1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: **CHARLESFORT-SANTA ELENA**

Other Name/Site Number: 38BU51 and 38BU162

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: ▬▬▬▬▬▬   Not for publication: __

City/Town: ▬▬▬▬▬▬   Vicinity: X

State: South Carolina   County: Beaufort   Code: 013   Zip Code: 29905

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property
Private: __
Public-Local: __
Public-State: __
Public-Federal: X

Category of Property
Building(s): __
District: __
Site: X
Structure: __
Object: __

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
__	1	buildings
1	__	sites
__	2	structures
__	1	objects
1	4	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

Designated a
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK on

JAN 0 3 2001

by the Secretary of the Interior

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

_____   _____

Signature of Certifying Official   Date

_____

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

_____   _____

Signature of Commenting or Other Official   Date

_____

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register   _____
___ Determined eligible for the National Register   _____
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register   _____
___ Removed from the National Register   _____
___ Other (explain): _____

_____   _____

Signature of Keeper   Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: Domestic   Sub: village site
                         Government   capital
                         Defense   fortification

Current: Landscape   Sub: unoccupied land
                        Recreation and Culture   sports facility

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: N/A

MATERIALS: N/A
 Foundation:
 Walls:
 Roof:
 Other:

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Santa Elena, the sixteenth-century capital of Spanish Florida, ███████████████████ ███████████████, between 1566 and 1587. The town of Santa Elena and the forts which guarded it were established by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, as a military outpost to prevent French intrusion into Spanish *La Florida*. The French under Jean Ribault had constructed Charlesfort (1562-1563) in the vicinity of Santa Elena ███████████████, in an attempt to gain a foothold in Spanish territory, but abandoned the effort three years before the Spanish established Santa Elena.

According to historical documentation, at least one French fort, and five Spanish forts were built within the vicinity of the Santa Elena Site. The earliest documents relating to Spanish Santa Elena indicate that there were two forts in use by 1566. Both built by the Spanish, one was a blockhouse called Fort San Salvador and the second was Fort San Felipe (I), which was constructed on the site of the French built Charlesfort (1562-1563). In 1570, Fort San Felipe (I) burned, and a new Fort San Felipe (II) was built and used until Santa Elena was temporarily abandoned in 1576. When the Santa Elena was reoccupied in 1577, a new fort, San Marcos (II), was constructed and used until Santa Elena was finally abandoned in 1587.

During the 21-year occupation of Santa Elena by the Spanish, in addition to the forts, the surrounding town was composed of as many as 60 houses with a total maximum population of around 400-450 settlers and soldiers. Recent archeological investigations of the forts and settlement of Santa Elena are providing significant insights into one of the earliest colonial European occupations within the present-day United States.

Environmental Setting

Archeological Investigations

The first European settlement ███████████████ was Charlesfort, constructed by the French in 1562. It is shown on an island in engravings by DeBry in 1591 as a triangular shaped fortification as per the narrative and watercolors of Jacques Le Moyne who lived at the site for a short time before returning to France with the expedition leader Jean Ribault (Hoffman 1978:1). In Le Moyne's own words:

> Apparently aware of the Le Moyne-DeBry engravings, he [Hilton] soon found an
> island ███████████ on which there were remains of a Spanish settlement.

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Among those remains were "the Ruines of an old Fort, [en]compassing more than half an acre of land within the Trenches, which we supposed to be Charles Fort [Charlesfort], built, and so called by the French in 1562" [1] [Hoffman 1978:1].

William J. Rivers' *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina to the Close of the Proprietary Government* (1856), made note of Dr. R.E. Elliott and his son, Captain George P. Elliott having gone ███████████ in the 1850s, and dug into the earthen ramparts which Hilton had seen nearly two hundred years earlier (Hoffman 1978:1). According to Paul Hoffman:

> Captain Elliott and the historian Jeptha R. Simms went to Parris Island and, using a gang of [slave] laborers, measured the mounds which marked the site and dug for a gate indicated by Le Moyne's sketch of Fort Caroline [see Figure 20], which they apparently thought was Charles Fort [Charlesfort]. They claimed to have found it, or rather the gate posts and hinges. Satisfied, they took their finds and left [1978:5].

It was reported that they found the charred remains of two wooden posts, "Several Massive Hinges about 1-1/2 to 3 feet in length", "Staples, Bolts", an iron latch, "very massive and about 1-1/2 feet long", "a goodly number of heavy, large-headed wrought iron nails about 4 or 5 inches long", and "many scraps of china, entirely different from the English ware of that period" (Hoffman 1978:5-6).

This information was recounted in Alexander S. Salley's 1919 pamphlet *Parris Island, the Site of the First Attempt at a Settlement of White People Within the Bounds of What is Now South Carolina* (Hoffman 1978:2). All of these authors, however, spoke of the ruins as the French site of Charlesfort, seemingly unaware of the Spanish occupation ███████████

The earthen mounds which outlined the ramparts and moat of the fort, however, were believed by ██ to be an old Civil War earthwork and were partially leveled off in the summer of 1917 as part of preparations to build training facilities on the site for World War I. At that time Colonel John Millis, of the Army Corps of Engineers alerted the Post Commander "that this was really the site of Charles Fort (Charlesfort)" (Osterhout 1923:105). Apparently, some of the earthen mounds were used to fill the moat, as when Major Osterhout later dug in the moat area he found numerous artifacts from this leveling action within the moat (Osterhout 1923:105; Hoffman 1978:8). Osterhout noted this work did not destroy the buried remains of the fort, which he found intact "only a few inches under the surface" (1923:105).

Archeological verification of the site ███████████ as the French Charlesfort seemed proven when, in 1923, Major George Osterhout of the United States Marine Corps "conducted excavations on the site of a fort ███████████ and found pottery which seemed to him, and

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[1] Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Parris Island, The Site of the First Attempt at a Settlement of White People Within the Bounds of What is Now South Carolina*. South Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin 5, Printed for the Commission by the State Company, Columbia, 1919.

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apparently to other non-specialists (Brigadier General Eli K. Cole, USMC) to be 'southern French' in origin" (Hoffman 1978:2).

Although not trained as an archeologist, Major Osterhout kept good records of his dig and published his results in 1923. Osterhout uncovered a wooden parapet wall of cedar timbers and reexcavated the moat around the three remaining sides of the fort, the eastern part having been eroded ███████████████████████

The west side of the fort (facing inland), as determined by the wooden stockade built into the earth parapet wall remains, was 175 feet long. A gate was found at the mid-point of the parapet with a "gate house" in front of the fort, measuring 15 feet on each side. At the northwest and southwest corners of the fort were two bastions 7 feet long by 3 feet wide (Osterhout 1923:107-108).

The eastern half of the fort ██
The remaining eastern side of the fort was 192 feet long. The remaining north and south sides of the fort were both 103 feet long (Osterhout 1923:107).

Surrounding the fort was a moat 20 feet wide and 5 feet in depth. In front of the moat was an embankment, or glacis, 20 feet in width and 4 feet high. The wooden stockade posts, up to 18 inches in diameter, were made of red and white cedar and were held upright in place with smaller posts and packed oyster shells (Osterhout 1923:107-108; Hoffman 1978:11).

On the basis of Osterhout's excavation and with the sponsorship of the Huguenot Society of America, Congress erected a monument on the site of the fort in 1926 to commemorate Jean Ribault's settlement of Charlesfort (Hoffman 1978:3). Osterhout took care "during the excavating to avoid disturbing the main features of the site" (1923:108). He had the old cedar stockade reburied, and the stockade line outlined with small concrete pillars linked by lengths of chain (1923:109).

However, almost from the start, the dean of Spanish colonial studies, Hubert Eugene Bolton, and his students published numerous articles interpreting the fort site as Spanish. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, both sides published their own views on the cultural origin of the fort site (Ross 1925; Osterhout 1936).

Finally, in 1957, Albert Manucy, National Park Service Historian at Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine examined the artifacts recovered by Osterhout and pronounced them and the fort site as Spanish colonial. As a result, the fort site has since been interpreted as Spanish rather than French (Hoffman 1978:3).

Key to the interpretation of the site as Spanish colonial was identification of the ceramics found by Osterhout as typical mid-sixteenth-century Spanish colonial ceramics as found in other similarly dated sites in Florida. The ceramic types included glazed and unglazed olive jar sherds, green-glazed earthenware of *lebrillo* forms, and Yayal Blue on White and Columbia Plain majolica sherds (Hoffman 1978:13). It is now generally believed that Osterhout's "Charles Fort,"

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██████████████████████████████ was the Spanish Fort San Marcos (1577-1587).

Since 1979, several archeological projects--primarily under the direction of Dr. Stanley South of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina--have been conducted to further develop an archeological and historical perspective of this site. The first project, conducted in 1979 and sponsored by the University of South Carolina, resulted in the discovery of the moat of Fort San Felipe (II) (1566-1570), and sixteenth-century Spanish pottery and fired clay daub from Spanish colonial structures around the fort. In this project, South undertook the excavation of 42 excavation units spread throughout the fort site and its surrounding area. Several of the squares were found to have struck the edge of the 15 foot wide moat of San Felipe, and from this, the moat and shape of the fort was determined (South 1979).

The second project, sponsored by the University of South Carolina and the National Geographic Society, was carried out in late 1979 and was intended to excavate areas of concentrations of artifacts and clay daub under the assumption that they constituted the location of a structure. Excavations uncovered a 12 foot wide hut of Spanish colonial construction and a concentration of Spanish artifacts surrounding the hut area during the period of use (1566-1576) (South 1980).

This project excavated a section through the moat of Fort San Felipe ten feet wide and five feet deep. Test squares were also placed in the fort walls of Fort San Marcos (II), which guarded the second Santa Elena settlement (South 1980). An effort was also made to determine the extent of the Spanish colonial occupation, which appeared at that time to cover an area roughly 150 x 300 feet, and to contain the remains of at least 12 structures, based on a 1% sample survey (South 1980).

The third project at Santa Elena, lasting from June to August of 1981, was funded by the National Geographic Society. It was intended to excavate an area 30 x 100 feet to gain information on three possible structures identified in the 1979 sampling survey. This work uncovered three archeologically-intact sixteenth-century Spanish colonial structures (South 1982).

