

The Chiefs of Chota and the Charles Town Merchants: A vital alliance that ensured the growth
and success of South Carolina, 1692-1760

by

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Abstract

The contributions of three generations of Overhill Cherokee and the Thomas Pinckney family played a significant role in the growth of Charleston, South Carolina, leaving a lasting impact not only on the American nation but also on the survival of their community and the prosperity of South Carolina. These legacies are essential parts of the rich history of the United States. This dissertation provides a unique perspective on the relationship between these men, offering insights that previous historians have yet to uncover. By examining the social, economic, and political histories of the early settlers of Charles Town, as well as the diplomatic and cultural histories of the Cherokee, this research fills a narrow gap left by great scholars like Allen Galloway, Lorri Glover, Marvin Zahniser, and Tom Hatley. It is the first in-depth examination of Thomas and his son William, as well as Cherokee Chief Attakullakulla, revealing a new history of the success of the Carolinas.

The Carolina Proprietorship's founders designed Charles Town to be an international trade port and merchant town, with a robust plantation system supporting its economic activities. They also intended it to serve as a defensive buffer against foreign aggression. Its success was due to the trade of Indian peltry, Indian enslavement, and the sale of goods imported from merchant mariners. The Charles Town merchants' relationship with the Overhill Cherokee made this possible. Despite the outside influences of North Carolina and Virginia encroachers and the French's instigation of disturbances, the Charles Town seafaring merchants and the Overhill Cherokee had a mutually beneficial relationship that lasted a century. However, the influx of frontier families setting up farms and pushing the boundaries set by the English crown broke the ties that bound these men. The downfall was due to greed, but it came from the North Carolina and Virginia encroachers who disobeyed laws.

It took fifty years for the region to become a leading producer of indigo and rice and grow into two influential states. Although the settlers of Charles Town had to deal with frequent aggression from the French and Spanish, they successfully set up trade relationships with the native population, despite ongoing conflicts with neighboring tribes that presented a constant threat. Eventually, the offspring of the early settlers and Cherokee ended their relationships with the English crown, and the newly formed United Colonies began a new form of dealing with the natives. Three generations of Overhill Cherokee and the Thomas Pinckney family actively contributed to the undeniable growth of Charleston, South Carolina. Their lasting impact not only shaped the American nation but also secured the survival of their community and significantly contributed to South Carolina's prosperity. Their legacies play an essential role in the rich history of the United States. This dissertation reveals the relationship of these men like no other historian. By examining the social, economic, and political histories of the early settlers of Charles Town and the diplomatic and cultural histories of the Cherokee, this research uncovers a new piece of the puzzle. This unique history fills a narrow gap left by great scholars like Alan Gallay, Lorri Glover, Marvin Zahniser, and Tom Hatley. It is the first in-depth examination of Thomas and his son William, and of Cherokee Chief Attakullakulla, revealing a new history of the success of the Carolinas.

The founders of the Carolina Proprietorship designed it as an international trade port and merchant town with a robust plantation system to support its economic activities. Additionally, they intended it to serve as a defensive buffer against foreign aggression. Its success was due to the trade of Indian peltry, Indian enslavement, and the sale of goods imported from merchant mariners. The Charles Town merchants' relationship with the Overhill Cherokee made this possible. The influx of frontier families setting up farms and pushing the boundaries set by the

English crown broke the ties that bound these men. Greed was the downfall, but it came from the North Carolina and Virginia encroachers who disobeyed laws. The French further instigated disturbances, yet despite these outside influences, the Charles Town seafaring merchants and the Overhill Cherokee had a mutually beneficial relationship that lasted a century.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In 1692 a “transplant” took place and the region of Charles Town, South Carolina, grew suddenly from a population of Jamaican, Barbados, Bermuda, and Barbuda businessmen. Historian Alexander Salley named these men “The men from the West Indies,” but they were the men from Durham.¹ They left England for the West Indies and a life of mercantilism, derived from the high seas and Atlantic trade, but England remained in their veins. Circumstances made them bring their families and their operations to the Carolina proprietorship.² In June of 1692, a devastating earthquake hit Jamaica, liquefying the ground beneath the city of Port Royal and sending it thirty feet below sea level. Port Royal had been a significant port city, not only supplying a haven for the illegal transport and sale of goods, aka pirate activity but also a midway point for the business operations of the merchant mariner and the traveler/immigrant from European countries. Jamaica held the busiest English port in the American settlements, and Port Royal’s population was second only to Boston. The earthquake sent two-thirds of the city into the ocean and “displaced” the shipping activities (legal or otherwise) to ports such as Charles Town. The Charles Town harbor provided deep waters to accommodate larger vessels like Port Royal. Opportunities drew ship owners to the available in the new proprietorship. New trade and shipping laws also led seafaring men to take their skills to land and become planters, merchants, lawyers, and politicians, holding all those titles simultaneously.

¹ Alexander Samuel Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (C. Scribner’s Sons, 1911).

² *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies, 1689 - 1692* (International Government Document, 1689); South Carolina. Assembly, “Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina 1698” (1692); John Camden Hotten, ed., *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality: Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, Serving Men Sold for a Term of Years, Apprentices, Children Stolen, Maidens Pressed, and Others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Plantations 1600-1700* (London England: Chatto and Windus, 1874).

Because of an attempted slave revolt in Barbados, there was an influx of residents from that region to Charles Town. The Nine Years' War, the Williamite War in Ireland, and the Jacobite uprisings influenced the influx of immigrants to Carolina in 1692. France was suffering from famine over the costs of war, and in Scotland, the MacDonal clan suffered in the Massacre of Glencoe, which gave the Jacobite's further motivation for their cause. In Salem, Massachusetts, the arrest of Sarah Good, Sarah Osborne, and Tituba (an enslaved Indian) marked the beginning of the Salem Witch Trials. Those seeking more tolerant climates left their homelands in search of freedom, whether from across the Atlantic or by traveling to the South and West of Virginia, all causing the population to grow exponentially in 1692.³ Events around the world caused many to seek their fortune and religious freedom in and around Charles Town, Carolina, the Holy City, where religions of all kinds were accepted and flourished. The proprietorship quickly became a market town where even the lowest characters could make a living and become gentlemen. This text examines two generations of Carolinians and their relationship with two generations of Cherokee, who together succeeded in diplomatic trade relations and military alliances. This argument is also the story of how their sons destroyed that relationship and that with England. Through it all, the settlement kept the economy and made Charles Town one of the wealthiest port cities in the North American English colonies, replacing Port Royal.

By 1719, the established Commons House of Assembly rebelled against the Charles Town proprietorship in a bloodless battle for control. Although the "commons" remained loyal to

³ John Adams, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels: Containing Whatever Is Worthy of Notice, in Europe, Asia, Africa and America: In Respect to the Situation and Extent of Empires, Kingdoms, and Provinces; Their Climates, Soil, Produce, &c. ...* (London : Printed for J. Knox, 1767); James Truslow Adams, "The Economic Basis," in *A History Of American Life: Provincial Society 1690-1763* (The Macmillan Company, 1927), 36, of 380, <http://archive.org/details/historyofamerica0003jame>; Ronald Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States: From 1607 to the Present* (Routledge, 2013).

the crown, the elected agents took charge, and the success or failure of Charles Town rested in their hands. Despite the warring native tribes and the Spanish and French fight for territory, the Cherokee and the Charles Town Carolinian developed impressively resilient trade relations through mutual loyalty to the crown.⁴ It was not trade that triggered the peaceful relationship during the formation of Charles Town; it was the diplomatic relations that triggered the trade. The Cherokee Chief Attakullakulla's relationship with Commissioner of Indian Trade William Pinckney during the mid-18th century enabled the settlers to support four counties and fourteen parish districts despite wars, fires, earthquakes, and hurricanes.⁵ William's father, Thomas, and Ama Matai, Oconostota's grandfather, begin this story of the Charles Town settlement. The English crown developed a close relationship with Moytoy of Tellico (Amo Matai). In 1730, William and Attakullakulla interacted for the first time when a delegation of Cherokee traveled to England via Charles Town.⁶ Attakullakulla played a crucial role in keeping peace between the Cherokee and the English for 40 years. Historians consider William's contributions minimal; through an in-depth analysis of the Journals of the Commons House of Assembly, he assisted in native relations through diplomacy and contributed to the success of Charles Town until he died in 1766.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Cherokee leaders and Pinckney men had to address the division between the Carolina settlers and the Cherokee people. William's son, Charles, tried to

⁴ Mattie Erma Edwards (ed) Parker, *North Carolina Charters, and Constitutions 1578-1698* (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), <https://www.biblio.com/book/north-carolina-charters-constitutions-1578-1698/d/660911192>.

⁵ Attakullakulla, "Little Carpenter's Talk," March 12, 1761, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh; Marie Claire Pinckney Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashepoo," 1988; Charles Town, "131 Memorandum from George Galphin to Commissioner Pinckney," n.d.

⁶ James Adair, *The History of the American Indians; Particularly Those Nations Adjoining to the Mississippi [!] East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia* (London, E., and C. Dilly, 1775).

remain faithful to England, switching sides towards the end. Dragging Canoe, the son of Attakullakulla and a warrior from the *Wolf* clan, conducted attacks against loyalists and patriots, with brief periods of peace until he died in 1792. Through a thorough examination of three generations of Pinckney and Moytoy (Overhill Cherokee), this dissertation proves that the economic prosperity of Charles Town and the survival of their families depended on the diplomacy of the first two generations. Their shared loyalty to the crown strengthened their bond, leading to greater peace and increased trade.⁷

When discussing the charter and the entire region before splitting into North and South Carolina, the author uses the term “Carolina,” and Charleston, SC, is referred to as “Charles Town” to stay within the proper language of the period. “Indian” is used as it fits the context, such as “Indian Trade.” Alan Gally, the leading authority on Indian enslavement, refers to the natives of America as “Amerindians.”⁸ However, again, to stay within the language used during the period, the author has chosen to use the terms used by the characters whenever possible. In researching the native terms used to describe the Europeans during the 17th and 18th centuries, the most accurate was the Siouan word for white man, *Wasi’chu*, meaning “he who takes the fat.” It seems more fitting for the settlers who encroached and broke the laws. However, the Aniyvwiya people, which translates to Real People, referred to the Europeans as Unegas, their word for “white.” White represented peace for the Aniyvwiya and is an overlooked, simple fact that explains the relationship the Cherokee had with the Charles Town merchants, which was peaceful. The Europeans named the Aniyvwiya “Cherokee” and had many spelling variations

⁷ Charles M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675* (John Hopkins University Studies, 1908).

⁸ Alan Gally, *The Indian Slave Trade* (Yale University Press, 2002), <http://archive.org/details/indianslavetrade00gall>.

depending on the language.⁹ The author calls the Cherokee Aniyvwiya and sometimes uses Unega to describe all settlers. Despite the apparent language barriers, the Charles Town settlers and Aniyvwiya enjoyed a more extended period of peace than most other groups.

Because of centuries of contact, before the Carolina Charter, the northeastern tribes only knew two kinds of Unegas: fur traders and land pirates. In 1630, even though there were only an estimated forty-five hundred settlers in all six English settlements, and though the Aniyvwiya did not interact directly with these settlers, they had enough experience with French settlers to be on the defensive. The invaders may have appeared friendly initially and spoke of peaceful coexistence, but their actions proved otherwise.¹⁰ Within ten years, the number of settlers grew to about twenty-seven thousand.¹¹ Because of the diplomatic relationship between the Charles Town merchants/lower house members and the Chiefs of the Overhill town of Chota, Carolina secured trade with the Cherokee. She garnered a military alliance that allowed all the English colonies to develop economically and the population to explode.

The explosion came from the Caribbean by way of the merchant mariners. Another correct description of a merchant mariner would be a pirate or a privateer. This research discusses the men who profited from the high seas. The Charles Town merchants made their living off the international trade of North American goods and evidence shows that came from

⁹ “Cherokee Nation Learning Center,” accessed July 30, 2023, <https://learn.cherokee.org/>.

¹⁰ John Adams, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels : Containing Whatever Is Worthy of Notice, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America: In Respect to the Situation and Extent of Empires, Kingdoms, and Provinces; Their Climates, Soil, Produce, &c. ...* (London : Printed for J. Knox, 1767); William Hilton, *A Relation of a Discovery Lately Made on the Coast of Florida, : (From Lat. 31. to 33 Deg. 45 Min. North-Lat.)* (London, : Printed by James Cotrell for Simon Miller, at the Star near the west-end of St. Paul’s, 1664); Peter Williamson, *The Travels of Peter Williamson, among the Different Nations and Tribes of Savage Indians in America* (Edinburgh, sold by Cross and other commissioned by them: Peter Williamson, Printed and Folded by himself in his coffee room within the Parliament-House, 1768); Adams, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels*.

¹¹ “Estimated Population of the American Colonies, 1630-1780,” Vancouver Island University, accessed April 19, 2023, <https://web.viu.ca/davies/H320/population.colonies.htm>.

pillaging Spanish ships and the Indian Slave trade. The plantation system took time to produce a sustaining income for the Charles Town merchants. The rents they collected from their docks added to their coffers, and the monies they gained from the peltry market kept these families in the lap of luxury. These rents came from ships docking with legal or illegal goods gained through the Atlantic trade. These men were skilled in the art of diplomacy; being the non-primogeniture sons, it was a necessary survival skill. While the first sons of a family had a guaranteed future, these “next of kin” merchant mariners had to fight for their security. These few men who owned the docks in the Charles Town Harbor knew the value in alliances with neighboring tribes. The alliances kept their businesses running smoothly by providing protection from foreign aggression, gaining access to the poultry market, and beating out the French competition.

Diplomacy between the settlers and the natives was lacking in the earlier colonies; the northern settlers had an attitude that it was their right and duty to conquer the “uncivilized,” and their lack of ability to sustain themselves without the aid of the local tribes contributed to their mistakes.¹² But the Charles Town merchants would see the Aniyvwiya (and every other tribe) as necessary tools to their success. Charles Town succeeded because the merchants were not the only ones to learn from earlier mistakes. The intelligence, observations, and diplomacy of the Cherokee, which was lacking in other tribes, along with the sheer numbers of the Cherokee, contributed to that success. The Cherokee were the “last man standing,” they had plenty of time to see the forced migrations and failures of the multitudes of tribes that existed when the first

¹² Virginia. General Assembly. House of Burgesses et al., “Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia” (1619).

settlers arrived. The downfall of the peace came from encroaching settlers arriving from Virginia and the Northern Carolina region, not from the settlers of Charles Town.

The Spanish took natives captive and continued doing so since they first arrived; thus, the different tribes were fully aware of the dangers of trusting the Unegas. The Spanish enslaved the Indigenous population if they refused to convert to Catholicism during the colonization period. In 1526, on the last expedition of Spanish-sponsored Lucas Vasques de Ayllón, they made a remarkable discovery when they stumbled upon the Gualdape people living in the marshes and tidal creeks of the Southern Atlantic coast.¹³ The primary goal of the Spanish with the Gualdape tribe was to convert them to Catholicism, but they did not engage in any trading or supply them with weapons. The settlement of San Miguel de Guandape soon became abandoned after the disease killed 90% of the population. Later, in 1565, the Spanish successfully defeated the French in a battle for control over Florida and set up a mission system just north of St. Augustine. Native tribes fought against each other during this period (instigated by the settlers), increasing the number of Cherokee as they supplied refuge to those displaced by the conflicts. The actual number of indigenous people who lived on the continent before the arrival of Europeans may never be known, but undoubtedly much more significant than what schools commonly teach.¹⁴ According to Alan Gally, there were more indigenous peoples than reported.¹⁵ Each of these groups had a population that ranged from 3,000 to 40,000 individuals before the arrival of Europeans.

¹³ Troy Kickler, "Lucas Vasques de Ayllon (1475-1526)," in *North Carolina History Project*, 2007, <https://northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/lucas-vasques-de-ayllon-1475-1526/>.

¹⁴ "National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: A Framework for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment | Social Studies," accessed July 28, 2023, <https://www.socialstudies.org/standards/national-curriculum-standards-social-studies>.

¹⁵ Gally, *The Indian Slave Trade*.

It is an unfortunate reality that K-12 history books have severely underestimated the sheer enormity of the indigenous groups that were present in North America.¹⁶ These groups were not in any way scarce, but rather were abundant in each tribe, with their villages stretching across the entire Atlantic coast from the northernmost point of the continent to the southernmost tip of Florida and encompassing North and South America. The natives saw the settlers as wasteful and greedy. They knew they would not stop until they owned the sky, as Pokagon Potawatomi Chief Simon Pokagon said in his “Red Man’s Rebuke” that he printed on Birch bark for the World’s Columbian Exhibit in Chicago, 1893. He sat atop a shiny new “Ferris Wheel,” looked out over the newly constructed land with skyscrapers reaching the clouds and felt dread in his heart. He looked at the sea, now filled with giant ships, and thought of how the canoes of his people once filled those waters. He remembered a time when his people took part in trade with neighboring tribes, and he now understood the white man would never stop taking from the “Indians.”¹⁷

But long before the Chicago Exhibit, the English began its endeavors. In 1584, Queen Elizabeth I allowed Sir Walter Raleigh to pursue settling a colony in the land he named Virginia, but this venture would tragically fail. In 1606, King James I granted the territory to the Virginia Company of London, and within one year, the first ships arrived with one hundred and four Englishmen. The first fifteen years saw the death of ninety percent of settlers. By 1619, the House of Burgesses set up the first representative legislation, giving the settlers a voice in their governing and a taste of liberty that would become the pursuit of all who arrived in America. In 1614, the Dutch established New Netherland (later expanding with the purchase of Manhattan

¹⁶ Kickler, “Lucas Vasques de Ayllon (1475-1526).”

¹⁷ Simon Pokagon, *The Red Man’s Rebuke*, Printed on Birchbark (Worlds Columbian Exposition: Simon Pokagon, Chief of Pottawatomi, 1893).

Island in 1626). The year 1620 marked the arrival of pilgrims in Plymouth, followed by the Massachusetts Bay Colony receiving a royal charter in 1629 and the founding of Boston city by Puritans just one year later. Englishmen continued to settle in Maryland, Connecticut, and New Sweden over the next decade. Still, each territory faced its challenges in dealing with local tribes, foreign powers, and internal conflicts over the following two decades. In 1660, Nathaniel Batts bought land from Native Americans in North Carolina. He established a good relationship with the surrounding tribes and set an example for others. In 1670, George Fox and his Quaker group of settlers arrived and created the first treaty in 1672, which named the land south of Albemarle Sound and west of Chowan River as Indian territory.¹⁸ Between the arrival of Batts and Fox, King Charles II agreed with eight Lords Proprietors to grant the vast territory of Carolina. The Lord's Proprietors took six years to prepare, and finally, in 1669, three ships carrying settlers set out from England for the southern coast of the New World.¹⁹

The planning phase of Charles Town had many pitfalls, and finally, in 1680, the Proprietorship became a reality. The peninsula of Oyster Point made the new location for Charles Town more practical. Though the port city, not easily constructed, surrounded by marshlands with two rivers flanking its sides and the Atlantic Ocean at its door, made an

¹⁸ George Fox, "Journal of George Fox 1624-1691 November 08, 1672 - December 09, 1672, Volume 01," in *Journal of George Fox*, vol. 1, 216–18, accessed July 30, 2023, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr01-0085>.

¹⁹ King Charles I, "Carolina Charter," 1663; James Glen, *A Description of South Carolina; Containing, Many Curious and Interesting Particulars Relating to the Civil, Natural and Commercial History of That Colony, Viz. the Succession of European Settlers There; Grants of English Charters; Boundaries; Constitution of the Government; Taxes; Number of Inhabitants, and of the Neighbouring Indian Nations. &c. The Nature of the Climate; Tabular Accounts of the Altitudes of the Barometer Monthly for Four Years, of the Depths of Rain Monthly for Eleven Years, and of the Winds Direction Daily for One Year, &c. The Culture and Produce of Rice, Indian Corn, and Indigo; the Process of Extracting Tar and Turpentine; and the State of Their Maritime Trade in the Years 1710, 1723, 1740 and 1748, with the Number or Tonnage of Shipping Employed, and the Species, Quantities and Values of Their Produce Exported in One Year, &c. To Which Is Added, a Very Particular Account of Their Rice-Trade for Twenty Years, with Their Exports of Raw Silk and Imports of British Silk Manufactures for Twenty-Five Years* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall., 1761).

excellent spot for an international port that could accommodate large vessels. However, the constant threats from the Spanish and French fleets made this tiny city vulnerable. In 1704, the authorities built a wall around the city to protect it from unknown territories and potential coastal attacks. They instructed the construction of a wall with a moat and drawbridge while they installed bastions with cannons in strategic locations to defend the harbor's perimeter. A stretch of the sea would become known as Pirates Road because it was the only stretch cannon fire could not reach. This period of Charles Town's history was not a time of peace and tranquility.²⁰ Yet Charles Town not only survived the crises but also grew into the most prominent trade city of the settlements and further developed into an epicenter of government that supplied many brilliant minds who contributed to today's United States.²¹

The Aniywiyia had a long history of trade, peace, and war before the arrival of the “land pirates.” They were not new to diplomacy or civil affairs; they had experienced the forced migration brought on by warring tribes and influenced by encroaching northern settlers. Yet they were unprepared for what a northern Indian described as “a giant web of iron stretching over the Atlantic...spiders devouring animals and Indians...the white man riding their backs.”²² Within thirty years and three settlements later, the number of Unegas leaped to over one hundred and fifty thousand, making the word “encroachment” seem not quite strong enough to describe the loss of land, animals, and people.²³ The Iroquois, Powhatan, Potawatomi, and many other tribes from Canada, the Great Lakes, and the New York area were forced to move south, which forced

²⁰ John Gerar William De Brahm, “History of the Three Provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida” (1771), Houghton Library, Harvard.

²¹ Charles M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675* (John Hopkins University Studies, 1908).

²² Crestien Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia: With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, ed., and trans. William Ganong (Toronto, 1910).

²³ Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

tribes like the Cherokee to migrate to the mountains and woodlands of the Blue Ridge and its foothills. The continued encroachment created displaced natives from every corner of North America.

The desire for beaver and deerskin would make the Indians of the strongest tribe survive. Still, the Unega's desire for land will shrink the Aniyvwiya hunting ground and eventually cause them to become expendable. In 1679, Charles Town (not officially named Charleston, SC until 1783) was set up at its current location, thus beginning the first real influence on the Aniyvwiya way. In 1679, settlers established Charles Town (not officially named Charleston, SC until 1783) at its current location, and it began to impact the way of life of the Aniyvwiya people significantly. The Virginia Company of London failed to reach peaceful relations with them. natives. The Carolina settlement took the approach of diplomacy from the beginning, even if it was “double talk.” Having a familiar friend, the Great King of England, would prove to be a strong (but breakable) link to the success of Charles Town. Knowing the importance of alliances with the most influential groups, regulating trade, and supplying militia as agreed would create a peaceful relationship with the Aniyvwiya.²⁴ Despite constant undermining of government in Charles Town from 1680-1729, essential friendships continued until the mid-eighteenth century. The absentee Lords Proprietors and their “boots on the ground” agents struggled against the General Assembly (Lower House) for control of the territory.²⁵ The changing laws for fur traders, the instigation of Aniyvwiya warriors, settlers moving south from Virginia, and a steady

²⁴ James Adair, *The History of the American Indians; Particularly Those Nations Adjoining to the Mississippi [!] East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia* (London, E., and C. Dilly, 1775); William S Powell and Carolina, *The Carolina Charter of 1663, How It Came to North Carolina and Its Place in History, with Biographical Sketches of the Proprietors*. (Raleigh: State Dept. of Archives and History, 1954); Mary Pinckney Powell, *Back Over Home: The Heritage of Pinckneys of Pinckney Colony, Bluffton, South Carolina* (R.L. Bryan Company, 1996).

²⁵ L. H. Roper, *Conceiving Carolina: Proprietors, Planters, and Plots, 1662-1729*, 1st ed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

flow of immigrants arriving by vessel along the eastern coast made diplomatic efforts more constrained than ever. Yet for over sixty years, the Aniyvwiya and the Carolinians kept a grand alliance, though not without issues; it was an alliance that would secure the futures for all, despite the later divide.²⁶

Thomas Pinckney served as a merchant mariner with a commission from the English crown; he was also a pirate. However, he made valuable contributions to the early settlement that historiographers ignore.²⁷ He was a man who brought wealth, established plantations, and secured futures for his children. Those children would create strong relationships with the Aniyvwiya and a trade system rivaled and imitated worldwide.²⁸ Historians have not found significance in Pinckney's arrival, though if examined as an example of the men who "transplanted" to Carolina at the beginning of the settlement, where they came from, where they gained an education, we can see how these men and their children were able to forge these relationships. Thomas and his two sons, Charles, and William were active members of various social and cultural organizations. Additionally, both sons held multiple positions, such as Commissary General, Commissioner of Indian Trade, and Justices of the Peace, while also being attorneys, plantation owners, and merchants. Their contributions were crucial in establishing the Charles Town plantation system and fostering a positive relationship with the Cherokee, allowing the system to thrive.²⁹ The settlers who moved to the interior ignored the demands of

²⁶ Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Walter J. Fraser, *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 1989).

²⁷ Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashepoo;" Harriott Horry Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney* (C. Scribner's Sons, 1896); "Pinckney Papers Project" (n.d.), accessed May 9, 2022.

²⁸ Marie Claire Pinckney Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashepoo," 1988.

²⁹ Town, "131 Memorandum from George Galphin to Commissioner Pinckney"; "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726" (1945).

the Lords Proprietors to always try for peace at all costs with the natives, making the task of diplomacy all the more difficult.³⁰

Merchant mariners like Thomas made Charles Town their home and joined the elite ranks. The merchants remained tied to the sea and influenced the economic growth of Charles Town. Historians like Marvin R. Zahniser briefly discuss Charles Pinckney as the father of Revolutionary men, and William is hardly mentioned. These two men took part in building peaceful relations with the Cherokee, yet their influence has not been thoroughly examined until now.³¹ The Carolina Proprietorship period and Royal era, through the eyes of the settlers of this one port city, can explain the discord that caused the Revolutionary War, the colonial economy, gender roles, and a thousand other subjects. The Pinckney family alone can explain a wide range of subjects, including the formation of the United States, the writing of the US Constitution, States' Rights, Federalism, Republicanism, Democracy, Economics, Agricultural development, Literature, Women's Roles, Southern Culture, Enslavement, Trade, Foreign policies, and even the actual shape of the United States, along with the history of law in America. Examining the lives of William and Charles Pinckney and the Chiefs of Chota helps to clearly define the history

³⁰ Colleton et al., "Lords Proprietors' Letter to Seth Sothel -," May 12, 1691, Carolana; "August 1650: An Act for the Advancing and Regulating of the Trade of This Commonwealth." (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1650).

³¹ "Journal of the Board of Trade and Plantations: Volume 11, January 1759-December 1763" (Journal Entry, London), of. 179, British History Online, accessed July 1, 2022, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/jrnl-trade-plantations/vol11/pp41-46#highlight-first>; William Sludders, "Commissioners of Indian Trade, South Carolina Indian Affairs Documents, 1750-1752" (November 1750), https://scdah.sc.gov/sites/scdah/files/Documents/Research%20and%20Genealogy/Resources/Native%20American%20Resources/Commissioners%20of%20the%20Indian%20Trade_Vol2_chapter1%20pages%203-57.pdf; "Correspondence Regarding the Grievances of the Cherokees, and Their Conflicts with Other American Indian Tribes and Colonies" (1768), https://www.colonialamerica.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/CO_5_69_Part_2_004; James Nicholas Cromwell, "James Nicholas Cromwell to Charles Pinckney, (1699-1758), 10 December 1745" (Text, The University of Virginia Press, December 10, 1745), <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP1206>.

of Charleston, SC.³² The economic growth of Charles Town owes its success to the foreign and domestic trade established by the few men who owned the “bridges.” Their trade included Indigenous peoples from the region, native peltry (stolen or traded fairly), and the goods plundered from commissioned and non-commissioned shipping activity. These activities sustained the territory long enough to transform it into a wealthy international port city, which produced more rice and indigo than any other area.³³

Archeological findings support the idea that Indigenous tribes traveled as far as South America and North into Canada; thus, the Aniyvwiya were not new to trade. Neither the Dutch, French, Spanish, nor English were the first to develop trade relations with the Overhill Cherokee as they came to be known.³⁴ Though self-sustaining, materials unearthed suggest trade with other tribes near and far. The fact that the Aniyvwiya assimilated people of all races into their tribe, ultimately adopting them, including one of their most revered beloved men, tells us that they were in contact with, and observant of, a multitude of cultures before the arrival of De Soto.³⁵ We have few firsthand accounts to rely on for what we know of the Aniyvwiya trading system

³² “Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Concluded by His Excellency William-Henry Lyttelton, Esq, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of His Majesty’s Province of South-Carolina, with Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter ...,” in *Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Concluded by His Excellency William-Henry Lyttelton, Esq, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of His Majesty’s Province of South-Carolina, with Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter ...*, 1760.

³³ Sludders, “Memo from William Sludders to Comm. Pinckney;” Mathew Carey, John Adams, and John Adams Library (Boston Public Library) MB (BRL), *The American Museum, or Universal Magazine : Containing Essays on Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Politics, Morals and Manners: Sketches of National Characters, Natural and Civil History, and Biography: Law Information, Public Papers, Intelligence: Moral Tales, Ancient and Modern Poetry* (Philadelphia : Printed by Mathew Carey, 1787).

³⁴ Lawrence V. Salo, *Archaeological Investigations in the Tellico Reservoir, 1967-1968, an Interim Report*, First Edition (Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, 1969).

³⁵ Adair; Henry Timberlake, “The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake: Who Accompanied the Three Cherokee Indians to England In The Year 1762: Containing Whatever He Observed Remarkable, Or Worthy Of Public Notice, During His Travels To And From That Nation: Wherein The Country, Government?” (London, 1765), Archives Unbound, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5101915312/GDCS?sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=269ac0c4&pg=116>; Samuel Gardner Drake, *Early History of Georgia, Embracing the Embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming to the Country of the Cherokees, in the Year 1730. A Paper Read in Substance before the New-England Historic, Genealogical Society, February 1872* (Boston, Printed by D. Clapp & son, 1872).

with Europeans, which comes from the settler's perspective. The northern tribes and European fur traders dealt in the highly sought-after beaver pelt since the little creature had become extinct in Europe. Coincidentally, competition for the sale of deer skin with Siam in the 1660s made trade alliances with the North American tribes even more lucrative than having a military alliance against the Spanish and French.³⁶

Thousands of products derive from beaver and deerskins, ranging from military armament to ladies' gloves.³⁷ By 1700 new maritime trade laws were making importing this fashionable fur difficult to obtain from Asian markets.³⁸ Privateering along the Atlantic trade routes brought initial economic growth to the city via the merchants/merchandise plundered from Spain to Asia. Popular history tells the story of pirates as rum swigging, beards on fire, dirty men, with the crews of these ships spending their ill-gotten gains at the first port they came to; however, the evidence shows that more times than not, these men came from noble families and at the very least were "gentlemen." The adventures as a privateer suddenly stopped during peace and with changes to maritime law. Soon these gentlemen turned to piracy, or at best an illegal market, circumventing laws by bribing officials at port, not stealing, just dealing under the royal table. But the lifespan of a pirate was minimal, and the West/East Indies did not allow the average crew member to own large tracts of land as did the North American territory. Though

³⁶ "Deerskins Table | Maritime Asia," n.d., <https://maritime-asia.org/content/deerskins-table>; "The Trade in Deerskins | Maritime Asia," n.d., <https://maritime-asia.org/content/trade-deerskins>.

³⁷ Adams, "The Economic Basis," 1927.

³⁸ John Adams and Boston Public Library) John Adams Library BRL, *A General Treatise of Naval Trade and Commerce: As Founded on the Laws and Statutes of This Realm: In Which Those Relating to Letters of Marque, Reprisal and of Restitution, Privateers, Prizes, Convoys, Cruizers, and Every Other Branch of Trade, Foreign and Domestic, Are Particularly Considered. Likewise, the Opinions of the Most Eminent Council upon Various Important Points Relating to Customs and English Ships, Prizes, and Other Articles of Mercantile Business. In Two Volumes. To Which Are Added, the Two Treaties of Peace and Friendship, Concluded at Madrid in the Years 1667, and 1670. between the Kings of Great Britain and Spain*, vol. 2, 1 vol. (London: Printed for Edward Symon ..., 1738).

men like the flamboyant and at times horrifying, Blackbeard, did exist these were mostly simple seafaring men, merchants who during war were fighting in the name of religion or loyalty to the crown and country. These merchant marines discovered a way to fill their pockets, and they were smart enough to know how to parlay that into the future.³⁹

Charles Town became the fourth largest trade port in less than twenty years since the first ship arrived. Through this research, it is easy to see how issues with trade in Asia, war with Spain over the southern Atlantic islands, and even natural disasters, affected why Charles Town was necessary to the success of all the English settlements. What becomes even more clear is how a secluded band of Aniyywiya could influence the stability and growth of a city 400 miles away.⁴⁰ Through investigating the deerskin trade, the Indian slave trade, and the wars that came with both, one can see how the Cherokee interaction allowed the Lower country time to develop their rice, indigo, and cotton production.⁴¹ The success of the Charles Town trade system depended upon the diplomacy of a select few men of the assembly and the Overhill Cherokee chiefs that allowed for Charles Town to eventually develop into the number one wealthiest city of all the proprietorships and later royal “plantations” in North America.⁴² Furthermore, this

³⁹ Daniel Defoe and Charles Johnson, *A General History of the Pyrates: From Their First Rise and Settlement in the Island of Providence to the Present Time* (Printed for, and sold by T. Warner, at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster-Row, 1724).

⁴⁰ Khal Torabully and Ameenah Gurib-Fakim, *The Maritime History of the Indian Ocean. From Al-Idrissi to Ibn Majid and Beyond.*, 1st Edition. (Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage-State of Qatar, 2010); Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*; Alexander Samuel Salley, ed., *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726* (General Assembly of South Carolina, 1945).

