

## SERIES PREFACE

The manuscript "Indian Books," and the "Journal of the Directors of the Cherokee Trade" in the South Carolina Archives,<sup>1</sup> a group of volumes relating to colonial-Indian affairs, are to be published as part of *The Colonial Records of South Carolina*. The present printed volume reproduces the first "Indian Book," the "Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710-August 29, 1718," and is the first of the group to be published in the program to complete the printing of the state's records of the colonial period.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript volumes consist of two types: those which deal with the Indian trade, and those which contain documents of Indian affairs in general. Two of the volumes are concerned with the trade; one of these is the present printed volume, the *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710-August 29, 1718*, which is treated in the volume preface, and the other is the "Journal of the Directors of the Cherokee Trade," which is the record of the public trade with the Cherokee Indians from 1762 to 1765 at Fort Prince George on the Keeowee River, in what is now Pickens County, South Carolina, after the Cherokee War. The remaining volumes, five in number, are broader in character and contain copies of different kinds of documents, including letters, affidavits, memorandums, journals, messages, trade regulations, muster rolls, and "talks." Recorded by the Clerk of the Council during the decade, 1750 to 1760, they appear to have been part of a larger group of volumes of a similar type. In the Council Journal for 1738 there is a reference to a conference between the Governor, and some Chickesaw and Choctaw Indians, which it is said "is entered in a Book for the future to be kept for that purpose."<sup>3</sup> In 1746 the Clerk of the Council is specifically said to be keeping "an Account of the Transactions of the Government with the Indians . . . that all those Matters may be seen at one View."<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, these earlier volumes are not now to be found.

The surviving volumes containing the records of Indian affairs in general have documents made during the latter half of the administration of Governor

<sup>1</sup>The titles of the manuscript volumes are given here as they appear on the bindings they now have, which they received in the 1850's. The title "Indian Book" is on the back of six volumes which are distinguished from each other by their respective numbers and inclusive dates. The "Journal of the Directors of the Cherokee Trade" is the last of the group in chronological order, and bears no volume number.

<sup>2</sup>A limited edition of the shorter of the two journals contained in the volume was issued by the Historical Commission of South Carolina (now the Archives Department) in 1926 as the *Journal of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade of South Carolina, September 20, 1710-April 12, 1715*, and the faithful rendition of the text by the editor, Mr. A. S. Salley, has been helpful in the preparation of the present volume. In order that this important part of the "Indian Books" may continue to be available, it is reprinted in the new series.

<sup>3</sup>MS Journal of the Council (photostatic copy of the original in the British Public Record Office in the South Carolina Archives), December 30, 1738, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>MS Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, June 10, 1746, No. 21, pp. 537-38.

James Glen (1743-1756) and most of the period while William Henry Lyttleton, his successor, was in office (1756-1760). The former are the more numerous, including correspondence with other governors such as George Clinton of New York and Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia. The letters written to Glen by William Bull, Jr., while the latter was on his mission to the peace conference between the Six Nations and the Catawba Indians at Albany in 1751 are outstanding. During Lyttleton's administration, the construction and garrisoning of Fort Loudon in what is now Monroe County, Tennessee, is the subject of much of the correspondence preserved in the volumes for that period. The last "Indian Book" ends abruptly in March, 1760, soon after the beginning of the Cherokee War.

In commenting on the South Carolina documents Verner W. Crane has compared them in importance with "the New York Indian records."<sup>5</sup> Such other scholars as John R. Alden, Robert L. Meriwether, Chapman J. Milling, and Wilbur R. Jacobs have made extensive use of the manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> It is believed, therefore, that publication of them will make more accessible materials that have been recognized as essential to an understanding of the early development of the lower South.

The seven manuscript books vary in size. The first has a unity which requires presentation as a single volume, but the contents of the other six are of such a nature that it seems feasible to combine them in three volumes of larger size for the printed series. The editorial procedure will follow, in general, the rules of style which have been adopted for the *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of The Colonial Records of South Carolina* by the editor, Dr. J. H. Easterby. Individual differences between the two types of records will account for deviations from those rules.

No alterations have been made in the spelling of the original text, and only minor changes have been made in the punctuation, such for example as the substitution of a period for a colon at the close of a sentence and the addition of a comma where the writer clearly intended one to be. Paragraph indentation, however, has been made uniform throughout the printed version, and in certain long and involved passages the editor has taken the liberty of making paragraph divisions. Superscript letters have been lowered to the normal line, the thorn (y) translated as th, a capital substituted for any lower case letter found at the beginning of a sentence, initial letters of all nouns capitalized that were so treated in contemporary printing, and the customary endings added to the numerals used in dates. All abbreviations are spelled out except those sanctioned by present-day usage (including the symbol &c.) and those standing for proper names. Brackets are used to indicate editorial interpolations, and parentheses enclose marginal notes in the original, but occasionally the text will show they have been carried over from the manuscript. In order to facilitate refer-

<sup>5</sup>Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, (Durham, 1928), p. 337.