The three structures were grouped around a central courtyard area 44 x 51 feet in size. Two of the structures were found to be parallel to each other, with the third oriented perpendicular to the other two. These three structures appeared to be oriented toward the two structures found nearby in 1979. The structures varied in size, from the small 12 foot wide hut, and 18 x 20 foot structure found in 1979, to the 42 foot long building found in the 1981 season of work (South et al. 1988:5).

The 1981 excavation revealed that the sixteenth-century occupation surface of Santa Elena is intact and untouched by later agricultural activity, allowing for greater detailed information to be recovered than is usually the case with archeological sites. For this reason, nearly all work conducted at Santa Elena has involved hand removal of earth, rather than mechanical stripping of the soil (South et al. 1988:5).

The 1981 excavation also provided information on the wattle-and-daub Spanish colonial buildings of Santa Elena. According to Dr. Stanley South:

> As postholes were dug for the upright posts for a building, on which wattling of
> cornstalk and canes was fastened, clay-daub processing pits were dug in the yard
> around the structure. Clay, water, moss and grass were mixed in these pits using
> the feet until a suitable mixture of daub was obtained for plastering onto the
> wattled walls of the structure. When the building was completed these processing
> pits were filled with refuse thrown from the newly occupied structure. The pits
> thus became filled with oystershells, clams, conch, pig bones, fish bones, hearth
> ashes, eggshells and broken dishes from Spanish majolica, [Spanish] olive jar
> fragments, Italian majolica, Mexican earthenware, Chinese Ming [Dynasty]
> porcelain, copper aglets or lacing tips for fastening clothing, thimbles, dice,
> straight pins, a crucifix, and [sixteenth-century Spanish] silver coins stamped with
> the arms of Spain, and other things [South et al. 1988:5].

The largest and most impressive artifact recovered in 1981 was a sixteenth-century Spanish
barrel used as a well casing next to Structure 2:

> This barrel has six iron bands and 22 wooden bands fastened together with small
> withes or reed so tightly woven that much of the lower half of the barrel has the
> appearance of basketry. The preservation of the barrel is so good that even the
> bung is still intact in the bung-hole [South et al. 1988:5].

Later in 1981, small excavations, funded by the Explorers Club of New York, ████████████
████████Fort San Felipe (I) in an unsuccessful attempt to locate the French colonial fort of
Charlesfort. Since the 1923 excavations, it had been assumed that Fort San Marcos (II) was the
fort constructed by Jean Ribault's men in 1562. However, South's excavations showed that this
fort was probably Fort San Marcos (II). (1582 or 1583-1587) (South et al. 1988:8).

The fifth project, undertaken in the summer of 1982, and sponsored by the National Endowment
for the Humanities, consisted of the excavation of the northwest bastion of Fort San Felipe (I)
(1566-1570). This fort was originally a four-sided structure with a wooden palisade with
projecting diamond-shaped bastions at each of the four corners and two interior strong houses, or
casa fuertes. However, in response to hostile Native Americans, the Spaniards dug a five-foot
deep and fifteen-foot wide moat around the fort. South's work revealed that within two years of
excavation, the moat was half filled in with eroded soil. South also found evidence of the fire
that destroyed San Felipe (I) in 1570:

> Ample evidence of this burning was discovered in the form of burned palisade
> posts lying like jackstraws in the moat, along with iron spikes and nails that held
> supporting timbers to the palisade wall around the bastion [South et al. 1988:8].

The sixth project (1982) was again sponsored by a grant from the National Geographic Society.
According to Dr. Stanley South:

> This project allowed four units 20 by 30 feet in size to be excavated in widely
> spaced areas of Santa Elena, to recover evidence of architectural remains, and
> evidence of three additional structures was revealed. Also in these units

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numerous features filled with Spanish refuse were excavated and since each feature was capped with oyster shell midden, the faunal remains of fish and other animals were remarkably preserved by the sweetened soil. These remains have been analyzed each season by Elizabeth Reitz and are revealing valuable data on the diet of the Spaniards at Santa Elena [1988:9].

During the 1982 season, archeologists also investigated ███████████████████████████) to further determine the extent of the Spanish colonial occupation. The excavations uncovered "many graves from the burial of black residents of the island from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries" (South et al. 1988:9). None of the graves were excavated or removed.

A seventh project, funded by the United States Marine Corps in the summer of 1982, was undertaken to stabilize and protect the excavated northwest bastion of Fort San Felipe (I) for public interpretation.

The eighth project at Santa Elena was carried out in the summer of 1983 and was funded by the National Science Foundation (South 1984). It concentrated on the excavation of a 30 by 120-foot area inside Fort San Felipe (I) to find evidence of two *casas fuertes*, or fortified houses (South et al.1988:9). Excavation revealed the archeological remains of one *casa fuerte*, measuring 50 by 70 feet in dimension. The footing trench for this structure was eighteen inches wide and two feet deep, with large postholes at intervals of 16 to 24 inches. Three wells, two at the north end and one at the south end of the structure, were also found (South et al.1988:9). Excavations have allowed the archeologists to develop a reconstruction of Fort San Felipe (I) and its *casa fuerte*.

The ninth project saw the completion of the excavation of the *casa fuerte* inside Fort San Felipe (I) and the three wells (South 1985). Two of the wells contained remains of wooden barrels in an excellent state of preservation. They were found to contain watermelon, squash, hickory nut, and cocklebur seeds (South 1988:11).

The tenth project was funded jointly by the National Endowment for the Humanities and National Geographic Magazine, and involved the sampling ███████████████████ Fort San Felipe (I) (South & Hunt 1986) to further reveal the area distribution of the sixteenth-century occupation of the Santa Elena Site (South et al. 1988:11). Based on the lack of Spanish artifacts in the area of the golf greens, it was believed at that time that Santa Elena did not extend into the ████████████████████

The eleventh and twelfth projects, were funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation, and consisted of transcription and translation of documents related to Santa Elena, and the synthesis of the material culture assemblage recovered from the site, respectively. The historical research is still ongoing, but the artifact analysis was published in 1988. This work is a significant compilation of sixteenth-century Spanish colonial artifacts recovered from Santa Elena, including glassware, knives, iron nails, iron door hardware, building materials (fired clay daub, lime mortar), brass furniture hardware, lead shot, bullet molds, arquebus and crossbow parts, remains of swords, pikes, armor, and artillery, clothing buckles, hooks, buttons, aglets, and bordado (fine copper or gilded wire embroidered into clothing), brass

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bells, scissors, thimbles, pins, crucifixes, beads, earrings, coins, keys, dice, book hinges, iron awls, fish hooks, barrels, auger bits, Spanish and Italian majolica, lead-glazed and unglazed earthenwares, Spanish olive jars, and Ming Dynasty Chinese porcelain of the Wan Li Period (1572-1619) (South et al. 1988).

In 1991, South undertook a new field effort to reveal more of the area of Santa Elena, this time joined by Dr. Chester B. DePratter, Chairman of the Columbian Quincentennial Commission of South Carolina. Between 1991 and the summer of 1993 "large block units were excavated in the town of Santa Elena" between the two previously located fort sites (DePratter & South n.d.:2). A 70 by 50 foot block excavation "exposed a number of Spanish features, including daub processing pits of the sort typically associated with house construction at Santa Elena" (DePratter & South n.d.:2). The excavators found another Spanish barrel well "immediately adjacent to the well excavated in 1981" and several large (3 feet in diameter) post holes delineating a large square structure measuring 22 feet on each side (DePratter & South n.d.:2).

In the summer of 1993, excavations were conducted ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮in an effort to locate another of the forts built at Santa Elena. Documentary description of Fort San Felipe (II) (1570-1576) indicates it was triangular in shape.

Two historic drawings of of the Spanish forts at Santa Elena exist. The first one shows a blockhouse and gun platform, identifying it as Fort San Marcos (I) (1570-1582 or 1583). This drawing:

> . . . matches precisely a description of that fort written by Alvaro Flores during his inspection of 1578, and this diagram was apparently drawn by Flores as part of his inspection report [DePratter & South n.d.:6].

The second Santa Elena fort drawing shows a rectangular structure, eliminating the triangularly shaped Fort San Felipe (I) (1566-1570) from consideration, and leaving Fort San Felipe (II) (1570-1576) as the best candidate for this drawing (DePratter & South n.d.:6). At the same time, this second drawing closely matches the fort ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ excavated by Osterhout as Charlesfort, and later identified as Fort San Marcos (II) (DePratter & South n.d.:7).

It should be noted that Flores' text indicates that some of the guns of San Marcos were pointed at the ruins of Fort San Felipe (II) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ what South had presumed was the western extent of the Santa Elena site. In the area around the clubhouse they began to pick up Spanish artifacts in the area Flores had indicated was a Spanish fort (DePratter & South n.d.:7).

During this testing ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ the excavators found:

> . . . [a] concentration of Spanish pottery and low-fired brick. Thinking we had found the wall of a burned fort, we opened three-ten foot squares around the sample hole. Instead of the remains of a building, we found that we had

discovered a Spanish pottery kiln [see Figure 18]. This was a very significant discovery, because no such kiln had ever been found at either St. Augustine or Santa Elena. As a matter of fact, the kiln we found is the oldest known pottery kiln ever found in North America [DePratter & South n.d.:7].

According to the excavators:

> ... the kiln was found to consist of a four foot square chamber, an attached fire box, and a stoke hole four feet in diameter and eighteen inches deep that allowed ready access to the fire box. Both the chamber and the fire box were constructed of hand-made bricks set into a hand dug pit approximately 18 inches deep. Inside the kiln chamber, fire box, and stoke pit were hundreds of sherds of Spanish pottery. These pottery fragments were derived from approximately three dozen pots that were being fired in the kiln when it collapsed catastrophically. All of the pots within the kiln were crushed by falling debris during the collapse or else they shattered during too rapid cooling [DePratter & South n.d.:7-8].