⁴¹ James Truslow Adams, “The Economic Basis,” in *A History of American Life: Provincial Society 1690-1763* (The Macmillan Company, 1927), 49, 184, 206 of 380, <http://archive.org/details/historyofamerica0003jame>.

⁴² William S Powell and Carolina, *The Carolina Charter of 1663, How It Came to North Carolina and Its Place in History, with Biographical Sketches of the Proprietors.* (Raleigh: State Dept. of Archives and History, 1954).

diplomacy led to the settling of Georgia, the acquisition of Louisiana, and the expelling of the Spanish from St. Augustine.⁴³

A brief history of the original eight Lords Proprietors, the Charter itself, and surveying the land describes the background on Carolina settlement. This dissertation follows the ships from England to the Royal buyout of the proprietorship and examines the events in between, and up to, the end of peaceful relations. Men like the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper are well known in the history of Charles Town, however, the merchant men, the individual Commissioners of Indian Trade, are far less known despite having a greater impact.⁴⁴ People today remember the Pinckney name because of Eliza Pinckney the Indigo Girl, given credit for perfecting the cash crop indigo in Charles Town, and the two “Constitution Charley’s,” the XYZ affair and the Pinckney Treaty (Treaty of San Lorenzo) that gave the US navigation rights on the Mississippi River, and the mystery surrounding the Pinckney Draught in which some claim one of the “Constitution Charley’s” wrote much of the US constitution.⁴⁵ The name Pinckney has been known by many Kings and leaders of the world from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century. The Carolina Pinckneys were extremely influential though most people could not name even one, let alone tell you of the two Charles who signed the United States Constitution. We can see through the written works left by Alexander Hamilton and John Adams, one needs to document their history and be sure those documents are safe, as well as leave behind supporting evidence. Unfortunately, men whose written legacies suffered from tragic fires lost their work and destroyed any hope of immortalization in the manner of Hamilton

⁴³ Drake, *Early History of Georgia, Embracing the Embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming to the Country of the Cherokees, in the Year 1730. A Paper Read in Substance before the New-England Historic, Genealogical Society, February 1872*; Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

⁴⁴ Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

⁴⁵ Charles C. Nott, *The Mystery of the Pinckney Draught* (Century Company, 1908).

and Adams.⁴⁶ Lost are the Pinckney family's personal, political, and economic papers before the American Revolution, sadly destroyed by fires. Ironically, William Pinckney was one of the first to start an insurance company in Charles Town. Shortly thereafter, a fire broke out, destroying his own property. Again, during the American Revolution, important family and government papers stored at the Ashepoo family home burnt along with the house.

However, Pinckney's ancestors and noted historians have documented certain key members who had the most significance and influence on shaping the United States and South Carolina.⁴⁷ Lorri Glover has written extensively about the Founding Fathers, Jamestown history, and specifically Eliza Pinckney.⁴⁸ Her work is invaluable to women's studies and how the southern women viewed the men in this study, however this topic focuses on William's line of the Pinckney family. The need for a comprehensive portrait of the first generation of Carolina Pinckneys remains despite the work done by scholars with the "Pinckney Papers." The earliest Pinckneys were most influential, and their historiography has changed since 1692 when the first Thomas Pinckney arrived as a suspected pirate off the coast of Charles Town. The writings by contemporary historians follow that line and change depending on the author's origin (Northerner or Southerner).

The "Southern Myth" refers to a set of beliefs, values, and traditions that emerged in the American South after the Civil War. The popular opinion today is that it was a romanticized

⁴⁶ Marvin R. Zahniser, *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*, 1967.

⁴⁷ Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashepoo;" Eliza Lucas Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762* (University of North Carolina Press, 1972); Charles C. Nott, *The Mystery of the Pinckney Draught* (Century Company, 1908).

⁴⁸ Lorri Glover, *Founders as Fathers: The Private Lives and Politics of the American Revolutionaries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), <http://archive.org/details/foundersasfather0000glov>; Lorri Glover, *Eliza Lucas Pinckney: An Independent Woman in the Age of Revolution* (New Haven London: Yale University Press, 2020); Lorri Glover, *The Shipwreck That Saved Jamestown* (Henry Holt and Co., 2008), <http://archive.org/details/shipwreckthatsav00glov>.

view of the antebellum South, which glorified the region's agrarian society, hierarchical social structure, and traditional way of life. However, there are truths to the "myth" such as recorded in the diary of Eliza Pinckney who treated the enslaved with kindness. It is a misconception that anyone would "romanticize" enslavement just because someone wrote a romance novel set in the Antebellum South. Filmmakers and fiction writers are rarely historically accurate and never claim to depict all sides of a situation. The harsh reality of whippings and other atrocities did not fit into the scheme of a romance. The concept of the "Southern Myth" has been widely criticized for perpetuating racist and exclusionary attitudes towards African Americans, and for promoting a fictionalized, idealized version of the antebellum South that ignores the brutal realities of slavery, despite the fact that enslavement itself is brutal without showing the lashes. When the civil rights movement gained traction, families such as the Pinckneys lost favor with both scholars and the general public. There has been a growing call to remove memorials honoring prominent Southern leaders from the Antebellum era. Ongoing research into the enslavement of individuals has further complicated the legacy of the Pinckney family, with varying opinions on both the positive and negative aspects of their contributions.⁴⁹

Though many scholars from all eras rightly attribute the city's wealth to the exportation of rice, indigo, and later cotton, sadly the main trade of Charles Town is remembered today as coming from human trafficking: the capturing, transporting, selling, and imprisoning for the use of forced labor of all kinds, the enslavement of people.⁵⁰ The documents left behind are full of

⁴⁹ Nott, *The Mystery of the Pinckney Draught*; Mary Pinckney Powell, *Over Home, the Heritage of Pinckneys of Pinckney Colony, Bluffton, South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C: The R. L. Bryan Company, 1982); Frances Leigh Williams, *Plantation Patriot; a Biography of Eliza Lucas Pinckney.*, [1st ed.]. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967); Powell, *Back Over Home*; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney* (Houghton, Mifflin, 1895); Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*; Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762.*

⁵⁰ "Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - Database," accessed May 13, 2022, <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/database>.

sentences like “escaped negro wench, wearing a slave garment and no shoes...” and “ten of my worst slaves to be sold to pay for the upkeep on my pew in St. Michaels which is to be used by my wife and her heirs” makes this era difficult to study.⁵¹ However, the fact of slavery, grave as it was, wrongly overshadows the modern narrative of that period. Today classic epic films such as “Gone with the Wind” have disclaimers because they “depict a time when enslavement was allowed,” yet new films such as “Twelve Years a Slave,” and “Django Unchained,” pass as more accurately depicting the times. Historical records show that certain slave-owning households in South Carolina displayed compassion towards their enslaved individuals. These individuals were a part of the family and treated them kindly, as noted in the owners' diaries. Nevertheless, it is imperative to acknowledge that such benevolent treatment does not excuse the abhorrent treatment of other enslaved individuals. It is crucial to recognize the stark contrast in treatment that existed among the enslaved community.⁵²

One cannot read current research on the southern settlements without the issue of enslavement being at the forefront. In reading the histories of these important men, the first thing mentioned is the number of slaves he owned and not his great contributions. Unfortunately, left out in the cold are important parts of Southern history with a focus on enslavement. While enslavement put a great deal of wealth in a lot of pockets by saving labor costs and hastening work, few men were in the business of selling enslaved Africans as a primary commodity between 1663 and 1735 in Charles Town. Gradually the African slave market overshadows the Indian slave market. A census from 1720 claims there were 1500 “Indian Slaves” in Carolina but by the late eighteenth century, the census bureau no longer differentiated between Black and

⁵¹ “The South-Carolina Gazette 30 Jun 1733, Page 4,” *Newspapers.Com*, n.d., accessed May 14, 2022.

⁵² Tom Brook, “Slavery on Film: What Is Hollywood’s Problem?” *The Reel World-Film Industry BBC.Com*, last modified 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20131015-hollywood-scared-of-slavery>.

native slaves and combined the two groups under the term “negro.” This fact alone negates any claim that the number of either enslaved group is definitively known. Though it is true that 90% of the agreed upon estimate of enslaved Africans went to the West Indies while 6% went to North American British colonies, 60% of that 6% enslaved, indeed came by way of the Charles Town harbor.⁵³ However, during the first 72 years of Carolina there were over 40,000 natives exported through enslavement, though scholars give these subjects mere paragraphs in the volumes written about slavery.

The enslavement of people of any race during any period of history is an atrocity, like the holocaust, they are tragedies in history that should never be forgotten. The number of victims of the holocaust is quantifiable, and the number of victims of slavery cannot, however, while the perpetrators of the holocaust are clear, the perpetrators of African and Indian slavery are not. What still needs further examination are the victims of Indian slavery. In modern scholarship, the two groups of African and Native slaves should not be under the same heading as “negro slaves” especially when the importation of African slaves was not a commodity in the early days of Charles Town.⁵⁴ The real economic draw for the merchants of Carolina, the “Men from Barbados,” besides the wares from the West Indies, came from exporting deerskin, timber, and the exportation of American natives.⁵⁵

⁵³ Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*.

⁵⁴ “Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - Database.”

⁵⁵ “Book of Acts and Laws Relating to Barbados,” 1682; “The Falsities of Private Traders to Africa Discover’d, and the Mischiefs They Occasion Demonstrated: And an Account of the Settlements on That Coast Purchased, Built, and Now Possesst by the Company,” 1708, University of South Carolina; “The Plantations: Ships, Crops, Slaves, Pay Roll, 1780-1884,” 1780, University of South Carolina; “Journal of the House of Commons, 1753” (1753), University of South Carolina; “Despatches Relating to Agriculture and Slavery in Bermuda,” 1780, University of South Carolina; Granville Sharp, “Granville Sharp to Anthony Benezet Regarding Slavery,” 1772, University of South Carolina.

Throughout history, Native Americans have suffered from devastating events, both intentional and unintentional. Epidemics, tribal conflicts, and wars with European powers took countless lives. The Trail of Tears, which forcibly removed Native Americans from their homes and moved them to Oklahoma, resulted in at least four thousand deaths alone. However, the enslavement of natives from North America numbered over two million. Today, the poverty and lack of legal protection on reservations continue to contribute to the Native American death toll. Historian Alan Galloway wrote about the Indian slave trade and is the current leading authority. His work deals with the Catawba; however, his invaluable research is a great jumping-off point for this topic.⁵⁶ This examination focuses on the Indian slave trade as it relates to the Cherokee and Charleston and is a great companion to Galloway's work. Along with the deerskin market, it sustained the economy during Carolina's early years. These two exports allowed the region to grow its agricultural production, without which English settlements would not have survived. Securing a trade alliance with the natives became a crucial strategy for the settlers of the "Carolina Plantation," supplying protection, opening land for growing crops, and ensuring safety and prosperity for new immigrants.⁵⁷ But this would take highly skilled negotiators from the Aniyywiya, and the Charles Town merchants because the antagonists undermined the peace.

English noble families have practiced staying in favor of the crown (no matter who's head it rested) for centuries, an art of manipulation older than Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince*.⁵⁸ The Pinckneys from Bishop Auckland, Durham, England, have a long history of falling in and out of that favor since they arrived in England with William the Conqueror and the

⁵⁶ Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*.

⁵⁷ Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

⁵⁸ Niccolò Machiavelli and George Bull, *The Prince*, Reissued with revisions., Penguin classics (London; New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

“twenty thousand thieves who landed at Hastings.”⁵⁹ Ralph Waldo Emerson called these thieves the “Men of the House of Lords” and “greedy and ferocious dragoons, sons of greedy and ferocious pirates.”⁶⁰ The descendants of those men came to Charles Town and became known as the “Men from Barbados” and “Goose Creek Men.”

Long after the Norman invasion, the English Civil War, the Cromwell years, and the Restoration resulted in noble families either elevated or stripped of titles and land. The first-born son’s main goal was to regain what their ancestors lost or build upon what they managed to hold. The Landed Gentry usually had their wealth and remained valuable to the English economy through times of war and peace. Businesspeople in all eras found a way to succeed, and the seventeenth century was a time when Atlantic trade and exploration exploded. With it came the need for more extensive and robust ships built in Scotland, England, and Ireland. The lure of cargo ships laden with gold caused men to take to the sea. The war between Catholics and Protestants allowed middle sons from noble, manorial, gentry, and even the yeoman’s households to gain enough wealth to buy all the property necessary to have power and control over their lives. The primogeniture society of the English promised security to the eldest son, the best way to succeed for the rest of the men to whom that law left out, was to become a navy man or merchant mariner. While settlers built other North American colonies for the purpose of escaping religious persecution, Charles Town, known still today as “The Holy City,” was settled by businessmen loyal to the crown, but longing for adventure, wealth, and security.⁶¹ Much like

⁵⁹ George Laurence Gomme, *The King’s Story Book: Being Historical Stories Picturing the Reigns of English Monarchs*; (New York, Longmans, Green, 1912); Matthias Earbery, *The History of the Clemency of Our English Monarchs* (London printed for the author: [s.n.], 1717).

⁶⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: English Traits [Vol. 5]*, 2006

⁶¹ John Gerar William De Brahm, “History of the Three Provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida,” 1771, Houghton Library, Harvard.

the Virginia settlement, profit was the main goal, but Charles Town succeeded when the Virginians were slow in securing peaceful trade relations with the natives.

By examining the seemingly insignificant life of William Pinckney, Commissioner of Indian Trade, and his brother Charles, who left their names on several documents relating to the business of the Commons House of Assembly, the story of trade relations with the Aniyvwiya is made clear.⁶² Further examination of men like the short-term Carolina Governor Seth Sothel and Carolina Governor Nathaniel Johnson, who created the parish system and whose son would also be Governor when Edward Teach blockades the Charles Town harbor in 1718, juxtaposed with how the Virginia government managed relations with other tribes, the success of Charles Town is also evident.⁶³ Through strategic marriages such as Nathaniel's daughter Ann, who would become the wife to acting Governor Broughton, 1735-1737, we can see how family ties create a strong network of Charles Town families that have the same goal as people today, the ability to have financial security for their children and a safe community.⁶⁴ More importantly, through examining the many marriages of Mary Cotesworth Pinckney, a picture of daily life in Charles Town from 1698 to 1745 is dramatically presented. Thomas Pinckney's legacy is evident in her life and the lives of their sons; through their stories, we see the diplomacy that secured a future for Carolina. With the military efforts of Colonel James Montgomery, we get a glimpse of the

⁶² "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726"; South Carolina. Assembly, "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Jan 30, 1696, to March 17, 1696" (1945); South Carolina. Assembly, "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina for Feb 23, 1725/5, and Ending June 1, 1725" (1945).

⁶³ "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship Finally Concluded and Ratified 1761," n.d., University of South Carolina Digital Collection, accessed July 30, 2023; "Commissioners of the Indian Trade," n.d., accessed July 30, 2023; "Records of the Virginia Company, 1622-24, Volume II: Court Book Part B," n.d., accessed July 30, 2023; "'Some Account of the Cherokees (1762)' in 'The Publications of James Edward Oglethorpe' on University of Georgia Press Digital Publishing," *UGA Press*, n.d., accessed August 10, 2022.

⁶⁴ Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina, A Political History, 1663-1763* (Williamsburg, PA: University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, for Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1966).

English side of the diplomacy tactics used to befriend the Aniyvwiya. Understanding the motivation of these men, along with the Overhill chiefs such as Oconastota, Attakullakulla, and Kanagatoga, we see how that diplomacy caused the success of Charles Town as well as securing the survival of the Aniyvwiya.⁶⁵ The divide comes between the next generation of these men, those who no longer see the English crown or each other as a benefit.⁶⁶

This dissertation follows the events of the Carolina Charters and the arrival of Thomas Pinckney, through the proprietorship era, the Charles Town bloodless revolution, the Royal period, the massacres of Fort Loudon, and how Charles Town grew into one of the largest (at times the largest) trade port. The focus is on key figures from the Commons House of Assembly and the leaders of the Overhill Cherokee tribe. From 1683 to 1750, the Aniyvwiya attempted peaceful resolutions. In 1730, seven delegates from the Overhill region of Chota traveled to England to secure the future of their people, and young Attakullakulla was one. Prior native voyages to England resulted in macabre spectacles; however, Attakullakulla kissed the hand of King George II and agreed to terms that the young delegate hoped would cement the peace. Back home, the settlers continued to encroach while the envoy of “Indians” traveled around England at the expense of Sir Alexander Cuming’s creditors.⁶⁷ The delegates saw the English and picked up

⁶⁵ Larry E. Ivers, *This Torrent of Indians: War on the Southern Frontier, 1715–1728* (Univ of South Carolina Press, 2016).

⁶⁶ Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726*; Powell and Carolina, *The Carolina Charter of 1663, How It Came to North Carolina and Its Place in History, with Biographical Sketches of the Proprietors*.

⁶⁷ Coll Thrush, Kate Shanley, and Ned Blackhawk, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire*, Illustrated edition. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Donald N. Yates, *Old Souls in a New World: The Secret History of the Cherokee Indians*, 1st edition. (Panther’s Lodge, 2013); Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation: A History*, 1st edition. (University of New Mexico Press, 2011); William R. Reynolds Jr, *The Cherokee Struggle to Maintain Identity in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (McFarland, 2015).

more of the language and style of dress they already enjoyed. Attakullakulla mastered the art of diplomacy, politics, and war just as the English had so aptly conducted.⁶⁸

However, the White Chief's motivation was the preservation of an entire people, not a business, not a single plot of land or city, not to remain in position of power, but for the survival of the Aniyvwiya. By examining the earlier lives of these leaders and their influences from their education and adventures, this dissertation finds how the two maintained peace for thirty years when there was so much against the alliance.⁶⁹ Upon the envoy's return to Charles Town harbor following the signing of a peace and trade agreement with King George II, the delegates were unable to return to the Overhill region due to conflicts between their people and the settlers.⁷⁰ Sadly, it must have seemed like a useless trip when rumors of negotiations with other tribes were swirling about on the low country breeze. Still, changes to the Aniyvwiya culture did not begin until the settlers started to break from England, still intact until the late seventeenth and early nineteenth century despite the earlier loss of valuable land and diminished numbers from disease and war. Today, the Aniyvwiya are the largest group of Indigenous people; though many diverse groups, recognized or otherwise, survived the attempted extermination, the Aniyvwiya survival is due to the work of the most beloved man Attakullakulla.⁷¹

The chosen colors of the United States flag are Red, White, and Blue, which highlight the three different sections of territories during this period. The “red” men of the interior, the “white” men of the coastal proprietorships, and the “blue” ocean filled with merchant mariners

⁶⁸ English historians have called Ada Kulakula: Attakullakulla, Leaning Wood, Little Carpenter, and several other titles, however historian and Chief Wilma Mankiller has written “Ada Kulakula.”

⁶⁹ Adair; James Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*, ed. Morgan Owle-Crisp, 2nd edition (Cherokee Publications, 2006).

⁷⁰ *American Wars and Politics: English Magazines and Newspapers, 1749-1819* (s.n., 1749).

⁷¹ Adair.

and navy. Each uses the skills of negotiation and the art of diplomacy to secure their futures, even the pirates. Earlier historians reported that the reason for success was for self-preservation and greed, however, this argument shows the success was because of the preservation of family and the land they lived upon, which gave birth to the United States. The “red man” gave the “white merchant” his deerskins to send across the “blue” ocean and the land to develop his plantations together they would create friendships that eventually would make the “red man” expendable and the “white man” own everything including the sky as a Potawatomi chief will later predict.⁷²

This dissertation presents a new history of the Aniyvwiya through a thorough analysis of qualitative and quantitative data obtained from military, diplomatic, and economic sources. The research delves deep into the conflicts with the Cherokee and other tribes, trade relations with all nations, and settlement documents to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the historical events surrounding this topic. From the outset, the strategy employed by Charles Town was to pit one tribe against another as a "diplomatic tactic" for dealing with native issues. The research uncovers how Charles Town managed to keep the peace for years despite these instigators. The argument heavily relies on proprietorship-era documents and the ever-evolving policies of the royal government. To fully understand the interaction between the Charles Town merchant/planter and the Cherokee chiefs, it is crucial to understand who held positions such as "commissary general" or "Secretary of State." The research method for this dissertation involves examining the words and actions of members of the assembly and their families. It analyzes

⁷² Pokagon, *The Red Man's Rebuke*.

letters, diaries, and documents from the leaders of the founding era of Charles Town through a cultural lens, supplying a more detailed and nuanced understanding of the historical context.⁷³

To thoroughly understand past events, it is often necessary to consult historical newspapers. One such example is the *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick*, which enjoyed a successful run of one year in 1690 before it was forced to close. However, in 1704, the *Boston Newsletter* granted permission to print and distribute, allowing other weekly papers to supply the latest news to other English settlements. It is worth noting that the *South Carolina Gazette* did not begin operation until 1732, making it difficult to obtain news about Charles Town before this date.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it is possible to glean insight into the Charles Town merchants from a variety of sources, including parish records, General Assembly meetings, Admiralty of Court records, London House of Parliament documents, and even the writings of John Adams.⁷⁵ For those interested in learning about significant events such as vessel arrivals and departures in England and the New World, as well as the "Chirokee" (Cherokee) visit to London and earlier settlement planning, it is essential to rely on London newspapers. By doing so, one can gain a comprehensive understanding of the historical landscape and the events that shaped it.

This argument begins with "The Real People," the history of the Aniyvwiya and their laws, through times of peace and war. Understanding their clan system and village layout that creates their way of governing a people is imperative to understanding the missed opportunities

⁷³ "Image 41 of Records of the Virginia Company, 1622-24, Volume II"; "Tribal Leaders Directory | Indian Affairs," accessed May 13, 2022, <https://www.bia.gov/service/tribal-leaders-directory>; Barbara R. Duncan and Davey Arch, eds., *Living Stories of the Cherokee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); "Cuming, Sir Alexander," n.d., accessed July 30, 2023.

⁷⁴ "The South-Carolina Gazette," *The South-Carolina Gazette*, February 3, 1732.

⁷⁵ "Admiralty Courts," in *North Carolina Encyclopedia*, n.d., accessed July 30, 2023.

of the French and Spanish to forge relationships as well as Charles Town. Knowing the geography and topography of the Aniyvwiya land and how spread out from Kentucky to Florida the Cherokee villages were, is necessary in understanding the autonomy of each village.⁷⁶ This argument clearly presents how they went from autonomy to a “capital” society and the Cherokee Nation. It is equally important how they shared a culture and blood law that transcends any peace treaty. Their laws, language, and people combined are the only way to understand the difficulties facing the settlers and natives alike. But to see how the Charles Town people succeeded with the Cherokee, we journey to Virginia and discover where they went wrong in native relations and the fur structure of the trading system. Here we see the first instance of “Rechahecrians” (Cherokee) interacting with the French and English settlers.⁷⁷

Another aspect of this examination requires understanding what was occurring in the Atlantic “triangle” before 1680. This helps to answer the question of who the settlers of Charles Town were, why they came to the region and where they gained their wealth. The Dutch took control of a highly profitable English “sugar” island in 1667, and many were looking into moving their operations to the North American southern (English) territories.⁷⁸ This dissertation explores the lives of key figures prior to their arrival, analyzing their paths to wealth, education, and marriage. By doing so, it aims to define how these men established a peaceful, diplomatic relationship with the Aniyvwiya tribe. This alliance enabled the city to grow into an international

⁷⁶ {Citation}

⁷⁷ Adair.

⁷⁸ David Worthington, “Sugar, Slave-Owning, Suriname and the Dutch Imperial Entanglement of the Scottish Highlands before 1707,” *Journal of Low Countries* 44, no. 1 (2020): 3–20.

trade port, providing strength and stability.⁷⁹ It was not trade that solidified the diplomatic relationship, but diplomacy which increased trade.

By tracing the money that allowed for building a city so strategic to the success of the North American English territories, beginning in the West Indies with the fleet and the arrival of the “businessmen” to Charles Town, this argument demonstrates how Carolina succeeded even during a crisis.⁸⁰ Following a chronological order of events in the establishment of Charles Town and the Commons House of Assembly as it relates to the formation of the Charles Town parishes and the provincial government.⁸¹ It is well recorded that the men who set up what is now Charleston, South Carolina, made their fortunes in the West Indies. Those once accused of piracy were setting up banks, law offices, merchant shops, and even the College of William and Mary, along with building expensive homes in multiple locations. From the beginning of the settlement through the years of peace, the parish assemblies and the Overhill Cherokee men desperately attempted to work together.⁸² Historians say this was because of the greed of the businessmen, however, greed was not a motivator for Attakullakulla, and this dissertation shows that greed was not the motivation of the colonists nor the motivation of all the agents. Family stability motivated

⁷⁹ “Pinckney Papers Project,” *University of South Carolina, Department of History*, Jones, “The Pinckneys of Ashepoo;” Logan, *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina, from the Earliest Periods to the Close of the War of Independence*, vol. I, p.; Fraser, *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City*; Anthony

⁸⁰ Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados Illustrated with a Mapp of the Island, as Also the Principall Trees and Plants There, Set Forth in Their Due Proportions and Shapes, Drawne out by Their Severall and Respective Scales : Together with the Ingenio That Makes the Sugar, with the Plots of the Severall Houses, Roomes, and Other Places That Are Used in the Whole Processe of Sugar-Making ..* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657); Francois Martin Xavier, *The History of North Carolina: From the Earliest Period*, vol. 1 (New Orleans: A T Penniman and co., 1829); William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws. Containing an Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions; Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians. Embellished with Copperplates* (London, Reprinted for J. Johnson, 1794).

⁸¹ “Commons House of Assembly,” n.d., accessed April 18, 2022, <https://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/commons-house-of-assembly/>.

⁸² “Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina” (1945).

these men, and because of this goal North and South Carolina succeeded. It only began to falter when men motivated by greed momentarily stepped into the story.⁸³ The “Holy City” with multiple churches, and multiple denominations, tells the story of people who put faith first, cherished their families, and knew prosperity allowed them to do so, not greed.

The adventure for a young English boy growing up in Durham County began when he first heard of the Spanish Armada and dreamt of going to fight for protestant England. War between Spain and England began in 1585 and continued until 1604, from 1796 to 1802, and from 1804 to 1808. England also fought with the Dutch in 1652, and they fought with France from 1689 to 1815 (off and on). During these periods, the men of the sea could legally plunder enemy ships, no matter what that ship was up to, merchant, military, or religious excursions, none were safe. But when the war ended the raiding continued. Shipping records describe vessels taken with holding cargo of unimaginable wealth.⁸⁴

Historical evidence shows that trade with Asia was not only prevalent but also extensive. Raids reached as far as the Silk Road as piracy was not confined to the sea, which served as a vital trade route connecting Asia with Europe. Archeologists discovered exquisite porcelain cups adorned with Asian scenes during the excavation of the Pinckney plantation, Snee Farm. These

⁸³ “Populationcensuscolonialreport.Pdf,” n.d., accessed November 19, 2022, <https://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/temp/async/433897976-1-428.pdf>; John Adams and Boston Public Library) John Adams Library BRL, *A General Treatise of Naval Trade and Commerce : As Founded on the Laws and Statutes of This Realm: In Which Those Relating to Letters of Marque, Reprisal and of Restitution, Privateers, Prizes, Convoys, Cruizers, and Every Other Branch of Trade, Foreign and Domestic, Are Particularly Considered. Likewise, the Opinions of the Most Eminent Council upon Various Important Points Relating to Customs and English Ships, Prizes, and Other Articles of Mercantile Business. In Two Volumes. To Which Are Added, the Two Treaties of Peace and Friendship, Concluded at Madrid in the Years 1667, and 1670. between the Kings of Great Britain and Spain* (London: Printed for Edward Symon ..., 1738); “Admiralty Courts,” *North Carolina Encyclopedia*, n.d.; Powell and Carolina, *The Carolina Charter of 1663, How It Came to North Carolina and Its Place in History, with Biographical Sketches of the Proprietors*.

⁸⁴ “August 1650: An Act for the Advancing and Regulating of the Trade of This Commonwealth.”; Violet Barbour, “Privateers and Pirates of the West Indies,” *The American Historical Review* 16, no. 3 (1911): 529–66, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1834836>; Torabully and Gurib-Fakim, *The Maritime History of the Indian Ocean. From Al-Idrissi to Ibn Majid and Beyond*.

beautiful cups bearing similar patterns are on display at the Historical Society Museum as having belonged to Eliza Pinckney, the daughter-in-law of Thomas Pinckney. Despite the significant trade with Asia, there were certain restrictions in place, making pirate booty even more valuable. Privateers, also known as pirates, depending on war or peace, played a crucial role in keeping the coast clear of warring vessels, and their illicit trade helped to boost the economy. However, the troubles with Native Americans in the northern colonies led companies involved in colonizing for profit to turn their attention south of Virginia. They believed that a southern port city, serving as a buffer between Spanish-held territories and the northern English colonies, would receive help from a strong plantation that could establish trade alliances with natives and grow the same products as the Caribbean Islands, albeit on a larger scale.⁸⁵

Thousands have written about early American history, the process of settling the territory, the Cherokee early history, and the Golden Age of Piracy. These people come from all levels of society. From ancestors writing biographies to men like John Adams who wanted to preserve as much of American history as possible. Historians today can take all this information and draw a much more exact picture of the past. From surveys by men like William Hilton, diaries from fur traders like Gabriel Arthur, and John Long, discoveries in archeological sites from the Blue Ridge to the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains, and British documents such as the Calendar of State papers, we now have access to understand all sides of the story.⁸⁶ Perusing historical works by authors of the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, we can see

⁸⁵ Virginia Company of London, Conway Robinson, and R. A. (Robert Alonzo) Brock, *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, 1619-1624* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society, 1619).

⁸⁶ J. (John) Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader : Describing the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians; with an Account of the Posts Situated on the River Saint Laurence, Lake Ontario, &c. ; to Which Is Added a Vocabulary of the Chippeway Language and a List of Words in the Iroquois, Mohegan, Shawanee, and Esquimeaux Tongues, and a Table, Shewing the Analogy between the Algonkin and Chippeway Languages* (London : Printed for the author, and sold by Robson [etc.], 1791); Hilton, *A Relation of a Discovery Lately Made on the Coast of Florida*; Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia: With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*; Adams, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels*.

the progression of ideas, social norms, political posturing, and an evolution of historical scholarship. By reading current historical scholarship, though it may be difficult to wade through the “politically correct” answers to past historical events, information sharing contributes to the expanding wealth of knowledge.

Ethnohistorian for the Bureau of American Ethnology, John Swanton, and the United States De Soto Commission worked diligently in collecting, translating, deciphering, and recording the documents of the Hernando de Soto expedition and published their findings in 1939. Swanton’s work supplies valuable information on structuring villages and tribal systems. Scholars continue to use their entire body of work. In 2015 researchers took Swanton’s work along with the original De Soto documentation and used modern technology and archeological information to find the location the expedition took and verify the information.⁸⁷ Combining archeological discoveries with the journals of explorers helps to understand this period and opens a new world to scholars.⁸⁸

John H. Logan (1859) wrote the *History of the Upper Country South Carolina from the Earliest Periods to the Close of the War of Independences* which is still a valuable source of information.⁸⁹ He discusses the problems the Aniyvwiya faced with “idleness” and the overflow of fur traders. This premodern scholarship was written for the “want of a popular, well-written School History of South Carolina: one whose perspicuity combined with that simplicity of style, lively detail of personal and local history, so attractive to the young, would render it both useful

⁸⁷ Kathryn Sampeck, Jonathan Thayn, and Howard H. Earnest Jr., “Geographic Information System Modeling of De Soto’s Route from Joara to Chiaha: Archaeology and Anthropology of Southeastern Road Networks in the Sixteenth Century,” *American Antiquity* 80, no. 1 (January 2015): 46–66, <https://doi.org/10.7183/0002-7316.79.4.46>.

⁸⁸ Sampeck, Thayn, and Earnest Jr.

⁸⁹ John Henry Logan, *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina: From the Earliest Periods to the Close of the War of Independence* (Charleston, Columbia: S.G. Courtenay & Co.; P.B. Glass, 1859).

and interesting to that important class of readers” and does just that.⁹⁰ In 1822 John Henry Logan was born in South Carolina and in 1844 he graduated from South Carolina College. He later began studies at Charleston Medical College and became a doctor and educator in medicine and chemistry while living in Greenwood. He also served as a surgeon for the Confederate army during the Civil War. His medical background makes his early scholarship on the history of the upper country of South Carolina out of his field of choice, but relevant today. This work is extremely in-depth regarding the Aniyvwiya who traded with the people of Carolina. His references to foreign and domestic policies and the events that led to the American Revolution are timeless. Told in a colorful manner that most assuredly is still attractive to the young, despite the age of the publication. Written at a time when slavery was legal, it is not without ethnic profiling. Juxtapose this work with that of scholars throughout history and you have a picture of the growth in social awareness and history itself.⁹¹

Over the next one hundred years scholars wrote histories of the Aniyvwiya and the colonists. Felix S. Cohen authored an article in 1945 for *Ethics* journal on colonialism and said that the most important task for his generation did not differ from that of the early Republic.⁹² He said that finding a pattern shared by men of different races and economic means for each to prosper individually is the main task at hand, which stands truer today than ever. He also authored a book (no longer in print) that is still helpful in studying the Eastern Cherokee. His extensively researched *Handbook of Federal Indian Law and On the Drafting of Tribal Constitutions* helped shape the federal Indian law of today. Though his work in law and philosophy relates more to the “New Deal” era, his research into the history of the native tribes

⁹⁰ Logan.

⁹¹ Logan.

⁹² Felix S. Cohen, “Colonialism: A Realistic Approach,” *Ethics* 55, no. 3 (April 1945): 167–81, <https://doi.org/10.1086/290443>.

shows a new method of inclusion into the history annals for minority groups. Cohen earned his education at Harvard and Columbia and taught at Yale and Rutgers Law schools.⁹³

William S. Powell wrote in 1954 *The Carolina Charter of 1663, how it came to North Carolina and its place in history, with biographical sketches of the proprietors*. Powell, born in 1919, attended the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and Mitchell Community College. As a distinguished historian, he played a leading role in modernizing historical research methods. He wrote over six hundred works of scholarship on mainly North Carolina history, making his work on the proprietorship period useful to this study. Though his work extensively covers the early settlements and the Aniyvwiya tribal issues, his broad scope leaves room for detailed analysis of one group of Aniyvwiya and their relationship to the Charles Town, Carolina settlement, and the colonists. His entire body of work earned him a place in the literary Hall of Fame, his work as a Yale librarian proving invaluable to his studies and research that has stood the test of time.

