NPS Form 10-900-b (June 1991)

United States Department of the Interior **National Park Service**

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

X New Submission Amended Submission

Name of Multiple Property Listing

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

Associated Historic Contexts В.

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

The Foundation, Occupation, and Abandonment of Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

Form Prepared by

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city or townColumbia	state South Carolina	zip code29208
D. Certification		
	Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I	

meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (comments.) mond Signature and title of certifying official Deputy SHPO, S.C. Department of Archives & History, Columbia, S.C. Edmonds, Mary W. State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register. lennsend 1-21-94 Date of Action Signature of the Keeper

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Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

		Page Numbers
E.	Statement of Historic Contexts	1 - 6
	(If more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)	
F.	Associated Property Types	1 - 3
	(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)	
G.	Geographical Data	1
н.	Summary of identification and Evaluation Methods	1
	(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)	
i.	Major Bibliographical References	1 - 3
	(List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other, specifying repository.)	

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National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number ____ Page ____

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

The first mention of the peoples who later became Yamasee Indians can be found in accounts describing the earliest European expeditions into the area now occupied by the states of South Carolina and Georgia. The Ayllón expedition, which attempted to settle somewhere along the South Atlantic coast in 1526, may have encountered the Indians of Guale on the coast of present-day Georgia, although there is currently some dispute concerning precisely where Ayllón and his colonists landed (Quattlebaum 1956; Lyon 1990; Michie 1991). If the peoples of "Gualdape" visited by Ayllón were the Guale, then this is our first recorded reference to these peoples by a European.

Sixteenth century documents indicate that the Guale were a large society composed of approximately 4-6000 people living in about 35 towns at that time (Swanton 1922:81). The Guale were coastal dwellers whose way of life was well adapted to exploitation of the coastal marshes and tidal creeks of their homeland. Their hunting and collecting for food was supplemented by agriculture.

In 1565, Spanish commander Pedro Menéndez de Avilés defeated a group of Frenchmen who were attempting to settle in northeast Florida, and the next year he traveled north along the coast from his stronghold at St. Augustine in an effort to familiarize himself with the region and to learn more of its native populations. He visited the Guale during that journey and decided that the Indians he encountered needed to be taught about the Catholic faith. Although there were no missionaries placed among the Guale for another 15 years, by 1597 the Spanish had an extensive mission system in place along the Guale coast composed of 5 missions and a number of substations (Lanning 1935:72).

Hernando De Soto, another Spanish explorer, was the first to visit the Indians of Tama, in interior Georgia. De Soto was a hardened veteran who had participated in the conquest of Panama, Nicaragua, and Peru. In 1536 he was appointed Governor of Cuba and was also given the right to explore and settle the land called "La Florida" which stretched from Mexico to eastern Canada. In May, 1539, De Soto and his force landed at Tampa Bay, and over the next year they traveled north into what is today central Georgia. In passing through this region, this Spanish expedition encountered the chiefdoms of Ichisi (on the Ocmulgee River) and Altamaha/Ocute or Tama (on the Oconee River) (Hudson, DePratter, and Smith 1989). These related but distinct groups lived in towns and villages along their respective rivers and their tributaries. Chiefs and their principal advisors resided in large towns which were the centers of religious and political activities within each chiefdom. Most of the remainder of the population resided in smaller villages and hamlets scattered among their agricultural fields in the river bottoms and uplands. Total population of Tama and Ichisi was probably around 5000 to 7000.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page ____

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

During the first half of the 17th century, the Guale and the Tama fared quite differently in the face of an ever-growing European presence in the region. The Spanish continued their efforts to missionize the Guale and encouraged them to lead settled lives in large, permanent villages surrounding the mission stations. Traditional Guale beliefs and values were belittled by the Spanish who intended to convert these "heathens" into good Catholics. The people of Tama, on the other hand, had little contact with the Spanish during the early decades of the 17th century. Only a few small military expeditions passed through Tama, and none of these stayed long or appears to have had any significant impact on the peoples that they encountered.