The time spent in excavation of the pottery kiln prevented the excavators from verifying the existence of a fort ██

It is now believed that the area between the two extant forts and the kiln constitutes an open plaza area, which would account for the lack of artifactual materials in that area. The 1994 shovel sampling project was initiated to determine if Santa Elena is laid around an open plaza area, as required by the King of Spain's decrees in establishing Spanish colonial communities in the New World, and also to discover the limits of the Santa Elena site (South and DePratter n.d. 1-8). ████████████████████ Within that universe, shovel tests were excavated at 30 foot intervals; a total of 1383 shovel tests were excavated-, This testing revealed that Spanish refuse is concentrated within an area ███████████████████████████████████████ Santa Elena Site, with a light scatter of Spanish and historic Native American material covering the rest of the site (C. DePratter, personal communication 1996) . From this work a distribution map showing the extent of sixteenth century Spanish colonial and historic Native American ceramics was developed. From the distribution of these artifacts a site boundary was established.

During 1995, the archeologists began to reexamine their past work to attempt to identify the location of the French Charlesfort:

> The fort found by South in 1979 has always been thought to be Fort San Felipe (II) now known to be the first Fort San Felipe 1566-1570. But its shape and dimensions are close to those known for French Charlesfort [1562-1563], and during South's excavations within this fort he recovered many ceramic fragments that appeared to be French rather than Spanish [DePratter and South n.d.:61].

Restudy of documents regarding Fort San Felipe confirmed that the fort South found and excavated in 1979-1984 was the first Fort San Felipe occupied from 1566 to 1570. And, a

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reexamination of the artifacts excavated from this site, accomplished in 1995 by James Legg, the Santa Elena project laboratory director who was familiar with sixteenth-century French ceramics, revealed the presence of several French faience and stoneware sherds of the sixteenth century left by the French during their occupation (1562-1563) (DePratter and South 1995:108; DePratter et. al. 1996:47) (see Figure 11). Legg's identification of ceramics from this part of the Santa Elena site as sixteenth century French,

> . . .was confirmed by Dr. Ivor Noel Hume, former director of Colonial Williamsburg's archaeological research program and then verified by John Hurst, Britain's leading authority on late-medieval and postmedieval European ceramics . . . These vessels [recovered f rom Santa Elena] are of ceramic types made in Martincamp, Normandy, Beauvais, and Saintonge in France [DePratter and South 1997:3].

As these French ceramics were not found from any other part of the Santa Elena site, it indicated the first Spanish Fort San Felipe was built upon the remains of the earlier French Charlesfort (C. DePratter et. al. 1996:47). In addition, South's 1984 to 1985 work within Fort San Felipe (I) on the Spanish *casa fuerte* noted that this feature had been built over an earlier defensive ditch 117 to 8 feet across and eighteen inches to two feet deep," which was likely related to the 1562-1563 French occupation of the site (DePratter and South 1997:2).

In the Spring of 1997, DePratter and South returned to Santa Elena to concentrate on the excavation of features believed to be associated with Charlesfort. The first area studied was the west moat or ditch of Fort San Felipe, first exposed in 1983, but not excavated, only profiled in two areas in the 1983 investigations. The 1997 investigations revealed two episodes of moat construction. The first episode was a moat excavation by the French, in 1562, approximately 2.5 feet deep, with an unknown width (DePratter and South 1997:6).

The French ditch provided dirt thrown up to form a parapet in conjunction with a wooden wall along the interior side of the ditch for protection. In 1564, one year after the French had left, the Spanish burned the wooden elements of Charlesfort and filled in the ditch sealing the French period deposits in the process. In 1566, when the Spanish returned and began construction of the first Fort San Felipe they excavated a defensive ditch 4.5 feet deep and 15 feet wide. This new construction removed a large part of the Charlesfort ditch. However, the 1997 excavations revealed that a 90 foot long, 7.5 foot wide and 2.5 foot deep segment of the French ditch still remained along the eastern edge of the Spanish west ditch. The two over lapping ditches were distinctly visible in the excavated profiles (DePratter and South 1997:6-7).

Excavations continued within the interior of the fort site, which disclosed the remains of two interior buildings constructed by the French and later the Spanish. The first building, constructed by the French, was a rectangular storehouse inside Charlesfort, approximately fourteen by forty feet. Examinations of the postholes indicated "it was rebuilt once, and this is consistent with the fact the original Charlesfort storehouse had to be rebuilt (with the assistance of the local Indians) after it accidently burned" (De Pratter and South 1997:10) Over this building the Spanish constructed a much larger casa *fuerte* building (ca. 50 feet wide by 60 feet in length) (see Figure 16)

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Artifacts associated with the French colonial structural features include oyster shells, local Indian pottery, and approximately 70 French faience and stoneware sherds (see Photo 7) particularly in the area of the French ditch on the west side of the fort and around the French storehouse on the interior of the fort (DePratter and South 1997:7).

Site Analysis

As of 1997, the order of sequencing of historic sixteenth-century European occupation at the site is as follows as derived from historic documentation and archeological investigations:

1. In 1562, the French arrived ████████████ and established a fort called Charlesfort. The identification of specific French sixteenth-century faience and stoneware artifacts identifies the location of this fort within the site of Santa Elena at the site of the first Spanish Fort San Felipe (1566-1570). The site of Charlesfort was abandoned in 1563. ██████████████████████████████████ (DePratter et. al.1996).

2. In early 1566, the Spanish arrived ████████████ nd built a small blockhouse, called Fort San Salvador. This site has not yet been identified within the site of Santa Elena, and it is not known when the blockhouse was abandoned.

3. In August of 1566, when the Spanish formally established the town of Santa Elena they built the first Fort San Felipe on top of the remains of Charlesfort. They apparently incorporated much of the French moat and interior buildings into their fort. The first Fort San Felipe was occupied from 1566 to 1570, when it burned.

4. The second Fort San Felipe dates 1570 to 1576 and its location is presently being sought. This fort and the-town of Santa Elena were abandoned due to threatened attacks by Native American groups in the area.

5. The first Fort San Marcos, was built in 1577, when the Spanish returned to Santa Elena. It was abandoned in 1582 or 1583, ████████████████████████████ ████████████████████████████

6. The last fort at Santa Elena, the second Fort San Marcos, ████████████████ ██████████████████ This fort was constructed in 1582 or 1583. A moat was excavated around the fort in 1586 in anticipation of an attack by Sir Francis Drake. This Fort San Marcos and Santa Elena were abandoned 1587.

7. The area between the locations of the first Fort San Felipe and the Second Fort San Marcos, ████████████████████████████ became the prime location of the elite of the Spanish colony. Researchers now believe the structures found ████████████████████████████████████ d presumably had the colony's church and government buildings sited around it in accordance with Spanish policy (DePratter, personal communication 1996).

Site Integrity

The sixteenth-century Spanish colonial town and fort sites composing Santa Elena possess great archeological integrity.

facilities. Osterhout's excavations (1923), however, showed this activity did not seriously effect the archeological integrity of Fort San Marcos.

Archeological investigations over the last fifteen years have shown that this action has preserved the archeological remains of the town site of Santa Elena beneath the top soil.

In addition to the intact sixteenth century French and Spanish colonial remains, the 1994 shovel test investigations found that the site of Santa Elena also contains artifacts of prehistoric and historic Native American occupations of the Stallings Island (4500 to 3100 B. P.), Deptford (2400 to 1500 B. P. Wilmington/St. Catherines (1500 to 800 B.P.), and Irene (675 to 400 B.P.) cultures. Archeological evidence of an eighteenth and nineteenth century plantation and twentieth century United States Marine Corps occupation on the Santa Elena Site were also found during the shovel test investigations. These cultural remains associated with the Santa Elena Site are considered of state significance. [Chester B. DePratter and Stanley A. South Discovery at Santa Elena: Boundary Survey. *Research Manuscript Series 221.* South Carolina Institute for Archeology and Anthropology, Columbia, 1995, pp. 35-47, 50-71].

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally:_X_ Statewide:___ Locally:___

Applicable NationalRegister Criteria: A___ B___ C___ D_X_

Criteria Considerations
(Exceptions):   A___ B___ C___ D___ E___ F___ G___

NHL Criteria: Criteria 1, 2 and 6

NHL Theme:

                                             I. Peopling Places
                                                  4. community and neighborhood
                                                  6. encounters, conflicts, and colonization

Areas of Significance: Archeology (Historic--Non-Aboriginal), Exploration/Settlement

Historic Context: II. EUROPEAN COLONIAL EXPLORATION AND
                                             SETTLEMENT
                                                  A. Spanish Colonial Exploration and Settlement
                                                       2. Southeast
                                                  B. French Colonial Exploration and Settlement
                                                       1. Atlantic

Period(s) of Significance: A.D. 1562-1587

Significant Dates: A.D. 1562, 1566

Significant Person(s):   Pedro Menéndez de Avilés
                                             Jean Ribault

Cultural Affiliation: Spanish, French Huguenot

Architect/Builder: N/A

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Santa Elena, founded in 1566, by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, was the first capital of Spanish Florida. It was intended to protect Spanish shipping from French and English pirates and to secure Spain's claim to the present-day Southeastern United States. In 1587, Santa Elena was abandoned and the capital and settlers were removed to St. Augustine because of hostilities with the Native American groups of the Port Royal Sound area and its exposed situation to English raiders. Recent archeological investigations have uncovered a great deal of the formal Spanish town plan with at least two forts and several buildings grouped around an open plaza. The area also appears to contain the site of Charlesfort (1562-1563), a French settlement founded by Jean Ribault.

The Charlesfort-Santa Elena Site is considered nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criteria 1, 2, and 6, for its association with the sixteenth-century wars fought between Spain and France for control of the riches of the New World; for its association with two important Spanish and French historical figures -- Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and Jean Ribault; and, its historic archeological significance, which has revealed the intact nature of the sixteenth-century Spanish colonial town plan.