<sup>6</sup>The works of the authors referred to are respectively *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier, 1754-1775* (Ann Arbor, 1944); *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765* (Kingsport, 1940); and *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill, 1940). Jacobs used them in connection with his edition of *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier, The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1775* (Columbia, 1954).

ence to the original, the manuscript page numbers have been enclosed in vertical rules and placed in the printed text at the beginning of each page.

In all phases of the planning of the printed version, and in the interpreting of the original text, the editor has had the generous help and advice of Dr. J. H. Easterby, the director of the South Carolina Archives, who provided the opportunity to produce this edition. Mr. Willis A. Shell of the William Byrd Press, Richmond, Va., and Mr. Cornell H. Reynolds of the State Commercial Printing Company gave valuable suggestions on the design of the format. The errors of omission and commission rest with the editor who made the final decisions.

## VOLUME PREFACE

The journals printed in this volume are a record of the proceedings of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade in South Carolina from 1710 to 1718. The trade with which they were concerned was so widespread that at times it stretched as far west as the Mississippi River. In the beginning this trade was conducted on plantations through Indian hunters and was controlled by the Proprietors of the colony, but by 1710 it was the interest of a merchant group in Charles Town.<sup>1</sup> White traders purchased goods imported from London and sold them to the Indians, or hired themselves to trade for the merchants. When they dealt with the natives, the traders were seldom scrupulous in the means used to obtain the skins and slaves which they brought to Charles Town, and their abuses of the Indians became notorious. The result was that an act was passed in 1707 by the General Assembly which established a board of nine commissioners to regulate the Indian trade.<sup>2</sup> The Commons House of Assembly controlled the Commissioners, and from 1707 to 1710 they apparently did not function as an organized body.

The journal of the Commissioners begins on September 20, 1710 and is kept until the outbreak of the Yamasee War in 1715. In the main, the Commissioners' activity during these years was confined to curbing the abuses of recalcitrant traders and obtaining a small measure of justice for the exploited Indians. They acknowledged privately the Indians were "the Bulwark of this Settlement,"<sup>3</sup> and listened to their charges of extortion, forced payment of debts, abduction of women and children, beatings, and murder. The Commissioners attempted to stop these abuses by enforcing the act, or obtaining warrants for the arrest of criminal offenders; and to prevent the traders from instigating sneak attacks of one friendly tribe upon another to obtain slaves, they forbade the purchase of any slaves in the Indians towns unless such slaves were captured in war by the town and held for the space of three days.<sup>4</sup> Summary hearings were held after two traders, Alexander Long and Eleazer Wiggan, caused such an attack on an Euchee village to collect payment for their alleged debts. The board revoked the traders' licenses, ordered their bonds prosecuted, and recommended that they be tried for criminal offenses.<sup>5</sup>

For the enforcement of the trade regulations, the Commissioners depended upon the Agent who was required to spend at least ten months out of each year in the Indian towns.<sup>6</sup> The first appointee to this office was Thomas Nairne, but he was replaced by John Wright who was Agent when the proceedings began to be recorded in 1710. During the spring of 1711 Wright visited the Yamasee towns which were located in the region of Port Royal Sound, and reported illegal trading there. He listened to the Indians' complaints of white men's encroachments on their lands and promised them redress of their grievances. On returning to Charles Town, the Agent was ordered to go to Savannah

<sup>1</sup>Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 110, 117-20.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Cooper, ed., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1837), II, 309-16.

<sup>3</sup>Below, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup>Below, pp. 15-16.

<sup>5</sup>Below, pp. 53-56.

<sup>6</sup>Cooper, *Statutes*, II, 309-16.

Town, a trading center which was located on the eastern bank of the Savannah River, near present-day Augusta, Georgia. He returned in March 1711/12 with bonds from nineteen traders who agreed to cancel the "Rum and Relations' Debts" owed to them.<sup>7</sup>

The act of 1712 made Thomas Nairne Commissioner to the Yamasee and Palachocola Indians, the latter tribe being located on the Savannah River west of the Yamasee towns, and a dispute arose between Nairne and Wright over the jurisdiction of their offices which was decided in favor of the Agent by Chief Justice Nicholas Trott. Later that year Nairne replaced Wright as Agent.<sup>8</sup>

In 1712, 1713, and 1714 the Agent was sent further west than Savannah Town. He visited the Alabama Indians, a tribe living on the Alabama River, in order to prevent their desertion to the French who were operating from Mobile. On his return, the Agent was to contact other tribes friendly to the English, including the Chickesaws who were located in what is now the north-eastern part of Mississippi, the Upper and Lower Creeks who were living in present-day Alabama and Georgia, and the Cherokees of the piedmont and mountain region of what now is part of South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. In 1715 the work of the Agent and the Commissioners was cut short by the outbreak of the Yamasee War which disrupted the trade and made its regulation which had been carried on since 1707 a failure.