Beginning in about 1660, conditions began to change. At about that time, the Westo Indians settled on the Savannah River near present-day Augusta, Georgia. The Westo moved into the area from the north with guns obtained from Virginia traders. Using these guns, the Westo began raiding neighboring groups, including the Guale who did not have guns because the Spanish never established a trade system to distribute goods to their Indian allies.

By 1661, Guale refugees had settled around the walls of St. Augustine in an effort to escape the attacks of the Westo, who the Spanish called "Chichumecos" (Crane 1928:5-6; Lanning 1935:209). The Westo staged raids against all of their neighbors. When the English arrived in 1670 to settle their new Carolina Colony, the coastal Indians of that province professed great fear of the Westo who were thought to be cannibalistic. In reality, the Westo were taking captives not for cannibalism, but so they could be sold as slaves in the Virginia markets. In this way, the Westo were able to obtain guns and other trade goods from Virginia.

Shortly after settling at Charles Towne, the English sent Henry Woodward up the Savannah River to treat with the Westo. Woodward was able to negotiate a peaceful alliance with the Westo, and for the next several years they were close allies of the English who supplied them with guns and ammunition. These weapons were used to attack and intimidate the Westo's less well armed neighbors. By 1675, the Westo had already begun driving the Tama from interior Georgia. Spanish accounts indicate that by that year there already were a great many recentlyarrived Tama living among the missions of both Guale and Apalachee in western Florida (Geiger 1940:129; Hann 1988:35-6). Many of these Tama refugees settled on the coastal islands located between the Guale missions and St. Augustine. In both Guale and Apalachee, these Tama refugees were referred to as "Yamasees." A decade later, there were additional Tama or Yamasee refugee populations residing among the Timucua of northeast Florida (Bushnell 1990:481; Hann 1990:439) and the Lower Creeks (Hann 1988:188) on the Chattahoochee River in southwest Georgia.

Although there may have been English-inspired attacks on the Guale missions prior to 1680, the first full-scale assault occurred in that year. Contemporary Spanish documents report

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page ____

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

that a force composed of Westo, Creeks, and Cherokees attacked two Guale missions in 1680, although neither suffered serious damage (Swanton 1922:90-91). Over the next few years, the Guale missions were repeatedly attacked, and the mission population dwindled as increasing numbers of Guale refugees moved south to the Tama settlements north of St. Augustine. By 1686, the Guale coast was totally abandoned; refugees fled in several directions. Many sought refuge with the Yamasee who were located just north of St. Augustine on Cumberland, Amelia, and Ft. George Islands (DePratter and Green 1990). Others fled inland to join the Lower Creeks, while still others settled among the Apalachee.

This situation did not remain static for long, however. Neither the Guale nor the Tama, now called Yamasee, were satisfied with their treatment by the Spanish. As early as the Fall of 1684, peoples described as Yamasee began arriving on the southern frontier of Carolina (Salley 1929:1). Among the first arrivals was the Tama chief, Altamaha, who had come to Carolina from the vicinity of St. Augustine. Over the next few months, many more Yamasee, perhaps as many as 2,000, migrated to Carolina. These peoples included both Tama and Guale, and perhaps a few people of other tribes, but the Carolina traders and government referred to them all as Yamasee. The name, Guale, does not occur in the Carolina records in reference to any of these peoples, although it is certain that many of the Yamasee were of Guale origin (DePratter and Green 1990).

The Yamasee were settled in several towns on St. Helena Island in 1684 and 1685, but they soon were requesting additional space on Hilton Head Island (Salley 1929:8-9). In the meantime, a group of Scots who were settled on nearby Port Royal Island encouraged the Yamasee to raid St. Augustine and its surrounding Indian towns. In one such raid on the Timucuan mission of Santa Catalina de Afuica in February, 1685, the Yamasee killed eighteen and took twenty-five captives (Salley 1929:8-9; Lanning 1935:220-22). The Spanish were angered by these Scot-inspired raids, and in August, 1686, they attacked and destroyed Stuart's Town and the nearby Yamasee settlements.