Santa Elena, Capital of Spanish Florida

The reason for the establishment of Santa Elena in 1566 ███████████████████████████ ████████████████████████████had its roots in the complex history of the dynastic wars of the sixteenth century between the French and Spanish kings. These wars expanded into a global conflict that would involve a contest for the riches of the New World.[3]

During the sixteenth century, the French and English governments became aware of the great wealth of the New World and used their privateers to acquire a share by raiding Spanish shipping and coastal settlements in the Caribbean. One of the primary means of attacking the wealth of the Spanish empire was through privateer expeditions sanctioned by European governments and financed by private or governmental funds (Ritchie 1986:9-10). These privateers were controlled and encouraged by European states as a means of attacking other nation's shipping without having to establish a strong state navy. According to Robert Ritchie, "in wartime the privateering commission or letter of marque permitted privately financed warships to attack enemy shipping" (1986:11). This form of officially sanctioned piracy permitted piratical acts in wartime because some European nations found it convenient to ignore such activities or even sponsored them for a share of the plundered loot achieved by piracy (Ritchie 1986:11).

However, France and England were not alone in issuing commissions to privateers. The Spanish crown also issued privateering commissions -- and one of the most successful Spanish privateers of the sixteenth century was Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (see Figure 19).

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[3]For more information on the dynastic wars, see Appendix 1, available at the National Historic Landmark Survey.

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Born in 1519 at Avilés, [on the northern coast of Spain], Menéndez was the descendant of minor Asturian *hidalgos* and had blood and marriage connections with the important Valdés family as well as with other noble *norteño* families. After an early marriage to Doña María de Solís, Menéndez went to sea [in 1543] and entered the world of privateering [Lyon 1974:10-11].

By 1548, Menéndez acquired his first personal privateering commission and captured three French corsairs off La Rochelle, France. His second commission, in 1550, authorized him to extend his geographical area of privateering to include the West Indies (Lyon 1974:11). With the outbreak of war with France in 1552, Menéndez again received a commission to seek French pirates in the West Indies with eight ships built at his own expense, but outfitted by the crown (Lyon 1974:12).

Before he could take his office, however, Pedro Menéndez was recalled by Prince Philip. As Charles V neared the end of his long reign, it was decided that the Prince [Philip] should marry Mary Tudor, the eldest daughter of the late Henry VIII, in the hope that the union with England would bolster and support Philip's dominions in the Netherlands. Philip asked Menéndez to be one of the troop which escorted him to England for the wedding, and when a fleet of 150 sails left La Coruña on July 12, 1554, the Asturian went along [Lyon 1974:13-14].

He was finally able to disembark for the West Indies from Cádiz in October of 1555, a delay of some three years. While in Cádiz, Menéndez's vessels were found by Seville customs inspectors to contain contraband cargo. This situation was resolved by jailing the customs inspector; however, Menéndez had made powerful enemies among the *Casa de Contratación de las Indias* and the Sevillian members of the *Consulado* merchant guild (Lyon 1974:14).[4]

Although the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) ended fighting between France and Spain in Europe, the issue of France's incursions into the New World were still unresolved by 1560. As a result, Menéndez's proven skills in escorting fleets saw him serve the next three years as Captain-General of New Spain and Tierra Firme fleets, earning large sums from Crown charter fees, salary, commercial enterprises involving his own ships, and freight charges, and passenger fees (Lyon 1974:20).

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[4] As Captain-General of the Indies fleet, Menéndez made a rapid transit of the Atlantic to Vera Cruz, picked up cargo in Nombre de Dios and Cartagena, and returned to Seville six months earlier than planned in September 1556. The Casa inspectors had Menéndez and his brother arrested "and charged with having brought a half million ducats, worth of cochineal and sugar outside of legal registry" [Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568*. The University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, 1974, pp. 15].

The Menéndez brothers won a reversal of the verdict on appeal and Pedro spent from 1557 to 1559 on blockade and escort duty between Spain and the Netherlands, bringing vital supplies, men, and money to the Spanish army, through French controlled waters. He also escorted King Philip from Spain to Flanders for the signing of the peace of Cateau-Cambresis [Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568*. The University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, 1974, pp. 15-16].

On his last voyage homeward, from Havana to Seville in the spring of 1563, Menéndez passed through the Straits of Florida and unknowingly sailed passed Port Royal South where the Frenchman Jean Ribault had already built Charlesfort on Parris Island in defiance of the Spanish crown (Lyon 1974:24).

While in Seville, the *Casa* again tried to jail Menéndez on charges of smuggling. Menéndez replied that the *Casa* had no jurisdiction over Captain-Generals and escaped to Madrid, where the king issued an edict supporting his position (Lyon 1974:25). Returning to Seville, however, he and his brothers were imprisoned by the *Casa* while his case dragged on throughout the rest of 1563 and the first half of 1564 (Lyon 1974:26).

Meanwhile, the Governor of Cuba, Diego de Mazariegos dispatched Hernando Manrique de Rojas in the *Santa Catalina* to look for the exact location of the French Charlesfort.

> When the Cuban vessel reached the Florida coast, north of Cape Canaveral, Manrique de Rojas traversed the shoreline, carefully searching for signs of an enemy settlement. ███████████████████████████████████████ ██████████████████████████████████████ They encountered one Guillaume Rouffi, a sixteen-year-old boy. Rouffi told them that the other Frenchmen had left in a small craft some days before, leaving him behind with the Indians. Searching further they found and burned a wood blockhouse [Charlesfort] the French had built. They also discovered the six-foot marble column, bearing the arms of France, which had been planted by Jean Ribault [see Figure 2]. The column and Rouffi were brought aboard ship and returned to Havana, where Mazariegos reported to Spain that the French threat was over for the present [Lyon 1974:33-34].

While in Madrid to resolve his case with the *Casa*, Menéndez submitted a proposal to the king in which he outlined the need to establish a Spanish colony in Florida, with a settlement at Santa Elena (Lyon 1984:1). After due consideration and bargaining, King Philip signed a contract on March 22, 1565, with Menéndez to settle Florida as a Spanish colony with the capital to be centered at Santa Elena, after first disposing of the French intruders at Fort Caroline (Lyon 1974:47).[5]

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[5] In the latter part of 1564, the Spanish crown was informed that a new French settlement, Fort Caroline, was established along the South Atlantic coast on the St. Johns River. The information on this new French settlement, under the command of Rene de Laudonniere, who had been involved in the establishment of Charlesfort, came from French mutineers from Fort Caroline who had stolen three vessels from Laudonniere to raid Spanish possessions in the Caribbean. Some of these mutineers were captured off the coast of Cuba and interrogated by Guillaume Rouffi, the French lad whom the Spanish had found earlier at the site of Ribault's deserted colony at Port Royal. No immediate response could be made to this new incursion of the French because Allyon had fled Santo Domingo leaving his fleet in no condition to attempt a colonization of Florida. While these events transpired, Menéndez with the assistance of the king had finally resolved his dispute with the Casa, in which he was vindicated [Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568*. The University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, 1974, pp. 37-40].

Decades of constant warfare in Europe proved to be a financial drain on the economic resources of the Spanish empire. As warfare between the English and French and Spanish crowns intensified in Europe in the last half of the sixteenth century, English sea captains like Hawkins and Drake participated less in illegal trade and joined the French in attacking the Spanish towns and shipping in the New World. At this point in time, the ability of Spain to hold on to Florida was in the balance (Wright 1971:19; Duffy 1979:58; Ritchie 1986:9-10).

To protect their homeward bound shipping from French and English privateers, Spain needed to provide protection at certain strategic locations along the shipping lanes. One of the most important was the Straits of Florida located between the Bahamian Islands and the South Atlantic Coast because of the currents which could assist the sailing ships of the time.

> From whatever point of origin - New Spain, Peru, New Granada - shipping to Spain entered the Straits of Florida from the west, to ride the streaming of the sea out of the Gulf of Mexico, through the Bahama Channel, and on north into the Atlantic. At Cape Canaveral the Gulf Stream has a summer rate of flow of seventy miles a day, fifty miles to the east of the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina. Currentborne, the ship sailed steadily and comfortably into higher latitudes where they might expect to meet westerly winds to carry them to the Azores and Spain. This was the *carrera de las Indias* eastbound. Havana was the last port of call in the New World, the next chance of succor or supply being the Azores [Sauer 1971:190].

Privateers were not the only danger in the Straits of Florida, hurricanes had wrecked the homeward bound treasure fleets on the east coast of Florida in 1550 and 1553, killing more than a thousand mariners and passengers, and causing the loss of great quantities of treasure intended for the king of Spain. When Philip II succeeded his father (Charles V), in 1556, it was decided Spanish towns would be founded on the Florida mainland to provide refuge for Spanish shipping from pirates, and a port of rescue and salvage for shipwrecks (Sauer 1971:191).

After several failed attempts to establish a settlement on the mainland, the crown picked Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to found Spanish settlements at two locations -- Santa Elena and St. Augustine -- with the former to be the capital of Spanish Florida.

In Madrid, Menéndez submitted a proposal to the king in which he outlined the need to establish a Spanish colony in Florida, with a settlement at Santa Elena (Lyon 1984:1). After due consideration and bargaining, King Philip signed a contract on March 22, 1565, with Menéndez to settle Florida as a Spanish colony with the capital to be centered at Santa Elena, after first disposing of the French intruders at Fort Caroline (Lyon 1974:47).

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, *Adelantado* of Florida

By the mid-1560s, the international struggle between Spain and France had centered on which country would control the remote South Atlantic Coast of the present-day United States. France under the leadership of Jean Ribault would establish two colonial settlements -- Charlesfort and Fort Caroline -- before Pedro Menéndez de Avilés would even be authorized by the King of

Spain to retake Florida from the French and establish two Spanish towns -- Santa Elena and St. Augustine -- in the area. Ribault's Charlesfort, located within the area of the later Spanish Santa Elena settlement, is the site of the first French colonization attempt within the boundaries of the present-day United States. Menéndez's Santa Elena is the site capital of Spanish *La Florida,* and the site of the first European planned community in the continental United States. Santa Elena was established by the *adelantado* system by which Spain had conquered and incorporated new lands under the authority of the Spanish crown for over seven hundred years.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the conquest, exploration, and settlement of the New World by the Spanish was not undertaken by the Spanish crown, but was usually vested in a joint partnership of the crown and a crown appointed *adelantado.* The *adelantado* was,

> The individual responsible for the conquest or opening of a new area. The office of *adelantado* dates back to medieval Castile, where the office was mainly judicial. During the reconquest [of the Iberian peninsula] the *adelantado* became a military and administrative office in frontier or Moslem-held areas. The office fell into obscurity toward the end of the reconquest but found use in the frontiers of the New World.