Through Walter J. Fraser's (1989) *Charleston! Charleston!* focuses on a later period than this dissertation, which is significant for the beginning part of this argument. His extensive research points to the system of English government through contemporary Charleston and the events that played a key role in her development.⁹⁴ An accomplished historian in the study of the low country, particularly Savannah's history and racial issues. He was a historian and professor educated at East Carolina University and the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, graduating

⁹³ Felix S. Cohen, "Colonialism: A Realistic Approach," *Ethics* 55, no. 3 (April 1945): 167–181. "Handbook of Federal Indian Law, Cohen, Felix S.," n.d., accessed March 26, 2022, <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED061008.pdf>.

⁹⁴ Fraser, *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City*.

with a Ph.D. in 1970. He taught at The Citadel in Charleston, S.C., and before retiring, he was a professor and chair of the history department at Georgia Southern University.

In 1998, Tom Hatley published his research on the colonial period and the relationship between the low country Aniyvwiya and the South Carolinians in *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution*.⁹⁵ Hatley describes the history of the diplomatic and economic plight of both the settler and the native. His scholarship is a most accomplished body of work and would give the first impression that there is nothing more to discover. However, there is a slight gap that this dissertation fills. For one, his focus barely touches on the ancient period before 1710 and only briefly touches on the history of the men who became the assembly members. His work does not include the digitized documentation of recent years that allows current scholars to collaborate. Though he included multiple views and histories in his research he does not go far enough back. All scholarship lacks cohesiveness, and most authors do not give enough attention to the intellectual influences of Attakullakulla that made him the great peaceful leader he became and focused on his later life. The Aniyvwiya had developed their system influenced by earlier tribes and Europeans before the men from the West Indies.⁹⁵

However invaluable Hatley's full collection of work is, an obvious first stop on anyone's journey into this genre would be the extensive work of James Mooney.⁹⁶ Mooney was an ethnologist who studied different tribes in his lengthy career and considered a leading authority on the Kiowa. In 1891, he published *The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, and in 1900, he

⁹⁵ Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution*.

⁹⁶ James Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East*, by James Mooney., U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin, no. 22 (Washington: Government Printing Office., 1894); James Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*, ed. Morgan Owle-Crisp, 2nd edition. (Cherokee Publications, 2006).

wrote *Myths of the Cherokee*, both of which were based on his study of the group after it had already westernized. During the mid to late 1800s, the Aniyvwiya lived in log-built homes and brick homes, owned plantations (farms), and enslaved people. They gained an education and trained as lawyers, diplomats, and tradesmen. They were far from the Aniyvwiya of the 16th and 17th centuries. The modern historian should be aware and use his material in conjunction with archeology and an understanding of the different vantage points of past authorities.⁹⁷

Conceiving Carolina: Proprietors, Planters, and Plots, 1662-1729 is a concise history but still is a great jumping-off spot for anyone wanting to understand this first period of Charleston and Carolina. L.H. Roper wrote this work in 2004 and had all the access he needed to compile a complete picture.⁹⁸ Roper earned his B.A. in History in 1980 from the Northeastern University, Boston, Mass., a J.D. in 1983 from the State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y., and a Ph.D. in 1992, from the University of Rochester in Rochester, N.Y. with a dissertation entitled: *Conceptions of America: South Carolina and the Peopling of a Wilderness*. He practiced law in New York State from 1984-1997 and from 1992 to the present in research and SUNY Professor of History. A capable researcher, Roper is a leading authority on the colonial period and is relevant to today's understanding of history. His work includes *The Ties That Bound: The Conception of Anglo-America, 1617-67* featured in the *Journal of Early American History* 1, no. 2 (2011): 142–166, *Carla Gardina Pestana. The English Conquest of Jamaica: Oliver Cromwell's Bid for Empire* featured in *The American Historical Review* 123, no. 3 (June 1, 2018): 987–988. Also, *The Fall of New Netherland and Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Imperial Formation, 1654–1676* in *The New England Quarterly* 87, no. 4

⁹⁷ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

⁹⁸ Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*.

(December 2014): 666–708 and *Private Enterprise, Colonialism, and the Atlantic World* in Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History, Oxford University Press, 2018.⁹⁹

The historiography of the diplomatic relationship between the Aniyvwiya and colonists alongside the British is ever evolving. Up until the civil rights movement of the sixties, northern historians viewed Southern subjects differently than Southern historians, just as Anglo-American historians have had a different view than Native American historians or British historians. However, recently, there has been a bridge connecting the study of Native American history with that of Early American scholars in various fields. Nadia Dean’s 2012 *A Demand of Blood: The Cherokee War of 1776* and Daniel J. Tortora’s 2015 *Carolina in Crisis: Cherokees, Colonists, and Slaves in the American Southeast, 1756-1763* show the evolution of thought and research along with the collaborative method of modern historical scholarship.¹⁰⁰

In *The Pinckneys of Ashepoo* by Marie Claire Pinckney Jones, the author gives a detailed account of the descendants of William Pinckney and his line of ancestors that branches off from one of his (12) children. In it, she tells the story of Thomas and his sons. But even in 1988, access to shipping records and the British/English collection of documents was nonexistent.¹⁰¹ The ancestors she wrote about needed no dramatization. She does not ignore the possibility of

⁹⁹ L.H. Roper, “Private Enterprise, Colonialism, and the Atlantic World,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, by L.H. Roper (Oxford University Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.684>; L. H. Roper, “The Fall of New Netherland and Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Imperial Formation, 1654–1676,” *The New England Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (December 2014): 666–708, https://doi.org/10.1162/TNEQ_a_00417; Roper, “The Ties That Bound: The Conception of Anglo-America, 1617-67,” *Journal of Early American History* 1, no. 2 (2011): 142–66, <https://doi.org/10.1163/187707011X577441>; L. H. Roper, “Carla Gardina Pestana. The English Conquest of Jamaica: Oliver Cromwell’s Bid for Empire.,” *The American Historical Review* 123, no. 3 (June 1, 2018): 987–88, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/123.3.987>.

¹⁰⁰ Nadia Dean, *A Demand of Blood: The Cherokee War of 1776* (Cherokee, N.C.: Valley River Press, 2012); Daniel J. Tortora, *Carolina in Crisis: Cherokees, Colonists, and Slaves in the American Southeast, 1756-1763* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

¹⁰¹ Jones, “The Pinckneys of Ashepoo.”

piracy as Reverend Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, D.D., President of the South Carolina Historical Society, did in his account of *General Thomas Pinckney* (third generation Pinckney).¹⁰² Harriot Horry Ravenel's statement on the first Thomas' arrival in her *Eliza Pinckney* merely describes Thomas as having arrived in 1692 and seeing a battle outside the harbor that he told on record. Marie Claire describes this event in detail, leading to the theory that pirate money supported Charles Town. However, historians have overlooked William Pinckney, son of Thomas. There is little documentation of William's life, but through many collections on the Commons House of Assembly and earlier English documents, a picture of William becomes clear.¹⁰³ Through strategic marriages, the Pinckney family grew more influential in politics and business with such in-laws as the Governor of Barbados George Lucas, Colonel Robert Brewton, and the Middleton, Ramsay, Bull, and Laurens families. Collections about these families give further insight into William and his brother Charles. The tree of Thomas Pinckney (the first of that name) grew into a forest but became a jungle of tangled vines over time. Examining the major contributors to the United States by the Pinckney family, a story of American history unfolds. The Broadway hit *Hamilton* does not even mention either of the truly relevant Pinckneys, despite the long scene on the 1800 election. Even the Library of Congress collection on the 1800 election barely mentions Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.¹⁰⁴ An examination of the early Pinckney historiography and the events from the early settlement finds not only the reasons for their lack of inclusion but also the reasons they should be as prominent

¹⁰² Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*.

¹⁰³ Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*; Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*.

¹⁰⁴ James Madison et al., "Election of 1800 - Creating the United States | Exhibitions - Library of Congress," 1807 1787, <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/creating-the-united-states/election-of-1800.html>.

in the history books as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, two great and true friends of the Pinckney's of South Carolina.¹⁰⁵

From Kings of Europe to Presidents of the United States, the name Pinckney carried great weight, yet most people today have never heard of the generations of influencers. Many individuals cannot identify even a single Pinckney, let alone recount their accomplishments, including the two Charles' who signed the U.S. Constitution. While Eliza Lucas Pinckney, also known as the Indigo Girl, may be recognized among certain groups, her sisters-in-law, who were trailblazers in business and leadership, are not as well-known. Their name was synonymous with the Southern economy, culture, and politics for generations. Their imprint on the proprietorship/royal era, colonial era, constitution history, the practice of law in the United States, agriculture, economy, slavery, and women in history tells the story of America.¹⁰⁶

The fact that the Pinckney ancestors and noted historians have documented certain key members who had the most significance and influence on shaping the United States and South Carolina does not take away from the need to present a comprehensive portrait of the first and second generations of Pinckneys. They were the most influential family, and their historiography

¹⁰⁵ Williams, *Plantation Patriot; a Biography of Eliza Lucas Pinckney*.

¹⁰⁶ Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*; Cotesworth Pinckney, *The Wedding Gift: To All Who Are Entering the Marriage State* (New York (State): G.H. Derby ; Derby, Miller, 1849); Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762*; Henry Laurens Pinckney, *An Oration, Delivered in the Independent, or Congregational Church, Charleston, before the State Rights & Free Trade Party, the State Society of Cincinnati, the Revolution Society, the '76 Association, and the State Volunteers, on the 4th of July, 1833, Being the 57th Anniversary of American Independence. By Henry L. Pinckney. Published by Request* (South Carolina: Printed and published by A. E. Miller, 1833); James D. Pinckney, *Reminiscences of Catskill. Local Sketches, by the Late James D. Pinckney, Together with Interesting Articles by Thurlow Weed [and Others]* (New York (State): J.B. Hall, 1868); Elizabeth Pinckney Rutledge, *To Miss Harriot Pinckney: Last Surviving Daughter of Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, on Her Eighty-Second Birthday* (South Carolina, 1863); "Pinckney Papers Project"; Henry Laurens Pinckney, *Proceedings of the State Rights Celebration, at Charleston, S.C., July 1st, 1830. Containing the Speeches of the Hon. Wm. Drayton & Hon. R.Y. Hayne, Who Were the Invited Guests; Also of Langdon Cheves, James Hamilton, Jr., and Robert J. Turnbull, Esqrs., and the Remarks of His Honor the Intendant, H.L. Pinckney, to Which Is Added the Volunteer Toasts given on the Occasion* (South Carolina: Printed by A.E. Miller, 1830).

has changed since 1692 when the first Thomas Pinckney arrived as a suspected pirate off the coast of Charles Town. The writings by contemporary historians follow that line and change depending on the author's origin (Northerner or Southerner). There was a period when the "southern myth" took hold, and the Pinckney ideals were highlighted and seen as "loyal and good southerners." The civil rights movement caused them to fall again in the eyes of scholars and the public (outside of Charleston). Recently, there has been a push to tear down any memorial of the great Southern leaders of the Antebellum South.¹⁰⁷ The scholarly (and not so scholarly) work in the field of the enslaved has deepened the rift between the favor and failures of the Pinckney family.

The insights of two esteemed scholars, James Adair from the late 1700s and James Mooney from the mid-1800s, who lived among the Aniyvwiya, supply the best understanding of the secretive world of the Real People. It is important to note that James Adair's depiction of the Aniyvwiya culture is the most exact due to his proximity to the tribe during their pre-westernization era. On the other hand, James Mooney interacted with the Aniyvwiya after the westernization occurred. To best understand his observations, we need to consider the changes that took place within the tribe.¹⁰⁸ During the time of Mooney, the Cherokee people found themselves at a crossroads. Confronted with the realization that to keep their land, they had to assimilate to the ways of the white man. The Aniyvwiya began adopting the European manner of dress, religious practices, and business customs.

¹⁰⁷ Alexander Tsesis, "Confederate Monuments as Badges of Slavery," *Kentucky Law Journal* 108 (n.d.), accessed May 9, 2022.

¹⁰⁸ James Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East*, by James Mooney., U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin, No. 22 (Washington: Government Printing Office., 1894); James Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*, ed. Morgan Owle-Crisp, 2nd edition. (Cherokee Publications, 2006).

As a result, the leaders of the Cherokee people were content with titles such as "Chief," "King," or "Emperor" by the white man. While this may have been a means of gaining power and prestige, their once egalitarian society became more concerned with capitalism, developing a hierarchy, and showing disdain for certain types of work. Only now, with the benefit of hindsight, we are beginning to understand the complex relationship between the Aniyvwiya people and the English. Due to a lack of correct information, biased evaluations, and concealed truths, it has taken time to uncover the whole story. Nevertheless, it is essential to acknowledge the history of the Cherokee people, the challenges they faced, and their resilience and determination to preserve their culture and way of life. By recognizing their struggles and triumphs, we can gain a greater appreciation for this nation's rich and diverse history.¹⁰⁹

Cherokee people are divided into four categories today: Federal, State, Terminated, and non-existent to those who are recognized. You must be federally recognized to be considered Aniyvwiya. However, ancient tradition recognizes any drop of Aniyvwiya blood or adoption into their ways as Aniyvwiya, regardless of recognition.¹¹⁰ If ever there was a group who understood the importance of assimilation of the enemy, it was the Aniyvwiya before the westernization of their people. There are thousands of full-blooded Cherokees, but there are hundreds of thousands more who have zero native American DNA but can trace their ancestry back to the original people of North America. With the fur traders came the “half-breeds,” and after centuries of watering down the Cherokee blood, the “drop” became too small to detect scientifically.

¹⁰⁹ James Adair, *The History of the American Indians; Particularly Those Nations Adjoining to the Mississippi [!] East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia: Containing an Account of*

¹¹⁰ “Socioeconomic Variability in Federal Period Overhill Cherokee Archaeological,” n.d., accessed August 10, 2022; “Cherokee Nation Learning Center.”

However, heritage differs from DNA, and everyone should know their heritage and from whence they came.¹¹¹

During the 1950s, recognized tribes, bands, clans, or gens ended, resulting in a loss of cultural identity and political sovereignty. However, recent reports have shown a resurgence of groups applying for recognition. Specific requirements, including supplying evidence of continuous distinct community existence and political authority, among other factors, to be a recognized group. Similarly, individuals looking to join a tribe, whether recognized or not, must also fulfill specific requirements. Unfortunately, there is a significant divide among individuals with essential information that could clarify history. This animosity has hindered efforts to preserve and promote traditional Aniyvwiya lifeways, particularly about spiritual and ceremonial aspects. As a result, the Aniyvwiya do not publicly share their culture. Despite the challenges, Aniyvwiya today embraces a mix of modern and traditional cultural aspects, with various faiths practiced. However, there is no universally agreed-upon way to express Aniyvwiya culture, which is a testament to the diversity and complexity of this rich cultural heritage.¹¹²

The Northern Cherokee Nation of Missouri (unrecognized, NCMO) refers to Cherokee as Tsalagi; however, *Tsalagi* means *Cherokee*, which is a name the Europeans gave the Aniyvwiya. The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI) agrees with other federally recognized bands that the proper word for “Cherokee” is Aniyvwiya, which translates to “Real People.”¹¹³ However, each group uses “Cherokee” in their names. Nevertheless, language barriers are just as relevant today as they were between the Aniyvwiya and Europeans in

¹¹¹ Graham Holton, *Tracing Your Ancestors Using DNA* (Pen and Sword Family History, 2019).

¹¹² “Cherokee Nation Culture,” *Cherokee Nation Culture*, <https://www.cherokee.org/about-thenation/culture/>.

¹¹³ “Cherokee Nation Learning Center,” <https://learn.cherokee.org/>.

previous centuries. Today, the distinct groups of Aniyvwiya suffer from a lack of compassion for each other's understanding of their history and link to other tribes.¹¹⁴ This is because of European influences and American government interference with education. It is the same issue all native Americans face today and one that should unite instead of divide.

In 1972, a teacher told a young Potawatomi student that the word "Bozho," which means hello, originated from the French "Bonjour" after a French missionary met the tribe. The student shared this information with her grandmother, who found it amusing and explained that the tribe had already used the word to greet their friends before the French arrived. This incident highlights the misconceptions about Native American history perpetuated by earlier historians. Recently, a Citizen Potawatomi Nation's linguistics department member, who happened to be French, tried translating a catechism written by a Jesuit priest and native Potawatomi speaker. However, he discovered the languages were not as similar as originally thought. Earlier historians' ignorance further emphasizes and highlights the critical importance of accurately representing and preserving the authentic history of Native American tribes.¹¹⁵ After 300 or more years of having the ability to learn about one another, it is clear there is still much to learn, but it also demonstrates the difficulties the early settlers had in understanding each other.¹¹⁶

Both the Board of Education and Native Americans, along with different tribes, actively contest various aspects of Native American education. European contact/interference with Aniyvwiya history caused the history itself to barely survive, despite the survival of the people,

¹¹⁴ Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation: A History*, 1st edition (University of New Mexico Press, 2011).

¹¹⁵ CPN Public Information Office, "Language Department Adds French Native and Linguistic Ph.D. Ivan Ozbolt," *Potawatomi.Org*, July 8, 2015

¹¹⁶ "Gatschet Notebook Including Language from A.J. Topash & Tom Topash | Wiwkwébhëgen" (n.d.), accessed July 30, 2023.

the attempted “kill the Indian, save the soul” motto is much to blame.¹¹⁷ The “white” version of pre-European recorded history is minimal and relies heavily on archeological finds. The post-European contact history went through a period of punishment if retold by the natives and a hefty dose of “whitewashing” by the American government since the federal period began, to a time when everyone wanted to claim it as their heritage.¹¹⁸ If you have Native American heritage, you may find yourself in a difficult situation. Without documentation proving your relation to a Native American included in the Dawes Act roll call, it may be challenging to confirm your ancestry. With the advent of Indian Casino revenue, sadly, people tried to join a recognized tribe simply to get a paycheck. These people do not realize that the “check” only goes to someone living on a reservation with a casino and that “check” is not enough to live alone.

Throughout history, the relationship between settlers and native tribes has been difficult. One of the main challenges has been the prevalence of historical inaccuracies that have persisted both within and between tribes. These inaccuracies have contributed to the failure of colonial efforts and made it challenging for settlers to build meaningful relationships with native peoples. Despite these obstacles, settlers have learned from their experiences and succeeded in forging bonds with native tribes. Unfortunately, inaccuracies continue even today. For example, the commonly repeated story about Sequoia, a Cherokee man often credited with inventing the written Tsalagi language "from scratch" in 1821, is not entirely correct. In fact, Sequoia only created the syllabary, which modernized the ancient Aniyvwiya language and supplied a written form.

¹¹⁷ Brooklyn Wayland and Addison Kliewere, ““Kill the Indian, Save the Man”: Remembering the Stories of Indian Boarding Schools,” *Cherokeephoenix.Org*, March 14, 2020.

¹¹⁸ Walter L. Williams, *Cherokee History: An Analysis of Recent Studies*, *American Indian Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1979): 347–354.

Lesser-known tribes exist claiming to own ancient artifacts that provide evidence of using the Aniyvwiya language for thousands of years before Sequoia's time. These artifacts include inscriptions on bark, rock, and animal skins, among others, but the knowledge of their existence has yet to gain recognition from scholars. The Aniyvwiya people are exceedingly protective of their history and choose to safeguard it by keeping it hidden to avert the risk of losing more than land. It is of immense importance to understand the intricacies of the relationship between settlers and Indigenous tribes, as well as the captivating history and culture of these tribes. Doing so can establish stronger relationships grounded in mutual respect and reverence for their significance in shaping our collective history and future.¹¹⁹

This meticulously crafted academic discourse delves deeply into the intricate and nuanced relationship between the esteemed Overhill Cherokee Chiefs and the revered leaders of the Charles Town community. Extensively drawing from an eclectic array of sources, such as groundbreaking archeological discoveries, invaluable economic data, compelling accounts from seasoned fur traders and adventurous explorers, insightful interpreters, and the rich oral traditions of the esteemed Aniyvwiya people, this scholarly dissertation offers a truly comprehensive understanding of the historical context. By thoughtfully considering multiple viewpoints and records, reveals a complete and more complex picture. The seminal works of Mooney and Adair, as well as the words of the esteemed Commons House Assembly, supply valuable insights; it is essential to acknowledge that they are just one crucial part of a far more intricate and multifaceted tapestry.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Yates, *Old Souls in a New World*.

¹²⁰ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*; James Adair and Samuel Cole Williams, *History of the American Indians* (New York: Promontory Press, 1974); William H. G. Kingston, *Snowshoes and Canoes, or, The Early Days of a Fur-Trader in the Hudson's Bay Territory [Microform]* (London: S. Low, Marston, Seale & Rivington, 1876); Virginia. General Assembly. House of Burgesses, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of*

Through this research the trade of deerskin and the Indian slave market played a pivotal role in the expansion of the Carolina Plantation during the early 18th century. Specifically, between 1725 and 1730, this trade experienced a tremendous surge, coinciding with momentous events. These events included the Royal buyout, the visit of the Cherokee envoy, major land acquisitions in the interior, the "township" act, and a marked increase in wealth for Charles Town merchants. Despite the devastating fire that swept through the region in 1740, Charles Town remained prosperous due to the diplomatic efforts of Cherokee Chief Attakullakulla and the astuteness of the Carolina assembly members. The interplay of these factors contributed to the flourishing of the region and its continued growth.¹²¹

Chapter Two: The Aniyvwiya

When the Unegas first met the Aniyvwiya, the white man wrongly assumed they were an uncivilized people.¹²² However, the Aniyvwiya had developed a civilization that equaled the Mayans. A civilized people who traversed well-worn ancient paths that stretched over the country and who were originally part of the Algonquin near the Great Lakes region that migrated south.¹²³ There are similarities between the northern tribes and the Aniyvwiya and similarities to southern tribes. However, their culture, misrepresented by scholars for over three hundred years along with the myths, perpetuated to the extent that their culture has implemented them into current practices. Therefore, it is important to juxtapose what we thought was right with

Virginia (Richmond, Va.: [Library Board, Virginia State Library], 1776); South Carolina. Assembly, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Jan 30, 1696, to March 17, 1696* (General Assembly of South Carolina, 1945); "The Weekly Journal, or British Gazetteer."

¹²¹ De Brahm, "History of the Three Provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida;" Jack Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Sothern Rolyal Colonies, 1689-1776* (University of North Carolina Press, 1963); Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726*.

¹²² Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

¹²³ Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*.

archeological findings to distinguish fact from fiction. Archeologists have discovered that the Aniyvwiya used rivers for trade and travel, just as the white man had done for centuries worldwide.¹²⁴ The Mississippi River and its branches stretching out from the Ohio River's confluence to the east and Wabash River to the north are natural borders and a way of travel and trade for natives. Historical maps show that the Aniyvwiya built villages along a riverbank or stream.¹²⁵ This has occurred naturally all over the world. People gravitate to where they can best survive, and water is necessary for life. Archeological finds substantiate that they were trading with other tribes for European goods before the Aniyvwiya traded directly with the English. These artifacts show a sophisticated and civilized infrastructure and link with other tribes.¹²⁶ Therefore, at the time of the Charles Town settlement, the Overhill Cherokee had gained wisdom and expertise in diplomatic tactics. The prosperity of Charles Town, North Carolina, and South Carolina hinged on establishing trade relations, peace treaties, and military alliances with the most prominent and resilient Indigenous tribe. The Aniyvwiya elders recognized that forging an alliance with the English might be the most favorable option among the various challenges that lay ahead.

The Library of Congress has copies of maps depicting Aniyvwiya territory and trade routes with other tribes. One of these maps was drawn on deer skin for South Carolina Governor Francis Nicholson, who then gifted it to the Prince of Wales.¹²⁷ The map depicts different tribes

¹²⁴ Adair.

¹²⁵ Francis Nicholson, *Map of the Several Nations of Indians to the Northwest of South Carolina*, n.d., image, n.d., Library of Congress, accessed July 1, 2022; Thomas Kitchen, *A New Map of the Cherokee Nation* (R. Baldwin, 1760), Map Div. 15-5024.

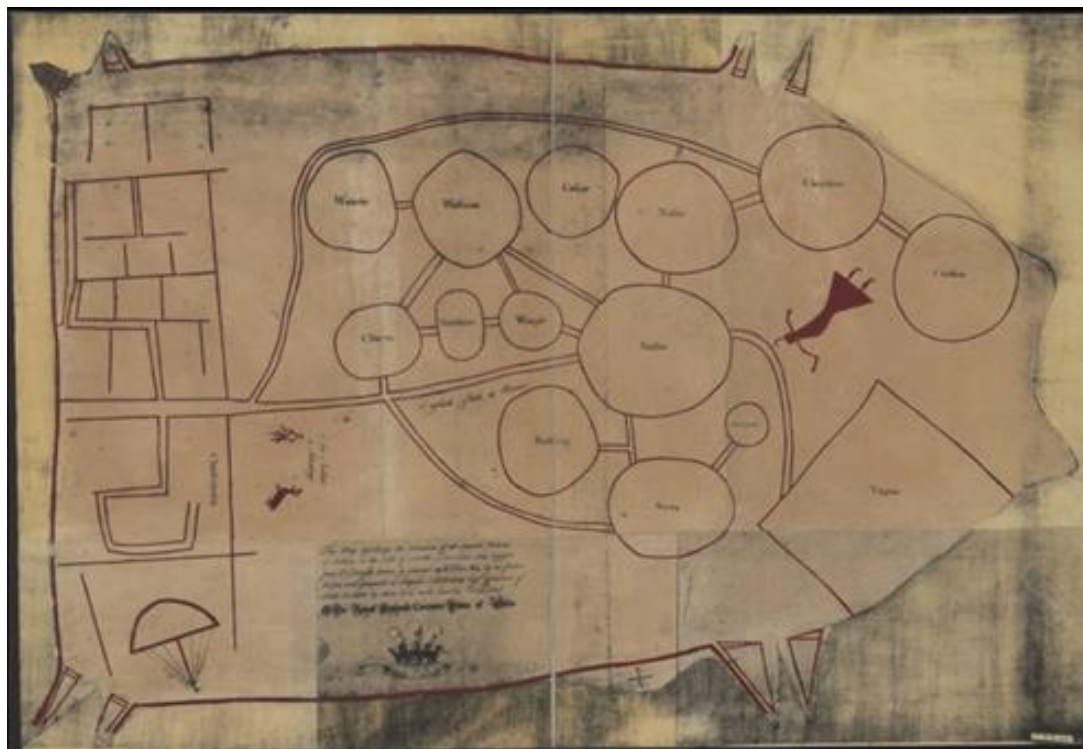
¹²⁶ Salo, *Archaeological Investigations in the Tellico Reservoir, 1967-1968, an Interim Report*; "Telling the Story of Tellico: It's Complicated," TVA.com, accessed August 10, 2022, <https://www.tva.com/about-tva/our-history/built-for-the-people/telling-the-story-of-tellico-it-s-complicated>; G. F. Schroedl, "Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee" (Tennessee Univ., Knoxville (USA). Dept. of Anthropology, January 1, 1986).

¹²⁷ "A Cherokee Origin for the 'Catawba' Deerskin Map (c.1721) on JSTOR," n.d., accessed July 30, 2023; Nicholson, "Map of the Several Nations of Indians to the Northwest of South Carolina."

with the Cherokee having a separate path around the others, with the other tribes linked together with smaller roads. Beginning at the “road to Charles Town” in the Southeast corner of the map and following the path that travels northwest around the inner map villages, leads to the Cherokee “circle” on the map. This road does not connect to any other tribe. Back at the Road to Charles Town, there is a road that splits straight north, the first tribe on the left of this route is “Charra,” a small road going north connects to the “Youchine” tribe and another small road heading northwest links “Charra” to “Wassanisa.” It is important to understand that “Youchine” does not connect to “Wassanisa.” “Youchine” is connected to “Wappi” which has a road west to Wassanisa and north to “Nasaw” which also has a road from “Wassanisa.” The road map seems to purposely show that the tribes are not all connected, purposely separating the tribes. A road from the Wassanisa tribe connects south to the Waterie tribe which has no other roads in or out. This is a trade route map from the “Road to Virginia” to the “Road to Charles Town” as written on the map. It stands for the known tribes at the time who were trading with the English. This map shows the power of each tribe because of the size of the circles for each one but it depicts the Nasaw as the largest circle and found in the center, the Nasaw were not large in numbers or in power.¹²⁸ The map depicts the route one would take to go to each of the regions and since the Cherokee towns were on the west of the Appalachian and the opposite side of the Tennessee River, it would make sense to go around the other tribal lands in a straight path. The Aniyvwiya villages included the Overhill, Middle, Valley, and Lower towns as well as “out towns.” There are a few maps of the Cherokee villages before 1760.

Figure 1 Catawba deerskin map (Source Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3860.ct000734/>)

¹²⁸ Francis Nicholson, “Map of the Several Nations of Indians to the Northwest of South Carolina,” image, 1721, Library of Congress.



There are unrecognized communities of native Americans that mainstream media and educators know nothing about. A community in Varnertown, SC in Berkley County derives its name from the Wassamasaw Swamp. This group claims to be descendants of the Catawba, Etiwan, Edisto, and Cherokee, who became displaced after the Yamasee War. While the “Goose Creek Men” did their best to rid the land of natives, they were not successful in that goal despite being successful in all other endeavors. The city of Goose Creek has resident native Americans from all over. The town Mayor in 2018 proclaimed November as Native American Heritage Month for the city of Goose Creek. Mayor Habib said that Varnertown Native Americans were known as the Summerville Indians and contributed to the community.¹²⁹ This is true for all Indigenous peoples whom time has forgotten. One of the most detailed is that of the Timberlake draught.



*Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC2 Timberlake Draught, Cherokee Villages, courtesy Library of Congress*

¹²⁹ “Native American Heritage Month Proclaimed in Goose Creek | The City of Goose Creek, SC,” accessed July 28, 2023, <https://www.cityofgoosecreek.com/article/native-american-heritage-month-proclaimed-goose-creek>.

Lieutenant Henry Timberlake interacted with the Aniyvwiya in the mid-18th century and as a result, historians have the “Timberlake Map” to rely upon.¹³⁰ The Aniyvwiya territory once touched nine of today’s North American states, encompassing 140,000 square miles. By the time of the Indian removal, it was less than 40,000 square miles. The oral histories reported from the present federally recognized tribes of the Aniyvwiya, as well as the un-recognized tribes, agree that the Aniyvwiya territory once encompassed parts of Virginia, most of Carolina and Georgia, reaching as far south as Gainesville, Florida, through Alabama and a tiny tip of Mississippi before traveling northward to include Tennessee and Kentucky.¹³¹ There were also scattered villages in Missouri and Arkansas before the removal of all natives to Oklahoma.¹³² Though the number of Aniyvwiya villages and locations will probably never be known, many explorers and traders recorded a significant quantity of Charique's (French spelling) territory. The villages were all the same size. One village was the “mother village,” where gatherings such as yearly harvest celebrations took place. This was not a “capital” where a prime government body sat; however, when a crisis involved all the Aniyvwiya, this is where the headmen and all villagers would gather to decide on a solution. While a widely accepted concept by historians is that the “Mother Village” was a capital city in the English sense, this is a mistake. The Europeans who documented their interaction with the natives used their language to describe the villages. This is especially true with Sir Alexander Cuming’s account of his trip in 1730 and James Adair who describes ceremonies and counselors in a way that lends to the idea that there was a “Capital” and a ruler who “held court” out of a particular village. Throughout history, scholars have noted

¹³⁰ Henry Lt. Timberlake, *Draught of the Cherokee Country: On the West Side of the Twenty-Four Mountains, Commonly Called Over the Hills*, 1761, 1761, Library of Congress.

¹³¹ Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution*.

¹³² Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

the principal cities as Chota, Kituwah, and Tellico.¹³³ The known Overhill villages on the Little Tennessee River (sometimes referred to as the Cherokee River) are Chilhowee, Tallassee, Citico, Chota, Tanasi, Toqua, Tomotley, Tuskegee, and Mialaquo. Great Tellico, Chatuga, and Chestue were on the Tellico River, and on the Hiwassee River was a village known as Hiwassee Old Town.

The historic site of the village of Chota along the Little Tennessee River in Tennessee is where this story begins. The Overhill chiefs who interacted with the Charles Town merchants came from this region. In 1967, the Tennessee Valley Authority began plans for building the Tellico Dam on the Little Tennessee River, one of many dams that changed the terrain forever and covered other villages with water.¹³⁴ The construction of a dam in the area posed a significant threat to over 16,000 acres of Cherokee land, which they inhabited for more than 15,000 years. This situation caught the attention of the University of Tennessee, which started an extensive archaeological excavation that led to the discovery and preservation of thousands of artifacts from various sites, including footprints of entire villages. Despite their best efforts, the dam construction stopped briefly, and a team consisting of students, archaeologists, ethnologists, historians, and Cherokee officials worked tirelessly to move artifacts and priceless relics, including human remains, to a safer location.

The relocation process was a complicated and delicate affair involving the handling and transporting of thousands of items. The team worked with utmost care and precision, ensuring that each item received a label and documented to keep its historical significance. However,

¹³³ Henry Timberlake, *Draught of the Cherokee Country*, Museum of the Cherokee Indian, accessed May 13, 2023, <https://cherokeemuseum.pastperfectonline.com/photo/7D795166-3207-4F38-A033-139475253005>.

¹³⁴ Salo, *Archaeological Investigations in the Tellico Reservoir, 1967-1968, an Interim Report*.

despite their best efforts, many items are still underwater today, potentially holding valuable information about the Aniyvwiya and other tribes. The project affected the area around the dam, as it also affected the Middle, Lower, and Valley towns, causing significant disruption to the local ecosystem. While the Tellico Dam's construction was intended to control flooding and promote industry, the main result was increased recreational activities. There were unintended consequences, such as the negative impact on the river and the disappearance of Aniyvwiya favored fish species.