Immediately following the destruction of Stuart's Town, the Yamasee moved north to the banks of the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers where they would be closer to Charles Town and farther inland from the coast and the threat of another Spanish attack (McKivergan 1991). Documents indicate that the Yamasee were in their northern villages by Spring, 1687 (Dunlop 1929:129). It is difficult to determine how long the Yamasee remained on the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers because no known document refers to their departure. A 1687 chart (McKivergan 1991:51) shows the Yamasee towns on the upper Ashepoo River, but no subsequent map indicates their presence in that area.

By 1697, however, Ashepoo and Combahee land formerly occupied by the Yamasee was being granted to English settlers. Locations of abandoned Yamasee towns are indicated on several

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number ____E Page ___4____

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

plats in that area drawn between 1697 and 1700, therefore it is clear that the Yamasee had departed from their northern refuge prior to 1697 (McKivergan 1991). Based on available information, the Yamasee resided on the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers for no more than eleven years, and they could have been there for only a few years before returning to Port Royal Sound (DePratter 1992).

Although it is not known when the Yamasee departed from their northern settlements or where they went from there, they were settled by 1707 on the upper reaches of Port Royal Sound. It seems likely that by 1707, the Yamasee had been in their Port Royal Sound towns for at least a decade and perhaps for as long as sixteen to eighteen years.

Beginning in 1702, contemporary documents contain numerous references to abuse of the Yamasee by traders residing among them. These abuses included enslavement of Yamasee and their close allies, theft of hogs, guns, and other goods by traders, destruction of Yamasee houses, encroachment on Yamasee lands by stock owned by nearby settlers, etc. (Salley 1932:21; 1934:36, 38; McDowell 1955:10-12, 50-51). In an effort to provide the Yamasee with increased security and for greater protection of their property rights, the Carolina government established the Yamasee Reserve in July, 1707. This reserve stretched from the Combahee River in the north to the Savannah River in the south and inland to a line drawn "from the head of Combahee river to the head of Savana river" (Cooper and McCord 1836:317). Islands within this area, including St. Helena, Lady's, Hilton Head, and Port Royal, were excluded from the reserve. The only island that was an exception to this exclusion was Hall's Island, located on the western tip of Port Royal Sound.

At the time the reserve was established, the Yamasee consisted of about 10 towns. A 1708 census gives the Yamasee population as "500 men" indicative of a total population of about 1500-2000 (Salley 1947:207). Another census, taken in 1715, put the Yamasee population at slightly more than 1200 in ten towns. By 1712, the various Yamasee settlements were grouped into "upper" and "lower" towns (McDowell 1955:31). No known document lists the towns included in these two spatially distinct groups, but information on plats and in other documents allows identification of most of the ten towns recognized as Yamasee.

The Lower Towns, which are indicated on at least two plats (S.C. Dept. of Archives and History, MC 2-3 and Colonial Plats 2:258), were led by Chief Altamaha who resided in a town of that same name. Nearby were the towns of Ocute and Chechesee (Ichisi). Just to the north of these three towns were the Euhaw who arrived in Carolina in 1703 and were provided with land "to the northward of some of ye Yamasee settlements" (Salley 1934:48). The Lower Towns were all located on the mainland east of the Broad River in Beaufort County. The Altamaha, Ocute, and Chechesee (Ichisi) towns were clearly named after Tama towns and it is likely that most of the residents of these three towns were people from the former Tama chiefdom in interior Georgia.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page ____

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

The Euhaw may have been a Guale group formerly known as the Yoa who resided on the fringes of the Spanish mission system, but they were clearly settled in the area with the Lower Towns.

The Upper Towns were composed primarily of the remnants of the Guale, although remnants of other groups may have been incorporated into these towns. Pocotaligo was the head town of the upper division, and the Pocotaligo chief appears to have been able to speak for all of those people residing in Upper Towns. Pocotaligo, Pocosabo, and Huspah were all Upper Towns that I believe were occupied by Guale remnants. A 1685 reference indicates that people of the Guale town of Sapella had recently arrived at Stuart's Town (Salley 1929:8). A 1711 reference to a town of that name among the Yamasee suggests that Sapella or Sapelo may have been one of the Upper Towns. If so, then it too was derived from the Guale, because Sapella was once one of the more important towns on the central Georgia coast. Two other towns among the upper Yamasee were Tulafina and Sadketche. These towns' names and presumably the people residing in them were originally from the coastal plain located between the Guale and Tama areas in Georgia. Tomatley, the last of the Yamasee towns, is of unknown origin, but it may have been inhabited by a group of Tama (i.e. Tama-t-ley) who arrived among the Apalachee brought back to Carolina by James Moore in his famous raid on the Apalachee missions in 1704 (JCHA, April 27, 1704). Presumably, these missionized Tama would have been more comfortable residing near the missionized Guale people in the Upper Towns than their non-missionized, and therefore heathen, brethren in the Lower Towns (DePratter and Green 1990). The Upper Towns were located along tributaries to the Broad River to the north of the Lower Towns.