> The granting of a title in the New World meant special privileges and honors for the individual concerned. In return, the crown expected and often received new lands, new subjects and converts, and different forms of wealth. The office and its privileges were usually granted for one or two lifetimes and sometimes in perpetuity.

> In return for the expense of outfitting an expedition, transporting settlers, conquering an area if necessary, and establishing two or more permanent towns or forts, the *adelantado* became the governor of the land, received title to a large amount of property, was assigned a certain percentage of the income generated in the province, received monopolies in trade, and was exempted from certain taxes. Being the chief executive officer of a new area or province, he could nominate certain civil and ecclesiastical officers. He could distribute land and water rights to those who had accompanied him and had power to parcel out *encomiendas* [work levies] of Indians [Barnes et. al 1981:131].

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was not the first individual to be appointed *adelantado* of Florida by the king of Spain to settle the lands of the present-day Southeastern United States. The first was Juan Ponce de Léon, who discovered and named Florida in 1513, and returned in 1521 with Spanish settlers from Caparra, Puerto Rico. However, Native Americans mortally wounded him and drove his expedition off (Sauer 1971:35). Five years later (1526), Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón attempted to settle along the South Atlantic Coast in the vicinity of South Carolina but storms and shipwrecks destroyed his expedition (Sauer 1971:72-74; Lyon 1974:5-6). Next to inherit the vacant Florida *adelantado* was Pánfilo de Narváez, but by mid-1528

> . . . the expedition lost touch with its sources of supply and ended in disaster.
> Only four men, including Cabeza de Vaca, reached New Spain, eight years after
> their Florida landing [Lyon 1974:6].

In 1537, a new *adelantado* was appointed, Hernando de Soto. In four years of exploring the
Southeast (1539-1543), de Soto got no further in settling Florida than his predecessors, and like
them died in the attempt (Lyon 1974:6-7).

The next effort, in 1559 under Tristan de Luna y Arellano, consisted of eleven ships and 1500
settlers. Luna was to establish two settlements, one in Pensacola Bay on the northern Gulf Coast,
linked by an overland road to the other one at Santa Elena in Port Royal Sound along the South
Atlantic Coast (Sauer 1971:193). Within a week of landing at Pensacola, a hurricane sank eight
of the ships and destroyed most of the colonists' provisions, ending any serious attempt to
establish a settlement. Santa Elena was visited briefly by Luna's second-in-command, but by
1561 the colonists had abandoned the Southeast (Sauer 1971:194). The last effort (1564) by
Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, namesake and descendent of the *adelantado* of 1523, got no further
than Santo Domingo before his expedition fell apart.

Jean Ribault and the French Threat to Spanish Florida

In France, the Spanish failure to establish a settlement in Florida was known to the Admiral of
France, Gaspard de Coligny. Coligny decided a French settlement at the place later known as
Santa Elena would serve a dual purpose: first, the establishment of a French settlement along the
Straits of Florida would form a permanent base from which to attack Spanish shipping and
possessions; and second, it would create a refuge for French Protestant Huguenots in western
France seeking to emigrate to a more liberal religious climate (Sauer 1971:196; Lyon 1984:1).

> In February 1562 Coligny sent two ships from the Norman port of Havre de
> Grace under the command of two Protestant captains, Jean Ribault and [Rene]
> Goulaine de Laudonnière, the party of a hundred and fifty being mostly Norman
> and Protestant. The orders were to follow the [South Atlantic] coast north from
> the cape of Florida (Canaveral) [Sauer 1971:197].

On May 1, 1562, the French stopped at the St. Johns River, in present-day northeast Florida, and
erected a stone column bearing the arms of France on the bank of that river to claim Florida for
France. They then sailed north along the Sea Islands of the South Atlantic Coast.

> On May 17 they came to a great sound, three leagues wide, deep enough for any
> ships, facing south, having a snug inlet for small vessels, and an island proper for
> a fort to guard the roadstead. They named it Port Royal, a name still retained for
> this largest sound of the Sea Islands. Another monument of stone was set up on
> the island [Parris Island] and a small fort built [see Figures 2 & 3], named
> Charlesfort [Sauer 1971:197].

A small volunteer garrison remained at Charlesfort, while Ribault and Laudonnière returned to
France for supplies in July 1562 only to find a religious war between Huguenots and Catholics

underway. Ribault took refuge in England and printed a book on his travels in English *The whole and true discovery of Terra Florida* (1563).

Unsupplied, the Charlesfort garrison fell apart within a year. One French youth, Guillaume Rouffi, went off to live with the local Native Americans and would later be transported by the Spanish to Cuba. The rest constructed a small boat to sail across the Atlantic back to France. Suffering great privation during the crossing, some of the men were picked up by an English ship and returned to their homeland, ending France's first attempt at settlement of the Southeast (Sauer 1971:197).

Coligny, occupied by religious civil war, was unable to take up the Florida enterprise again until the spring of 1564, when he sent Rene Laudonniere with three ships and three hundred men to establish a new fort along the St. Johns River -- Fort Caroline (authorized as a National Monument in 1950). Laudonniere was under orders from Coligny to prepare a fortress and await Ribault's return with the bulk of the men and supplies to permanently establish a French presence in the Southeast.

Ribault arrived at Fort Caroline August 27, 1565, with seven large ships and another contingent of settlers (Sauer 1971:1992). Unfortunately, before Ribault arrived, mutineers from Fort Caroline took Laudonniere's three ships to prey on Spanish shipping in the Caribbean. The mutineers were captured and interrogated by the Spanish in late 1564, so the Spanish knew the location of Fort Caroline and where to direct the fleet of Menéndez, the new *adelantado* of Florida.

Arriving on almost the same day as Ribault at St. Augustine, forty miles south of Fort Caroline, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, sent his ships to attack Ribault's fleet at Fort Caroline. The attack, on September 4, 1565, proved inconclusive and Menéndez sailed back to St. Augustine.

> Ribault, eager for combat, loaded the able-bodied men of the fort [Caroline] aboard [September 8, 1565] and sailed out to meet the enemy. A great storm began on the tenth and is reported to have continued for twelve days. While the French ships were storm scattered at sea Menéndez marched by land against Fort Caroline, which had been left almost without defenses and was not on guard during the storm, took it easily, and put the men to the sword, the women and children being held for deportation. Laudonniere, who was ill, and a few others escaped to small ships and made their way back to France [Sauer 1971:201-202].

Menéndez learned that Ribault's fleet had been driven ashore in the vicinity of present-day Matanzas Inlet, south of St.Augustine. Although the castaway Frenchmen quickly surrendered to Menéndez, most of them, along with Ribault, were put to the sword for their attempt to invade Spanish territory and being heretics. This ended the first French threat to Florida freeing Menéndez to establish the capital of Spanish Florida at Santa Elena (Sauer 1971:202).

Santa Elena, Capital of Spanish Florida

On March 22, 1565, Menéndez had been named the latest in a long line of *adelantados* of Florida. As noted above "reciprocal arrangements between the Castilian monarchs and their *adelantados* were formalized in their *asientos y capitulaciones* -- a series of negotiated contracts" (Lyons 1974:5). In his contract with the king Menéndez agreed to the following terms:

1.   To bring a force of five hundred men on his expedition, of which one hundred would be farmers, one hundred sailors, and the rest armed men and officers. He agreed to carry two clerics and to bring stonecutters, carpenters, farriers, blacksmiths, barbers, and surgeons" (Lyon 1974:48).

2.   To sail to the coast of Florida and seek the most advantageous places for settlement. He was also to search for traces of any corsairs or other unauthorized intruders in the lands of Philip II and expel them, if such should exist. Upon landing, Menéndez was to claim and take Florida in the King's name (Lyon 1974:49).

3.   Menéndez was to undertake a series of explorations of his area of governorship, which ranged from the northern "Gulf of Mexico around the Florida Keys and up the east coast to *Terra Nova*" present-day Newfoundland, Canada (Lyon 1974:49). The area of Florida governed by Menéndez stretched inland to New Spain (Lyon 1974:49).

4.   After three years Menéndez was to bring an additional 400 settlers to Florida. "Menéndez was to found two or three towns, and to fortify each with a stronghouse of stone, adobe, or wood and with a moat and drawbridge" (Lyon 1974:49).

5.   The contract also said "that every attempt should be made to bring the natives into the Christian faith and to loyal obedience to the King" (Lyon 1974:50).

The Spanish King granted Menéndez and his heirs the title of *adelantado* of Florida in perpetuity and the office of Captain-General of Florida for two lives -- his own and that of a son or son-in-law, 15,000 ducats for the enterprise, with an annual salary of 2,000 ducats, authority to grant land for plantations, a personal estate of more than 5,500 square miles of land, and Menéndez could conduct trade in his own ships between Spain and the West Indies, and between Florida and the Caribbean (Lyon 1974:51-52).

After the king signed the contract he was informed of the French establishment of Fort Caroline from the Governor of Cuba, and from spies in the port of La Harvre, that Ribault was mounting an expedition to reinforce the French on the St. Johns River. Philip II amended the contract with Menéndez to provide him with an additional 300 soldiers outfitted at the expense of the crown to ensure success in dealing with the French at Fort Caroline (Lyon 1974:61).

As noted previously, Menéndez quickly defeated the French at Fort Caroline and Ribault himself at present-day Matanzas Inlet, and set about establishing Spanish settlements at St. Augustine and Fort Caroline, renamed by the Spanish Fort San Mateo, during the rest of 1565. The *adelantado* was also busy getting supplies from Cuba for his settlers and exploring the southern

coasts of Florida, so it was not until April of 1566 that Menéndez could embark upon an exploration of the coast north of St. Augustine and the creation of a Spanish settlement at Santa Elena. [6]

By mid-April 1566, Menéndez had established peaceful relations with the local Orista and Guale Indians, built a fort called San Salvador on Parris Island, and left a 71-man garrison under the command of his kinsman Esteban de las Alas. In June of 1566, while Menéndez was in the Caribbean to acquire more supplies for his colony, 43 of the soldiers at Santa Elena mutinied, seized a ship and fled to Cuba, leaving Alas and 28 men at San Salvador (Lyon 1984:2).