Overall, the construction of the Tellico Dam was a complex and multifaceted project that had far-reaching consequences for the local environment, culture, and history. Thanks to the tireless efforts of an interdisciplinary team, preserving many valuable artifacts and relics, future generations will be able to learn from and appreciate the rich history of the Aniyvwiya and other tribes.¹³⁵ Water submerged numerous Lower villages due to the construction of dams for diverting water (flood waters) and generating electricity. However, the primary motivation for developers was to buy land for housing and golf courses. The Keowee River was expected to bring many job opportunities to the region but only transformed into a new residential golfing water sport/golf community. Unfortunately, the plan did not materialize as envisioned, and the area now thrives only in tourism and recreation on Lake Jocassee and Lake Keowee.

Another example of the consequences is Lake Nickajack, where Nickajack Dam's creation submerged valuable historical treasures. This stretch of water flows into the Chickamauga Dam and includes the Tennessee River Gorge, also known as the Grand Canyon of Tennessee. Estimating the number of artifacts buried at the bottom of these new bodies of water

¹³⁵ "Telling the Story of Tellico."

is impossible. Fortunately, excavations took place after scholars and the Cherokee Nation intervened. These archaeological digs uncovered significant artifacts, supplying valuable insights into the lives of the people who once lived in the area. The artifacts also shed light on the impact of dam construction on the environment and the communities that depend on it. The excavations are a small step towards preserving the cultural heritage that the creation of dams lost.¹³⁶

At the Chota Village today there is one gravesite for the “Most Beloved Man” Skiagunsta, meaning, Red Chief of War and Trade, Oconostota,” one of the main characters of this argument.¹³⁷ He is sometimes confused with other Cherokee leaders. However, he was known as Stalking Turkey, Groundhog Sausage, and Skiagunsta /Chote or Cunne Shote, meaning Warrior of Chota. His father was Moytoy II (Ama Matai II) also known as Pigeon of Tellico whose father was the first “Emperor ” of the Cherokee named by Sir Alexander Cuming in 1729. Oconostota was the father of Nionne Ollie who married the White Chief of Peace and Civil Affairs, Attakullakulla. Oconostota joined with four women, consecutively, they did not have more than one “wife” at a time. He traveled to England twice, once in 1730 and again in 1761. On his trip in 1730, he became captivated by one of the Queen of England’s former ladies-in-waiting, Lucy Ward. They joined in wedlock in 1737, and she became a Cherokee. Their daughter, Nancy Ward, was a profound influence on her people, advocating for peace but also a brave warrior.¹³⁸

There is a memorial/ceremonial area that has eight pillars at various heights that stand for each of the seven Cherokee clans and one for the entire Cherokee Nation. Each clan’s “spirit” is

¹³⁶ “Nickajack,” *TVA.Com*, <https://www.tva.com/energy/our-power-system/hydroelectric/nickajack>.

¹³⁷ *Nicola Symonds on the Streets of Charleston, SC, Snee Farm, Chota, TN and Other Historical Locations Relating to the Chiefs of Chota and the Charles Town Merchants*, Dissertation Research (Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, 2022).

¹³⁸ “AAA Native Arts,” AAA Native Arts, accessed July 30, 2023, <https://www.aaanativearts.com/>.

a “level” of closeness to the highest plane. Being the closest, the *Bird* clan is represented by the tallest of the eight pillars. During the excavation, they discovered the entire village's “floor plan” and structures intact. The team uncovered three meeting houses, an open-air pavilion, and two seven-sided structures. They learned about the amount of space each family had, consisting of three structures: a winter home, a summer home, and a sweat lodge. The archeologists also discovered the distance from each family's home to the meeting house, a large burial ground, and an area designated for playing stickball. Among the artifacts unearthed, the most significant find was a pair of wire-rimmed glasses discovered near the remains of a Cherokee. Scholars and Archeologists found that they belonged to the “Most Beloved Man, Red Chief of War and Trade, Oconostota.” The team moved all the remains found on this site to a burial mound discovered at the site of the Sequoyah Museum, except for the remains of Oconostota, who they interred at the Chota site. The Villages of Citico, Toqua, Tomotley, and Mialaquo were also preserved.¹³⁹

Aniyvwiya had a “mother village,” or what the Europeans would call a capital. However, this might not be quite correct. There were villages larger than others and villages that had designated purposes. Such as a “sanctuary village” to which a criminal could try to flee and be safe once inside. There were villages where fur traders set up posts, and so naturally, these would become epicenters. There were villages appointed “White” and “Red” for peace and war councils.¹⁴⁰ With little information from various sources, one can only assume what we have read and interpreted is correct. Nevertheless, historians have named Tanasi and Chota as two

¹³⁹ William Baden, “Tomotley: An Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Village” (January 1, 1983); *Revisiting the Mialoquo Site (40MR3): Previous Archaeological Investigations and Current Research*, September 20, 2018; G. F. Schroedl, *Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee* (Tennessee Univ., Knoxville (USA). Dept. of Anthropology, January 1, 1986).

¹⁴⁰ Adair and Williams, *History of the American Indians*; Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*; Kingston, *Snowshoes and Canoes, or, The Early Days of a Fur-Trader in the Hudson's Bay Territory [Microform]*.

“capital” and significant cities. Each village governed itself, being completely autonomous, but they all shared cultural laws. Each had a council of people, young or old, each with an equal voice. One person did not rule over the village, nor did they have a King over the people.

In 1641 Christien Le Clercq traveled to the French-held territory of New France and spoke with a Gaspesian Indian who best described how all natives viewed the Europeans. The Gaspesian were a group of natives from the Algonquin tribe living in Canada and the upper Michigan and New York area who were Mi’kmaq (Micmac, Mi'kmaq, Mi'kmaq) and closely related to the Aniyvwiya.¹⁴¹ Le Clercq reports that the native told him that the French had “so little cleverness” in building their stone homes and that the natives were much more intelligent. The Mi’kmaq from Gaspé said it was laughable that the white man would think that they should give up their way of building their wigwams. He said the French were not as clever as the Indians who could disassemble their home and travel to a better location without a “seignior,” thus everywhere the Indians went was home. He said they did not need many levels, such as the French that reached “as tall as trees.” His home had a place to eat, sleep, and visit with friends, which mattered. He went on to say the French were not “as bold nor stout” as he because they could not travel by ship with their homes, and that the French had to construct these large homes in multiple locations so that they could travel, or they would have to stay in a “hired” house. The natives became further baffled by these men because they claimed French land was wonderful, yet the French wanted the Indians' land. He laughs at the idea that the French will convince the natives that France is better and says the French are fools to think they are happier or more

¹⁴¹ Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia: With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*.

content than the Indians, that they do not have to ask permission to live somewhere else, that they are free.¹⁴²

The larger villages had about fifty to sixty homes and about five hundred people in each village. Homes had an average of ten people living within their walls. William Bartram wrote about his expedition from Charles Town in 1794 to the “Cherokee” country by way of St. Augustine before heading north. He describes the flora and fauna, creatures, and inhabitants in detail. As he talks about the “capital city” of the Alachua Indians, he says each family had two homes, a winter and summer home identical to those found and known to belong to the Aniyvwiya.¹⁴³ The Mi’kmaq house was portable even though the *wigwam* was more semi-permanent than the utterly portable *teepee* used by the Western tribes. The *owenvsv* (Aniyvwiya home), was built on site with local materials and was meant to be a permanent structure until nature made it necessary to rebuild. Archeologists have discovered that when a house needed repair it would simply burn it to the ground and a new one built in its place.¹⁴⁴ The house of an Aniyvwiya had a thatched or bark shingled roof, with wood and plastered walls; however, they were not large or two storied, nor did they house fine furniture and knick-knacks as the European home, thus giving the English the impression of an uncivilized society.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Le Clercq; Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

¹⁴³ Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws. Containing an Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions; Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians. Embellished with Copperplates*.

¹⁴⁴ Salo, *Archaeological Investigations in the Tellico Reservoir, 1967-1968, an Interim Report*.

¹⁴⁵ Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws. Containing an Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions; Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians. Embellished with Copperplates*.

The purpose of an Aniyvwiya home was for shelter and not to be ostentatious. Each family had a summer home and a winter home, regardless of their role or job. Their village layout had a purpose, and they used the mountain regions, natural landmarks, and manufactured markings to create boundaries between other tribes, enemies, and friends alike. The Aniyvwiya were highly civilized.¹⁴⁶ Built for shelter and not for presentation or to show wealth. They consisted of one room with a hole in the center of the roof to let the smoke out. By the mid-18th century, they used log cabin-style homes with brick fireplaces and chimneys. Few were large and wealthy. They built their winter home into the ground, with a mound of earth covering the roof. Both homes were inside the village, including a family garden area, outdoor fire, and a smaller building (sweat lodge).¹⁴⁷ An example of how similar these villages were to the early European settlement is that the natives built their villages along riverbanks and had wooden fencing surrounding the other three sides. Some of these “fences” were circular with the entrance and exit double layered as in a fortification. The first Charles Town location had family lots divided into equal sizes with a meeting house and community garden, just like the village at Chota.¹⁴⁸

According to accounts, the townhouse for community council meetings and celebrations was large enough to hold the entire village. That number being between three hundred and five hundred people, it seems incredible that all the villagers could fit, though it did have tiered bleacher-style seating, it goes to show the ingenuity of people as occurring naturally in all corners of the world.¹⁴⁹ The meeting house was, and still is today, a seven-sided building that

¹⁴⁶ Grant Ludovick, “Historical Relation of Facts Delivered by Ludovick Grant, Indian Trader, to His Excellency the Governor of South Carolina” (South Carolina Historical Society, n.d.), accessed July 1, 2022.

¹⁴⁷ “AAA Native Arts.”

¹⁴⁸ “Socioeconomic Variability in Federal Period Overhill Cherokee Archaeological.”

¹⁴⁹ Williamson, *The Travels of Peter Williamson, among the Different Nations and Tribes of Savage Indians in America.*; Salo, *Archaeological Investigations in the Tellico Reservoir, 1967-1968, an Interim Report*; Ron L. Harris, “Indians Along the Upper Yadkin River Wilkes County, North Carolina,” *Central States Archaeological Journal* 66, no. 2 (April 2019): 83–85; “Cherokee Nation Culture,” Cherokee Nation Culture,

supplied an area for each clan, each holding equal space and equal voice. Each clan had a specific place/order in relation to the seven planes/directions. The *Long Hair* “arbor” or seating was/is on the East side of the building entrance and is also where the chiefs and other leaders sit. Next to the *Long Hair* would be the *Blue* clan, then the *Wolf* clan. Next would be the *Wild Potato*, and then the *Deer*, *Bird*, and *Paint* clans follow in that order around the building. Each has a symbol representing their clan above their designated spot. Again, the historians tell us that the Aniyvwiya culture was not based on hierarchical ideals, however, this practice of seating was strictly adhered to for council meetings though differently arranged for ceremonial purposes.¹⁵⁰

In ancient Aniyvwiya culture, the townhouse sat atop a manufactured mound which there are several theories. One is that it was a burial ground for the past chiefs, and another is that by raising the meeting house to “another plane” they were closer to the spirit plane. However, by the fifteenth century, the Aniyvwiya stopped building mounds and began centralizing the meeting house and not elevating the building.¹⁵¹ Evidence shows that while some of the older “mounds” were for the purpose of burials, the mounds built for the purpose of the community hall that housed the sacred fire had upright beams in a circle with taller beams in the center and a roof over the shorter outer beams, and then covering this structure with earth. Legend says that in the ground at the bottom of these mounds, an actual fire to which the spiritual flame rose to the fire above in the center of the meeting house.¹⁵² The smoke would rise in a circle because of properly

accessed July 30, 2023, <https://www.cherokee.org/about-the-nation/culture/>; Yasuhide Kawashima, “Forest Diplomats: The Role of Interpreters in Indian-White Relations on the Early American Frontier,” *American Indian Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1989): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1184083>; Adair; Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

¹⁵⁰ Sampeck, Thayne, and Earnest Jr., “Geographic Information System Modeling of De Soto’s Route from Joara to Chiaha;” “Cherokee Nation Culture.”

¹⁵¹ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

¹⁵² Mooney; Salo, *Archaeological Investigations in the Tellico Reservoir, 1967-1968, an Interim Report*.

placing the wood (also in an upright circle leaning one against the other). These sacred fires kept burning always except during the corn festival or “green” festival, each villager would extinguish the fires at their homes and re-lite them from the “eternal flame.” When the Indian removal began (Trail of Tears), the high priest gathered coals from the mother town fire at Kituwah and carried the coals to Tahlequah, OK, and used to start the fire there, never letting the embers die from that first sacred fire from whence they came. The Aniyvwiya people hold their traditions as sacred, and traditions were strongly adhered to, how anyone could have looked upon them and thought “ignorant savage” was sorely mistaken.¹⁵³

There are reports of brutal displays of slaughtering the enemy. Scalping once included keeping the skin, stuffing it with feathers, and sewing eyes back on, creating an entire head. Aniyvwiya believed in destroying the enemy in such a manner so that he may not enter the next world, destined to walk this land forever. While these acts seemed strange, uncivilized, and savage, the European, easily insulted in the slightest way, would challenge his aggressor to a duel to the death. These same “civilized” people would gather in the streets to watch a man have his bowels and entrails pulled from his body, or his head put on a spike as a warning to all others, these were acceptable modes of punishment for the English. The ancient beliefs coincide with the Old Testament’s ten commandments and parables. An eye for an eye, honor thy parents, do not covet their neighbor's goods nor wife, and they did not lie, nor did they understand lying until they met with Europeans. The culture is to seek a peaceful resolution whenever possible, if not, as a matter of honor, they use force. This was the most misunderstood part of the Aniyvwiya

¹⁵³ “Native American Antiquity: Clans of the Cherokee, Part 7 -- The Blue Holly Clan,” Native American Antiquity, September 27, 2012, <https://nativeamericanantiquity.blogspot.com/2012/09/clans-of-choerokee-part-7-blue-holly-clan.html>.

culture. The Aniyvwiya completely assimilated the captured (if not tortured and killed). However, the Aniyvwiya did not set out to capture or enslave their enemy.¹⁵⁴

If a person killed someone, accidentally or intentionally, that person paid with his life. However, the murderer could try to make it to a sanctuary village. If they made it there without the injured clan retaliating, they would then stay in the sanctuary until “the tears of those injured have stopped” or risk death as soon as leaving. In 1829, the “Blood Law” became part of the Cherokee Nation's constitution. The Cherokee General Council felt that after Major Ridge and his brother John, along with Elias Boudinot, signed the treaty in 1835 that gave away more land and required the removal of the Cherokee to Oklahoma and later assassination by Cherokee warriors who conducted the Blood Law, it was necessary to put it in writing. The law said that if any Cherokee Nation citizen sold or disposed of land that belonged to the Nation without permission, they would suffer death. It further clarified that if any person entered into an agreement or treaty with the United States or any officer claiming to be working for the US to sell or dispose of land belonging to the Nation, they would be put on trial and if declared an outlaw, they would be put to death, if they absconded from officials any member of the Cherokee Nation had permission to kill them in any manner without repercussions.¹⁵⁵ The Blood Law was actually a simple idea, what was taken must be replaced, accident or not, privately conducted; there was no need to involve anyone, and all understood the consequences of their actions. If the injured party was a non-relative, meaning a non-Cherokee, the retaliation was not over with one

¹⁵⁴ James Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*, ed. Morgan Owle-Crisp, 2nd edition. (Cherokee Publications, 2006).

¹⁵⁵ JAMI MURPHY Former Reporter & WILL CHAVEZ Assistant Editor � @cp_wchavez & TESINA JACKSON Former Reporter, “June 22, 1839: A Bloody Day in Cherokee Nation,” [cherokeephoenix.org](https://www.cherokeephoenix.org/culture/june-22-1839-a-bloody-day-in-cherokee-nation/article_6254b899-f25e-5f73-b23a-839e3b6ce00a.html), June 22, 2020, https://www.cherokeephoenix.org/culture/june-22-1839-a-bloody-day-in-cherokee-nation/article_6254b899-f25e-5f73-b23a-839e3b6ce00a.html.

exchange, nor was it between the specific injured party, anyone could exact revenge and it could go on and on, in some cases causing wars. However, this was more of a last resort, the people worked out their issues according to traditional laws.¹⁵⁶ There were councils to which headmen (and women) gathered with the villagers to discuss issues and resolutions to those issues. These men were not Kings but counselors, though it obviously looked so to the Europeans. The moniker of “Chief” or “Indian King” were European labels as the Aniyvwiya speak of the two main chiefs as “Most Beloved Man of Peace and Civil Affairs” and “Most Beloved Man of War and Trade.” The term “chief” for the native was meant more of a counselor than what the English understood the meaning to be.¹⁵⁷

The Aniyvwiya system of governing and living as a united force, despite the separation of villages, relied on the clan system. The Anigilohi (Long Hair), Anisahoni (Blue), Aniwaya (Wolf), Anigotgewi (Wild Potato), Aniwodi (Paint).¹⁵⁸ Some clans had “subcategories” such as the Bird clan, within it were the Ravens, Eagles, and Turtledoves. Each clan had a particular job or rather family business, not based on gender or class or even age, just on your clan. Clans kept even numbers and the women oversaw the redistribution or including a “stranger” to a specific clan. For example, if the *Wolf* clan lost a member but had more clan members than other clans and had no desire for the “replacement,” the person would be put in the *Longhair* clan as they were considered the clan of strangers. However, if the *Longhair* clans’ numbers were higher than other clans, the captive went to the clan with the lowest numbers, thus creating a natural degree of equality. If you had come from an allied tribe or from an enemy tribe, or even as a European child, you would be part of the

¹⁵⁶ Jr, *The Cherokee Struggle to Maintain Identity in the 17th and 18th Centuries*.

¹⁵⁷ “Cuming, Sir Alexander.”

¹⁵⁸ “Cherokee Nation Learning Center.”

Longhair clan.¹⁵⁹ Although in some cases where a warrior captured a child, the child became part of that warrior's clan or the *Longhair* clan. This was true in the case of Attakullakulla.¹⁶⁰ Normally two people from the same clan would not allow the marriage (joining), however, because they are both adopted members, they need permission. Together they have a son Dragging Canoe, he is automatically also in the Wolf clan because he takes his mother's family. The *Wolf* clan members were typically warriors, and the Red Chief of War came from this clan. Attakullakulla's cousin (and father-in-law) Oconostota becomes Red Chief of War around 1750 and a few years later, Attakullakulla is named the White Chief of Peace, a job usually given to someone from the *Stranger* clan. The Cherokee were not in the business of selling other Indians into slavery, most of the time a captive became an equal part of the tribe though the Aniyvwiya would later in the nineteenth century own Black slaves as an attempt at becoming "western." The "White Chief of Peace and Civil Affairs" (diplomacy) according to the clan system came from the *Longhair*, which is another piece of evidence that the Aniyvwiya completely accepted outsiders as not only a part of their tribe but as especially important people to the governing and success of the tribe. However as proved with Attakullakulla, this was not always the case.¹⁶¹

Attakullakulla's exploits are the subject of this dissertation. In the early 18th century, Attakullakulla embarked on a journey that would shape his legacy as a respected and revered leader of his people. Attakullakulla and six other Aniyvwiya traveled to London during the year 1730. This excursion exposed him to the strengths of white civilization and impressed the

¹⁵⁹ Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*.

¹⁶⁰ Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore* (Oklahoma City, Okla., The Warden company, 1921), <http://archive.org/details/historyofcheroke00lcstar>; Duncan and Arch, *Living Stories of the Cherokee*; "Native American Antiquity: Clans of the Cherokee Part 3: The Anigilohi," *Native American Antiquity*, June 24, 2012, <https://nativeamericanantiquity.blogspot.com/2012/06/clans-of-cherokee-part-3-anigilohi.html>; Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

¹⁶¹ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

English residents with his own culture. Upon returning to his homeland, Attakullakulla became increasingly responsive to the English traders and officials who looked to cultivate relationships with the Cherokee. In 1757, his leadership and fighting abilities earned him the respect of both his people and the Governor of South Carolina. Together, they worked to build Fort Loudon, which strengthened England's control and encouraged trade with the Cherokee and Eastern coastal towns. Attakullakulla stayed a dominant figure in the councils of the Cherokee Nation for five decades, always striving to maintain peace and stability within his community. Along with his niece, Nancy Ward, Attakullakulla was known as a Peace Chief among the Cherokee people. During times of peace, they donned white attire, while red symbolized war. Attakullakulla did not fight alongside the Americans during the American Revolution until the end. His son, Dragging Canoe, fought alongside the Chickamauga Cherokees on the side of the British. After the Cherokee Middle, Valley, and Lower Towns became destroyed, Dragging Canoe led a group of people out of the Overhill Cherokee towns. They settled in the area surrounding the Chickamauga River in Chattanooga, where they set up eleven towns, including one called Chickamauga. Done on the advice of Alexander Cameron, the British agent to the Cherokee and located across the river from the British commissary, John McDonald. Because of their location, frontiersmen referred to them as the Chickamauga. Descendants are members of the Chickamauga Cherokee, a federally unrecognized tribe.¹⁶²

Dragging Canoe was the cousin to Nancy Ward who was one of the first to suggest a united Native front against Westward colonization. In 1782, the Chickamauga towns were

¹⁶² Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*; Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore*; Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws. Containing an Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions; Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians. Embellished with Copperplates.*

destroyed again, and they moved down the Tennessee River to the Five Lower Towns below the obstructions of the Tennessee River Gorge and eventually settled in Missouri, not following the “trail of tears” but staying in Missouri. From the village of Running Water, Dragging Canoe led attacks on white settlements throughout the American Southeast. His attacks were primarily against colonial settlements on the Holston, Watauga, and Nolichucky Rivers in East Tennessee and the Cumberland River settlements in Middle Tennessee, with occasional raids into Kentucky and Virginia. His brothers often joined him in these attacks.¹⁶³

The *Red Paint* clan, also known as the *Corn* clan, is distinguished by their affiliation with the emblem of wisdom, farming, and reaping. Corn, held in high esteem as an embodiment of sowing a seed, digestion, and giving back to the soil, helped all living beings. *The Red Paint* clan, entrusted with the duty of disseminating knowledge, conducted various significant tasks. Their role in the community was vital and their contributions were highly valued.¹⁶⁴ Within this group, there existed a collection of individuals who had the ability to heal, as well as those referred to as "magic" men, though they were not necessarily akin to wizards in the traditional sense. Rather, they resembled illusionists who would craft mesmerizing spectacles during important ceremonies. These individuals were also known for their prophetic abilities, able to foretell future events with a degree of accuracy that was widely respected. To further underscore the significance of life's essence, they adorned themselves with a coating of red ochre, a powerful dye that gave a sense of fear and intimidated enemies. This crimson pigment was often employed in their clothing and as a key component of their sacred rituals.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore*.

¹⁶⁴ “Native American Antiquity,” September 27, 2012.

¹⁶⁵ “Cherokee Nation Learning Center.”

The *Deer* clan played a crucial role as skilled hunters, taking charge of all matters related to deer. Regarded for their exceptional speed and often served as messengers or runners. The act of hunting and killing required the utmost reverence and only for survival purposes, never for personal gain or pleasure. How they justified the increase in killing for trade is that it was necessary for survival, nevertheless, they said a prayer for every deer killed. The *Deer* clan held a profound knowledge of using every part of the animal and possessed a deep understanding of these skills. They learned to hunt only for sustenance and to ask for forgiveness from "little deer," the spirit of all deer, for taking a life. They believed the spirit of the deer would haunt them and take revenge and to counteract the evil spirit, it was necessary to send each one to the spirit land knowing they died with purpose. This is no different than giving thanks to God for the food He provides. Not the haunting of the animal, but a way of acknowledging the gift. The Aniyvwiya culture places a great emphasis on keeping a balance of nature in all aspects of life.¹⁶⁶ Through the course of coming events, the Cherokee experienced a significant shift in their way of life as the European's primary trade focus was on deerskin and other types of peltries.¹⁶⁷

The *Bird* clan was exactly what they sounded like. They oversaw "keeping" the birds. They used birds as messengers, not in the way people used carrier pigeons, but the Aniyvwiya believed that the birds could spiritually carry messages from the people of this world to those in the higher plane, that the birds were a link between this world and the next. Feathers were an important part of their culture; one person of this clan who had the title "Eagle Killer" had the responsibility of gathering eagle feathers. It was against tribal law for anyone else to have these feathers or to kill an eagle. The chosen boy would go into the mountains and first, he would fast

¹⁶⁶ Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*.

¹⁶⁷ Adams, "The Economic Basis," 1927.

and pray for four days, as fasting gets the person closer to God according to many religions. Then the boy would take his hunting bow and arrow (though they were also skilled in blow dart guns) and seek out a deer, he would tell the deer why he needed to kill him, a sort of prayer as he lifted his hunting bow. After killing the deer, he would take it to the mountain edge and then hide, quietly singing a song thought to draw the Eagle, he would wait patiently until that beautiful sacred creature descended upon the freshly killed deer. According to legend, killing an Eagle in the summer brought an early frost, and performing a ceremony counteracted the mistake. The Eagle Killer would pray the eagles would not seek vengeance and when he returned to the village, he would say it was a snowbird, of course knew it was an eagle, but this is how sacred the bird was, they believed that other birds would overhear him say he killed an eagle and seek retribution. To kill an eagle outside of the “laws” would bring a curse upon the bowman, he would get what is now known to be arthritis and never be able to use his bow again. But the ritual did not end there, the villagers would wait four days to allow for the insects to finish their feast, while a group would go to where the deer lay and skin and process the carcass. It was important to reunite the deer with the Eagle and celebrate the honorable death of both creatures. The feathers were wrapped in the deerskin and placed in a hut near the sacred fire and dance area. A member of this clan would present a meal made of the fresh deer kill and a plate of corn to “feed the feathers.”¹⁶⁸

The Aniyvwiya, a tribe known for its rich history and vibrant culture, boasted several formidable clans, each with their unique traditions and skills. Among these clans, the *Wolf* clan stood out as a particularly brave and vocal group.¹⁶⁹ Widely recognized as the largest clan in the

¹⁶⁸ “Native American Antiquity,” June 24, 2012.

¹⁶⁹ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

tribe, the *Wolf* clan was known for their unwavering courage and willingness to enter battle without hesitation. Led by their "Red Chief of War and Trade," the members of the *Wolf* clan were adept at advocating for war or retribution during council meetings, often seeking support from other clans. To show their agreement and support, those who wished to join the *Wolf* clan in battle would take part in a ceremonial dance on the floor of the meeting house during debates. Even during times of peace, the *Wolf* Clan remained vigilant and trained relentlessly, always prepared to attack at a moment's notice. Their impressive skills and sheer numbers instilled fear in enemy tribes, making them a force to reckon with. Interestingly, the *Wolf* clan was the only clan allowed to hunt and kill wolves, as they believed that it was their sacred duty to do so. In addition, the *Wolf* clan was skilled in raising wolf pups and domesticating them without affecting their innate hunting instincts. This was a testament to their deep understanding and respect for these majestic animals. According to the Aniyvwiya, wolves symbolize intelligence, communication, and hunting prowess, all qualities that the *Wolf* clan embodied and celebrated.¹⁷⁰

The *Blue* clan was indispensable in the tribe's social structure.¹⁷¹ They were known as the "Burden Bearers," carrying the emotional weight of grief and pain for those in need. However, their contribution went beyond that. The *Blue* clan consisted of subclans, including the *Panther* and *Wildcat*, each with a specific responsibility. These subclans were entrusted with caring for the children whom the Aniyvwiya regarded as the tribe's future and thus highly treasured. During times of illness, especially the smallpox epidemic that ravaged the tribe, the *Blue* clan cared for the children and isolated them from other adults. Considered the most capable and experienced, the *Blue* clan possessed knowledge in handling such a critical task. Their ability in medicinal

¹⁷⁰ "Native American Antiquity," June 24, 2012.

¹⁷¹ "Native American Antiquity," September 27, 2012.

plants was particularly noteworthy. They had an extensive understanding of the Blue Holly plant, which had a broad range of medicinal properties. The plant treats various ailments such as fever, swelling, and congestion. The *Blue* clan played a pivotal role in collecting and processing the plants used to make medicines for the tribe. Their knowledge of the plant came by way of oral histories passed from generation to generation, making the *Blue* clan the most experienced in managing the plant's medicinal properties. As a result, the Aniyvwiya considered the *Blue* clan an asset for the tribe's overall well-being and survival. Their contribution to the tribe's health and prosperity proved invaluable during the many diseases brought by the Europeans, medicines today that heal wounds, fevers, and stomach ailments.¹⁷²

The *Wild Potato* clan is a deeply fascinating collective of individuals who play a crucial role in handling herbal medicines and cultivating plant life.¹⁷³ Their primary focus is on natural and sustainable growth, with a profound connection to the earth and its resources. One of the most important plants to the *Wild Potato* clan is the wild potato itself. This plant is used to create flour from its tubers and is found in swampy or riverbank environments. The Wild Potato clan is referred to by various names, including Blind Savana, Raccoon, Bear, and Blind Swamp People, based on the region they are found. A widely accepted view is that these names are subdivisions of the *Wild Potato* clan, also widely accepted is that they are merely variations. Unfortunately, due to the dialect changes present in the Aniyvwiya villages that span from Kentucky to South Carolina, it can be challenging to distinguish with certainty. Most of the recorded information about the *Wild Potato* clan comes from a foreigner who used phonetics or a translator with

¹⁷² “Collection: Kilpatrick Collection of Cherokee Manuscripts | Archives at Yale,” n.d.

¹⁷³ James Mooney, “Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees,” Seventh Annual Report (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, 1881), Smithsonian Institute.

limited knowledge of the foreigner's language, making it more important to approach this subject with care and respect.¹⁷⁴

The Aniyvwiya had a matrilineal, and partially, matriarchal society. Meaning women had the power of authority over punishment and could sit in councils but they did not completely control the people, hence the partially matriarchal, however, the bloodlines were through the mother's side, denoting the anthropological matrilineal society. In the Aniyvwiya culture, women also controlled the population. As earlier discussed, the women decided what clan a person would enter if not the "Stranger" clan, but she also had other powers in controlling the population. When a man wanted to join with a woman in what Europeans call "marriage" he would simply kill a deer and lay it in front of her door. If she chose to accept his offer she would bring the deer in and prepare a feast, if she did not want to join him, she simply left it there.¹⁷⁵ When a man and woman joined it was always from two different clans, unlike the cousin marrying settlers, a man could not marry from his father or his mother's clan, so he had five clans from which he could choose a mate. When children were born the woman would live with the children at her family home. The man would provide meat and pelts, but he would live with his sister and her children at her (his mother's) home. Everyone stayed with their mother and raised all the children within that home. Children were of the mother's clan, if a woman was from the Bird clan and the man was from the Wolf clan, the children were from the Bird clan. However, in the case of an outsider who became adopted into a clan, and if it were a woman who had borne an Aniyvwiya child, a new clan may adopt the mother and child. Men who became adopted into a clan by a clan mother could not take his wife's clan. Confusing, to say the least,

¹⁷⁴ "Native American Antiquity," September 27, 2012.

¹⁷⁵ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*; Adair; Wilma Mankiller and Michael Wallis, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*, 1st ed (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

but it ensured there would be no mixing of the same bloodline, unlike the cousin marrying the Pinckney family.¹⁷⁶

The role of the female Aniyvwiya was not so unusual. Historians today repeat “how different the Cherokee women were to the European women,” and repeat how unusual the English thought this was, though truly the only difference was that the “property” belonged to the women of the family.¹⁷⁷ They may have been the head of the household, but no one owned the land. A woman could be a counselor or a warrior (though rare), they shared an equal voice. They did the farming, planting, and pulling. Which lends to the English idea that the women were unusual. But considering the life of a farmer’s wife, as well as being a time when England had seen two female rulers who played a key part in their history, the Aniyvwiya women were not much different. The farmer’s wife was typically in charge of the family, she helped in the farming, and all the housework, while her husband also tended the farm, hunted, and supplied shelter. Only the aristocracy or very wealthy women in well-established homes/societies would find the life of a native woman strange. Legally, English women had no rights, they could not vote in public elections, but they did not sit idly nor quietly by. Unless you lived in the wealthy upper-class world, you worked hard, you said what you felt, and you controlled more of your destiny than most. But the aristocratic women did not settle the land, they were not the type of women that first arrived, they came only after their husbands and servants had created a respectable and suitable place for them to live.¹⁷⁸ Contrary to popular historical reports, native women did not have a say in all things, when a man and woman joined together, she would be

¹⁷⁶ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*; Adair; Mankiller and Wallis, *Mankiller*.

¹⁷⁷ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

¹⁷⁸ John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers, The Story of the Cherokee Indians Form Earliest Times to the Removal to the West*, 1838, 1938.

expected to mate with her husband anytime he wanted, “I’ve got a headache” was never heard by a native man. Though she could not refuse him and since they did not practice any type of birth control, if she were to become pregnant, she had the right, without the father’s permission, to kill the child after he was born. This was a natural act and not up for discussion nor was it protested by others; it was a simple (horrifying) act.¹⁷⁹

The role of a father was as Uncle first, to raise his sisters’ children, not his brothers, only his sisters, but would also supply food and clothing for his children, he did not provide food and pelts for his sister’s children, only the raising of the child. The entire village looked after the children. The saying “It takes a village to raise a child” comes from this tradition.¹⁸⁰ The men had typical roles according to their clan, hunter, warrior, diplomat, and trader, they also did beadwork, pottery making, and basket weaving as well as leather work. Just as the women also could be a warrior or even hunters, though rare, it was more dependent on the person's clan rather than gender. At birth you enter the mother’s household, you become her clan and your role in that clan and in that village will depend on events in your life, spiritual guidance, and natural ability. Your name at birth for both the male and female changes also according to events in your life and natural characteristics but is first based on appearance or something in nature at the time of birth.¹⁸¹ An example of this is Dragging Canoe, Chief Attakullakulla’s son. When his father and others were going off to war, he wanted to join, however, someone said he was too small, that he could not even drag a canoe. He proved them wrong by dragging a canoe to the river, getting in and out, and dragging it back to shore. Attakullakulla himself had many different

¹⁷⁹ Duncan and Arch, *Living Stories of the Cherokee*.