The General Assembly met the problem of restoring the Indian trade by passing an act on June 30, 1716 which established a public monopoly of the trade for the colony.<sup>9</sup> The old board of nine commissioners was replaced with a smaller one of five members who were to direct the operations of the monopoly. They met soon after the act was ratified and ordered a record of their proceedings kept which was entered in the same volume with the earlier journal. Under the new system the trade was first restricted to their factories or trading posts, one at Savannah Town, another on Winyah Bay, and the third at the Congarees, near the site of future Columbia. This policy, however, was a temporary one for the Commissioners were forced to expand their operations. As peace returned to the frontier, private or illegal trade was revived, the demand from the Creeks and the Chickesaws to be supplied with goods was heard again, and competition from Virginia traders with their cut-price goods and pack-horse delivery threatened the favorable position of the Carolinians with the Indians.

In the case of the Cherokee Indians other reasons caused a change of plans. This tribe made peace in the spring of 1716, and according to the agreement, they were required to trade at Savannah Town until the Congaree factory was built. A short time later they refused to go to the factory on the Savannah River except for rum because their enemies, the Creeks, were attacking them too often on the way. As a result, the trade was opened, and several factories were located, in the Cherokee towns.

The "Northward Trade" in the coastal area of South Carolina was served by the Winyah Bay factory, which opened soon after the public trade was estab-

<sup>7</sup>Below, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup>Below, pp. 25-26, 39.

<sup>9</sup>The full text of this act is printed for the first time in the Appendix of this volume; see below pp. 325-29.

lished. Another factory was opened at Santee on the coast between Winyah Bay and Charles Town, but it was unsuccessful. Southwest of Charles Town no factories were opened, but the illegal trade there caused the passage of an act in December, 1716 which authorized several plantation owners, including John Barnwell of Port Royal who was a Commissioner, to trade for the public.<sup>10</sup> They were not supplied with goods and rum, however, until 1718. An important source of skins was from the Catawba Indians in the north central part of the colony, and this trade was renewed in 1716.

The Creek trade was opened at Savannah Town after Theophilus Hastings, the former Cherokee factor, arranged a truce with the tribe. The following summer, pack-horse trains were sent to the Creek settlements, and factories were planned for the Upper, Middle and Lower Creek towns. The Chickesaw request for trade was left unanswered.

The most important items in the trade were deerskins and Indian slaves, the latter always being sold at public auction in Charles Town soon after they arrived. The merchandize sold by the factors was purchased from local merchants by the Commissioners usually at advanced prices. Cash, when it was available, or notes were used to pay for the goods, and the latter became necessary after the loans supplied by the General Assembly were exhausted. By 1718 the public trade had expanded far beyond the limits originally intended, but this was possibly justified by the fact that the Indians were being supplied without the many crimes and abuses so prevalent during the earlier period.

The original journals are closely followed in the arrangement of this volume except the copy of the Act of Assembly of June 30, 1716 which precedes the second journal in the original is moved to the Appendix. Each recorded meeting is preceded by a dateline in italics modeled after the form used by the Clerk for the 1716 to 1718 proceedings. In some cases it has been necessary, especially in the 1710 to 1715 journal, to lift silently from the opening sentence the information supplied in the dateline, but this is done without violence to the text. Both Old Style and New Style dates for the period January 1 to March 25 are given in all supplied headings. The headings at the top of each page give a short title of the volume on the left-hand page, and the date of the latest meeting which appears on the right-hand page.

The names of the Commissioners present at each meeting have been arranged in paragraph form in the order they appear in the text, instead of the column arrangement used in the original. Three asterisks separate morning and afternoon sessions of the same meeting. Italic letters in the 1716 to 1718 proceedings refer to notes in the margin of the original, in which the letters are repeated and are followed by the numbers given in the printed version in parentheses. The brand marks are given in the text in modified form, but are represented as closely as possible to the original in the accompanying footnotes. Blank spaces in the original are indicated by a dash on the normal line. Annotation is limited to matter relating to the text. In cases where *es* is used to show possession, the apostrophe is substituted for the *e*.

The typescript for this volume was made by Miss Nancy L. Shofner, and Miss Ruth S. Green has helped to prepare the index.

<sup>10</sup>Cooper, *Statutes*, II, 691-94.