> The arrival of the Royal reinforcement fleet from Spain rectified the situation at Santa Elena. Two of the vessels brought supplies and Captain Juan Pardo with his 250-man company. The troops mustered on July 11 and began immediately to build Fort San Felipe. Using iron bars and pickaxes to remove sod and sand from the fort site, they dug the moats and fashioned [wheel] barrows from kegs to carry earth for the ramparts [Lyons 1984:2].

When Menéndez returned to the rebuilt Santa Elena settlement in August of 1566, Alas and Pardo had finished Fort San Felipe (I). Menéndez formally established Santa Elena as the capital of Spanish Florida, and made Alas the Governor and Captain-General in his absence.

By October of 1568, 225 emigrant settlers from Castile arrived in Florida to supplement the male garrisons of St. Augustine and Santa Elena. The majority of these civilians went to Santa Elena, where a *concejo*, or city government had been formed. The *concejo* issued town lots and farming plots to the settlers of Santa Elena. By 1569, Santa Elena consisted of a fort (San Felipe I), and 40 houses grouped around a central plaza (Lyon 1984:3-4).

Increasing hostility of the Orista and Guale tribes restricted the ability of the Spanish settlers to expand their farms, and the infertility of the soil around Santa Elena caused shortages of food at the settlement. In August of 1570, Alas removed all but 46 of the soldiers from San Felipe (I) to reduce the mouths to feed at Santa Elena (Lyon 1984:5). Menéndez returned to Santa Elena in mid-July of 1571, with supplies for the settlement, and his daughter María, and his son-in-law, Don Diego de Velasco, who was appointed acting governor of Florida. However, the vessels carried sickness that took the lives of many colonists and a fire at Fort San Felipe (I) the previous year had destroyed the fort and most of the colonists' supplies (Lyon 1984:6).

In 1570 Governor Velasco had Fort San Felipe (II) constructed at a site not yet located within the Charlesfort-Santa Elena site, when he learned that French corsairs might attack Santa Elena.

> The new structure (Fort San Felipe II) was large enough to hold the whole population. It had a moat, drawbridge, and two wells within to help withstand siege [Lyon 1984:8].

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[6] Santa Elena appears to have been formally named on August 18, 1566, which is the Saints Day of Saint Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. Saint Helena is the Patroness of Archeologists for having excavated holy relics, such as the True Cross and Christ's Robe (Kelly and Rogers 1993:134-135).

The French attack did not materialize, but a greater threat to the community of Santa Elena was the hostility of the local Orista and Guale tribes brought on by their mistreatment by Velasco. Apparently, Velasco had imposed a tribute system on the tribes around Port Royal Sound whereby they gave him corn, furs, and other products to privately enrich the acting governor (Lyon 1984:9).

At this point in time, Pedro Menéndez had returned to Spain to secure funding and lay the ground work for expansion of his *adelantado* westward along the Gulf Coast to New Spain. While in Spain, Menéndez died on September 17, 1574. According to his will, his daughter María inherited Menéndez's personal estate in Florida and the title of Marquis. His other daughter Catalina, then living in Spain, had married Hernando de Miranda and according to Menéndez's will he "received the title of *adelantado* of Florida and its income" (Lyon 1984:9).

When Miranda arrived at Santa Elena in February 1576 to assume the duties of *adelantado* with Catalina, he had his brother-in-law Velasco jailed for "alleged misappropriation of some 20,000 reales in soldiers' bonuses" (Lyon 1984:9). By July of 1576 arbitrary punishment of the Guale and ill treatment of the Orista by Miranda caused them to mount joint attacks on the Spanish ships and soldiers around Santa Elena. The settlers moved into Fort San Felipe (II) for safety, and shortly afterwards the Indians sacked and burnt the settlement of Santa Elena (Lyon 1984:11).

> By common consent, evacuation began to the small boats moored nearby. As the Spaniards left in disorder, the Indians swarmed after them, firing arrows into the water. Then they set Fort San Felipe [II] afire. As they sailed out of the sound, the last thing the surviving Spaniards saw was a smudge of smoke that marked the destruction of ten years of work and hope [Lyon 1984:11].

Miranda fled to St. Augustine, from where he and his wife, Catalina, sailed to Spain, never to return to Florida. While the Spanish attempted to understand the cause of the loss of Santa Elena, the French came again to Port Royal Sound, under the command of Nicolas Strozzi. The Frenchmen's ship was lost and about 100 survivors constructed a settlement or moved in with the local Indians around Port Royal Sound (Lyon 1984:11).

The new governor, appointed by Philip II in 1577, was Pedro Menéndez Márquez, a nephew of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, but he did not inherit his uncle's title nor did he receive the *adelantado*. Instead, Florida was now governed under royal control, with a subsidy to be provided annually from New Spain (Lyon 1984:11).

By mid-1577 the new Spanish governor had established a garrison (Fort San Marcos I) at Santa Elena and returned the Spanish settlers to the town. However, from now on the capital of Spanish Florida and the governor would reside at St. Augustine. Between 1577 and 1579, Menéndez Márquez conducted raids against the Guale and Orista settlements, where Strozzi's men were living. After destroying numerous Indian towns and warriors, the Frenchmen were captured and in early 1580 the Indians sued for peace (Lyon 1984: 12-13).

While the Spanish settlers and soldiers worked to rebuild the town of Santa Elena, rumors began to circulate of new incursions into Spanish territory to the north. In 1586, Governor Menéndez Márquez noted "corsairs who had passed by Guatari (present-day South Carolina) had settled on this coast" (Lyon 1984:14). These "corsairs" were in fact Englishmen, supported by Walter Raleigh who, in 1585 had established a colony on Roanoke Island, along the coast of present-day North Carolina, under the command of Governor Ralph Lane (Lyon 1984:14).

In the same year, Menéndez Márquez was advised of an even greater English threat in the form of Sir Francis Drake, who with a large fleet had sacked and burned Santo Domingo and Cartagena, in the Caribbean. Drake's fleet was reported heading north to the ill-prepared settlements of St. Augustine and Santa Elena, in Spanish Florida (Lyon 1984:14).

> In early June [1586], Sir Francis Drake invested and burned St. Augustine and made his way northward, intending to reduce Santa Elena as well. But the English fleet stood too far out to sea to avoid the banks around Tybee Island or Hilton Head; thus Drake overshot the Santa Elena harbor entrance and unfavorable winds prevented his return. He anchored just north, probably in St. Helena Sound. Then, taking sail, Drake went on to Roanoke, where he removed the discouraged English colonists and sailed for home [Lyon 1984:14].

The shock of Drake's raid on the Caribbean and Florida, made the Spanish realize they had to consolidate their fortifications in order to prevent losing all they had gained. On August 16, 1587, Governor Menéndez Márquez arrived at Santa Elena with orders to destroy the town and Fort San Marcos (II) (1582 or 1583-1587) and relocate the population to St. Augustine. Within a few days both the town and fort were torn down yet again (Lyon 1984:15).

Santa Elena was originally established in 1566, by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés as a spearhead for the conquest and settlement of his *adelantado* which included the entire eastern coastline of the United States, for the conversion of the Native Americans, and for the eventual linking of Spanish territory in Mexico and Florida with Spanish settlements to protect them from the incursions of other European powers. The failure of the Spanish to build upon the foundation of Santa Elena was due to a lack of strong leadership in the office of *adelantado* after Menéndez died in 1574, and the inability of the Spanish crown to support colonization in Florida while occupied with war in Europe (Lyon 1984:16).

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH POTENTIAL AT THE SANTA ELENA SITE

Spanish Colonial Urban Town Planning

It has been noted how the inherited *adelantado* traditions of the Spanish were responsible for the manner in which they colonized the New World. These traditions and codified royal instructions proscribed the town plans for the *adelantado* to follow when developing a settlement. Towns such as Santa Elena, with proscribed town plans were constructed throughout the Spanish empire of the New World, but few examples of these early Spanish town plans have survived within the boundaries of the United States.

The Caparra Site, in Puerto Rico (designated an NHL in 1994), is a small settlement that was the original capital of Spanish Puerto Rico (1508-1521). Archeological investigations accomplished in the 1930s indicate that probably only the northern half of the town plan of this settlement is presently preserved (Barnes 1992). The successor to this settlement, San Juan, Puerto Rico -- established in 1521, has had its original town plan so modified by later construction that the only sixteenth century Spanish colonial elements of the original town plan are a few individual buildings, such as La Fortaleza (designated an NHL in 1960). The present town of San Juan, with its regular grid town plan, is a later by-product of the construction of the massive fortifications, in the eighteenth century, that surround the town (Barnes and Medina 1995).

The Spanish colonial town of St. Augustine, founded in 1565, no longer retains any vestiges of its original sixteenth century town plan above ground. Dr. Kathleen Deagan of the University of Florida at Gainesville has identified archeologically the area of the original sixteenth century Spanish occupation and some individual building remains within the present limits of St. Augustine, but these excavations have provided few details on the town plan (Deagan 1985:11) . The town plan described in the St. Augustine Town Plan Historic District 1970 NHL Study is the town plan developed after the destruction of St. Augustine in 1702 by the English (Steinbach 1970).

By fortunate circumstances, Santa Elena was never reoccupied once it was abandoned in 1587 and later historic land use did not destroy the archeological remains of the town plan. The site of Santa Elena is the only completely preserved sixteenth century Spanish colonial town site in the United States, and as such presents researchers with the opportunity to examine in detail the manner in which these settlements were constructed. The archeological investigations at Parris Island strongly support the notion that the settlement and forts that once existed at Santa Elena were laid out around an open plaza, with streets radiating out in a formal grid pattern. Santa Elena, therefore, represents the earliest and most complete example of formal Spanish urban planning in the United States (South and DePratter n.d.).