¹⁸⁰ Katy Simpson Smith, “‘I Look on You... As My Children’: Persistence and Change in Cherokee Motherhood, 1750-1835,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 87, no. 4 (October 2010): 403–430.

¹⁸¹ Adair.

names and addressed that very subject in a speech later in life, however, your name as an adult would have your job added to it, and this is how they addressed those who came into their lives from across the Atlantic. A native or foreigner who trades goods becomes known as “Trader Tom” (for example), and if you are a trader who tries to deceive a native, you might earn the name “Bad Trader Tom.”

During the 17th century, the Virginia Company of London and Plymouth, which eventually encompassed Bermuda, was under the governance of the King of England and had a total of thirteen initial investors.¹⁸² However, it is important to note that there were other investment firms that existed during this time, such as the East India and West Indies trading companies. Additionally, the French-Canadian fur trading companies had considerable ability to trade with the Algonquin people, leading to an ongoing and significant struggle for dominance over the lucrative fur trade industry.¹⁸³ In the year 1600, the Aniyvwiya had a trade system that was well-established and expansive, having established relationships with other tribes. The trade conducted among the Aniyvwiya villages, and their allies was quite diverse and involved a variety of unique items such as fruits, vegetables, beads, and shells that were not readily available in other regions. It is noteworthy that the Aniyvwiya people had access to stone and red clay, which they used to create a wide range of tools and beautiful pottery which became highly sought after. However, through other tribes, the Aniyvwiya did not yet trade directly with Europeans.

¹⁸² Virginia Company of London, Conway Robinson, and R. A. (Robert Alonzo) Brock, *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, 1619-1624* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society, 1619), http://archive.org/details/abstractofprocee02virg_0.

¹⁸³ Virginia. General Assembly. House of Burgesses et al., “Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia,” 1619.

The Virginia Company imported a variety of products that made their way to the natives through unregulated trade channels.¹⁸⁴ Beadwork, animal skins, pottery, and agricultural products bought metal works. Not that the natives did not have access to iron, copper, and other natural metals, on the contrary. New archeological findings in the Great Lakes region by David Pompeani, a geologist at Kansas State University, show the natives in that region had been using smelting of copper that began 9500 years ago.¹⁸⁵ Further discoveries were made by archeologist Michelle Bebber of Kent State University who performed a study on why the Old Copper Culture stopped using copper for arrowheads and discovered it was most likely because stone arrowheads were easier to make and just as durable.¹⁸⁶ Later after the English began to settle colonies the natives would learn how to make shots and other small items from crude pieces of iron and would apprentice as gunsmiths.

The slang word, still used today, to describe a dollar bill, “buck,” came from the trading of buckskins. A single buckskin had a set price as did the skin of a doe, a beaver, raccoon, mountain lion, and buffalo. Examples of the cost are as follows: for one white blanket it would cost five buckskins or ten doeskins, a long gun cost ten or twenty buckskins, a pistol was five or ten buckskins, a gun lock cost four or five buckskins, four measures of powder was one to two buckskins, and for sixty bullets a mere one or two buckskins, a broad hoe (a favorite item of the native) cost three to six buckskins. From this scale it is easy to see how the traders took advantage of the natives, there was no rhyme nor reason for the cost of items. As earlier

¹⁸⁴ “Image 41 of Records of the Virginia Company, 1622-24, Volume II”; Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

¹⁸⁵ David P. Pompeani et al., “Lake Sediments Record Prehistoric Lead Pollution Related to Early Copper Production in North America,” *Environmental Science & Technology* 47, no. 11 (2013): 5545–52.

¹⁸⁶ Michelle R. Bebber and Metin I. Eren, “Toward a Functional Understanding of the North American Old Copper Culture ‘Technomic Devolution,’” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 98 (2018): 34–44.

established, hunting as a commodity was new. Soon an open line of credit against future skins would put the natives in more debt than they could pay. This debt would continue to climb as the availability of deer declined, offset by the capturing, and selling of enemy tribes. For one native on the open market would bring many guns in trade, the English could get two Black men for the price of one Indian.

The most popular item to trade was cloth which accounted for 60% of all goods. Only 25% involved guns and despite what stereotypical suggestions claim, alcohol was only 6% of all trade. The English had bans on selling “rum and alcohol” to the Indians beginning in 1704.¹⁸⁷ These figures and the Spanish ban against selling Indians guns did not stop the Mohawk from claiming they had over four hundred guns and “plenty of shots.” The Iroquois boasted twice as many guns as the Mohawk.¹⁸⁸ Even with the ban the natives’ received guns from the English and French so that they could war with other tribes and align with one country against the other, a risk they were willing to take. However, the native was very particular about their allies’ selling guns to their enemies. The cut-throat business of fur trading made arming oneself necessary for all parties concerned. Traders suggested that the natives were most interested in things like axes, hoes, scissors, seeds, and cloth. It was only the items that made life easier that interested the native, at first. Items like seeds (such as the peach tree seed), dishes, pots, pans, and even umbrellas were hot ticket items.¹⁸⁹ European cloth made beautiful clothing and fashion would be the first to influence the change in culture from need to want, but second to weapons. Wool soon

¹⁸⁷ “House of Commons,” in *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. 21 (Tanner Ritchie Publishing, 1727), 730, 792, 856, 989, 990, <https://sources-tannerritchie-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/browser.php?ipid=1105474>.

¹⁸⁸ “Debts of Virginia Company,” 1619 1611, Virginia Company Archives; William Howel William Howell, *An Institution of General History, or, The History of the World*, 1661.

¹⁸⁹ Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*.

replaced the fur-lined winter shoe of the Aniyvwiya. As already proven, the hunting of deer was for the purpose of food and warmth, and in their culture, prior to European trade, none of the clans hunted as a commodity. However, the Europeans highly valued the deer and beaver (the beaver had long been extinct in England), and the natives' wanted weapons.¹⁹⁰

The Arquebus, a muzzle-loading long-barreled musket (or similar gun) was the most typical purchase. The arquebus went through upgrades and inventors raced to improve upon military weaponry since the discovery of gunpowder. Like most inventions, things got smaller, more mobile, and more powerful. Niccolò Machiavelli describes the harquebus as a hand cannon in his *Art of War*, the first equalizer of men, this quickly evolves into pistols with foot-long barrels.¹⁹¹ The natives took them apart and smacked them on a tree, creating a great spectacle that truly intrigued the natives. This weapon eventually evolved into the muzzle-loading long-barreled musket.¹⁹² To trade for such an item the trader stood the weapon up and the buyer stacked his pelts one on top of the other until the pile reached the end of the barrel. After years of trading inferior weapons (shotty or defective) the Aniyvwiya “merchants” began filling the linings of the pelts with dirt to make them thicker. This was not a widespread practice, but it became increasingly necessary to be shrewd.¹⁹³ To be clear, the Virginia Company wanted their agents to seek peace with natives, but this was an unrealistic request for the Jamestown settlement.

¹⁹⁰ Gorge, *A Complete History of The Most Remarkable Transactions at Sea from The Earliest Accounts of Time*.

¹⁹¹ Niccolò Machiavelli et al., *The Arte of Warre* ([Imprinted at London: By VV. VVilliamson, for Ihon VVight], 1573).

¹⁹² Francis Grose, *Military Antiquities Respecting a History of the English Army, from the Conquest to the Present Time* (London: S. Hooper, 1786).

¹⁹³ Adair.

Sir John Cabot discovered the Virginia territory but it would be much later when Sir Walter Raleigh was given a grant from Queen Elizabeth I to settle the land.¹⁹⁴ Raleigh and Sir Richard Grenville along with several other “gentlemen,” fitted out two ships and set sail from London in April of 1584.¹⁹⁵ Subsequently, three months later they landed in what is now North Carolina, after being entertained by the “friendly” natives, the English men decided to take two of them back home with them. They did not make a settlement then; it was more of a surveying expedition, but they gave the territory its name of Virginia. As historians, we are privy to information from multiple sources, and the story goes that Sir Walter Raleigh was personally intimate with the Queen who professed to be a virgin, thus it was an inside joke that many were fully aware of at the time. The next year Grenville returned with seven ships and one of the natives to be an interpreter. Arguments ensued between a native and one of Grenville’s men. The English go to the extreme and burn the Indian village and all their corn fields, killing many. This was not a good first impression and one that the Charles Town settlers would does not repeat.

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Seeing where the Virginia “government” went wrong is the best way to see how the Charles Town plantation succeeded. While the Virginia colonists were the first to have any real effect on the Aniyvwiya, it was more indirect. The Virginia settlers had enough to worry about with the Mohawk, Iroquois, Powhatans, Nottoway, Meherrins, and many other coastal natives.¹⁹⁷ The Indigenous that met these settlers spoke Iroquoian, Algonquin, and Sioux language

¹⁹⁴ Virginia Company of London, Robinson, and Brock, *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, 1619-1624*, 1619.

¹⁹⁵ Adams, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels*.

¹⁹⁶ Adams.

¹⁹⁷ Virginia Company of London, Robinson, and Brock, *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, 1619-1624*, 1619.

variations, though they were from fifty or more different tribes. The more southern tribes such as the Tuscarora, Choctaw, Coharie, Aniyvwiya, Cape Fear, and Catawba among others, may have shared language similarities, but they were individual tribes with individual ways of life.¹⁹⁸

Trade with these tribes often went unregulated, and what the English did not understand is that these tribes were not living in seclusion, they discussed matters with their allies and deliberated on solutions. As earlier discussed, the Aniyvwiya had been trading with other tribes who traded with the English, thus they were not new to the trading system but what was new was the “popup” trading posts that would draw people to one location, creating a market town.¹⁹⁹ This is what will cause historians to claim the Cherokee had “capital” cities.

There was no “King,” “Emperor,” or even “Chief” of the Aniyvwiya until the English named a man tasked with speaking for the tribe, as “King,” but the English naming him thus did not mean that that man controlled the people, nor would that man be able to veto the Blood Law or sell lands.²⁰⁰ This title had quite an effect on the Aniyvwiya culture, it created a new feeling amongst some of these “Most Beloved Men,” a feeling of superiority that did not previously exist, a feeling of power over his people came over a few of these “headmen” at the cost of many. This was also a new feeling to some of the men who settled in North America, the non-primogeniture sons. When the Virginians began to push towards the interior, and Carolina first became an “idea,” a trade war with natives, France, Spain, and the Dutch colonies, began to threaten the Cherokees' existence.²⁰¹ The Aniyvwiya had little contact with Europeans for one hundred years after meeting with the first in recorded history, however, disease quickly took

¹⁹⁸ “Image 41 of Records of the Virginia Company, 1622-24, Volume II.”

¹⁹⁹ Schroedl, “Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee.”

²⁰⁰ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

²⁰¹ Virginia. General Assembly. House of Burgesses, “Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.”

many, and war with the encroachers took many more. Two more mistakes by European settlers were in thinking that Aniyvwiya land was up for grabs and that they did not take their strong adherence to the “Blood law” as they should. A simple code of ethics and honor, with serious ramifications.²⁰²

The settlers did not understand the vast territory enjoyed by all the Indigenous. The streams and rivers that ran everywhere across the Appalachian Mountains and south as far as Florida were part of the livelihood of all Indigenous. To the Aniyvwiya, this land did not belong to one man or even one tribe, it belonged to the creator, Unetlanvhi. To further explain Aniyvwiya blood law, if a person steals from an individual, it is the right of the individual to take something from him. However, in the case of murder, the deceased person's clan must avenge his death. The clan of the murderer could not then retaliate as it was a closed matter. No peace talks or negotiations overrode that law. The hostilities between the natives and the settlers from any country, even the small fishing groups, were high. The Spanish had many years of terrorizing to cause the natives to be on guard of any strangers to their land. The Spanish took the natives as slaves when they conquered/claimed a territory, thus the tribes were on the defensive by the seventeenth century and the quick succession of English and French colonies continued to encroach on hunting land and game.²⁰³

Maryland concerned itself with religious issues while the Virginia Company suffered from a lack of labor and a lack of food, but more importantly, they lacked diplomacy with the many different tribes.²⁰⁴ From 1623 to 1627 the British West Indies colonized part of Saint

²⁰² John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006).

²⁰³ Adair and Williams, *History of the American Indians*.

²⁰⁴ “Debts of Virginia Company,” 1619 1611, Virginia Company Archives,

Kitts, all of Barbados, and by 1635 had gained control of Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, Martinique, and Guadeloupe as well as gaining full control of Saint Kitts (taking the portion controlled by France), all in the name of the English crown. However, no other colony suffered from Indian attack as the Jamestown settlement. The Powhatan Confederacy (Northeastern tribes who formed an alliance) attacked the settlement in 1618. The chief of this group of Algonquins gave his daughter to Virginia settler John Rolfe, agreeing to the first of three treaties. Reports of men leaving settlements to live with native or “marry” Indian women do not begin and end with the story of Pocahontas. Fur traders quite often took an Indian woman as a “wife” as these men lived in the wilderness alone for months at a time. Companionship was not the only purpose. These women could teach the men the culture and language and work as a guide as well as help the trader get a “foot in the door” so to speak. However, the joining of two people did not stop others from instigating war between the parties.

With the assistance of the Algonquin, they attacked Jamestown again in 1622. The story goes that the settlers invited the natives in for a feast and had poisoned the wine. The settlers managed to kill two hundred natives, but there were over 21,000 in the “confederation.”²⁰⁵ The people of Jamestown tried to come together, but help from the company was not coming, their numbers were dropping, and the natives had the upper hand. The settlement struggled through constant Indian attacks, a lack of food, and a lack of numbers, especially after the natives attacked for a third time in 1636, killing 60%.²⁰⁶ By the time of the 1644 attack Jamestown experienced an influx of immigrants, more skilled, more armed, and more prepared.²⁰⁷ By now

²⁰⁵ Virginia Company of London, Robinson, and Brock, *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, 1619-1624*, 1619.

²⁰⁶ Sidney S. Rider, *Squantum* ([Providence, Starkweather and Shepley Company, printers], 1915).

²⁰⁷ Glover, *The Shipwreck That Saved Jamestown*.

the practice was to only grant lands to those who could work the land and who could bring the necessary provisions.²⁰⁸ The Jamestown massacres ended the Virginia Company in Virginia and King James I, revoked the company's charter after an inquiry was made into the colony.²⁰⁹ This was not the end for Virginia, nor would it be the end of the Indian uprisings.

While under new management relations with the natives did not improve, quite the contrary. Wars broke out, tribes fought against each other, against the English, with the English against the Spanish, or French, and borders defined or otherwise changed for all. Settlers began immigrating further into the interior for a multitude of reasons and huge land deals made it more attractive to settlers.²¹⁰ By 1663, the Aniyvwiya and other tribes knew the Unegas were an unpredictable ally. Historian James Axtell dubbed this period the first consumer revolution for Native Americans. The northern colonies' fur trade/war forced migration and pitted tribes against each other.²¹¹ Trade regulations were lacking, and new settlers struggled to repay debts and build a new life.

Chapter Three: Proprietors, Pirates, and Planters

After the interim reign of Cromwell and the Parliament, King Charles I, ascended the throne and wasted no time in recouping his coffers, setting his attention on the British-held Atlantic colonies and the Carolina territory. Carolina offered a great many advantages to Great Britain such as being a buffer between the Spanish-held southern region, St. Augustine to be

²⁰⁸ Adair.

²⁰⁹ "Records of the Virginia Company, 1622-24, Volume II: Court Book Part B," n.d.

²¹⁰ Adams, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels*; John Locke et al., *A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr. John Locke* (London: Printed for R. Francklin ..., 1739); Adair, *The History of the American Indians*.

²¹¹ James Axtell, *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

exact, and the northern English colonies. With the increase in trade in the Atlantic, the cost of war, and the need for safe English ports, England found it increasingly necessary to create regulations on trade and shipping. The British Parliament enacted the Navigation Act of 1651 which said (among other items) that only English ships could bring goods into England or English-held territories and that the North American colonies could only export their commodities to English-held ports. This put a huge damper on the Virginian tobacco industry, thus increasing the “pirate” market. Privately owned vessels circumvented this law by taking their wares to places like Port Royal, Jamaica. However, plenty of Governors were willing to look the other way with the right offer. The northern colonies were no strangers to pirate and privateering activities. These men knew no boundaries and sailed towards profit wherever possible.²¹² In 1660, the Navigation Act changed, and enumeration began on certain products such as sugar, indigo, tobacco, and rice.²¹³ Thus began the struggles between the New World and the Old World and between North America's “titled” and “untitled” settlers. The new charter of Carolina depended on the wealth brought by merchant mariners who sailed for these “Governors” by filling their own pockets before giving up a life at sea and purchasing land, earning land grants, and becoming respectable businessmen and community leaders.

Comprehending the various Royal titles and rankings can be intricate, and it may prove helpful to consult a chart of the different names associated with the Lords Proprietors throughout their lives. Like the tale of young Aniyvwiya, whose name undergoes several changes during his life. An English noble's life is filled with multiple ranks and titles. They are referred to by

²¹² “Charles II, 1660: An Act for the Encourageing and Increasing of Shipping and Navigation.” (Great Britain Record Commission, 1660).

²¹³ “Charles II, 1660: An Act for Prohibiting the Planting Setting or Sowing of Tobaccho in England and Ireland.” (Great Britain Record Commission, 1660); “Charles II, 1660: An Act for the Encourageing and Increasing of Shipping and Navigation.”

various names based on inheritance, disinheritance, various positions held, and events that elevate or bring down their status. His offspring will each have different ranks and titles according to their place in line. Duke, Marquess, Earl, Viscount, and Baron, (listed in order of hierarchy) would all pass to the eldest surviving son at the time of his father's death.²¹⁴ A person who uses Esquire after his name implies a social ranking above those who use the moniker "gentlemen" after his name. A gentleman was the lowest rank of the Landed Gentry, a person who could own land and earn the rent from that land, very wealthy but held no government power or nobility. One addressed as "Sir" belonged to orders of chivalry, such as a baronet who is below a baron but above a knight. One addressed as "lord" was a member of parliament in the House of Lords, or a feudal landholder with title. After the English Civil War and the restoration of the crown, families were either stripped or restored of titles or elevated in status and granted gifts of loyalty. Though the landed gentry did not have government positions, they were quite often more wealthy and heavy investors in world trade and shipbuilding.²¹⁵ Beneath the gentry were the yeoman, a man who owns his land but does not collect rents as it is a smaller parcel of land though he may sell his wares or even have a business in town.

In 1663 Sir George Monk, the Duke of Albemarle, gave the Governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkley, the task of finding a vessel and men that could navigate the rivers in the low country of Carolina and find a suitable area for large vessels to enter. William Hilton Jr. received the commission from the "merchants from Barbados" to find and hire sailors for the journey. This would be Hilton's second official trip to the coast of Carolina. The first being in 1662 to

²¹⁴ Andrews, "British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675"; Henry A. M. Smith, "The Baronies of South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 15, no. 1 (1914): 3-17.

²¹⁵ Earbery, *The History of the Clemency of Our English Monarchs*.

which he supplied the information needed to create a map of the coastline. He was fully aware of the ramifications of creating hostile relations with the natives he met and learned from the earlier mistakes of the surveyors of Virginia. The way one behaves when visiting foreign countries can be extremely important to world events, any little offense could have a chain reaction that could harm peaceful relations and even cause war.²¹⁶

This second trip though was for more specific findings. The *Adventure* was hired and William Hilton, Peter Fabian, and Captain Anthony Long were given the commission and set sail from “Spikes Bay” or more accurately, Speights Town, the largest city in Barbados.²¹⁷ They describe all manner of natives coming aboard their vessel and giving gifts, and on other occasions, they were fired upon, one incident left the head of an arrow embedded in their ship, just grazing the shoulder of one of the crew. Hilton’s report mentions “sending their Long-Boat ashore” and though he does not mention the number in his party, he does mention that on one occasion having sent “twelve hands” ashore three did not return, the long-boat not returning for days.

In Hilton’s record is a copy of the agreement between Hilton and his proprietors that says each crew member of the *Adventure* was to receive one hundred acres for their service, that Hilton, Long, and Fabian would each receive one thousand acres, and no, he did not claim Hilton Head, SC in this deal.²¹⁸ Hilton never lived on the island now known as Hilton Head, he did

²¹⁶ Williamson, *The Travels of Peter Williamson, among the Different Nations and Tribes of Savage Indians in America.*; John Marrant and W. (William) Aldridge, *A Narrative of the Lord’s Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black [Microform] : (Now Going to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia), Born in New-York, in North America* (London : Printed and sold by Gilbert and Plummer ..., and sold at the Chapel in Jewry-Street ..., 1785); “Image 41 of Records of the Virginia Company, 1622-24, Volume II”; “Virginia in 1677-1678,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 23, no. 4 (1915): 395–403.

²¹⁷ Hilton, *A Relation of a Discovery Lately Made on the Coast of Florida*,

²¹⁸ William Hilton, *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina on the Coasts of Floreda.: And More Peticularly [Sic] of a New-Plantation Begun by the English at Cape-Feare, on That River Now by Them Called*

though name it on his first voyage to the low country coast. The contract promised extra acreage to any servants who took part and that they would receive their land at the time of release from servitude. This statement refers to indentured servants, with no mention of slaves. This first period was not big on the African slave market as they were selling natives to the West Indies.²¹⁹ Most settlers arrived with one or two indentured servants who had signed a contract for a set period of servitude in exchange for their voyage, debts paid, or to learn a trade as an apprentice. However, this contract was breached or abused, and problems arose when the indentured servant arrived in a new country with their contract holder, many times the indentured was not released from their contract or not paid and overworked. Just as often, the indentured servants fled as soon as they hit port or were more trouble than they were worth since they were sometimes ex-criminals. If the indentured ran away the owner posted a reward for their return, just like an African enslaved runaway. However, another misconception is that most were of the criminal type, while there were vessels that brought workers over who were all criminals, the early settlers who brought servants did not hire criminals. Some had signed onto a ship as crew while others signed on as blacksmiths and so forth under another person as an apprenticeship with a similar contract as indentured. Some of these contracts included statements such as agreeing “not to partake in gambling, drinking and other debauchery.”²²⁰

Charles-River, the 29th of May. 1664. Wherein Is Set Forth the Healthfulness of the Air; the Fertility of the Earth, and Waters; and the Great Pleasure and Profit Will Accrue to Those That Shall Go Thither to Enjoy the Same. Also, Directions and Advice to Such as Shall Go Thither Whether on Their Own Accompts, or to Serve under Another. Together with a Most Accurate Map of the Whole Province. (London: printed for Robert Horne in the first court of Gresham-Colledge near Bishopsgate-street, 1666); Josephine Pinckney, *Hilton Head* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941).

²¹⁹ “Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - Database;” “The Plantations;” “Despatches Relating to Agriculture and Slavery in Bermuda.”

²²⁰ “Indenture Contract,” n.d., Gilder Lehrman, accessed July 30, 2023.

The same year of Hilton's voyage, King Charles II granted eight men proprietorship over a vast amount of land that was once the dream of Sir Walter Raleigh. These men had been great supporters of the king during the English Civil War, whether from the beginning or by the end of the conflict. The eight men helped in the restoration of the monarchy, and this was a time for the King to pay off his debts.²²¹ Though the King specifically says that he grants lands to "our right trusty, and right well-beloved cousins and counselors," some reports state that a few of these men paid heavy penalties and received "forgiveness" for any treasonous acts during the English Civil War, though not all who took the side of Cromwell would receive such grace.²²²

Edward Earl of Clarendon, whom the King names "our high chancellor of England," in the Carolina Charter, was born in 1609 as Edward Hyde, son of Henry and Mary Hyde of Dinton, Wiltshire, England. Dinton was near Stonehenge, one of many prehistoric monuments in the area, and to further put it in a geographic perspective, Dinton and Bishop Auckland in Durham County are the same distance from each other as the Overhill region is to Charleston, less than four hundred miles. Durham is in the northern part of England and Wiltshire is far south to the east of London. The upper region produces Lower House members of Charles Town whom this author has named "The Men from Durham," and ironically, the lower region produces the Lords Proprietors.²²³

²²¹ King Charles I, "Carolina Charter," 1663.

²²² Gomme, *The King's Story Book*; Earbery, *The History of the Clemency of Our English Monarchs*; Colleton et al., "Lords Proprietors' Letter to Seth Sothel -," May 12, 1691, Carolana; "'America and West Indies: July 1669.' Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America, and West Indies: Volume 7, 1669-1674. Ed. W Noel Sainsbury. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1889. 31-35.," n.d.

²²³ "The City of Durham: Introduction (2 of 3) | British History Online," accessed May 11, 2023, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/durham/vol3/pp16-28>.

Edward matriculated from Magdalen College, Oxford, where two hundred years prior to Edward's arrival sat such notables as Thomas Wolsey, minister to Henry VIII.²²⁴ During the English Civil War, despite losing their president and many faculty members under the parliament's regime, this school remained loyal to the crown. Edward attended prior to the war and restoration, studying law, and learning from scholars like Dr. Accepted Friendly, a fellow alum of Magdalen College. It was a custom to choose a name for a newborn by opening the Bible and randomly (or blindly) pointing to a word, any word. Dr. Friendly's parents pointed to the word, *Accepted*. In contrast, the Aniyvwiya child's name was based on clan and accomplishments or signs at birth.²²⁵

Hyde would become a prominent lawyer which at this time, being a lawyer included many tasks that would today be delegated to a lawyer of a specific field, however, in the 17th century, a lawyer could earn an adequate living simply drawing up receipts and letters. As a member of the popular party and an MP (member of parliament) during the short parliamentary term of 1640, the Earl sat on no less than seven committees. He was conflicted over state and church issues and soon broke with the popular party and so by taking the side of the King, he put himself in his direct line of sight. This was one of those times when a man comes to a crossroads and suddenly his actions are cause for elevation and a new title.²²⁶ In 1643 Hyde became part of the privy council. When the English Civil War broke out, he was sent to Bristol to be one of the counsels to the Prince of Wales and the Western government. As tensions rose, the prince

²²⁴ John Adams, *Biographia Britannica: Or the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons Who Have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Earliest Ages, down to the Present Times* (London: Printed for W. Innys ..., 1747).

²²⁵ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

²²⁶ William S Powell, *The Proprietors of Carolina* (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963).

became compelled to escape to France, and Hyde also went into hiding with Sir George Carteret, another of the eight Lords Proprietors. Here is an example of while trying to be loyal to the crown during this tumultuous time, one must preserve himself and the future King of England, which could have had a multitude of bad endings.²²⁷

However, for the Earl of Clarendon, given the circumstances, it worked out in his best interest. It would be Hyde who took the lead in restoring the crown upon its rightful head, and Hyde would receive gifts of affection for the advice to the newly restored King Charles II. In 1660 earned elevation once more to Baron Hyde of Hindon and then again six months later he became the Viscount of Cornbury and the Earl of Clarendon.²²⁸ Jumping forward a bit, in 1677, Seth Southell (also known as Sothel) bought the Earl of Clarendon's share from his successor. According to the (first) Fundamental Constitution of Carolina, written by John Locke, (and seventy-five pages long), the oldest Lord Proprietor living in Carolina must be appointed as Governor. Therefore, when Southell made his purchase, a letter sent from the Lords Proprietors to the settlement, instructing everyone to obey the new Governor fully was received.²²⁹

George Duke of Albemarle, “master of our horse and captain-general of all our forces, our right trusty and well-beloved...” was born in 1608, the second son to Sir Thomas Monck.²³⁰ George was expected to follow the longstanding tradition of going to sea as the second son in his family. He embarked on his seafaring journey under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, who was the grandson of Sir Grenville - a historical figure known for his tumultuous relationship with

²²⁷ *Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Charles II 1663 - 1664: Index* (International Government Document, 1663).

²²⁸ Powell, *The Proprietors of Carolina*.

²²⁹ William Howell, *An Institution of General History, or The History of the World*.

²³⁰ Thomas Skinner and W. (William) Webster, *The Life of General Monk [Microform]: Late Duke of Albemarle*; (London, Printed by W. Bowyer for the editor, 1723).

the Virginia natives. Sir Richard received a commission to explore Cadiz, which was a significant opportunity to gain status through events and not inheritance, a rarity amongst the proprietors. George was fortunate in this respect, becoming an ensign for his outstanding service on the expedition. After serving with the Dutch for a while, he became interested in events in Madagascar and the South Seas but had to put his plans on hold.²³¹ He was soon back in military uniform serving under the Earl of Newport in Scotland and then in Dublin, Ireland, for the rebellion in 1642. George Monck was not one to keep his opinions to himself, a dangerous characteristic of someone in his position. Upon returning to England for his father's funeral, he had the chance to have an audience with the King. Monck spoke of what he considered ill-planning of the war and the mistakes he thought were made. After the defeat at Nantwick in 1644 he was brought back to London and held for high treason before the House of Commons. He was held prisoner in the Tower of London for two years but later given a commission by the MPs to fight against the Irish, once again elevating himself in position by becoming Governor of Carrickfergus. He went from being Oliver Cromwell's right hand in Scotland to being favored by the King in the end.

This favoritism by the newly restored King came about because when Oliver Cromwell died, his son Richard became Protectorate, Monck started to see reasons why he needed to switch sides. Hyde soon enlisted him to help restore the crown. Thus, from his ability to pick the winning side at the most opportunistic time, it all ended happily for George Monck, who, thanks to Cromwell's placing him in Scotland, Monck could supply the royalists with the Scottish army. The exiled King sent a letter asking for his help, appealing to his sensibility, and made him an

²³¹ Powell, *The Proprietors of Carolina; Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Charles II 1663 - 1664.*

offer he could not refuse. Worded carefully that should his response have been no, and the King still restored, he would be executed for treason.²³² Monck had wanted elevation he could not have gained without accepting this offer. In 1660, after the King gained restoration, the next day Monck was knighted and allowed to keep all the lands acquired during the Cromwell years. He soon had the title of Baron Monck of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Teyes.²³³ The Baron became Earl of Torrington and lastly Duke of Albemarle. Monck and Lord Berkley retained William Hilton in his expeditions to Carolina and Florida.²³⁴ The Duke died in 1670, and his successor, his first-born and only living son died in Jamaica in 1688. Neither would see Charles Town.

Each of the Lords Proprietors have comparable stories of falling in and out of favor or coming close. Most took the side of Cromwell and the Parliament, some being MPs (Members of Parliament) at the time, others took the side of the monarchy, and some switched in between. In any event, the proprietors mentioned above, along with Lord William Craven, Lord John Berkley, Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir George Carteret, knight and baronet, Sir William Berkley, knight, and Sir John Colleton, knight and baronet, were awarded the lands south of Virginia, land that in 1665 would include a much more significant portion.²³⁵ This territory was so vast that you could fit England, Scotland, and Wales within its boundaries. When the King referred to them as his “right and trusty” Lords Proprietors, he was not joking.²³⁶ But why would he not make deals such as this and that of the other settlement investment companies? They put

²³² Committee for the Militia of London George Monck Albemarle, *A Letter Sent by Col. Cobbet from the General Council of Officers to Gen. Monk: With His Ansvver ...* ([s.n.], 1659).

²³³ John Toland, *The Art of Restoring, or The Piety and Probity of General Monk in Bringing about the Last Restoration ... with a Just Account of Sir Roger ... in a Letter to a Minister of State at the Court of Vienna* (London: Sold by J. Roberts near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1714).

²³⁴ Hilton, *A Relation of a Discovery Lately Made on the Coast of Florida*,

²³⁵ Powell, *The Proprietors of Carolina*; King Charles I, “Carolina Charter,” 1663; *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1669 - 1674*.

²³⁶ Charles I, “Carolina Charter.”

up the risk and he took in the reward. However, there would be no less than fifty different proprietors in the years before the royal buyout discussed later. Each of the LPCs (Lords Proprietors of Carolina) agreed to financially support the endeavor for a settlement in the amount of £500 to provide shipping, provisions, ammunition, and tools to get started. This may not seem like a lot, but each settler would also be expected to provide rations for themselves and those in their group. The LPCs were also to provide £200 a year for the next four years. This amount is from each proprietor, although the agreement does not say specifically, but the three ships ready to set sail cost a little over 3200 pounds.

Advertisements such as the posting by Robert Horne in 1666 stated that any man who came to the “Carolina Plantation” would be able to purchase, on time, hundreds of acres for half a shilling an acre. If they brought servants and their families, they would receive even more land. It was however required that they bring six months of provisions for all in their party, as well as being fully armed, making the trip a bit less affordable to the passengers but very beneficial to the agents.²³⁷ In July of 1669 the three ships hired for the voyage were the *Carolina*, Henry Brayne, master; the *Port Royal*, John Russell, master; and the *Albemarle*, Edward Baxter, master. On August 17, 1669, *The Carolina*, the *Port Royal*, and the *Albemarle* left England for the coast of “Carolina.” They headed towards Ireland where it is reported that two people decided to disembark though they had hoped to pick up more passengers.²³⁸ The three ships then traveled to Barbados through stormy waters.

²³⁷ Robert Horne, “Recruiting Settlers to Carolina, 1666,” 1666.

²³⁸ William Smith and William Smith, *A Natural History of Nevis, and the Rest of the English Leeward Charibee Islands in America: With...* (Cambridge, [England]: Printed by J. Bentham ... and sold by W. Thurlbourn in Cambridge, S. Birt ..., C. Bathurst ..., and J. Beecroft ..., London, 1745).

Captain Joseph West was in command of the fleet and later replaced by Sir John Yeamans. After a month at sea, the fleet closed in on Barbados, but the *Port Royal* was lost near the Bahamas and the *Albemarle* was overcome by turbulent waters, breaking her cables, and nearly crashing upon the rocks. There seems to be some confusion about the exact arrival date of the *Albemarle* and the *Carolina*. According to some sources, the *Albemarle* arrived a day before *Carolina*, but others have reported that it arrived a few days later. What is known is that a sloop named the *Three Brothers* may have replaced the *Albemarle* which also got blown off its course and replaced.²³⁹ Upon Sir John Yeamans' arrival at Port Royal Sound, he decided to appoint William Sayle as Governor. The settlers, upon their initial investigation of the area, were approached by the Kiawah Indians. It was reported that the natives were quite helpful in aiding the settlers to find a more suitable location for their settlement. This marked a significant difference in the interaction between the settlers and the natives, in comparison to the first ship's arrival in Virginia. It is noteworthy to mention that an oral agreement was reached between the settlers and the Kiawah, which helped to set up a positive relationship between the two groups.²⁴⁰ They mutually agreed to allow the natives to keep their land and the peace with the settlers, though later this agreement was breached but settled in a Charles Town court. The people of the *Carolina* then sailed north and settled on the west bank of the Ashley River at Albemarle Point. Here they set up their first village much like that of a Aniyvwiya village. For nine years, the people built small homes, gardens, and a meeting house, and as more settlers arrived, it became clear that Oyster Point would make a much better location for Charles Town.

