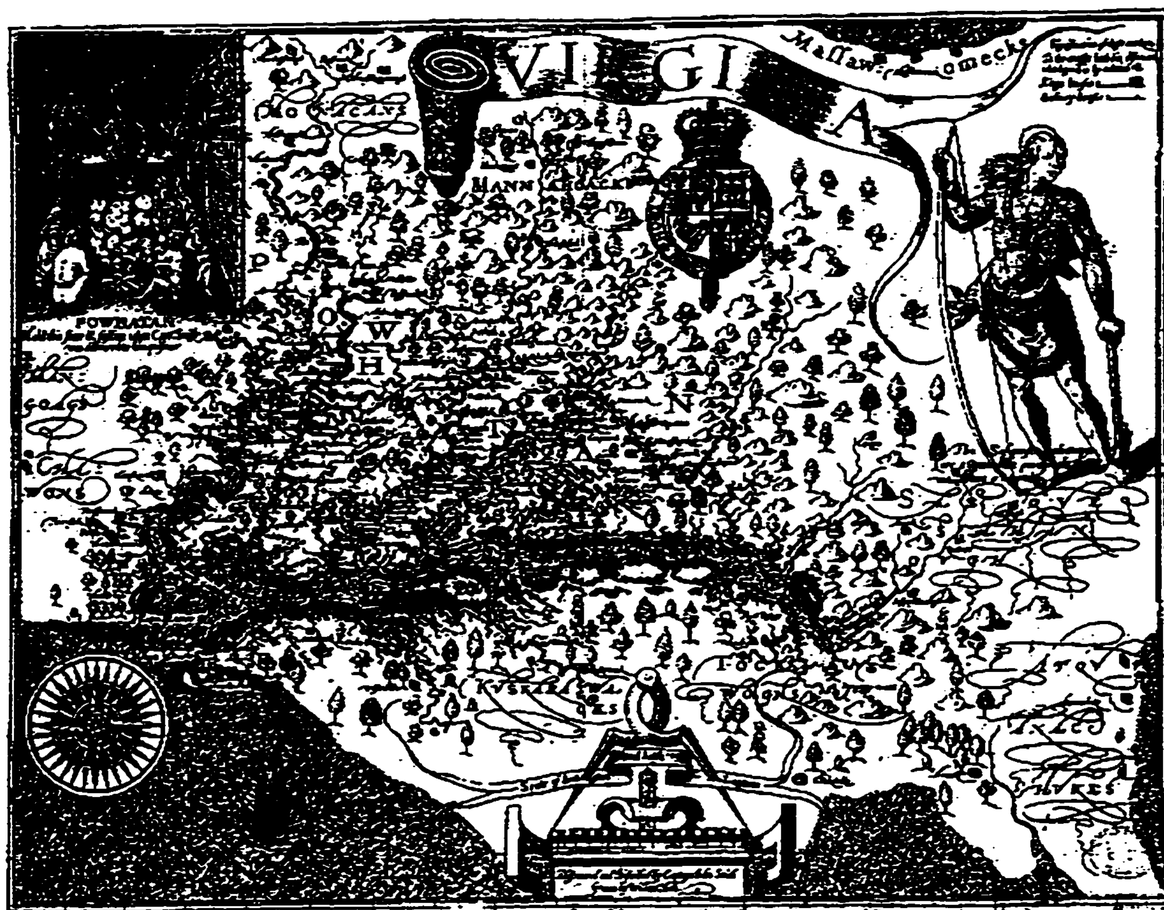

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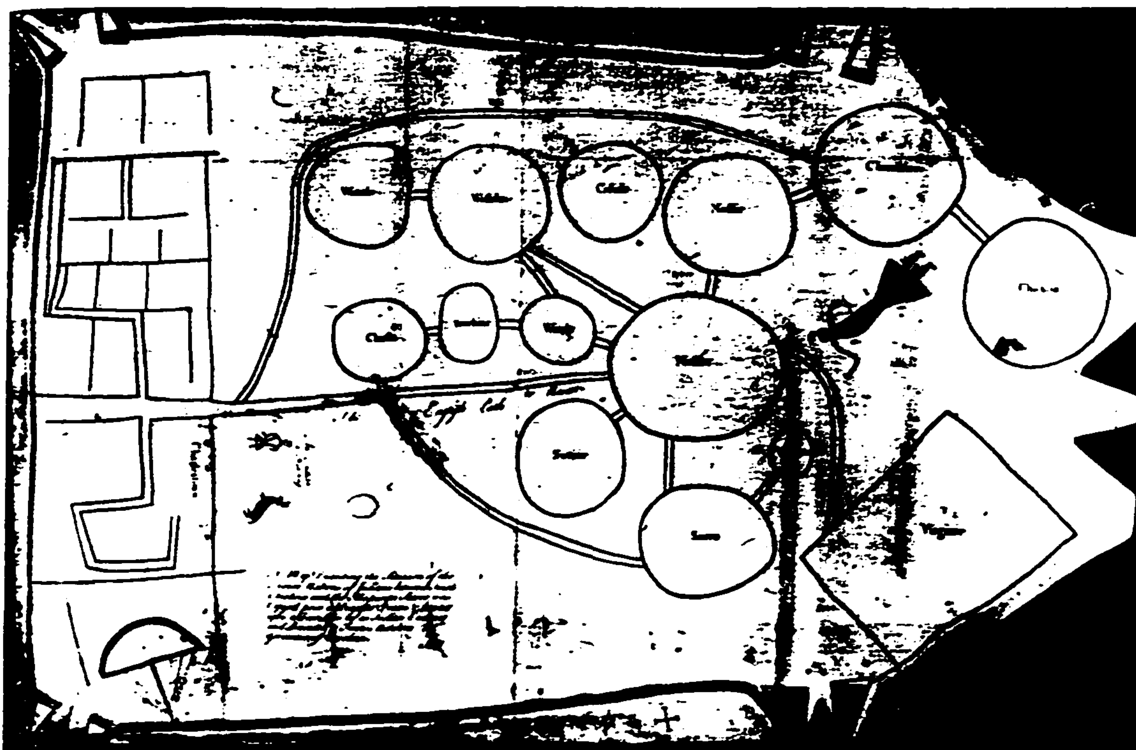
ILLUSTRATION 4.15

A MAP DESCRIBING THE SITUATION OF THE SEVERAL NATIONS OF INDIANS, [1724]



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AFTERWORD

CAROLINA IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD

> The Atlantic World was the scene of a vast interaction rather than merely the transfer of Europeans onto American shores. Instead of a European discovery of a new world, we might better consider it as a sudden and harsh encounter between two old worlds that transformed both and integrated them into a single New World. Our focus is upon the creation of new human geographies resulting from this interaction, and that means those developing not only westward upon the body of America but eastward upon the body of Europe . . . For it is certain that the geography of each was changed: radically on the American side, with widespread disruption of old patterns and imposition of new ones; more subtly on the European side, with new movements of people, goods, capital, and information flowing through an established spatial system and slowly altering its proportions and directions.
>
> – D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America*[1]

Responding to Meinig's call for a geographic view of early American history, this dissertation examines Charles Town as one "point of attachment" or "nucleus," and the lowcountry region as the corresponding "discrete colonization area" into which the early settlement developed. It considers the construction of the Carolina landscape

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[1]D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume I: Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 65.

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within the framework and analytical categories described in his prospectus.[2] Viewing the lowcountry first as a "spatial system," chapter one identifies some of the "nodes and networks" that channeled the movement of people and ideas with a limited geographic area. In this case study, the Atlantic world functioned as one of the "defined territories" which contained Carolina. In London, at the Carolina Coffee House, and through Dublin, Paris, Amsterdam, and The Hague, the proprietors and their agents circulated promotional materials designed to recruit emigrants using positive portraits of the lowcountry and its inhabitants. Chapter two assesses aspects of what Meinig calls "social geography" in the lowcountry region by looking at the relationship between proprietary land policies and settlement patterns. It evaluates the intended and actual effects of the Grand Model, headright grants, and indiscriminate location on the character of Carolina' propertied classes. Taking the lowcountry finally as a "cultural landscape," chapters three and four consider how colonists took possession of the land and imprinted it with "a geometry [and] morphology." They explore the various representations of land, on large and small scales, and how these images changed, from artist to artist and over time, as economic and political circumstances shifted in Carolina.