Prior to the colonization of the New World by the Spanish in the early decades of the 16th century, the Spanish rulers were engaged in the last stages of the *Reconquista,* or reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors. The Spanish established towns to hold newly won lands during the *Reconquista.* This effort, beginning in the eighth-century, would culminate with the surrender of Granada, in 1492, to the combined military might of Queen Isabella of Castile-León, and her husband King Ferdinand of Aragón, whose marriage in 1469 had united the two main ruling dynasties of Christian Spain.

For centuries, the Spanish had gradually worn down the Moors through the establishment of *presidios,* or fortified towns, that had slowly extended the Christian rulers' authority into the territory of the Moslem Moors. Such fortified towns were under the immediate control of an *adelantado,* whose loyalty and military skill had justified the rulers giving them the *presidio* and surrounding lands and peoples as their hereditary fief. Such a social process, developed over the centuries of the late Middle Ages, created a Spanish military elite that gained power, prestige, and wealth through conquest of new lands at the behest of the Spanish Crown. The Spaniards who accompanied Columbus to the Caribbean islands in 1492 were culturally conditioned to

assume that the Spanish colonization model of individual military prowess to win wealth, land, and titles from the crown was the appropriate manner for colonization of the New World.

John Reps, in his book *Town Planning in Frontier America*, sees antecedents for the Spanish colonization of the Caribbean and the Southern part of the United States, using a formally laid out urban settlement, in the Roman conquest of Spain.

> The more ancient Roman *castra* or military settlements in Spain had established a rectangular street pattern and central mustering place which in many cases had given the form to civil communities that gradually developed on their sites [Reps 1980:30].

In 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella created one of the last formal military settlements at Santa Fé, which had an orthogonal street system and a central plaza. Santa Fé was the siege town from which the Spanish were able to conquer Granada, the last Moslem foothold on the Iberian peninsula (Reps 1980:30).

The men who participated in the conquest of Granada applied the formal layout of Santa Fé to town planning during the conquest of the Caribbean. The main feature of the Spanish colonial settlement of the Caribbean was the emphasis on the creation of urban centers, or towns, such as Caparra, Puerto Rico, which were a continuation of the *Reconquista* traditions from Spain. Urban centers not only provided military security for the new colony, but also served to validate the Spanish occupation of an area, and create a distinctly Christian European setting in the New World from which the colony could be governed. However, many of these urban centers in the Caribbean were so small as to only be known from historical accounts of their existence.

Reps notes that as early as 1513, although a body of planning regulations did not yet exist, the Spanish crown were issuing specific orders to *adelantados* on where towns should be sited and the internal arrangement of the town plan. In the instruction to one *adelantado* the king stated,

> In view of these things necessary for settlements, and seeking the best site in these terms for the town, then divide the plots for houses, these to be according to the status of the persons, and from the beginning it should be according to a definite arrangement; for the manner of setting up the *solares* [building sites] will determine the pattern of the town, both in the position of the plaza and the church and in the pattern of streets, for towns newly founded may be established according to plan without difficulty. If not started with form, they will never attain it [Reps 1980:27].

No contemporary town plan for Santa Elena exists. Although there are two drawings of forts available, it may be possible to determine what the town plan involved, as by 1573, Philip II had issued the Laws of the Indies "to establish uniform standards and procedures for planning of towns and their surrounding lands as well as for all the other details of colonial settlement" (Reps 1980:27). The 1573 Laws state that newly established towns should have a plaza "not less than two hundred feet wide and three hundred feet long, nor larger than eight hundred feet long and

532 feet wide", but in all cases the plaza proportions should have a length one and one half times the width (South and DePratter n.d.:1).

The church was to be built around the plaza, "so that it may be seen on leaving the sea and in a place where its buildings may serve as a means of defense for the port itself" (South and DePratter n.d.:1). The public offices of the governor and town councils were to be placed around the plaza as well. Merchants shops, houses and residences of the settlers were to be placed away from the plaza, and commons and farm lands were to surround the town (South and DePratter n.d.:2).

The archeological investigations conducted to date indicate the townsite of Santa Elena represents the earliest known and extant planned urban occupation in the United States (1566). Santa Elena can trace its origin to cultural traditions developed on the Iberian peninsula during the seven hundred-year-long conflict between the Christians and the Moors for the control of Spain. During this conflict, the granting of fiefs by Spanish kings to skillful military commanders proved to be one of the most successful measures in the *Reconquista*.

This feudal Spanish tradition was utilized by the earliest New World Governors of Hispaniola in the successful conquests of the West Indian islands of Jamaica, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, and spread to Mexico, Peru, and Florida. The early *adelantados* undertook the conquest of these lands, often at their own expense, under exclusive patents issued by the king of Spain. Military leaders, like Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, were the means used by the Spanish government to subdue the Indies, and produce revenue for the Spanish crown. The creation of urban centers, like Santa Elena, facilitated these activities during the earliest European conquests in the New World.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

_ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_ Previously Listed in the National Register.
X Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
        Listed as Charles Forte - 8/7/74
_ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
_ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

X State Historic Preservation Office
_ Other State Agency
X Federal Agency
_ Local Government
_ University
X Other (Specify Repository):

        Sources of additional information include:

        South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Charleston South Carolina

        United States Marine Corps, Parris Island, South Carolina

        South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, The University of South Carolina, Columbia

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APPENDIX 1

During the 15th and 16th century, the Spanish claimed exclusive rights to the New World based on a 1493 papal bull issued by Pope Alexander VI, after Columbus's first voyage of discovery. By this bull, the Pope established a north-south running Demarcation Line, later confirmed by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), that gave Spain all of North America and most of South America, west of the Demarcation Line, and Brazil, east of the Demarcation Line, to Portugal. The French and English monarchs did not recognize the authority of the pope to grant Spain exclusive rights to the New World (Sauer 1971:94--95) and New World Spanish shipping and possessions were considered fair game for French and English privateers.

In the Caribbean, the French privateers pillaged at will Spanish lands and shipping and even "boasted they would take Puerto Rico" (Carrión 1974:15). Spanish treasure,

> . . . fleets carrying valuable cargos by well-defined and predictable routes through the Caribbean and across the Atlantic were in constant danger of attack, by enemy warships or privateers in time of war, by pirates at any time. French privateers were active off the Azores and in the Caribbean from the 1530s; in 1556 a party of them landed in Cuba and sacked Havana; and down to the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis [1559] they constituted the principal damage to Spanish shipping [Parry 1977:1331].

The English also raided the Spanish ships and towns. In the 1560s Englishmen like John Hawkins and Francis Drake began illegally trading African slaves to Spanish planters on Caribbean islands (Wright 1971:16-18). According to J.H. Parry,

> Many of them were commercial smugglers, trading in slaves, hardware and textiles in exchange for sugar, hides and silver. They usually went armed, and often traded at the pike's point, using threats of force when necessary to secure the connivance of local officials. This also was the pattern of the slaving voyages which Sir John Hawkins made to the Caribbean in the 1560s. Hawkins was no pirate but a business man who delivered his goods and paid for his purchases. The Spanish settlers in the West Indies, at least in the islands and smaller mainland ports, on the whole welcomed such smugglers. They wanted cheap goods and resented the high prices and infrequent deliveries of the Seville shippers. On the other hand, they both resented and feared the constant outbreaks of war in Europe which loosed fresh fleets of privateers upon the West Indies. They thought little of a [Spanish] naval organization which was largely ineffective against small raiders, but which treated peaceful smugglers, when it caught them, as if they were raiders, and so encouraged them to go armed and take to raiding [1977:253].

Prior to the colonizaton of the New World by the Spanish in the early decades of the 16th century, the Spanish rulers were engaged in the last stages of the *Reconquista*, or reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors. The Spanish established towns to hold newly won lands during the *Reconquista*. This effort, beginning in the eighth-century, would culminate with the surrender of Granada, in 1492, to the combined military might of Queen Isabella of Castile-León, and her husband King Ferdinand of Aragón, whose marriage in 1469 had united the two main ruling dynasties of Christian Spain.

For centuries, the Spanish had gradually worn down the Moors through the establishment of *presidios*, or fortified towns, that had extended piecemeal the Christian rulers' authority into the territory of the Moslem Moors. Such fortified towns were under the immediate control of an *adelantado*, whose loyalty and military skill had justified the rulers giving them the *presidio* and surrounding lands and peoples as their hereditary fief. Such a social process, developed over the centuries of the late Middle Ages, created a Spanish military elite that gained power, prestige, and wealth through conquest of new lands at the behest of the Spanish Crown. The Spaniards who accompanied Columbus to the Caribbean islands he discovered in 1492 were conditioned to assume that the Spanish colonization model of individual military prowess to win wealth, land, and titles from the crown was the appropriate manner for colonization of the New World.