²³⁹ "America and the West Indies," in *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1689 - 1692* (International Government Document, 1689), 187.

²⁴⁰ "To Sayle from LPs," in *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1669 - 1674* (International Government Document, 1669), 32.

Sir John Yeamans arrived with two hundred slaves later that year, however, it is more likely that he arrived with a party of fifty which included his family and servants/slaves from Barbados along with fifty immigrants. The *Port Royal* was reported as lost at sea; however, this was a mistake. Lord Ashley received word from surveyor Florence O'Sullivan that all the passengers and crew of the *Port Royal* had been lost at sea except for John Russell, master, and a few of the crew. This was inaccurate. According to John Russell the *Port Royal* became stranded on land near Bermuda after being tossed around for six weeks, that all passengers and crew made it to land, and that they eventually found a ship to take them to Bermuda.²⁴¹ It is unclear whether these are the same passengers who arrived on the *John and Thomas* a few months later in 1671. In August, another ninety-six passengers made the total since the first ship, three hundred and thirty-seven men, seventy-one women, and sixty-two children under sixteen years.²⁴² Yeamans was appointed as the Governor of Carolina in 1672. However, his tenure was marred by reports of self-serving behavior and negligence towards the settlers he was supposed to serve. It is said that Yeamans sold or exported many of the supplies that were meant for the settlers to Barbados, thus making a profit for himself. Moreover, he took advantage of the line of credit that the LP's had established. It is worth noting that Yeamans had faced accusations of crimes before. The courts in Barbados cleared him of wrongdoing in the death of his wife's first husband, who was

²⁴¹ James Glen, *A Description of South Carolina; Containing, Many Curious and Interesting Particulars Relating to the Civil, Natural and Commercial History of That Colony, Viz. the Succession of European Settlers There; Grants of English Charters; Boundaries; Constitution of the Government; Taxes; Number of Inhabitants, and of the Neighbouring Indian Nations. &c. The Nature of the Climate; Tabular Accounts of the Altitudes of the Barometer Monthly for Four Years, of the Depths of Rain Monthly for Eleven Years, and of the Winds Direction Daily for One Year, &c. The Culture and Produce of Rice, Indian Corn, and Indigo; the Process of Extracting Tar and Turpentine; and the State of Their Maritime Trade in the Years 1710, 1723, 1740 and 1748, with the Number or Tonnage of Shipping Employed, and the Species, Quantities and Values of Their Produce Exported in One Year, &c. To Which Is Added, a Very Particular Account of Their Rice-Trade for Twenty Years, with Their Exports of Raw Silk and Imports of British Silk Manufactures for Twenty-Five Years* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall., 1761).

²⁴² *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1669 - 1674.*

also his business partner. However, there were suspicions that the circumstances surrounding his partner's death were politically motivated disinformation. Despite his shortcomings as a Governor, Yeamans did make some significant contributions to the development of Carolina. He is credited with being the first to bring enslaved Africans to his plantation, and he played a role in the planning of the Carolina settlement. However, the LP's, acknowledging his unsuitability for the job, replaced him with Joseph West in 1674. It is important to note that all enslaved individuals who arrived in Charles Town before 1700, with their "owners," were eventually given their freedom just like any other indentured servant. This was a significant step towards recognizing all human beings' inherent worth and dignity, regardless of their social status or race, yet somehow this idea would drastically evolve.²⁴³

Yeamans planned to contest the decision to be replaced, however he died before he got the chance. Joseph West, who became Governor of Carolina, accepted the governance reins. In his role as Governor, West was tasked with overseeing the relocation of the settlement to the permanent location of Charles Town. By 1679, the area had begun to take shape, with over twenty homes having been erected on Oyster Point. Charles Town was fast becoming a thriving port, accommodating larger shipping vessels. West remained in office until 1682 and was re-elected for another term from 1684-1685. It was widespread practice for Governors to serve for one or two years during the proprietorship period. However, this changed after the Royal buyout in 1719 (1729), as Governors began serving for more extended periods. One such example was Governor James Glen, who served for almost twenty years without interruption.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ De Brahm, "History of the Three Provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida;" Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina, A Political History, 1663-1763*; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (Macmillan, 1897).

²⁴⁴ Alexander Samuel Salley Carolina Proprietors, *Commissions, and Instructions from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to ...* (Printed for the Historical Commission of South Carolina by the State Co., 1916).

During the time when Charles Town was experiencing its golden age, there was also a significant rise in piracy activities, trade of deerskin, and a thriving market for Indian slaves. These events were happening concurrently and helped shape the town's social and economic landscape. Despite the prosperity that came with the golden age, such activities highlight the complexities and challenges of that era. Within the bustling Charles Town harbor, an impressive fleet of about one hundred ships conducted extensive import and export operations involving many goods. Among the most prominent exports from North America during this period was the fur trade, which relied on skilled brokers to connect trappers with potential buyers and fill the waiting ships' cargo holds. While there were many trappers, only a select few could set up the necessary connections with buyers to reap the full benefits of this lucrative trade. The exported goods included various crops, such as corn, beans, and squash, before the plantation system was established in the coming years. Merchants in other parts of the world highly sought after these early commodities. The acquisition of these valuable crops often relied on native trade deals, which sometimes included the sale of enslaved Indians, a practice that was unfortunately common during this era.²⁴⁵ Indians did not make viable enslaved people for the southern plantations; for one, the Unegas were always aware of the possibility of a slave revolt. When the enslaved person was in his native land, it would be more challenging to hold and control him. Enslaved Indians were sold to other lands. This would become outlawed but obviously it continued in the "black market."

During this era, Spanish vessels were often laden with valuable cargo consisting of precious metals such as gold and silver, along with precious stones, jewels, and even horses. These ships were also stocked up with ample provisions to ensure a safe and successful journey.

²⁴⁵ Roper, "Private Enterprise, Colonialism, and the Atlantic World."

However, if a ship were unfortunately captured, the prized loot would be taken to an English port to be sold. While a percentage of the profits would go to the crown, a massive part of the wealth would end up in the hands of those individuals who would normally not earn such a generous sum of money in their lifetime. It is widely believed that the crew members aboard these ships would spend their share of the booty within days of arriving in port. However, not all sailors were the same. Many of them signed up for a specific length of time and embarked on "round trip" voyages, using their earnings to support their families back home. Some even became landowners, such as Thomas Pinckney and Robert Fenwick.

In 1682 a young man wrote to his father in Barbados from Charles Town and discussed the lower class of men who he felt depleted the Indians of furs, replacing them with weapons, weapons that they were now using against other tribes as well as the English. He also discusses the issue of piracy, and how it controls the harbor. He gives a wonderful insight to what life was like in the early days of the settlement and while he complains of this lower class, it sounds as if he is also a "transplanter" from Barbados. He discusses the different fruits and trees found and what crops would be best for raising a profit. He describes the difficulty in coming by a horse of excellent quality. Newe states that all the plantations being found along the rivers (Cooper, Ashley, Ashepoo, Wando, Congaree, Santee) most travel by canoe or boat and the need for a horse was not so important. A horse was worth a great deal of money and though Newe believed they were not needed, they were used for carriages and traveling around a plantation. He also says the horses are unshod and he does not understand this, but it is that the soft and muddy lowlands were not conducive to horseshoes as they easily came off under these conditions. Also,

the production of horseshoes did not rise in the Americas until the Industrial Revolution. However, equine was considered a valuable prize from a plundered ship.²⁴⁶

Historians have erroneously labeled these shipping crews as uneducated and low-class men struggling to make a living. While this may have been true for some of the more violent pirate crews, it is not a correct representation for all. In fact, many of these men came from noble families and were middle sons of large households. Thus, debunking the myth that piracy was a profession only for the poor and uneducated.²⁴⁷ A few mariners were able to accumulate enough wealth to have invested their earnings into getting land in the new world. They were able to leave a legacy for their descendants, descendants who buried the rumors of piracy better than any hidden treasure. However, upon closer examination of the events that took place in the West Indies, Europe, and Asia prior to the establishment of Charles Town, it becomes clear that the individuals who settled the southern coast of Carolina, and specifically the merchants and planters among them, were able to do so because of their connections to the Indian trade and the abundant resources from the sea. It was not the proprietors or their agents who held sole responsibility for the eventual settlement of this region.²⁴⁸

Some of the Commons House of Assembly members were often referred to by various nicknames, including "Men from West Indies," "Barbadians," and "Goose Creek Men." It was a mistake for the proprietors and their agents to assume that these men were diplomatically unskilled. Many men who arrived in 1692 were born in the same area of England, and because they were not the primogeniture of their families, they had to carve out their paths in life. Many

²⁴⁶ Thomas Newe, "Letter from Carolina, 1682," May 29, 1682.

²⁴⁷ Grose, *Military Antiquities Respecting a History of the English Army, from the Conquest to the Present Time*.

²⁴⁸ "Admiralty Courts;" Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

were educated and not simply “unskilled laborers.” These men were recruited for their low skills, and the proprietors granted them land in exchange for their ill-gotten gains and tasked them with protecting the shoreline and English ships. Once these “Barbadians” arrived, there was no getting rid of them and as they began to amass significant amounts of land, they gained influence, and it was too late to prevent them from becoming a force of reckoning.²⁴⁹

These Barbadian settlers have been incorrectly categorized. Historians claim they are neither English nor American but rather should be considered Anglo-Atlantic. However, tracing the family histories of these men gives a better account of who they were and from where they gained their ideals.²⁵⁰ Durham County in England played a crucial role in the formation of the Commons House of Assembly and Governors of Carolina, encompassing the combined province. While many of these individuals spent a decade or two in the Atlantic, they received their education in England, regardless of whether they were born in the Caribbean or not. Despite relocating to a new place, their attachment to their homeland remained firmly intact, acting as an integral part of their individual identity. Located in the upper middle region of eastern England, Durham County boasts a rich and vibrant history, steeped in maritime lore and adventure. Situated around one hundred and fifty miles from the stunning coastline, the area is home to merchant towns, with shipbuilders and trading ports along the coast, making it a hub of trade and commerce. The area's legacy as a maritime powerhouse is clear in the courageous exploits of the "Men from Durham," who set sail on epic voyages across the Indian Ocean and Madagascar before arriving at the Bay of Bengal. These intrepid sailors were a mix of skilled mariners and shrewd investors, who had a deep understanding of the intricacies of exporting and importing

²⁴⁹ Powell and Carolina, *The Carolina Charter of 1663, How It Came to North Carolina and Its Place in History, with Biographical Sketches of the Proprietors.*; Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*.

²⁵⁰ Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*.

goods. Their vast knowledge of mercantilism and shipping helped to shape Charles Town, leaving a lasting mark on this historic region.²⁵¹

Just after the first settlers arrived at Albemarle Point in 1670, from 1671 through 1672, the islands of Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, Anguilla, and Tortola had been settled. The Leeward Islands were under English control and Sir William Stapleton was named its first Governor who held this position until 1686. In 1686 Sir Nathaniel Johnson of Kibblesworth, Durham County, England, became the Governor of the Leeward Islands, Treves, St. Christopher, Montserrat, and Antigua and became Casique (a Lord of the people of the Caribbean Islands). Johnson became Governor of Carolina in 1693 and played a key role with Indian trade and signing the bonds for accused pirate settlers. Coincidentally, his son will be the sitting Governor of Carolina, who hangs the most infamous pirates.²⁵² As mentioned, Carolina will go through three Governors within the first four years: William Sayle was Carolina Governor from March 1670 to March of 1671. Joseph West from March 1671 to April of 1672, and Sir John Yeamans from April 1672 to August 1674, with Joseph West returning to this seat from 1674 to 1682.²⁵³ Throughout this period, the governors showed differing viewpoints with regards to both the Indian population and piracy in the region. While the crown was in favor of diplomatic strategies and continuously advocated for keeping peaceful relations with the Indians, as well as enforcing strict laws against piracy, these measures were not always adhered to. The outcome of these varying perspectives was a complex and dynamic social landscape, shaped by the interactions and negotiations between diverse groups and individuals.

²⁵¹ “The City of Durham: Introduction (2 of 3) | British History Online.”

²⁵² Smith and Smith, *A Natural History of Nevis, and the Rest of the English Leeward Charibee Islands in America*.

²⁵³ De Brahm, “History of the Three Provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida.”

Despite the challenges posed by this situation, the overall goal of maintaining order and stability in the region remained a top priority for all parties involved. By this time, it was clear that there needed to be diplomacy with the natives and though it would be more than thirty years before the first official Cherokee envoy to England, natives were traveling across the pond in unofficial capacities (other than as slaves). There is an article in the London Gazette, 1671, which states, “two natives who call themselves princes of that land are returning on the *Ralph and William* bound for Carolina.”²⁵⁴ The journey of the Aniyvwiya tribe to England was a momentous occasion, marking a departure from the typical fate of natives leaving the port of Charles Town. Rather than being shackled and confined in the cargo hold of a ship, the tribe sent out three envoys to see their "friends." This was a significant event considering the African slave trade, which had little involvement from the port of Charles Town in its early days. Instead, natives were captured by other native groups or by "slave catchers." One strategy employed during this period was to pit one tribe against another, effectively ridding the land of Indians while earning a profit. While the early Carolina laws forbid selling of guns, natives still had easy access to acquiring the weapons.

The Dutch were the first to experiment with the method of supplying weapons to various Indigenous tribes, such as the Susquehannocks, to end rival groups like the Delaware tribe. This approach proved to be extraordinarily successful and helped the Susquehannocks gain a foothold with the colonists. The Dutch also armed several Iroquois tribes, including the Mohawks, which led to the Westo Indians fleeing to the Savannah River region during the Beaver War. The Westo tribe was able to get guns from traders in Virginia, and subsequently began raiding other tribes and settlers with their new weapons. Despite the ban in Carolina however, shortly after the

²⁵⁴ “The London Gazette,” *The London Gazette*, March 29, 1671, The London Gazette Archive.

arrival of the Charles Town settlers, Henry Woodward (who has a long history of his own in dealing with natives as well as the Spanish) traveled up the Savannah River in 1678 and used his diplomatic skills and negotiated a peace treaty with the Westo that lasted several years and supplied the natives with weapons through trade. Earlier accounts thought that the Westo were cannibals, however this was not correct. Because their capture was not seen again did not mean they ate their captives, on the contrary, they were sold in Virginia markets and traded for weapons. Many natives such as the Guale and Tama fled during this period south to the Spanish missions and became known as the Yamasee.²⁵⁵

In 1674 the Westo delegates approached the Earl of Shaftesbury plantation, St. Giles plantation, on the Ashley River to make a deal. It had already been planned to work with either the Westo Indians or another tribe in a trade deal for help against the Spanish held territory in Florida. Westo being the ‘first come first served’ in the deal. The Earl of Shaftesbury sent Henry Woodward back with the natives to their village, a deal was made to supply the Westo with guns in exchange for deer skin and human flesh. Woodward made it clear that a captured Indian would supply a great deal more than a deer skin. The Westos set about capturing hundreds of Indians and taking them to Charles Town to be sold on the block and taken to the West Indies. Things were working well for the slave trader, the fur trader and the Westos.

In 1680 the Aniyvwiya joined the Creeks and the Westo against the Spanish-held lands, in particular, the Guale mission and by 1686 the coast was nearly emptied of Spanish missions. They fled south for lands just north of St. Augustine, inhabiting the islands of Cumberland, Amelia, and Fort George. But the Spanish treatment of these natives was harsh and soon the

²⁵⁵ Great Britain. Public Record Office, “Instructions to Andrew Percivall from LPs of Carolina, Make Peace with Westoes on Terms They Shall Not Despise Us...,” in *Calendar of State Papers. Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty’s Record Office* (London: H.M.S.O., Vaduz: Knaus Reprint, 1681), 11.

Yamasee would begin returning to Carolina. The Yamasee were made up of refugees from the earlier Guale and Tama displaced persons along with countless others who were pushed south into Spanish unwelcoming arms. These refugees who became known as the Yamasee would once again be pawns for the European settlers.²⁵⁶ The settlers on Port Royal Island began instigating/encouraging the Yamasee to war with the Spanish and in 1685 the Yamasee killed eighteen Spanish and took many more captive. The Spanish retaliated against the Scots of Port Royal and attacked, destroying Stuart's Town and the Yamasee settlement. This caused further migration by the Yamasee, and they ended up settling along the bank of the Ashepoo and Combahee rivers. Carolina agents John Boone and James More were sent to reassure the Westos on the security of their trade deal, but this was not met with the response the Grand Counsel was hoping for and so they placed a trade embargo. From 1680 to 1683 the Carolinians were at war with the Westos and enlisted with the help of the Savannah tribe. This would go on and on with different tribes and while it solved a current problem it created more. Most importantly it created a few exceptionally large tribes instead of the hundreds there were originally.

These early years in Carolina did not profit from the African slave market, but the Indian slave market. The profits from land sales were slow with the "on time" agreements, but the land bought with cash by the "privateer" was noticeably more profitable for the proprietors. Clearing the land included felling trees and killing Indians. Deals were temporary and lasted if the natives were useful. Plots of land were surveyed and dished out with a quickness thanks to the Westos "clearing the land." Sir Nathaniel Johnson would receive help from the work of the Westos, and in 1683 receive a grant for a large tract of land in Carolina though he would not reach the land he

²⁵⁶ "Carolina - The Native Americans - The Yamasee Indians," accessed July 28, 2023, https://www.carolana.com/Carolina/Native_Americans/native_americans_yamasee.html.

will call “Silk Hope” until 1689.²⁵⁷ He requested early retirement because he did not care for the governing ideals of the newly crowned King William and Queen Mary.

While the merchants and lawyers focused their efforts on thwarting pirate activity both by sea and on land, as well as negotiating with a variety of Indigenous groups, the Aniyvwiya tribe was grappling with their own unique challenges. Specifically, they were contending with the Esau and Coosaw tribes. The Coosaw, also known as the Coosa or Kussoes, were situated near the mouth of the Edisto (Combahee) river, which served as a natural boundary between them and the Combahee River Indians. The Coosa were infamous for their hostility, and as the Cherokee tribe lacked access to firearms during this period, they were at a significant disadvantage. Despite these daunting challenges, the tribe was determined to address the situation by sending a delegation to Charles Town to seek military aid. Charles Town was steadily increasing its population with settlers from many countries and many levels of society, however, the privateer turned planter will have the most effect on the Aniyvwiya.²⁵⁸

Just 16 years after the King of England was held captive in Bishop Auckland, (Durham County) at the end of the English Civil War, Thomas Pinckney was born to Richard and Catherine Pinckney in Bishop Auckland, Durham County in 1666. Bishop Auckland was an important region all throughout English history.²⁵⁹ The Pinckney family (many spelling variations) settled in the then Northumbria region which later became Bishopric of Durham, and then Bishop Auckland, Durham County, after William the Conqueror, conquered England. The

²⁵⁷ *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1689 - 1692* (International Government Document, 1689).

²⁵⁸ “‘America and West Indies: July 1669.’ *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America, and West Indies: Volume 7, 1669-1674*. Ed. W Noel Sainsbury. London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1889. 31-35.”

²⁵⁹ Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*; Powell, *Back Over Home*; “Pinckney Papers Project;” Jones, “The Pinckneys of Ashepoo;” Gomme, *The King’s Story Book*.

region is named this because King William struggled to control Northumbria. He appointed a Bishop as Earl of the region, which continued throughout his lineage making their seat of power in Bishop Auckland.²⁶⁰ The power these Bishops held and the system of governing they set resembled an independent state and closely resembles what will be the parish system in Charles Town. The bishops could not only hold their own parliament but also had the power to raise an army, issue laws and charters, and they set up Bishop Auckland as a merchant epicenter creating fairs and markets. As seen in the “capital” cities of the Aniyvwiya, holding a market increased the size and power of a village. This is true with Charles Town as well, a sort of “if you build it, they will come” theory. The Bishops of Auckland controlled the sheriffs and the judges, they levied taxes and set the customs duties, as well as mining and minting their own money. Bishop Auckland was not a farming community but a mercantilism from the beginning and a coal mining town. With the dissolution of the papal state, the Church of England, and the on again off again relationship with the bishops, their power fell, but what they created continued.²⁶¹

This early history tells the story of the intellectual realm from which the “Men from Durham” came to enjoy. The noble families often lost their households, but the Landed Gentry sometimes held on longer than kings reigned and unlike today, children of both nobility and landowners learned the family history and were pushed to follow that same path. Marriages were arranged to strengthen coffers and insure titles and land.²⁶² As mentioned earlier, the much later civil war caused the loyalists to be stripped of their lands and titles, only to have them restored

²⁶⁰ *Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Charles II 1663 - 1664.*

²⁶¹ *Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Charles II 1663 - 1664.*

²⁶² Agnes Leland Baldwin, *First Settlers of South Carolina, 1670-1700* (Easley, S.C: Southern Historical Press, 1985).

later. Records show that the Richard Pinckney family-owned land and were well respected but did not live in a manor home. However, Richard's ancestors were granted the manor home of Silton-Paynell in Leake, North Riding, Yorkshire during the reign of William the Conqueror. Richard, being a middle child, set off on his own and moved to Bishop Auckland. Some of the Pinckney family in England were goldsmiths, ship builders, and merchants.

Two years before Thomas was born, his uncle, Philip Pinckney settled in Connecticut and in June of 1664 had been granted land on the Hutchinson River in Westchester County, New York. Together with James Eustis and William Hayden, they held the patents for the settlement that became Eastchester, which is now Mount Vernon in Westchester County, New York. Phillips daughter Elizabeth would eventually marry Daniel Burr and become the mother of Aaron Burr Sr, founder of Princeton and educator, making her the grandmother to Jeffersonian Republican Aaron Burr Jr., the third vice president of the United States who ran against his Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the grandson of Thomas, in the election of 1800, and had the support of the other "constitution Charley", "nephew" Charles Pinckney, the great-grandson of Thomas, William's grandson.²⁶³

Thomas was the fifth child and fourth son in a large family, with one uncle having a high-ranking position to the King, Leonard Pinckney, Esq. First Clerk of His Majesties Kitchen (Charles II). Philip is mentioned along with Sir William Craven, Lord Craven Mayor of London (one of the eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina) in a report on the Royal Oak trees in 1663.²⁶⁴ Two of Thomas' brothers would also make their way to North America and join the public

²⁶³ James Parton, *The Life and Times of Aaron Burr, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army of the Revolution, United States Senator, Vice-President of the United States, Etc.* (New York: Mason Bros, 1858); Aaron Burr, *Memoirs of Aaron Burr* (New York, Harper, 1838).

²⁶⁴ *Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Charles II 1663 - 1664.*

political arena after being educated at the King James I grammar school in Bishop Auckland. A “grammar” school was not what kindergarten through fifth or sixth grade is today, though a boy would graduate by the age of fourteen, that is the only similarity. A grammar school was just that, it taught Latin grammar with an occasional lesson in mathematics by way of a traveling scrivener (someone who knew letters and numbers, they would evolve into copywriters, lawyers, and accountants).²⁶⁵

It is important to understand that these young adventurers of Durham who had a thriving life in Charles Town were neither poor nor uneducated. In 1605 King James first Grammar school became the first school in Durham County.²⁶⁶ Durham was a highly sought-after educational hub for the sons of noble and gentry families. Among those who recognized its value was Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who eventually became the Governor of Carolina, and who sent his own son Robert to be educated there. Robert would later follow in his father's footsteps and become Governor of Carolina himself, not once but twice. Despite conflicting reports regarding his birth year, Robert is said to have been born in Durham in 1666. Following his education at King James school, he embarked on a voyage to Charles Town in 1694 as the master and commander of his own vessel.²⁶⁷ Thus making his birthdate of 1686 impossible, unless an eight-year-old boy could be a master and commander. Robert Johnson and Thomas were friends and

²⁶⁵ “Pinckney Papers Project;” Powell, *Over Home, the Heritage of Pinckneys of Pinckney Colony, Bluffton, South Carolina*; Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*; George C. Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*, [First edition], The Centers of civilization series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969).

²⁶⁶ William Howell, *An Institution of General History, or The History of the World*.

²⁶⁷ “The Public Laws of the State of South-Carolina, from Its First Establishment as a British Province down to the Year 1790, Inclusive, in Which Is Comprehended Such of the Statutes of Great Britain as Were Made of Force by the Act of Assembly of 1712, with an Appendix Containing Such Other Statutes as Have Been Enacted or Declared to Be of Force in This State, Either Virtually or Expressly, to Which Is Added the Titles of All the Laws (with Their Respective Dates) Which Have Been Passed in South-Carolina down to the Present Time, Also the Constitution of the United States with the Amendments Thereto, and Likewise the Newly Adopted Constitution of the State of South-Carolina, Together with a Copious Index to the Whole,” n.d.; “Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Charles II July 1-September 30, 1683,” n.d.; *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1689 - 1692*.

classmates though Thomas left home at sixteen while Robert furthered his education. The hierarchy here is clear, Thomas' father was a landowner and in the building of ships and exporting/importing goods with a store in Auckland, a landed gentry, he too was a middle child, while Robert's father inherited his father's title as the oldest son of his family. Thus, Robert went on to university studies, but again, this was not the university studies of today. Robert would have gone on to learn history, art, math, natural sciences, and a second language but with more emphasis on philosophy. Education would be extremely important to Thomas when it came to raising his own sons later. It was the custom for a middle son to find his own way, farming, seafaring, or clergy were the choices of a young man, and so, Thomas turned to the more lucrative privateering ventures.²⁶⁸

Maritime law outlined specifically how a ship could legally be plundered. It could not be resting in a Royal harbor, and if it were, the contents and the ship itself would belong solely and wholly to the crown, unless the crown felt the conquering vessel deserved a part.²⁶⁹ The regulations concerning the allocation of ship bounties were exceedingly precise and carefully defined. Every individual, regardless of rank or status, was entitled to a part of the spoils. If a Royal Navy ship successfully seized an enemy vessel, the remaining bounty would be divided among the crew after various fees and the crown's share had been accounted for. The Admiral was entitled to one-eighth of the total, while the captain received a quarter. The lieutenants, warrant officers, and petty officers each received an eighth, and the remaining crew members divided a quarter. Privateers and pirates followed a similar system of distribution, with the captain being granted five shares, the quartermaster four, the crew three, and the lowly cabin boy

²⁶⁸ Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashpoo."

²⁶⁹ Jones.

half a share. The payment a crew member received was dependent on their position and the type of ship on which they were serving. Merchant vessels often traveled under Royal Navy protection and these convoys held many distinct types of ships from the small ketch to the large man-o-war. If you were on a scouting ship such as a frigate, your earnings could be significantly higher than just your stipend from the crown. Your ship would be out ahead of the fleet and the first to meet the enemy, their main mission was to seek out merchant ships if they were not acting as scouts for a convoy. This made being the crew or captain of a frigate very lucrative. In 1799 there were four English frigates that set about capturing two Spanish ships laden with riches. At the time, a frigate captain earned approximately one hundred pounds a year, on this occasion the frigate captains earned 40,000 pounds to split amongst themselves, and the crews of each of those ships earned enough to last their lifetimes. This is a prime example of the wealth the men from Durham arrived with from 1682-1692 that flowed throughout the settlement.

Thomas led quite the adventuring life before settling in Charles Town.²⁷⁰ Pinckney's descendants wrote brief histories of his life, though most admit to his privateering, none admit to the truth, whether intentionally or because of a lack of access to necessary documents is unclear, nevertheless, the stories lack accuracy and depth. Today we have access to shipping manifests, maritime documents, and diaries that Thomas' biographers did not.²⁷¹ In 1682 Thomas was a lad of sixteen when he signed an apprenticeship in London to be a crewmember on the *Diamond*, a sloop captained by George Austin under the commission of King William and Queen Mary. He set out to capture the trade winds of the Atlantic and with the blessing of the crown he would also capture French, Moorish, and Spanish vessels. How he ended up arriving in Charles Town

²⁷⁰ "Pinckney Papers Project."

²⁷¹ Torabully and Gurib-Fakim, *The Maritime History of the Indian Ocean. From Al-Idrissi to Ibn Majid and Beyond*.

on *Loyal Jamaica* in 1692 is contested by historians and his ancestors.²⁷² However, maritime records show that the *Diamond* traveled alongside the *Mary* which did capture a French ship. Each time a ship was captured it had to be brought into an English port and sold properly, its cargo fees paid and the selling of any “booty.”

Thomas took ten years to get to Charles Town, arriving in April of 1692 on the ship the *Loyal Jamaica*. It is reported that Captain George Raynor, John Watkins, Robert Fenwick, Richard Newton, Roger Grosse, Adam Richardson, Edmund Mendicotte, William Ballak, Christopher Lenkly, John Palmer, Joshua Wilkes, James Gilchrist, Frances Blanchard, Roger Clark, William Crosslye, Daniel Horry, Daniel Rawlinson, Robert Mathews, Richard Abram and Thomas were all on the ship when it arrived.²⁷³ This vessel was a ketch which is smaller than a sloop and only has a fore and aft rigging system making it easily sailed. This also means that the *Loyal Jamaica* was a ship designed for local trade and to be sailed by a crew of less than ten men, but more men would be needed for staffing the guns as well as a quartermaster and cook. Ships usually did not travel alone, and it is possible that the *Loyal Jamaica* was part of a group. There are stories of the ship’s origin t named the *Portsmouth*, then the *Bachelor’s Delight*, and finally the *Loyal Jamaica*, also known as the *Royal Jamaica* and *Jamaica*. It may have been first a French ship, then a Dutch ship and once again a French ship when the Davis crew alongside the *Mary* took the ship and headed to the closest port of Port Royal, Jamaica.²⁷⁴

The fact is, Thomas was a crewmember of Captain Edward Davis who captured the *HMS Portsmouth* in the Pacific and renamed it the *Bachelor’s Delight*. It is known that Captain Davis

²⁷² Powell, *Back Over Home*.

²⁷³ Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726*.

²⁷⁴ “Admiralty Courts;” Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726*; Barbour, “Privateers and Pirates of the West Indies.”

sailed to Easter Island in 1687 and reported on what he saw from his ship. It is also known that Captain Davis arrived in Port Royal, Jamaica early in 1691 and he sold the vessel to a local known pirate syndicate. Two sailors were sitting in a pub when the *Bachelor's Delight* came up for sale and the men and their Captain, George Raynor, gathered coins and bought the ship, naming the new vessel the *Loyal Jamaica*. Thomas must have been a trusted mate of Davis and with a high rank because he is the one that delivered the ship to Raynor once outfitted and the purchase complete. Thomas then signed on with Captain Raynor's crew. Once the ketch was ready and Raynor received a Letter of Marque for the ship (signed by Governor Seth Sothel), the crew of the *Loyal Jamaica* set sail for the Red Sea.²⁷⁵

Reports claim the *Loyal Jamaica* came upon a ship from Maghreb on the Iberian Peninsula, headed for Mecca on a religious journey. In June of every year, Muslims travel to Mecca for the Hajj.²⁷⁶ It was well recorded and well known that there would be long stretches of caravans traveling across the land, horses laden with gold and jewel-encrusted bridles and bits. But they also came by ship. It is quite possible that the *Loyal Jamaica* and her crew overtook a vessel and captured its cargo before it could reach the Red Sea, hence earning the crew the moniker of "The Red Sea Men." This cargo included barrels of diamonds, rubies, and other precious gems. There were "bushels" of valuables on board. The men not only took the treasure, but they also took the mysterious "women with tan skin and long black hair."²⁷⁷ These women were religious priestesses traveling with the diplomats and they would have brought a heavy price in the marketing of slaves. After this their ship was full and the men were eager to return to

²⁷⁵ Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashpoo;" Defoe and Johnson, *A General History of the Pyrates*; Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*.

²⁷⁶ Torabully and Gurib-Fakim, *The Maritime History of the Indian Ocean. From Al-Idrissi to Ibn Majid and Beyond*.

²⁷⁷ Torabully and Gurib-Fakim.

a port where they knew they could “grease a few palms” and keep the lion’s share of this haul. Charles Town was such a port during this time. With no less than eighty vessels in the harbor, the confusion, the chaos, and the crooked Governor made it a favorite port for pirates.²⁷⁸

On their route to Charles Town they stopped at St. Mary’s Island, Madagascar before returning to Charles Town in 1692. This was bad timing as Governor Seth Sothel was removed from office and Phillip Ludwell was put in his place.²⁷⁹ The crew did not have proper documentation under this new governor, and being that Sothel was considered a criminal himself, the new guy was taking no chances.²⁸⁰ Thomas Pinckney and shipmate Robert Fenwick, who are reported to have arrived on the *Loyal Jamaica* would sign a declaration of facts in a court of admiralty in April 1692. It was customary for a privateer who captured a ship to declare it and its contents at the nearest English-held port, most often the ship and its contents including any guns, were sold and the ship would then be outfitted and sold to another contractor or captain.²⁸¹

When the *Loyal Jamaica* arrived, it did not declare itself, for days messages were sent out to the vessel with no response.²⁸² It is assumed that when the crew found out that Sothel was no longer in charge which meant their paperwork was invalid, Thomas Pinckney, being a friend of Sir Nathaniel Johnson and familiar with the inlets around the harbor, was aware that Johnson owned the land here, suggested taking the ship to Sewee bay and abandon the ship there, taking

²⁷⁸ Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*.

²⁷⁹ *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1689 - 1692*.

²⁸⁰ unknown, “Seth Sothel and Pirates,” in *History of Perquimans County*, n.d., 6, accessed May 9, 2022.

²⁸¹ *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1689 - 1692*.