At the close of the proprietary period South Carolina looked both similar to and far different from the colony envisioned by its designers. Instead of the healthful

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[2]D.W. Meinig, "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians," *American Historical Review*, 83:5 (December 1978), 1190-91.

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environment and temperate climate extolled in the promotional literature, immigrants encountered endemic malaria and hot, humid summers. As advertised, however, they found the soil fertile and the crops profitable. Contrary to the wishes of Shaftesbury and his fellow proprietors, rather than taking up land in Charles Town, the settlers dispersed along the rivers, living on scattered lowcountry plantations. But the colony was populated and growing, with more immigrants from across Europe arriving each year. Generous headright grants attracted these colonists to the region, and Carolina developed the highly-stratified society based on property ownership that the Lords Proprietors desired. The planters, who were as much colonial designers as Shaftesbury or Locke, shaped the settlement by staunchly defending their interests within the land system. They selected the site of their lands, influenced the shape of surveyed property, withheld quitrents, and demanded that colonial leaders respond to their grievances. In the end, they overthrew the proprietary administration and turned instead to a royal government.

The landscape portrayed by Carolina surveyors and cartographers evolved as the colony itself developed. At first, unskilled landmeters produced crude sketches of unsized lands in Charles Town and the surrounding counties. Professional surveyors soon replaced these rough drawings with scaled plats of properties they had traversed and measured with compasses and chains. Similarly, reconnaissance charts of the southeastern coast and its native inhabitants gave way to locational maps that emphasized individual property ownership and the ease of transatlantic commerce. By the eighteenth century, regional and continental maps containing South Carolina

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displayed a landscape that was increasingly divided geographically and socially. Both Indian and European-drawn maps juxtaposed natives and newcomers, contrasted the lowcountry and interior, and set South Carolina against other European colonies in North America.

In Carolina, what Meinig described as the radical transformation and integration of a New World resulted in the creation of a new social and geographical landscape. While colonial promoters recruited emigrants and the proprietors granted land, the planters cleared property and drained swamps. As surveyors measured lines and marked boundaries, so cartographers and their sources represented and claimed physical spaces on maps. Through each of these separate and quite different actions, the designers of Carolina took possession of the lowcountry and constructed a distinctive early American landscape.

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Meaghan Noelle Duff was born in Camp Springs, Maryland, on December 21, 1969. Raised in Virginia Beach, Virginia, she graduated from First Colonial High School in 1987. She earned a B.A. in American history at the University of Virginia and read Irish history at Trinity College, Dublin in 1991. Awarded an M.A. in early American history at The College of William and Mary in 1992, she then entered the doctoral program in history at the College as a graduate assistant. After completing her comprehensive examinations in 1994, she taught American history at William and Mary. Between 1995 and 1997 she received dissertation research fellowships from the Institute for Southern Studies at the University of South Carolina, the Savannah River Archaeology Research Program at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. She now teaches history at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee.