Between 1707 and 1715, the Yamasee lived on the frontier separating the English in Charles Town and the Spanish in St. Augustine. During those eight years, the English attempted to prevent abuses by traders that would drive the Yamasee from the English fold. The Spanish, on the other hand, attempted to lure the Yamasee back to St. Augustine and the Spanish side. By 1715, the Yamasee had been pushed into a difficult position by this international rivalry. Unscrupulous and abusive traders had manipulated the Yamasee into an overwhelming debt at a time when both the availability of deerskins and Indian slaves to sell in Charles Town was diminishing. At the same time, an Indian census may have convinced the Yamasee and their neighbors that they were being enumerated so that their destruction could be planned.

In a concerted uprising involving the Yamasee, Creeks, Cherokees, Catawbas, Apalachees, Yuchi, Shawnee, and other smaller groups, the Yamasee struck the first blow against the English. On April 15, 1715, the Yamasee attacked and killed Thomas Nairne, the Indian Agent, and several other officials and traders who were visiting Pocotaligo. In the opening days of the so-called Yamasee War, about a hundred English colonists were killed along the Edisto and Combahee Rivers, and many plantations and settlements were looted and burned. Among the Creeks and Choctaws most of the traders were killed outright, although some managed to escape. Soon the

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number ____ Page __6___

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

Cherokee switched their allegiance to the English, and that, in conjunction with military aid from North Carolina and Virginia, began to turn the tide against the Indians. Although the Creeks did not finally make peace until 1717, the first few weeks were by far the most destructive period of the Yamasee War (Crane 1928:168-78).

As a result of the Yamasee War, the Yamasee and many of the Indian groups living on the Savannah River (Apalachee, Yuchi, Shawnee, etc.) fled from Carolina and took up residence among the Lower Creeks or with the Spanish at St. Augustine. This left the southern frontier of Carolina open to invasion by the Spanish and their new-found Indian allies. In a move to strengthen defenses along the Savannah River, the English placed forts at Fort Moore near Augusta in 1717 and another farther downstream at Palachacolas in 1723. In the decade following the Yamasee War, the Yamasee made occasional raids into Carolina, but their population and power waned and they were no longer a major force on the southern landscape.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number ____ Page __1___

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

F. Associated Property Types

Description

The two sites included in this multiple property listing are all historic period Yamasee Indian villages. These sites have been investigated through a combination of documentary and archaeological research. These sites are identified on contemporary land plats as named Yamasee town locations. The two named towns are Altamaha and Pocosabo. There are not currently any standing Yamassee structural remains on either of these two sites; all physical evidence of Yamasee occupation at these sites is archaeological in nature.

Contemporary documents indicate that population of Yamasee towns averaged about 120 persons, although Altamaha, head town of the Lower Yamasee, may have been slightly larger. With an average of three to four persons per household, individual towns must have contained thirty to forty houses. Recent archaeological research indicates that these towns were not compact communities with closely spaced dwellings but instead consisted of dispersed homesteads spaced fifty to one hundred meters or more apart. Although precise limits have not yet been archaeologically determined for any single town, it is likely that these towns covered areas ranging between twenty-five hectares (sixty two acres) and fifty hectares (124 acres). Delineation of the limits of the site of Altamaha Town on a 1732 plat (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Map MC 2-3) supports these size estimates.