²⁸² “America and the West Indies.”

their treasure on shore and scuttling the ship.²⁸³ Reports say that the ship was recovered, stripped of what little the pirates left behind and resold. Large plantations belonging to several crew of the *Loyal Jamaica* sprung up in this part of the settlement and on the northeast side of Charles Town known as Mount Pleasant.²⁸⁴ Many would quickly establish themselves and become Commons House Assembly members.²⁸⁵

Author and historian Christopher Downey, a Charleston local authority on pirates, along with Eric Lavender, also an author who holds pirate walking tours in Charleston, claim that an entrance in the 1953 book *Jolly Roger* by Patrick Pringle discusses the *Loyal Jamaica*. In Pringle's book he quotes the diary entry of Adam Baldrige, pirate, and trade post operator in Madagascar on St. Mary's Island. Pringle chose a particular entry of Baldrige which is about the *Bachelor's Delight*. It states "October 1691, arrived the *Bachelor's Delight*, Captain George Raynor, 180 tons or thereabouts, 14 guns, 70 or 80 men, that had made a voyage into the Red Sea and taken a ship belonging to the Moors...They took so much money as made the whole share run about £1100 per man."²⁸⁶ He goes on to describe supplying them with provisions including cattle, that they in turn gave him a quantity of beads, five great guns, powder and shot along with six barrels of flour and seventy bars of iron. Iron is a prime commodity, used for many things from crude utensils to weaponry as well as nails, hinges, and barrel hoops. He describes the ship as belonging to *Jamaica* and that it set sail from St. Mary's November 4th, 1691, bound for Port Dauphin on Madagascar and by December they set sail from Port Dauphin

²⁸³ Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726*.

²⁸⁴ Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*.

²⁸⁵ Carolina Proprietors, *Commissions, and Instructions from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to ...*

²⁸⁶ Patrick Pringle, "The Pirate Round," in *Jolly Roger: The Story of the Great Age of Piracy* (Courier Corporation, 1953), 131–32.

bound for America, where they arrived at Carolina and complied with the owners, giving them £3,000. Baldrige does not name the *Loyal Jamaica*, but he states the ship was captained by Raynor, who is in the court report as having arrived with Thomas six months later in April of 1692.²⁸⁷

It is known that Thomas and crewmate Robert Fenwick testified on the behalf of the crew of the accused pirate ship.²⁸⁸ It is also known that Sir Nathaniel Johnson and Francis Noble stood in bond for Thomas and Robert. One would question why a man with the standing of Sir Nathaniel would secure the bond for an accused pirate. But as established, Thomas was a friend of his son Robert Johnson (a later Carolina Governor). The crew and captain of the suspected pirate ship were cleared but had to pay a fee which was a different amount for each crewmember, and they were given a probationary period if they chose to stay. The same year that Thomas was cleared, Port Royal, Jamaica experienced an earthquake that sent most of the merchant town along with all the “pirate district” into the ocean and a massive Tsunami followed. It was not a suitable time to be at sea and it was getting increasingly dangerous as the changes in maritime laws and moving from privateer to pirate made becoming a land lover more enticing. Laws in ports were becoming stricter and the production of North American wares made one start contemplating more long-term goals. Thomas decided Charles Town would be the best place to settle.²⁸⁹

Thomas’ biographizing ancestors claim he came to port with only £120, yet within a few short years, he owned a mercantile, town lots, and had purchased property in Colleton County on

²⁸⁷ Pringle.

²⁸⁸ Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726.*

²⁸⁹ AncientHistoryWorks, *The General History of Earthquakes 1694, 1694.*

the Ashepoo River with over four hundred and eighty acres on the east bank at Charleston Neck.²⁹⁰ Thomas was able to purchase a great deal of property that included a beautiful home with a wharf on what is now 57 East Bay Street near 1st Landgrave Thomas Smith. Soon he would be one of the wealthy businesspeople of Charles Town with a beautiful plantation home, which he called Auckland after his home in England. If he was part of the Red Sea Men, then he had a great deal more than £120. Land was cheap, but he came alone, so what he could be granted was not a great deal. Also, he had fines to pay, living quarters to pay for, and food to buy while he built his home in town and then on the plantation. There were fees for every document written, fees for felling trees, building materials, and labor costs, all of which could be paid on time, but would require a down payment. If you had a town lot on the Bay, you were responsible for building your own wharf and you could take in monies from that wharf. It is quite possible that the days the *Loyal Jamaica* lay in Sewee Bay, and prior to arriving in sight of the harbor master, the crew could have hidden treasure on Kiawah Island or around Mt. Pleasant.²⁹¹

Captain Raynor quickly established himself in Charles Town, elected to the third Commons House of Assembly in 1696 representing Colleton County. Coincidentally, the LPs granted Captain Raynor half of Kiawah in 1699 and later he owned the entire island. Captain Edward Davis continued his life at sea and is reported to have given a deposition on his experience with the French in Newfoundland in 1694 and reports seeing Captain William Holman of the *William and Mary*, witnessing the destruction to several forts. Somehow, the

²⁹⁰ South Carolina. Assembly, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina for Feb 23, 1725/5, and Ending June 1, 1725*, ed. Alexander Samuel Salley (General Assembly of South Carolina, 1945).

²⁹¹ South Carolina. Assembly, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina* (S.L.: s.n.l., 1699).

cargo of the *Loyal Jamaica* was never declared or recorded. The men of this ship would not have arrived empty-handed as reported.²⁹²

Chapter Four: The Pinckney Presence

Thomas Pinckney quickly set up his life in Carolina but remained tied to the sea and England. The same year Thomas arrived in Charles Town he married the daughter of one of the first settlers, Elizabeth Grace Bedon.²⁹³ Her father, George Bedon arrived on the first ship, the *Carolina* and along with Hugh Carteret, was granted three hundred acres.²⁹⁴ This was later split after some confusion twenty years later, Bedon's share was one hundred and fifty acres.²⁹⁵ In 1695 Thomas received a warrant for Lot #2 in Charles Town, which included a home and wharf/bridge. That same year their first child (Elizabeth) would be stillborn. However, one year later Thomas II would be born, though sadly, Grace died within days. Historians and even ancestors like Harriot Ravenel have wrongly named Mary Cotesworth as Thomas II mother, however by reviewing church records and the dates it is determined that Grace Bedon was most assuredly his mother. Tragedy would strike again when Thomas' parents died within weeks of each other. The single father, who had multiple properties and businesses to run, returned home for his parent's funeral at the end of 1697. Thomas wasted no time in finding a suitable bride and in January of 1698 he married Mary Cotesworth of Durham County from a wealthy family with

²⁹² *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies 1689 - 1692*; Charleston County, SC, "Wills and Miscellaneous Probate Records, 1671-1868" (Probate Judge; Probate Place: Charleston, South Carolina, 1861 1671).

²⁹³ "The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine," *Internet Archive*, n.d., accessed May 14, 2022.

²⁹⁴ Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality*.

²⁹⁵ Henry A. M. Smith, "Charleston and Charleston Neck: The Original Grantees and the Settlements along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 19, no. 1 (1918): 3-76.

noble ties.²⁹⁶ Her father was Charles Cotesworth, the namesake of a lengthy list of Charles to come. Taking the mother's given name as a middle name was a way to keep each family lineage alive.

The newlyweds returned to Charles Town and Thomas set about acquiring more property. A deed dated 19 November 1698 gave Thomas ownership of ten acres which is described as part of a tract of one hundred and eighty acres joining to Charles Town and first laid out to Mr. Henry Hughes, also he acquired a warrant for lot #327 in December of 1698.²⁹⁷ Mary and Thomas soon added to the family and in 1699 Mary gave birth to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, first of that name. Thomas planned a prosperous life for his family, from his lowly status as a crewmember of a private vessel to a wealthy landowner and mercantilist, he quickly joined the ranks of the elite. One day early in 1700, Mary and Thomas saw a ship arrive from Barbados and a handsomely dressed man by the name of George Evans strutted off the gangplank.²⁹⁸ Thomas remarked to Mary that this character was the type of man to marry a rich widow and break her heart along with depleting her children of all their funds.²⁹⁹ This man would make a great name for himself in Charles Town and become friends with the Pinckney family through social circles. This "character" would have considerable influence on the success of Carolina as well as the lives of Mary and her children.³⁰⁰

According to the historical records of Thomas Pinckney's family, it is evident that he was an individual who spent a sizable portion of his life working at sea. His wife, Mary, gave birth to

²⁹⁶ Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Powell, Back Over Home; Pinckney, The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762.*

²⁹⁷ Powell, *Over Home, the Heritage of Pinckneys of Pinckney Colony, Bluffton, South Carolina.*

²⁹⁸ Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney.*

²⁹⁹ Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney.*

³⁰⁰ Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashpoo."

their first son, Charles, in the year 1699. It is worth noting that five years passed before Mary gave birth to their second son, William Cotesworth Pinckney, in 1704. Shortly after, the couple welcomed another child, Jonathan, into their lives in 1705. Unfortunately, Jonathan's arrival was accompanied by grief, as he passed away just a few days after his birth, leaving the family shattered and heartbroken. In 1706, Thomas Pinckney, the first person in his family to settle in Carolina, contracted malaria and eventually succumbed to the illness, leaving Mary to raise their three sons, Thomas II, Charles, and William, all on her own. Despite lacking political influence, Thomas Pinckney Sr. played a notable role in Queen Anne's War, holding a royal commission and military rank as a General. Also, the King granted him land, owned multiple vessels including a ship and sloop, and even had a "bridge" capable of accommodating multiple ships. It is also worth noting that Thomas owned a well-established storefront, which contributed to his success as a merchant and set his family up with a steady income. Thomas's greatest contribution to Charles Town was the values and valuables he left behind for his sons to inherit. His legacy would endure, shaping the lives of generations to come. The map on the following page has an inscription in Latin which loosely translates to read: Honorable Charles Pinckney (Thomas' son), commander in chief and the rest of the senators, facing the southward of that Carolina, and mentions the fleeing Indians, and Spaniards who were reduced by strategies of smoke and winds. The author also gives his thanks for the commission of creating the map.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ Hunter, *The Ichnography of Charlestown at High Water* (B. Robert and W. H. Toms, June 9, 1739), <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~2833~101286:The-ichnography-of-Charles-Town-at->.



Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC3 Iconography of Charles Town at high water, by General George Hunter, Surveyor, courtesy of John Carter Brown Library, Brown University

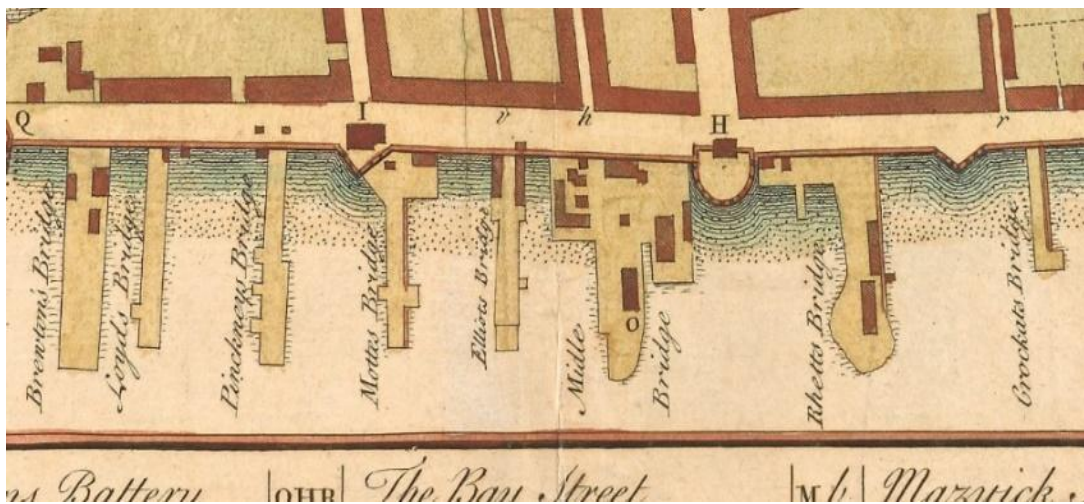


Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC4 Enlarged portion of above map.

During a tumultuous period in the history of Charles Town, the settlement faced a plethora of formidable challenges and insurmountable difficulties. One of the most significant

issues that the city had to contend with was the widespread outbreak of the deadly Yellow Fever. This ailment caused much suffering, anguish, and distress among the populace, and it was exceedingly difficult to control and manage. Furthermore, the presence of hostile Spanish and French forces in the harbor added to the city's woes, creating a pervasive sense of unease, insecurity, and vulnerability among the inhabitants. Faced with such dire circumstances, Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson had no choice but to call upon the militia and local allies to provide protection, support, and security for the city and its people. This was a critical and necessary step in ensuring the safety, well-being, and stability of the settlement and its residents during this turbulent time.³⁰²

Meanwhile, Mary, a young, beautiful, and wealthy widow, found herself in charge of her children and multiple businesses. Because of her desirable status as a widow, Mary faced numerous suitors vying for her hand in marriage. In 1707, she quickly remarried to Major George Evans, the “character” from Barbados.³⁰³ This union partially fulfilled her first husband's earlier prediction, and Mary began a new chapter in her life with her new husband by her side.³⁰⁴ George had been made Attorney General the year before and would be again in 1712. He was one of three attorneys to sit in the House of Commons and would be Deputy Secretary at the time of his appointment as Attorney General by the Lord Palatine and LP's. He commanded the Granville Bastion and escorted the French messenger at the surrender of the French fleet during Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) and the attack on Charles Town by Lefebvre in 1706. George joined the fight against the Tuscarora with Jack Barnwell and again he will fight in the upcoming

³⁰² Logan, *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina*.

³⁰³ Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762*.

³⁰⁴ Baldwin, *First Settlers of South Carolina, 1670-1700*.

Yamasee War.³⁰⁵ On the surface it is a good match and despite a secret being kept by George, he is a perfect role model for the children. Charles especially, will follow his stepfather's path into government and all three boys will follow in both their father's and stepfather's path in the militia as well as mercantilism.³⁰⁶

Between 1715 and 1717, the settlers in Virginia and Carolina's frontier were in a state of constant turmoil due to the attacks by the Yamasee and their allies. The situation became so dire that the Yamasee and their supporters came close to destroying Charles Town, and they may have even gained a foothold in the southern colonies had they persisted with one final push. However, their chance slipped away, and the English, with the support of the Catawba, the Cherokee, and other smaller tribes, emerged victorious. The Yamasee War was sparked by a dispute over the deerskin and Indian slave trade. Despite receiving explicit instructions from the LPs to refrain from capturing or killing Indians, the frontier settlers, particularly the Goose Creek men, created a commotion that lasted for two years and resulted in the loss of numerous lives. The conflict was undoubtedly a challenging and trying time for the settlers, who had to constantly contend with the threat of violence and uncertainty. However, their resilience and perseverance led to their triumph over the Yamasee and their allies.³⁰⁷

Between the years 1680 to 1730, the crops of Indigo, Rice, Tobacco, and Cotton were not as lucrative as one might have expected, despite the presence of many promising plantations.

³⁰⁵ De Brahm, "History of the Three Provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida."

³⁰⁶ James Herring, James Barton Longacre, and American Academy of the Fine Arts, *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans* (Philadelphia: J.B. Longacre; New York: J. Herring, 1839).

³⁰⁷ Alexander Samuel Salley Carolina Proprietors, *Commissions, and Instructions from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to ...* (Printed for the Historical Commission of South Carolina by the State Co., 1916); Alexander Samuel Salley, ed., *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina* (General Assembly of South Carolina, 1945); Virginia. General Assembly. House of Burgesses, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* (Richmond, Va.: [Library Board, Virginia State Library], 1776).

During this period, the main exports were deerskins, timber, and Indian slaves. In 1707 the decision was made after much debate that the Commons House of Assembly would oversee the trade with the natives rather than the proprietors.³⁰⁸ The Commons House established the Commission of Indian Trade and created an act that prohibited the sale of alcohol to the natives and outlawed the enslavement of Indians to pay their debts. Virginia however had less restrictions and gladly accepted Indian slaves for trade. It is worthy to note that in 1710, Indian Agent Thomas Nairne (first to hold that position), reported that all the native tribes within a radius of seven hundred miles around Charles Town had been subdued by the crown.³⁰⁹ Though this was not quite accurate, many traders cheated and ignored these laws. Another stipulation was that all traders were required to be licensed for a fee of eight pounds and give a bond of one hundred more. This was a huge expense and caused an illegal market to rise, further aggravating the natives who were on the losing side of the deals. Land pirates have been defined as highwaymen, and robbers, usually on horseback who robbed travelers. But in these early days of the Carolina settlement, there were many types of Land Pirates, from a robber on the road to thieves who stole furs from traders and trappers as well as natives to one who stole the land itself, many of which started out as Sea Pirates and took their skills inland.

Initially, the Yamasee, like the Cherokee and other tribes, were aligned with the Carolina settlers, providing them with critical assistance during Queen Anne's War. Additionally, they fought alongside each other in the Tuscarora War, serving as a shield between Charles Town Harbor and French-held Louisiana and the Spanish Florida territories. The Yamasee were

³⁰⁸ South Carolina. Assembly, "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina 1706" (1692), 05/09/2022.

³⁰⁹ South Carolina, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Printed by A.S. Johnston, 1836).

instrumental in safeguarding the English settlers from potential attacks. But by 1711, the Yamasee had amassed a substantial debt of over 100,000 deerskins, due to their rum debt. Odd that they would have a rum debt considering the ban on selling them alcohol. Nevertheless, this debt was primarily caused by a decline in the supply of deerskins, which were necessary for trade. Historians have wrongly attributed the decline in deerskin supply to the fact that the guns the natives used multiplied their hunting abilities. However, the natives were not the only hunters. Furthermore, the fact that hunting was a seasonal activity according to their customs and limited their ability to have high yields as the merchants demanded. Despite their initial alliance, the Yamasee were unable to overcome these challenges, leading to a significant shift in their relationship with the Carolina settlers.³¹⁰

As earlier established, buck and doe skins were traded for goods at established posts, these traders owed a debt to the merchants of Charles Town, and the merchants (Goose Creek men) would seek other methods of payment for the skins. The idea was to take it out of the “Indians Skin.” This came in the form of the Indian slave trade and in less than a few years the number of Indians who had been enslaved and exported was 52,000.³¹¹ Earlier LPs gave repeated warnings against this as well as many assembly members; however, the new LPs were only interested in the profit share they were missing. Coincidentally, about this time (1712) the territory of Carolina officially divided and became North and South Carolina. The North was benefiting from the progress as well as the strife in Charles Town and the Unegas were spreading out from both regions. The boundary line between North and South Carolina would cause a great

³¹⁰ *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies July 1711 - June 1712* (International Government Document, 1711).

³¹¹ Adair and Williams, *History of the American Indians*.

deal of conflict, had this boundary and all boundaries been settled and kept in place, the later Cherokee/Catawba war would not have happened.

Even though the Indigenous population in both North and South Carolina held a numerical advantage over the settlers, they were not fully aware of their own superior numbers.³¹² In 1715 there were well over one hundred and forty native villages and a recorded number of 28,000 known people. South Carolina had about 11,000 settlers which included 4,000 enslaved/servants.³¹³ During the Yamasee war, the settlers in the region were faced with the difficult decision of either fleeing the area or moving within the walls of Charles Town for safety. Most of the plantation owners had homes in the city, which were not only large and beautiful but also lacked the necessary resources for a prolonged stay indoors. The tribes allied with the Yamasee at the beginning of the conflict included the Cherokee, Savannahs, Muscogee, Apalachee, Cape Fear, Pee Dee, Congaree, and others closest to Charles Town, which posed the greatest threat. These tribes cut off the food supply and surrounded the Charles Town settlement, causing the residents to face a severe shortage of resources. However, despite this opportunity, the tribes missed a significant chance to take over the settlement. This moment in South Carolina history is now known as a "watershed moment," marking a critical turning point in the region's history.³¹⁴

The Yamasee War was a brutal conflict that spanned two years and resulted in a staggering loss of life, with over 60% of Carolinians falling victim to its violence. However, the fortunes of war shifted with the Cherokees' decision to switch sides in 1716, offering a glimmer

³¹² "Charles Craven to Charles Townshend, Viscount," May 23, 1715, Colonial State Records, page 178, Volume 2.

³¹³ "Populationcensuscolonialreport.Pdf."

³¹⁴ McCrady, *The History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719*.

of hope amidst the chaos. This came after Catawba had already negotiated a peace deal in 1715. Even though the Cherokee and other Indian allies agreed to a peaceful resolution, the settlers hunkered down inside Charles Town and were on the brink of fleeing the region. Despite this progress, news of a peace agreement with other native groups and Lord Craven's arrival with a regiment caused the enemy tribe to say, "Yamasee you later" and once again scatter in search of refuge in St. Augustine. The consequences of the war were dire; beyond the physical attacks, overcrowding, starvation, and disease posed significant threats to the Carolinian population. Over the course of 1715-1717, the Carolina Plantation faced the very real possibility of complete destruction, surpassing even the danger faced by Jamestown in its earliest days.³¹⁵

Just after the war, Major George Evans was leaving Charles Town Harbor for Virginia in 1717 when his sloop overturned. He and thirty men tried to get to a canoe and while some did survive, the Attorney General, Major George Evans did not. It was reported that their vessel had only Indian corn in its hull and no ballast stone/bars.³¹⁶ Once again Mary was a widow. While Thomas Pinckney's earlier prediction did not come true, as George did not spend the boy's inheritance, he also did not leave them anything upon his death. The secret George was keeping from Mary would become known at the reading of his Last Will and Testament. He had a daughter from a previous relationship and left everything to the girl's mother in trust for the child. Mary and others filed suit against "Elizabeth Seymour," but the matter is unclear as to the result.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ South Carolina, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*; McCrady, *The History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719*; South Carolina. Assembly, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Jan 30, 1696, to March 17, 1696*; Adair and Williams, *History of the American Indians*.

³¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. America and the West Indies July 1711 - June 1712*.

³¹⁷ James Glen, *A Description of South Carolina; Containing, Many Curious and Interesting Particulars Relating to the Civil, Natural and Commercial History of That Colony, Viz. the Succession of European Settlers*

Following the conclusion of the Yamasee War, Charles Town was faced with a period of immense hardship. However, in due course, the city began to recover. The smaller tribes that had once inhabited the forests were cleared, and the land was gradually opened to the interior. In the meantime, Thomas and Charles Pinckney had made their way to England prior to the conflict, while William remained at home with his mother, both of whom thankfully escaped unscathed. Nevertheless, the citizens of Charles Town were growing increasingly frustrated with the absentee LPs and late governors. They believed that had they been under the protection of the crown, things would not have spiraled out of control. As members of the Lower House of Commons Assembly began to gather, the "Men from Barbados" were slowly making their way towards the capital, instigating a peaceful revolution. But the harbor was full of pirate ships who had assisted in the protection against the natives, so the bloodless coup would have to wait.³¹⁸

William Pinckney grew up in Charles Town with the harbor in his front yard. Ships were coming and going, and the docks were full of pirate types and merchants captured Indian slaves, African enslaved, and servants alike. After living through the Yamasee attacks it might have seemed like life was going to settle down, however, in 1718 one of the most notorious pirates arrived just outside his window.³¹⁹ His father's friend, Robert Johnson, the son of ex-Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson) is now Governor (1717-1719) and despite having a colony to repair from

There; Grants of English Charters; Boundaries; Constitution of the Government; Taxes; Number of Inhabitants, and of the Neighbouring Indian Nations. &c. The Nature of the Climate; Tabular Accounts of the Altitudes of the Barometer Monthly for Four Years, of the Depths of Rain Monthly for Eleven Years, and of the Winds Direction Daily for One Year, &c. The Culture and Produce of Rice, Indian Corn, and Indigo; the Process of Extracting Tar and Turpentine; and the State of Their Maritime Trade in the Years 1710, 1723, 1740 and 1748, with the Number or Tonnage of Shipping Employed, and the Species, Quantities and Values of Their Produce Exported in One Year, &c. To Which Is Added, a Very Particular Account of Their Rice-Trade for Twenty Years, with Their Exports of Raw Silk and Imports of British Silk Manufactures for Twenty-Five Years (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall., 1761).

³¹⁸ Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776*.

³¹⁹ Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*.

constant attacks since Queen Anne's War, his attention must be towards the harbor and the long overdue pirate issue. Another friend of Thomas Pinckney and Robert Johnson, or at least an acquaintance, was a man from Goose Creek by the name of Edward Black. Recent discoveries have found that he may have been Captain Edward Black who was a privateer during Queen Anne's War while Robert's father Sir Nathaniel was Governor. It has been reported that this man may be the notorious pirate Edward Teach. Sometime after the Yamasee War, Black/Teach set against a French slave ship, capturing her and renaming it the *Queen Anne's Revenge*.³²⁰

There are several myths surrounding the notorious pirate, Blackbeard, also known as Edward Teach or Edward Black. Most of the real story will never be known. Regardless of his identity, Blackbeard, as the captain of *Queen Anne's Revenge*, and his crew captured numerous ships in the Charles Town Harbor, effectively blocking the port. After holding the hostages for several hours and stripping them of their clothing, Blackbeard finally received his ransom. He requested a chest of medicine and, once it was delivered, he released the hostages, who were still unclothed. His anger towards the city stemmed from the disenchantment of the citizens towards the LPs/Governors. On occasion, a deal was made under the table by the sitting Governor, and by the time a ship returned, a new Governor may be in place. The new Governor might not honor those deals. Another problem was that a crew might leave port on one ship and return on another; the original ship held the Letter of Marque, not the crew. Either way, in the case of Edward Black, once he received the items requested, he sailed away with his other ship by his side and later abandoned both. No matter who the real Blackbeard was, he was captured, decapitated, and

³²⁰ George Francis Dow and John Henry Edmonds, *The Pirates of the New England Coast, 1630-1730* (Marine Research Society, 1923); Barbour, "Privateers and Pirates of the West Indies."

his body thrown into the ocean. His head was placed on a spike at the bow of the boat as a warning to all.³²¹

But Blackbeard was not the only focus for the Governor. Stede Bonnet the “Gentleman Pirate” had also come from Barbados, at first a partner of Blackbeard’s, though not as skilled. They parted ways (a story in itself) and finally after a short career as a pirate, the Governor of South Carolina, Robert Johnson dispatched Captain Rhett to chase his ship down. He succumbed finally at Cape Fear and after deliberation by Bonnet and his crew (Bonnet threatened to blow himself and the ship up and the crew opted to turn themselves over), they were all arrested.³²² Bonnet’s trial is the most accurate account of pirate life and offers the best insight as to why a gentleman, a Royal Navy man, would turn to a life of crime. It also set precedence for the trial of other pirates or men of robbery and that of the procedures of the court.³²³ Within this same period the Assembly members sent their written demand that would lead to the dissolution of the proprietorship and the entrance of King George I.

Young William had witnessed plenty of exciting moments in the forming of Charles Town during the first two decades of his life. He was tutored by the reverend from St. Andrews, William Guy, and though in 1710 an act was in place to provide a “Free School,” it would not be ready for William’s education. William grew up a kind and thoughtful Christian despite the wicked world outside his bedroom window. As he was schooled in the home as other children of this period, the Bible was the main book they learned. However, William’s tutor was a very smart and very brave man who, during the Yamasee War, was at Beaufort and convinced the

³²¹ Defoe and Johnson, *A General History of the Pyrates*.

³²² Nathaniel Mist, *A General History of the Pyrates, from Their First Rise and Settlement in the Island of Providence to the Present Time.*, n.d.

³²³ Miller B. Zobel I. Kinvin Wroth, ed., *Legal Papers of John Adams* (Atheneum, 1965).

settlers there to take a boat to Charles Town; he is credited with saving all their lives. He was also given a large tract of Yamasee confiscated land for his service.³²⁴ Though the Pinckney family does donate property for a school, historians have incorrectly stated that he was educated at the Free School of Charles Town.³²⁵ His older brothers studied at the King James Grammar school in Bishop Auckland and his brother Charles went on to study law while Thomas II followed in his father's footsteps and took to the sea.

Thomas Pinckney (first of that name in Carolina) was a highly respected gentleman who paved the way for his family's future in Charles Town. He was a visionary who believed in the importance of education and ensured that his family would be successful. Despite his ownership of Auckland Plantation and another plantation along with two lots in Charles Town, Mary spent most of her early days in their Charles Town home across from Landgrave Smith. This decision was made to ensure her safety during the Yamasee war. When deemed safe, the settlers returned to their plantations, and crop production and trade with the Indians resumed. With the return of peace, rice production flourished, and indigo became a lucrative cash crop. The Goose Creek plantation owners were once again able to profit where the Lords Proprietors could not. This was a significant turning point for the region's economy.³²⁶

In 1719, the original Lords Proprietors were gone, and only three passed down shares that remained in their ancestors' hands. The new LPs were more about money and less about civil rights.³²⁷ The LPs were still in a huff over a lack of profits and continued with their

³²⁴ Powell, *Back Over Home*.

³²⁵ Paul Porwoll, *Against All Odds: History of Saint Andrew's Parish Church, Charleston, 1706-2013* (WestBow Press, 2014); Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashepoo."

³²⁶ Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*; "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina."

³²⁷ Powell, *The Proprietors of Carolina*.

mismanagement, which now included attempts at ridding themselves of the “Goose Creek Men,” and claiming the newly acquired Yamasee lands. After a struggle between laws about land grants and acquisitions, taxes raised on acquired land, and an attempt at blocking key members of the lower house from membership, a convention of the people (the assembly members) called a meeting for drastic changes. In November of 1719, the Lower House of Assembly, led by Arthur Middleton, threw down a gauntlet. The assembly members were loyal to the crown and, therefore, had no desire to negate the appointment of Governor Johnson. However, it was not only his being appointed by the crown, but he was also a man from Durham, and his father had a plantation near the “Goose Creek Men.” However, it was the LPs and their agents to which the “overthrow” focused. Governor Johnson was on the fence; he agreed with the plight of the “convention of the people,” and because of his impartiality, he will be able to regain his position later under the Royal government.³²⁸

But on this day in 1719, the members of the Assembly marched (strolled) into a meeting of the Governor and his council, and Arthur Middleton read a prepared response to a previous request. He said the people wanted to rid South Carolina of the LPs and seek the support and protection of the King; the arbitrary laws that required the voting to be held in Charles Town and not the parish districts were an attempt to control and undermine the authority of the Lower House. He eloquently said that they represented the people of South Carolina and, as loyal subjects of the crown, should only be subject to the crown.³²⁹ Middleton said that the King appointed the Governor; therefore, they had nothing against him and that previously, there was a

³²⁸ Alexander Samuel Salley South Carolina Council, *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina* (Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907); De Brahm, “History of the Three Provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida”; Salley, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Nov 1, 1725, to April 30, 1726*.

³²⁹ South Carolina. Assembly, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina from Jan 30, 1696, to March 17, 1696*.

valid council or court in Charles Town, but that was no longer the case. He said the people would no longer adhere to that body, and if it would please the Governor, they wanted him to stay on in that capacity.³³⁰ He laid the letter down before the Governor and the council, who had minimal reaction to the grand speech. The men of the Lower House left, and having had no response, another meeting took place the next day. An agenda and plan for government under the King was laid out, and a copy was sent to the Governor and his council.³³¹ They must have thought “Oh, they were serious?!”

Upon discussion of how to proceed, the Governor sent a request that the “convention” should come and meet with him, they refused again the Governor appealed to the members, and again they refused to comply. They wrote Johnson a letter of flattery and expressed again their desire to keep him as Governor but said the wheels were in motion and they would only recognize the authority of the King. He again refused, so who better to sit as Governor of the new body than Colonel James Moore Jr. His father had been Governor and the Colonel had lost his commission in the militia because of his obvious dislike of the LPs. He jumped at the invitation.³³²

The “convention” made public their plan and requested that no one follow the LPs governing. As a final dash of salt in the wounds of the Governor, the “convention” planned an inaugural parade and celebration on the same day Governor Johnson had a parade already planned. The streets of Charles Town were full of people in arms and celebrating when Johnson arrived in town. He attempted to control some of the rioters but saw this attempt was in vain. He

³³⁰ William Gilmore Simms and Mary C. Simms (Mary Chevillette Simms) Oliphant, *The History of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: [s.n.], 1918).

³³¹ De Brahm, “History of the Three Provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida;” Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776*.

³³² Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina, A Political History, 1663-1763*.

then went to Colonel Alexander Parris, the head of the town militia and on the side of the rebels, and insisted he gather his men to squash the rebels, but he politely refused. The Colonel said he would only obey the orders of his superiors, the “rebels.” As Johnson was also met by the Colonel's men at gunpoint, the Colonel said Johnson could continue at the risk of his life, but he did not recommend that course of action.³³³ As Johnson left, he headed down East Bay Street, passing by the young 15-year-old William Cotesworth Pinckney donning his father's sword and musket as the “convention” stopped near his home.

As the armed group advanced along East Bay towards Granville Bastion, where the installation of the new Governor was scheduled, Johnson made a final effort to persuade the gathering to disperse peacefully. His message almost succeeded in calming the situation, but fate had other plans. Suddenly, Sir Hovenden Walker, a daring figure renowned for his attempt to seize Quebec from the French in 1711, appeared on the scene. His powerful oration had an electrifying effect on the crowd, reinvigorating their determination to pursue their objective. The men were galvanized to press ahead with their mission without any prompting.³³⁴ William's age of fifteen suggests he would have witnessed the scene on the street where he lived. It was quite the spectacle that no teenage boy in the vicinity would miss. Either way, Governor Moore was sworn in that day. However, it would be months before the Crown and King George would take over, it would be years before Carolina would be wholly rid of the proprietors, but to the people, that day began a life of security that would last, well, it would last until the people grew tired of the King.

³³³ “Colonial Court Records, 1689-1725” (1725 1689); Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*; Andrews, “British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675”; Charles H. Lesser and Ruth S. Green, *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663-1721* (Columbia, S.C: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995).

³³⁴ Hovenden Walker, “- Sir Hovenden Walker's Expedition. 1711” (1711), Royal Collection Trust.