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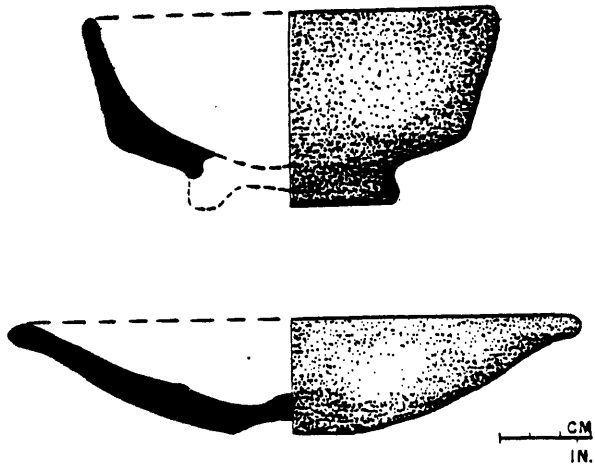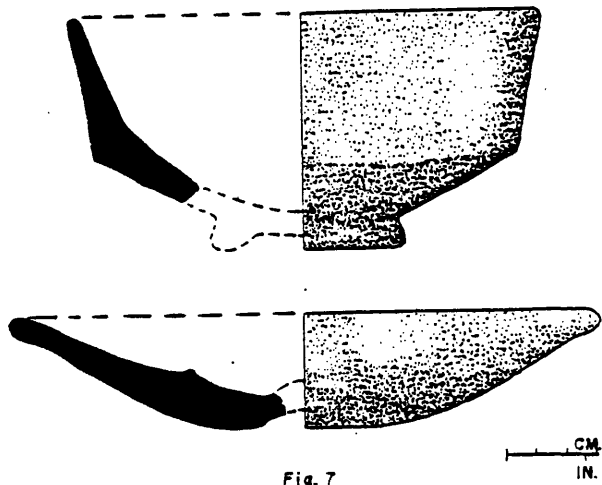
Fig. 6

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Figure 4. Sixteenth-century Columbia Plain majolica *escudilla* and *plato* forms (top two figures), Yayal Blue on White majolica *escudilla* and *plato* forms (bottom two figures) (from South et. al 1988:220).
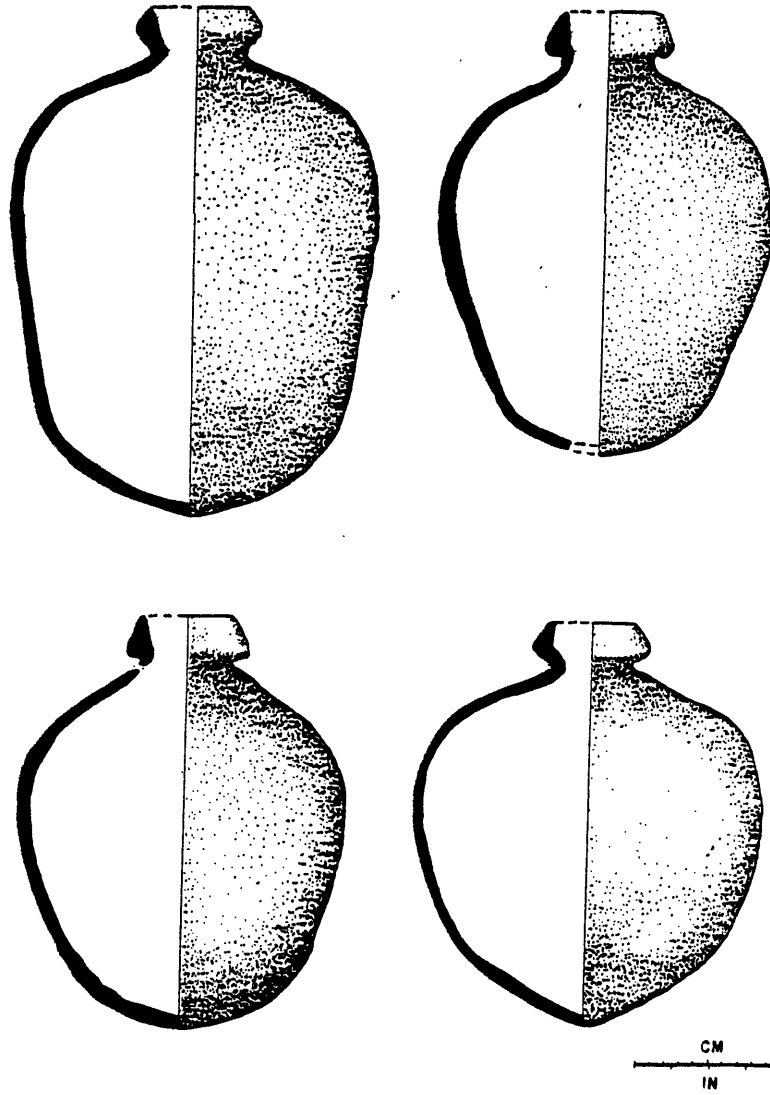
Figure 9: Spanish sixteenth century Olive Jars from examples found in excavations at the Charlesfort-Santa Elena Site (from South et al. 1988:275).
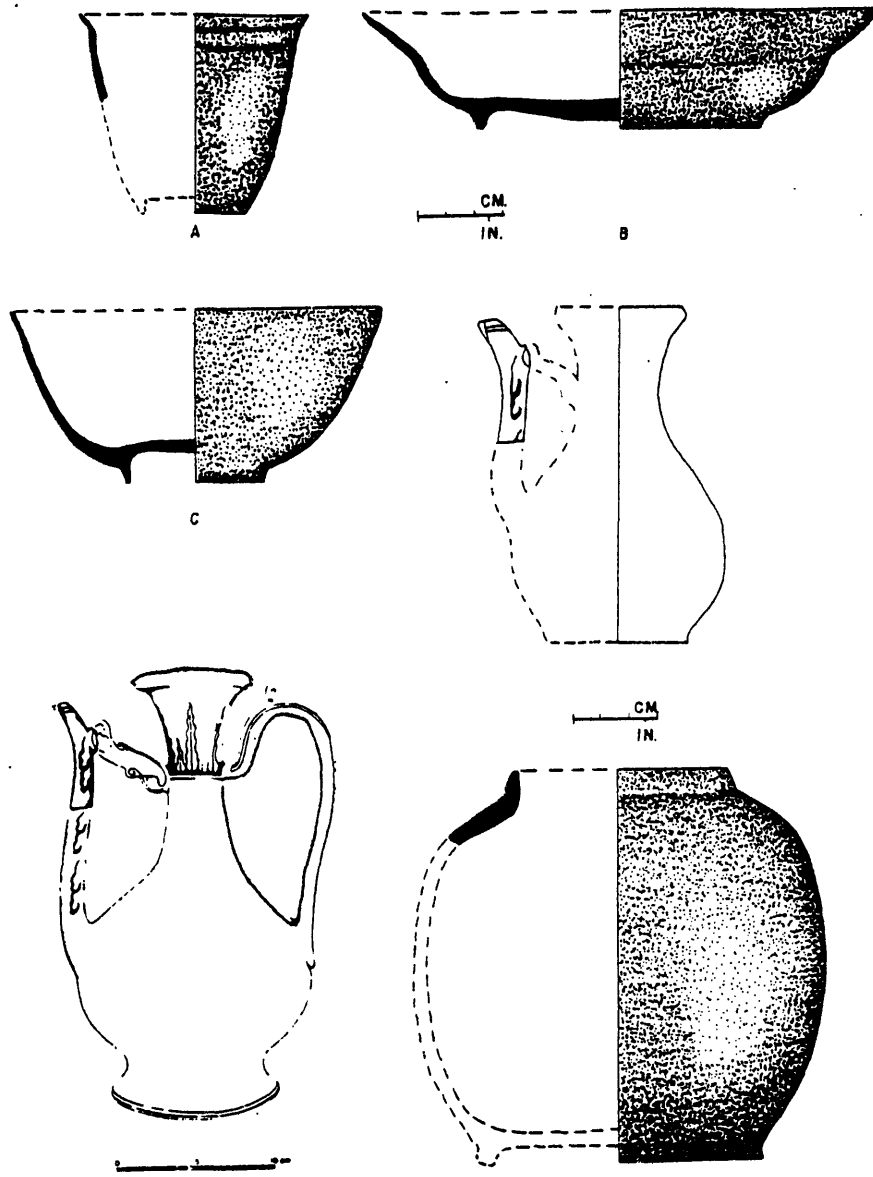
Figure 10: Examples of Chinese Porcelain cup, plate, bowl, ewers, and ginger jar forms, of the Wan Li Period of the Ming Dynasty found in excavations at the Charlesfort-Santa Elena Site (from South et al. 1988:285).
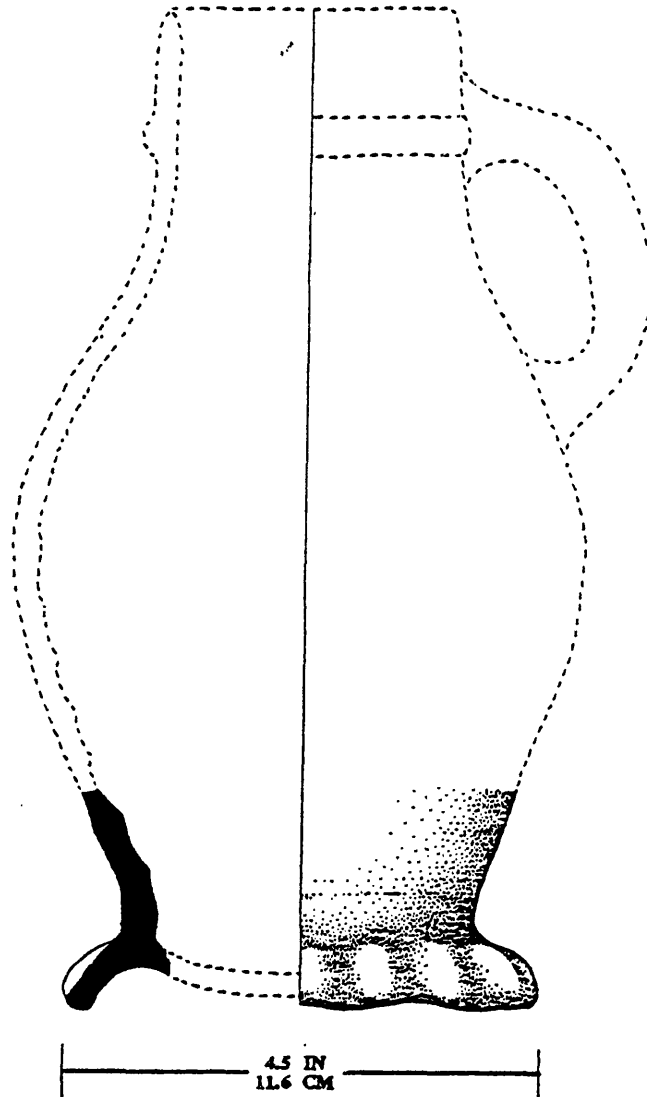
Figure 11: Drawing of the base and conjectured vessel form of a fifteenth/sixteenth century French Siegburg or Raeren stoneware vessel from the Charlesfort-Santa Elena Site. The finding of these types of ceramics within the area of the first Fort San Felipe (I) confirmed that area as the location of the site of the French Charlesfort (1562-1563) (DePratter and South 1995:108).