All towns currently being nominated were located on the Yamasee Reserve established in 1707 by the Carolina government. By that time, the Yamasee had resided at several locations around Port Royal Sound and farther north on the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers. When they established their settlements within the Yamasee Reserve, they appear to have selected high, welldrained parcels of land adjacent to major waterways. This site selection provided sufficient drainage for residential needs as well as access to waterways for movement of goods by water. The Yamasee were deeply involved in the deerskin and Indian slave trades, and each of their towns was serviced by several traders. Proximity to major rivers would have allowed easy access to the Yamasee towns by these traders.

The Yamasee were immigrants from the area now occupied by the state of Georgia. Their relocation was the result of a general breakdown of traditional lifeways and territories following the arrival of Europeans and the introduction of European trade goods, particularly guns. When the Westo Indians settled on the Savannah River in the 1660s, they began a series of devastating attacks on all of their neighbors who were ultimately forced to take refuge among the English or near the Spanish outposts at St. Augustine or Apalachee. The people of Tama (interior Georgia) and Guale (coastal Georgia) who ultimately became known as the Yamasee, sought refuge among the Spanish before finally relocating to Carolina beginning in 1684. Over the next twenty nine

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number ____F___ Page __2___

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

years, as many as 2,500-3,000 Yamasee may have resided in Carolina. The English, seeing a need to defend their southern frontier against Spanish incursions, settled the Yamasees on the colony's southern frontier for defensive purposes.

In addition to defending Carolina's southern frontier, the Yamasee, through their repeated slave raids against Spanish-allied Indian groups, helped reduce the threat of Spanish attack. By 1710, the Yamasee slave raids had been so devastating that there were only a few hundred Indians remaining in all of Spanish Florida, and those that remained were forced to live within close proximity to St. Augustine (Crane 1928:81).

Properties currently being nominated represent only two of at least ten Yamasee towns that existed within the Yamasee Reserve from the time it was established in 1707 to the beginning of the Yamasee War in 1715. For two of these Yamasee towns, Chechessee and Ocute, locations are known; however, intensive residential development has undoubtedly destroyed much of the these sites' integrity. Locations for the remaining five town sites are not currently known. The two sites being nominated are representative of the known groups of Yamasee sites within the Yamasee Reserve. Altamaha Town (38BU1206) is the head town of the lower Yamasee settlements. Pocosabo (38BU1279) is a representative town of the upper Yamasee settlements.

Both of the nominated properties have been the subject of limited archaeological examination. Prior to 1989, when C. DePratter (the present author) and two graduate students at the University of South Carolina began research on the Yamasee, locations were not known for any of their towns. Beginning in 1989, potential site locations were identified using contemporary plats, after which they were visited and archaeologically tested in 1990 and 1991. Village sizes were expected to be on the order of c. 100-150 m square, as would be expected in a compact village in an exposed frontier location such as that occupied by the Yamasee. Instead, houses were found to be dispersed over areas reaching several hundred meters across. The sites that so far have been visited and tested during this Yamasee research project are so large that extensive testing has failed to identify site boundaries; however, testing has allowed identification of discrete Yamasee occupation areas at each of the two sites being nominated.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number F____ Page _3____

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

Significance

The sites that have been identified and tested have yielded significant information concerning Yamasee settlement and dispersal. Within town limits, archaeological remains relating to individual households cover areas roughly seventy to eighty meters across. Spacing between households appears to be roughly 100 m at Altamaha Town (38BU1206) and Pocosabo (38BU1279). This spacing will allow recovery of material culture assemblages relating to individual households without contamination by material from adjacent households. Also, the short occupation span at these sites, fifteen years or less, is ideal for interpretation of lifeways, material culture assemblages, ethnic diversity, differing trade patterns between households, etc.

Another intriguing aspect of continued research on these Yamasee towns has to do with cultural origin and religious background or their inhabitants. As was discussed above, the Upper and Lower Towns had different origins. The Upper Towns appear to have been occupied by remnants of the coastal Georgia Guale who had been subjected to Spanish mission efforts for over a century before they abandoned their homeland in the 1680s. The Upper Yamasee may, then, have a particular, distinctive type of mission-influenced or Spanish-influenced housing; they may have a particular assortment of trade materials; they may have "Christian" burial patterns. There may be churches present for religious practices that can be identified with more archaeological research. The Lower Yamasee, on the other hand, are consistently identified in contemporary documents as "heathens" and "infidels." Residents of the Lower Towns were primarily derived from the non-missionized Indians of Tama. They may well have had different house styles, dietary patterns, trade good preferences, etc., from their missionized counterparts in the Upper Towns. Future excavations should result in recovery of important archaeological data relating to these two differently acculturated groups.