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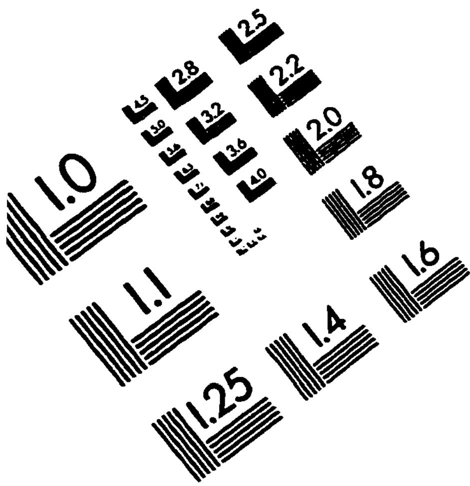
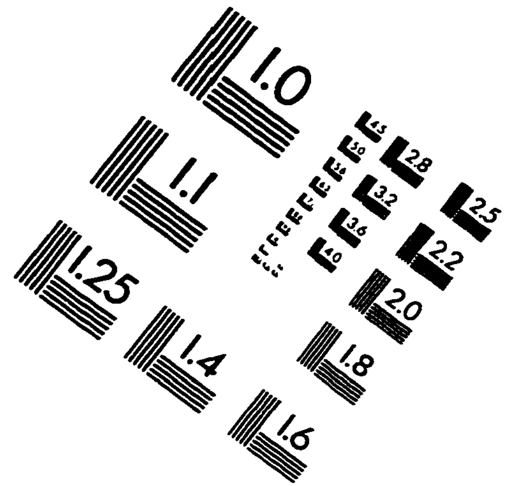
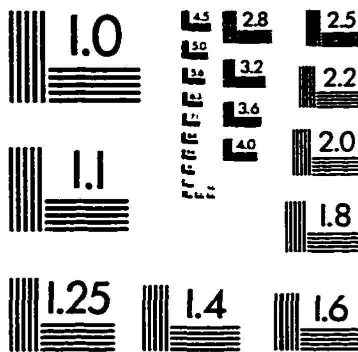
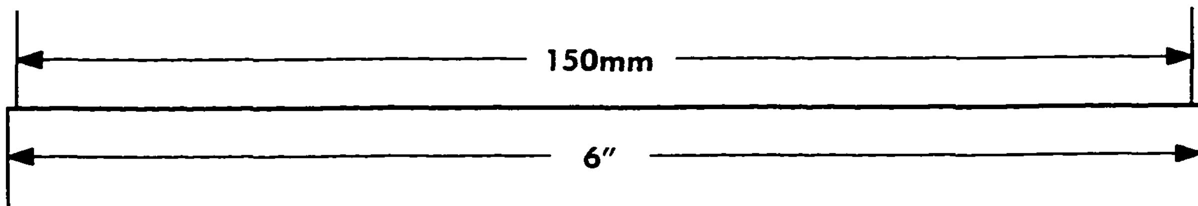

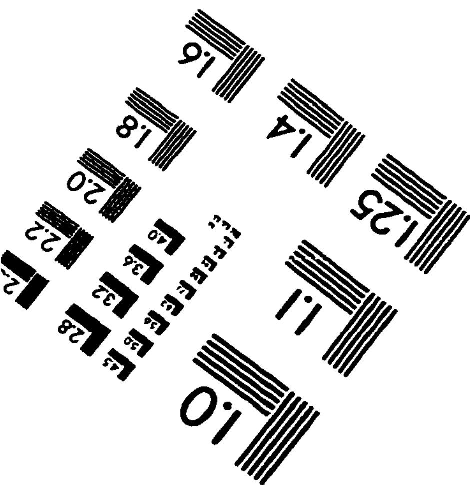
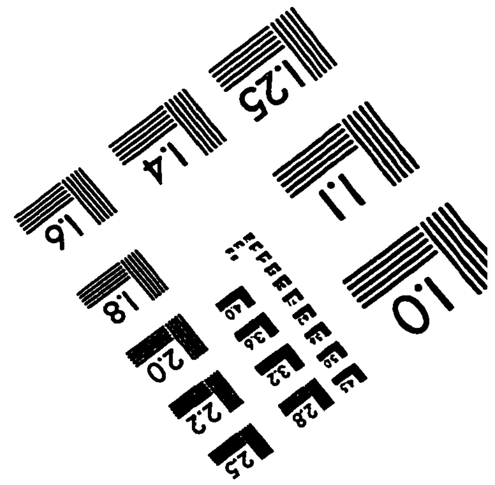

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