Registration Requirements

The Yamasee Indian towns are eligible under Criterion A because they are part of the first Indian land reserve or reservation in the state of South Carolina. The Yamasee played a key role in the defense of South Carolina against the Spanish between 1684 and 1715, and the Yamasee War was a key event in the early history of Carolina. These two properties are also eligible under Criterion D because they are likely to yield important archaeological information about the Yamasee and their brief sojourn in South Carolina. One of the towns, Pocosabo, is an Upper Yamasee Town, and the other, Altamaha, is a Lower Town and the preeminent Yamasee town. They are the only two Yamasee towns that have been investigated sufficiently to dmonstrate that they are, in fact, Yamasee.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _G____ Page _1___

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

G. Geographical Data

The area encompassed by the 1707 Yamasee Reserve stretches from the Combahee River in the north to the Savannah River in the south and then inland to a line drawn from the head of the Combahee River to the head of the Savannah River. This area includes all of Beaufort and Jasper Counties, South Carolina, as well as Hampton and Allendale Counties farther inland. Lower Yamasee towns within the reserve were located along the mainland fringe of western Beaufort County between the Broad and Colleton Rivers. Upper Towns were located on tributaries to the Broad River in northern Beaufort County and northeastern Jasper County.

Altamaha Town (38BU1206) is located on Chechessee Creek in Beaufort County. Pocosabo (38BU1279) is located on Haulover Creek, a tributary to Whale Branch, in Beaufort County.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number H Page ____

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The multiple property listing of Yamasee archaeological sites in Beaufort and Jasper Counties, South Carolina, is based upon research conducted by Dr. Chester B. DePratter, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and two graduate students, William Green and David A. McKivergan, Jr., of the University of South Carolina Department of Anthropology. Beginning in 1989, members of this team began a systematic search of late 17th and early 18th century land plats from the southern South Carolina coast for references to Yamasee Indian towns or other indications of Indian habitation including fields, clearings, structures, etc. Examination of all available plats resulted in identification of several town locations and a scatter of other features that may have been the result of Yamasee occupation of the target area.

In the Fall of 1989 and the Spring of 1991, testing and mapping was initiated at Altamaha Town (38BU1206), the site of the head town of the Lower Yamasee (Green 1991). Both mapping and testing were impeded by the dense vegetation covering the entire site, but sufficient work was accomplished to determine that a Yamasee occupation was indeed present at this site, in addition to a series of earlier prehistoric period occupations and a 19th century plantation component.

In the Spring of 1991, an archaeological survey of relevant portions of Beaufort, Jasper, and Colleton Counties, South Carolina, was undertaken in an effort to locate additional sites belonging to the Yamasee occupation of the region. Guided by plats, two Yamasee sites (38BU1279, 38JA200) and several other possible Yamasee sites were identified (McKivergan 1991).

During the summer of 1991, mapping and testing was conducted on several of the sites identified during previous surveys (DePratter 1992). This work was funded by a Survey and Planning Grant from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Work was focused on two areas. Several potential sites were located within the area of the 1707 Yamasee Reserve, and plats showed locations of four named towns (Altamaha, Ocute, Chechessee, and Pocosabo) and at least three other potential locations. The other area, located on the Ashepoo and Combahee Rivers where the Yamasee sought refuge following the 1686 Spanish attack on Stuart's Town, was found to have less precise plat information, but several potential town locations were identified.

During the 1991 project, mapping and testing was conducted at six sites thought likely to contain evidence of Yamasee occupation. Although other potential sites were known to exist, access permission was not available for some, whereas others were accessible only by boat and were not within the logistical means of the survey project.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number ___ Page 1____

Yamasee Indian Towns in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1684-1715			
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National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number I Page 2_____

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