In 1721, Governor Francis Nicholson invited thirty-seven chiefs to come to Charles Town to streamline the trade with the Aniyvwiya. The Governor made a treaty to set up a trading system and a new boundary between the Aniyvwiya and the English settlers. The Governor arranged for an Indian Agent to oversee trade and suggested they appoint a headman to speak for the entire Cherokee nation. Despite the Cherokee having resolutely agreed to each village holding autonomy, they agreed to appoint an Indian named Wrosetasetow to speak on their behalf. However, he did not have the final say nor spoke without consulting all village leaders. The English Governor may not have understood this, and though it was the beginning of a modern Cherokee Nation, it would be a long time in coming despite Nicholson's efforts.³³⁵

Meanwhile, Mary was a busy woman with the social graces of high society in Charles Town. Her sons were all grown men, each prosperous, she was wealthy and so had much to offer a suitor. She married William Betson in 1721, and her first husband's friend, Robert Johnson, signed the license as a witness. Rev. Gardner performed the ceremony at St. Phillips church. Odd that Johnson would sign this considering the recent events. However, despite Moore being sworn in, Johnson still had administrative duties to perform, and he was a friend of the Pinckney family that went as far back as their time in Durham. He was also a friend of the Cotesworth family, who were still in Bishop Auckland. Sadly though, this marriage would only last one year as William Betson died in 1722.³³⁶

At age eighteen, once again fatherless, young William would be the only one of the three boys to be left £50 by Betson. Betson in his will appoints Robert Johnson and another as

³³⁵ South Carolina, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*.

³³⁶ Carolina Proprietors, "Commissions and Instructions from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to ...;" "Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade;" "Commissions of the Indian Trade_Voll_Chapter 1. Pdf," n.d.; Alice R. Huger (Alice Ravenel Huger) Smith and D. E. Huger (Daniel Elliott Huger) Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina [Electronic Resource]* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1917).

executors. Most of his estate went to Betson's brother and his brothers' heirs, and the remainder went to Mary.³³⁷ It is thought that at the time of his stepfather's death, Thomas II was already established as a privateer and had inherited his father's estate which included property in Durham, England, and Charles was studying in London and on his way to becoming a prominent lawyer.³³⁸ Thomas Pinckney II followed his father's footsteps and took to the sea, he commanded his own ship, a sloop named *The Adventurer*.³³⁹ While records of his exploits are very minimal, the fact that *The Adventurer* was a sloop which was used for shoreline waters and local travel/trade, he most likely partnered with his merchant/lawyer/planter brothers Charles and William who each had a home and wharf continuing the "family business."

In 1725 William married Ruth Brewton (1703-1770), the daughter of a prominent Barbados-born, Charles Town goldsmith and businessperson, Col. Miles Brewton (1675-1745). Col. Miles Brewton was also a wealthy businessman. Besides being a banker, he had a vast holding in the import/export of merchandise plundered from across the seas. This merchandise included the enslaved. His son, Colonel Robert Brewton (1698-1759), Ruth's brother, will have a daughter named Frances (with Mary Loughton, another prominent family) who marries William Pinckney's son "nephew Charles." Ruth and William will eventually have twelve children, and each will prosper independently.

In 1726 Charles married Elizabeth Lamb (1702-1744) in London after completing his studies. They return to Charles Town, and he purchases a townhouse and plantation, the Belmont. He sets up his law practice in Charles Town, a mercantile, and proceeds in the

³³⁷ William Betson, "William Betson - Last Will and Testament," 1722.

³³⁸ Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762*.

³³⁹ Powell, *Back Over Home*.

import/export business.³⁴⁰ Historians claim that because William and Ruth have a dozen children and a business failure, he gives his eldest son to be cared for and raised by his brother Charles. However, this is not the case. While it is true Ruth and William had children every year from 1726-1745, it is their fourth son Charles (1731-1782) who was given to William's brother Charles and his wife Elizabeth Lamb around 1736 to be educated and raised as their own, prior to ill health and failed business. This was done because Charles (first of that name) and his wife could not have children and had grown very fond of the young Charles. However, the death of Elizabeth and subsequent marriage to Eliza Lucas gives Charles his own children, yet it does not stop Charles from continuing his earlier obligation to the boy who is referred to as "Nephew Charles" in Eliza's diary.³⁴¹

Charles, William, and Thomas had a prosperous partnership, and Charles Town was a thriving international port city. Ownership of mercantile establishments had a high rate of turnover, as did land ownership. Items were brought in constantly from the West Indies. Importing and exporting, brokering the sale of a ship's haul, and documenting these sales took a lettered man, an attorney skilled in the art of negotiations, but the sale of merchandise in storefronts fell to those who would take on items under consignment.³⁴² These men often struggled unless they had what the people wanted and could afford the markup. The "white man" did not only take advantage of the "red man" during trade, but men also took advantage of the growing trade economy at all corners of Charles Town to the far reaches of East India.³⁴³ However, the biggest export at this time besides deerskins remained Indian slaves.

³⁴⁰ Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality*; Zahniser, *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*.

³⁴¹ Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*; Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*.

³⁴² Fraser, *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City*.

³⁴³ Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

Charles and William jointly owned a significant and necessary structure commonly called a bridge. In contemporary times, however, it would be more fittingly known as a pier or dock. Notably, this impressive structure could accommodate multiple large vessels, including ships transporting human cargo. As previously mentioned, William entered matrimony with Ruth Brewton, and their son, Charles, later married Francis Brewton, who happened to be Ruth's own niece. It is worth noting that Francis was the sister of Miles Brewton, the esteemed architect behind the construction of the iconic "Miles Brewton" house that stands tall even today, serving as a remarkable testament to the classic Georgian architectural style that was prevalent during the late 18th century.

It is common for individuals to associate Charles Town with the African slave trade, but it is important to remember it was the Indian slave trade that was prevalent during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In fact, Charles Town became a central hub for the sale of captured Indians from nearby regions, ending the need for slavers to travel all the way to Virginia. This resulted in thousands of local natives being kidnapped and traded for weapons.³⁴⁴ These individuals were then held in stockades and sold to fill the cargo hulls of ships destined for various locations, such as Jamaica, Barbados, North Africa, and Spain. It is worth noting that the Indian slave trade did not end with the conclusion of the Yamasee War.

While Thomas Pinckney II owned a sloop, it is believed that the brothers had a stake in other ships. Given the size of their dock and ability to sell goods, along with William's connection to the Brewton family, it is likely that they saw value in the Indian slave market. They may have even justified their involvement with their religious beliefs and feelings of

³⁴⁴ "The South-Carolina Gazette," February 3, 1732.

superiority as Harriot Ravenel suggests in her summations on the Eliza Pinckney Letterbook.³⁴⁵ Harriot wrote her examination of Eliza's letters in 1896 and chose certain letters to depict the theme she was trying to portray. This writing occurred at a time when slavery had barely been over for twenty-five years. She suggests all manner of superiority over the enslaved while at the same time trying to justify it with reasons such as teaching the enslaved a trade, Christianity, and basic schooling. Harriot wrongly states that Eliza must have "trembled and shrunk, poor little North Country girl, from the strange, uncouth creatures, if she had to give her child to one of these to nurse."³⁴⁶ She goes on to call the enslaved nurse maids "dark beings, with their unintelligible speech, held the potentiality of the dear old "maumas" (a nanny or child caregiver was called a "mammie") of later days, tenderest and most faithful of nurses."³⁴⁷ So she expresses both racism and respect in one sentence as she is stating that the servants of her day have people like Eliza to thank for being such good hard workers, she left out the part about underpaid, overworked, and segregated the "tenderest and most faithful of nurses" when she wrote her analysis. Eliza was born in the Caribbean, she would not have "trembled," but given her child over with assurance in its safety and well-being. But make no mistake, Eliza had been taught to treat all people with kindness, but she also was aware that the enslaved were purely property. Eliza refers to teaching them to read by saying "I have a sister to instruct, and a parcel of little negroes whom I have undertaken each to read."³⁴⁸ Clearly, this statement describes that the enslaved were regarded as property. Property that needed to be cultivated like land, property that if taught to grow in the "right light" could further help their owner which would please the Lord,

³⁴⁵ Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*.

³⁴⁶ Harriott Horry Ravenel, "The Pinckney Family," in *Eliza Pinckney* (C. Scribner's Sons, 1896), 75–76.

³⁴⁷ Ravenel.

³⁴⁸ Harriott Horry Ravenel, "Manners and Customs," in *Eliza Pinckney* (C. Scribner's Sons, 1896), 29.

in turn making these “gentle” masters good Christians. However, while the enslaved Africans were being groomed for employment, the Indian slaves were still being shipped off as more Africans arrived.

The first native to travel to Europe, unchained, in recorded history is Tisquantum, or rather, Squanto in 1605. Squanto was picked up somewhere in Maine by English commissioned captain George Waymouth.³⁴⁹ Though this story seems like a fairytale as most natives were carted off against their will and made spectacles of, paraded around in chains or cages, Squanto is reported as “coming aboard and traveling to Plymouth” where two more natives “came aboard” and traveled back to England where they lived for a few years and then returned to North America. He would journey back to England a few more times over the next ten or so years, not as the King or Chief of any nation, just as an observer of the country.³⁵⁰ Earlier natives brought to England were kidnapped and brought back as prisoners, not as guests, and were gawked at and made to perform or serve as slaves.³⁵¹ Thousands would be kidnapped and sent to be slaves in Barbados, Jamaica, Providence Island, Spain, and even North Africa during the proprietorship era of Carolina. However approximately 175 are recorded as traveling as envoys, diplomatic representatives of their people, traveling freely and seeing a world like none they had seen. Historian and Professor, Coll Thrush, discusses this phenomenon in detail in his *Indigenous London* saying that a delegation of Mohawk was among the first to travel for reasons of political alliance with the British crown and treated with respect.³⁵²

³⁴⁹ Coll Thrush, Kate Shanley, and Ned Blackhawk, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire*, Illustrated edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

³⁵⁰ Rider, *Squantum*.

³⁵¹ “The London Gazette.”

³⁵² Coll Thrush, Kate Shanley, and Ned Blackhawk, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire*, Illustrated edition. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

In 1729, a Scottish nobility by the name of Sir Alexander Cuming of Culter, Baronet., claimed to have permission from the crown, to speak with the Aniyvwiya in the hopes of swaying them from siding with the French and to set up a permanent and singular trade alliance with the English. They had already set up trade with Charles Town but had not come to an official trade and peace agreement, nor promised fealty to the King. It becomes increasingly plain to see that an alliance is key to keeping the stronghold the English finally enjoyed and the Cherokee were needed in military support against the Spanish and French. The English had taken parts of Spanish territory as well as the French lands of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay, causing the Iroquois to harass the Aniyvwiya, thus creating animosity and leaving the trade door open to the French. The fur trade began to heat up in the east with the Dutch East India trade company and the Zheng excluding the VOC from the deerskin market. England was in short supply of deer and relied on the fur trade in the Americas.³⁵³

There has been much discussion among scholars on the motives that prompted Sir Alexander Cuming to venture to Charles Town and offer his services as an emissary to the Cherokee. However, following the loss of his family's wealth, he was keen to restore his standing in the eyes of the King. He believed he stood to gain titles, monetary rewards and recognition from the Cherokee and the Crown. His journal entries reveal a man who harbored an ardent desire to be remembered by the world, or at the very least, by the King. He was convinced that if he could successfully broker a peace and trade agreement with the Cherokee, he would be handsomely rewarded with gifts and privileges from the King himself. He also had a plan to

³⁵³ Adams, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels*.

create a new silver standard for Carolina. Prior to leaving Great Britain, he bought and shipped silver and gold to Charles Town for that purpose.³⁵⁴

A fur trader by the name of Ludovick Grant who lived in Aniyvwiya country for thirty years (and managed to stay alive through the many tribal wars) has a meeting with Sir Alexander to discuss acting as his guide and interpreter as he traveled to the Aniyvwiya lands from Charles Town. Grant states later in a deposition that he understood that Sir Cuming said he only wanted to see what it was like before he returned to England, however, the events he witnessed say otherwise. For the historian today who has access to the historical newspapers and government documents, one can see that there was a hidden agenda.³⁵⁵ Anyone wanting to get in favor of King George II looked for ways to improve trade relations and strengthen England's holdings in America. Though there are reports that Sir Alexander's wife had a dream that they traveled to Indian territory, that was not the extent of his desire or motivation for traveling to Cherokee country.³⁵⁶

Grant agreed to function as Cuming's guide on their journey. They prepared and left Charles Town, traveling across the Ooneekawy Mountain via the Cherokee Path. During their journey, Cuming gave speeches in every village they visited. Grant could not help but feel that these speeches were rehearsed. He suspected that if they were recorded, they would appear to the King to diplomatically win over subjects in his name. Cuming's goal was to become the "King Regent " of the Aniyvwiya. To any bystander, he was trying to gain their loyalty. Despite this, Sir Alexander Cuming continued his journey in 1730, traveling through the lower, middle,

³⁵⁴ Alexander Cuming, "Memoirs of the Life of Alexander Cuming," n.d., Documents in Foreign Archives, Hunter Library Special Collections, accessed July 30, 2023.

³⁵⁵ "Historical Relation of Facts Delivered by Ludovick Grant, Indian Trader, to His Excellency the Governor of South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 10, no. 1 (1909): 54–68.

³⁵⁶ "Cuming, Sir Alexander | NCpedia," n.d.

valley, and out towns of the Aniyvwiya. During his travels, he documented the names of those he met in a small book and delivered the same message to each one. He declared himself a child of the Great King George II and encouraged them to follow suit and bend the knee to him.³⁵⁷

At one point he enters a meeting house while still carrying his sword and pistols, after being warned by the traders that this is against native custom. Cuming replies with a most disturbing over-the-top declaration. He says that he shall keep his weapons because if any refused to bend the knee, he was prepared to set fire to the townhouse and guard the door, prepared to kill anyone trying to escape the flames. Eventually, they arrive at the Tellico village where he meets the headman Amo Matai. This village is not a mother village because when Cuming declares Amo Matai (Moytoy of Tellico) “Emperor” it is not official until Grant takes Cuming to another village about fifteen miles away where they meet with the Warrior of Tannassy. They need his permission to make Matai “Emperor.” It is most likely that the term “Emperor” was not understood by the Aniyvwiya to have the same meaning as one who rules over all the people. It is here that they meet another fur trader by the name of Eleazer Wiggan.

Cuming was given a crown of dyed opossum fur, and the group returned to Tellico. At the end of March 1730, they left for Nikwasi (Nequassee) Village. Many Cherokees journeyed with the Englishman to celebrate and see the crowning of Emperor Ama Matai, “Water Conjurer.”³⁵⁸ A procession of this size, to a gathering in March by all the Aniyvwiya, proves that Nikwasi must have been one of the larger villages that held the “corn festival” and other ceremonies and most likely a “Mother Village.” At Nikwasi Cuming asked Ama Matai to travel

³⁵⁷ Ludovick, “Historical Relation of Facts Delivered by Ludovick Grant, Indian Trader, to His Excellency the Governor of South Carolina,” n.d.

³⁵⁸ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

to England and meet with the great King, but the headman said his wife was with child and he could not leave her but asked the crowd of Aniyvwiya which of them would be brave enough to go. None volunteered except for a small boy of fifteen. Young Attakullakulla became the first to step forward. After the others saw how brave the scrawny young Cherokee was, six more agreed to go.

Attakullakulla was born in the Great Lakes (Ontario) region around 1715 to a Nipissing tribe. The Beaver War caused the Aniyvwiya warriors to travel north to fight, Attakullakulla's family was killed and so he was either taken to a refugee village named Running Water or taken to Chota. The women decided to put him in the *Long Hair* clan, which was also known as the *Stranger* clan, and the clan to which usually came the White Chief of Peace, the Most Beloved Men of Peace. Much of his early life is debated. Even where he was born, according to his own son he was adopted into the Aniyvwiya (Real People) when his family was forced to migrate towards the Powhatan at Jamestown and later settle in and "out" town of the Aniyvwiya.

Attakullakulla said at a peace conference in Tellico, "*I am Attakullakulla, but many people call me Little Carpenter. I do not care what I am called, so long as peace exists between us. Provided, of course, that you do not try to take our lands.*"³⁵⁹ Owen Nakan is one of many names to which history assigned this great man though he is most known as Little Carpenter.³⁶⁰ Over the years his name evolved depending on the language of the speaker however, his name in Tsalagi is Ata-gul' kalu. Ata, meaning "wood," and gul'kalu, meaning "to lean against another,"

³⁵⁹ Wilma Mankiller and Michael Wallis, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*, 1st ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); "Tribal Leaders Directory | Indian Affairs," <https://www.bia.gov/service/tribal-leadersdirectory>.

³⁶⁰ James Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*, ed. Morgan Owle-Crisp, second edition. (Cherokee Publications, 2006).

hence another popular name, Leaning Wood. Also, the boy was lean, giving Mooney the impression that his name derived from his build which was “unlike most.”³⁶¹ Because of his career as a diplomat and great orator, able to speak more English than most of the Aniyvwiya, and able to express the views of all his people, it is considered that his name is representative of his work, both Leaning Wood and Little Carpenter. There are also many spellings for “Attakullakulla” that contribute to the idea that little is known of this man. However, in closer examination, when his aliases are discovered, there is a great bit of detailed information on his intellectual history, who he was and why. The late and former Chief of the Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah, Wilma Mankiller, refers to him as Ada Kulkulla, though this gives the idea that you could refer to him as Ada, but this is not the case.³⁶²

The moniker “Little Carpenter” comes from the story of a white fur trader by the name of Carpenter also known as Savannah Tom, White Owl, and Raven Carpenter, who was adopted into the “Moytoy” (also known as Matai). Though portions of this story are verifiable, it is difficult to trace the lineage of Attakullakulla with any certainty. However, there was a fur trader who left the Jamestown settlement to marry a Shawnee woman. Thomas Pasmore, a carpenter in a shipping family, owned a tract of land in Jamestown. Thomas met a Shawnee woman and decided to marry her, so he gave his parcel of land to another settler and moved near the Shawnee village. The Iroquois forced the Shawnee tribe south and the Aniyvwiya allowed Savannah Tom to live in a refugee village in the Cumberland basin of Tennessee. Credit is given to Savannah Tom for creating the village known as Running Water but there is no substantial

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Mankiller and Wallis, *Mankiller*.

evidence for that part of the story.³⁶³ No one can definitively say when a village came into existence, what is known is when it was first recorded, there is a difference. Archaeologists have proved that when a home needed repair it was burnt and built upon again. This is true for villages; the locations were key and at some point, a village was abandoned for unknown reasons and then “reused” later. It is clear when one looks at the way Americans built roads, using the naturally made Indian paths, also this is evident in the way cities are built upon ruins of ancient cities around the world. Another part of the story that has no substantial supporting evidence is that Pasmore set up trade directly with the Caribbean merchants, cutting out the middleman and that he set up a bank account in Barbados for the village. If this could be verified it would further link the Cherokee to the “Men from Barbados.”

Attakullakulla is also reported to have been born into an Algonquin tribe and when a war with another tribe left him orphaned, a Cherokee warrior (Amo Matai) saw his courage and adopted him, and this is how he ended up in Chota. According to James Adair and James Mooney, the name “Little Carpenter” came from the fact that he was a good builder, whether that is literal or meaning he builds strong relationships, we shall never know. Attakullakulla is difficult to trace prior to the envoy to England, but what is certain is his military and diplomatic record after 1730, the place and manner of death, and that he had at least one son, the warrior Dragging Canoe. It is thought that Attakullakulla had many children with different women throughout his life including *Turtle at Home*, another diplomat with his own place in history. What is certain is that the Most Beloved Man of Peace and Civil Affairs, was an observant man

³⁶³ Barbara R. Duncan and Davey Arch, eds., *Living Stories of the Cherokee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

and had multiple opportunities to engage with a multitude of diverse cultures and world leaders. He undoubtedly spoke eloquently and was a master at the art of diplomacy.³⁶⁴

But in 1730, life as a diplomat was only just beginning for young Attakullakulla. The long journey from Chota to Charles Town was approximately four hundred miles, though this trip would be slightly less as they were arriving from Nikwasi, a middle village found on the floodplain of the Little Tennessee River. The envoys included Oukah-Ulah, Clogoittah, Kallannah, Tahtowe (Tistoe), Kittagusta, Ounaconoa (Oconostota), and Owen Nakan (Attakullakulla). The group arrived in Charles Town on April 13, 1730, and stayed long enough to obtain provisions and meet with officials. They would soon board the English Man-of-War, the *Fox*. Young Attakullakulla and his entourage did not make a spectacle of themselves, they did not get many second glances from those on the streets of Charles Town, the citizens were well used to seeing “savages.” William Pinckney was twenty-six and a husband to Ruth Brewton for six years when the envoy arrived at the docks in Charles Town to board their ship. William was at his store or seeing the newly arrived or leaving cargo on the wharf. He was a Captain in the militia and already a respected leader in the community.

The group would have “checked in” with the Indian Trade Commission agent or at the very least would have had an audience with the South Carolina Governor or Commissary General as provisions were made for the journey.³⁶⁵ The colony had only been officially under Royal rule for one year, but the system of government was still in transition. The buyout was not a simple overnight task, it took years to buy out the remaining proprietors. The Lower House Assembly was disbanded and reorganized and did not yet meet regularly. Some reports say that

³⁶⁴ James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775).

³⁶⁵ “London Gazette,” n.d.

Arthur Middleton was Governor (May 7, 1725-December 15, 1730); however, Robert Johnson would be the first official Royal-era governor.³⁶⁶

By this time, the crown saw the importance of public relations, civil affairs, and propaganda. Sir Alexander Cuming, Baronet, claimed to have the authority of England. However, this was untrue. Cuming would gather money from investors; if nothing came of it, the crown would not be out of anything. Trying to keep the United Kingdom and the vast number of territories was becoming increasingly complex and costly. Publicity for trade alliances and settlers with North America became more profitable than keeping things going in the Caribbean.³⁶⁷ During this period the deerskin trade was at an all-time high and the “watershed” event of the Yamasee War had opened the interior to plantation life. Soon Charles Town would be able to rely on their own agriculture/production and exportation. Continuing peace with the Cherokee was a priority for the Royal Colony and the Lower House.

³⁶⁶ “Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations” (1730).

³⁶⁷ Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.



Figure SEQ Figure *ARABIC5 The Seven Cherokee Delegates as portrayed in an English Newspaper by engraver Isaac Bassire, courtesy of Newspapers.com.

On June 20th, the envoy of “Chirakee Indians” arrive in Dover and travel to London. The newspapers report how the Indians knelt before the King and during the “installation” of Prince William, stood near the King during dinner, one holding a bow and arrow, and another held a musketoon.³⁶⁸ There are contradictory reports that the delegates were not fed properly, and the natives were insulted by the lack of feast. On the 27th it is reported that the envoy, which included the *“Indian King, and the Prince, and five of the chiefs of his Court (all blacks) were introduced to his Majesty at Windsor, the King had a scarlet jacket on, but all the rest were naked, except an apron about their middles, and a horse’s tail hung down behind; their faces, shoulders, etc. were painted and spotted with red, blue, and green, etc. They had bows in their hands, and painted feathers on their heads; a dinner, viz. a leg of mutton, a shoulder, and a loin of mutton was provided at the Mermaid at Windsor for them; the King lies on a table in a blanket; but the prince, and the chief of his Court, lie on the ground.”*³⁶⁹ The English made no

³⁶⁸ “The Newcastle Weekly Courant 20 Jun 1730, Page 1,” *Newspapers.Com*, n.d.

³⁶⁹ “The Weekly Journal, or British Gazetteer.,” *Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA*, n.d.

distinction between Black and brown men, something the Indians found to be an insult in later years. The article describes the manner of dress as being naked from the waist down. After this occasion, the envoys were given clothes from India. These are the clothes they wore when they posed for a portrait thought to have been done by engraver Isaac Bassire. The Cherokee admired European clothing and Attakullakulla particularly liked the uniform of a British soldier, adopting the English-style attire.³⁷⁰

During their journey, the delegation had the pleasure of meeting many kind and welcoming hosts. However, an unfortunate incident occurred on July 30th, 1730, when rumors started circulating about a disagreement between two Indian leaders. It was later revealed that the Cherokee tribe often resolved conflicts through wrestling, which was mistakenly interpreted as one chief brutally assaulting the other in their lodgings at the Mermaid Inn. As a result, the English hosts were informed of this behavior and the delegation was hastily asked to leave. Nevertheless, the statement was eventually retracted, and the delegation could continue their travels without further incident.³⁷¹ After leaving the Mermaid Inn, the group proceeded with their journey. During their travels, they found themselves taking up lodgings in the basement of an undertaker's residence in Covent Garden. As a young and spirited group, the experience must have been surreal and filled with absurd moments.

Upon arrival in England, the envoy was accompanied by a select group of individuals known as "interpreters." Among them was Robert Bunning, who had previously lived in the envoy's country for an extended period. Before their departure, Cuming discussed a treaty with no provisions for selling any land. The purpose of their journey was to meet with the Great

³⁷⁰ Adair.

³⁷¹ "Journal," July 30, 1730.

Father and understand their customs, to establish a trade alliance that would prevent encroachment or cheating. However, the terms of the treaty were only presented to the envoy a few days before their scheduled departure, and they were at once made aware of the use of "double talk." Despite their limited knowledge of English, they sensed that ulterior motives were at play.³⁷²

During their visit, the envoys were treated to an array of entertainment options, including a theatrical play, a grand military parade, the installation of Prince William, and market fairs. The Indians were absolutely amazed by the grandeur of European architecture, the fashionable clothing worn by both men and women, as well as the use of powder and wigs in their attire. Attakullakulla was particularly surprised by the shoes the Europeans wore, finding them uncomfortable and impractical. They were also introduced to new machinery and animals they had never encountered, attended a luxurious ball, and listened to music played on various instruments. They carefully observed the customs and culture of the Europeans, which provided invaluable insight into how to interact with them going forward.³⁷³ During their stroll in the Gardens, they were unexpectedly accosted by "highwaymen" who robbed them twice. Despite this unfortunate encounter, the King graciously bid them farewell with a generous gift of one hundred guineas. Before leaving Windsor, they visited the Carolina Coffee House on Birchin-Lane, where they had the pleasure of meeting merchants who traded with South Carolina.

During their journey, the travelers attended an Archery competition at the Tottenham-Court Fair located at the Three Tons in Lamb's Conduit Fields to indulge in local festivities.

³⁷² "London Journal," August 29, 1730, newspapers.com; "London Journal," September 10, 1730, newspapers.com; "London Journal," September 12, 1730, newspapers.com; "London Journal," September 24, 1730.

³⁷³ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*.

While there, they watched the Society of Archers, intrigued by the prospect of witnessing some archery competitions, and were eager to try their hand at the English longbow. However, they could not help but notice that the longbows used by the archers were noticeably different in style compared to those they used. This discrepancy made it difficult for the Indian archers to compete at the same ability level as their counterparts. Nonetheless, the travelers thoroughly enjoyed their time at the Society of Archers and were grateful for the opportunity to see such skilled men in action.³⁷⁴

Towards the end of September, the group embarked on a journey and eventually arrived at the Plantation office located at Whitehall. Here, they had the opportunity to engage in discussions with the Lords Commissioners regarding an ongoing trade agreement. It is worth noting that the group was accompanied by a footguard sergeant and a file and a half of grenadiers. Upon arrival at the Plantation Office, they were greeted by two additional sergeants and two full files of grenadiers. The envoy must have felt as if they were under arrest and that this was some sort of trick. However, the group was presented with various "presents" such as firelocks, shot, powder, and casks, which pleased the Indians. Nonetheless, it is possible that the Indians were slightly perplexed as there was no explicit mention of the treaty. Instead, the discussions centered on the trade agreement and its details, which would be further deliberated upon later.³⁷⁵

The chiefs were once again taken from their lodgings on King Street in Covent Garden by two files of musketeers on Wednesday, and they were escorted to the Plantation Office at Whitehall. As per their custom, the envoy approached the commissioners and sang a few songs.

³⁷⁴ "Daily Journal," August 15, 1730.

³⁷⁵ "London Journal," September 10, 1730.

The commissioners informed them that they were there to agree to a "Treaty of Friendship," and all the agreed-upon items from the previous days were the only things that would be given to them. The articles were written on paper and translated by either Wiggan or Bunning, but it is believed that the interpreters did not accurately translate and paraphrase instead. Note that the following is an interpretation by the reporter/secretary of the meeting, not an exact account.

*“Upon which, the Kings stood up and gave a large feather that he had in his hand to the Prince, who thereupon spoke to the Lords Commissioners to this effect: That they were sensible of the good usage they receiv’d since they came here, and that they would use our people always well; that they came here like worms out of the earth, naked, and that we had put fine cloaths on their backs, (pointing to the cloaths) and that they should never forget such kind dealings, but should declare the same to their countrymen; and thereupon the Prince laid the feather with a bit of skin upon the table, saying, It should be as good as the Bible to bind the contract with King George; and said also, that a father should not better love his son, than they would us: So made a peace.”*³⁷⁶

The Commissioners then told them they should keep a copy of the contract and that it should have the King's seal to prove its validity. The commissioners said that the Governor should entertain them; when they heard this Oukah Ulah got up and kissed the Commissioners, then the rest of the envoys did the same. They ended with singing songs before returning to the basement of the undertaker. The interpreter was sworn before the Commissioners to speak the truth, however, according to the Aniyvwiya, the interpreter did not make clear the terms of this agreement. As they returned home, it became apparent that their ability to survive was still

³⁷⁶ “London Journal.”

reliant on the number of deerskins they could procure. Moreover, they had to do so with a diminishing hunting ground, which added to their challenges.³⁷⁷ This was not the first, nor would it be the last, agreement to sell lands; earlier in 1721 the Cherokee agreed to give up land between the Saluda, Santee, and Edisto rivers, so it should not have been such a surprise that this new treaty would also include more land.³⁷⁸

The *Treaty of Friendship* was meant to solidify the peace and trade of the Cherokee with the English.³⁷⁹ It is important to quote certain parts of the articles here and not paraphrase because the natives did not have the luxury of reading these articles for themselves and had to rely on and trust the words of the interpreters. Therefore, to the reader today, it is easy to see how intricate the treaty was and how it was worded in a manner that did not fully explain what was being agreed upon. It is doubtful that the interpreters nor the Aniyvwiya articulated either side accurately. The “interpreters” claimed to have lived for some time with the Cherokee and learned their language, however, few Cherokees spoke any English. This is a red flag that neither side fully understood the other. Attakullakulla was not the “speaker” for the group though he did speak some English. This was given to Kitagusta, though it is reported that the argument amongst them was over the fact that the interpreter, Eleazar Wiggan had “lied” and so the envoy had conspired to kill him and Ukah Ulah for telling the King they would sell their land when it was not theirs to sell.³⁸⁰

The *Articles of Friendship and Commerce* were proposed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations at Whitehall and addressed to the “Deputies of the Cherokee Nation by

³⁷⁷ “Deerskins Table | Maritime Asia.”

³⁷⁸ Lesser and Green, *South Carolina Begins*.

³⁷⁹ Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*; Adair.

³⁸⁰ “Daily Journal,” August 3, 1730.

His Majesty.” It stated that the natives known as Scayagusta (Ukah Ulah, son of Kanagatoga, Old Hop), Kitagusta, Tistoe (Tethtowe), Clogoittah, Colannah, Oucounacou (who may or may not have been Oconostota), and Owen Nakan (Attakullakulla), who according to the articles, were deputized at Tellico by the “Emperor Moytoy” (Amo Matai) to speak on the behalf of the entire Cherokee Nation.³⁸¹ The agreement stated that they were sent to Great Britain to agree to terms of peace and trade. It further outlined how the natives exchanged gifts to seal the deal that would make all Cherokee subjects to the crown and that all their land now belonged to the King of England. The Cherokee did participate in activities that in their own culture would signify an unbroken bond or agreement. And so, to the Cherokee, this was now a matter of honor and they had to just smile and agree, remember, they were escorted to this meeting by armed guards and musketeers. Despite knowing inside that this deal was not what was discussed prior to leaving the Overhill territory, they must have felt they had no choice but to go along, they were an ocean voyage from home.³⁸²

The treaty outlines how the Cherokee would be “allowed” to live wherever they pleased, but this would not be the case, and how the King of Great Britain should be looked upon as their father and so they should consider themselves brothers to all English, even though their “brothers” continued to encroach and cheat the Indian at that very moment. They agreed to stop anyone from another country trading in what was now English land, and they would fight all enemies of the crown. They further agreed to capture any runaway slave in exchange for “a gun and a match coat.” For these concessions the Indians were given, “...one piece of red cloth...

³⁸¹ London Gazette, 1730

³⁸² James Adair, *The History of the American Indians; Particularly Those Nations Adjoining to the Mississippi [!] East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia* (London, E., and C. Dilly, 1775).

twenty guns” and for keeping the “trading path clear,” they received “400 weights of gunpowder...500 pounds weight of swan shott and 500 pounds weight of bullets...a box of vermillion, 10,000 gun flints and six dozen of hatchets.”³⁸³ The agreement further states that if by accident an Englishman should happen to kill an Indian they would not strike back as their Blood Law demands but they shall first complain to the English Governor and let the English courts decide on the killer's fate. This was a part of the agreement that none of the envoys had the right to agree to, the Blood Law superseded any law created by the English. However, the envoy accepted twelve dozen spring knives, four dozen brass kettles, and ten dozen belts for this portion of the treaty.³⁸⁴

The representatives of the Aniyvwiya gave a belt of *Wampum* to seal this “deal” and though it is reported that Governor Robert Johnson was one of several men who bore witness at Whitehall, it is unclear whether he traveled with the envoy, he was made the first official Royal Governor that same year. Friendship and honoring that relationship was a big part of the Aniyvwiya culture, the pomp and circumstance of a celebration and gifts exchanged meant more to the Aniyvwiya than it did to the English, and this was the most crucial factor in the agreement. The group was going to have to explain the land loss that now belonged to the Great King, but the friendship portion would be perfectly understood.³⁸⁵ Being under the protection of the Great Father would please the Aniyvwiya, regulating trade was going to be a plus, if the English upheld their side of the bargain. The envoy felt they had made a good deal, especially when the

³⁸³ etc. Great Britain. Treaties, “Sept. 20, 1730, Treaty of Alliance and Commerce between Great Britain and the Nation of the Cherrokees in America,” in *A Collection of All the Treaties of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce, between Great-Britain and Other Powers, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Present Time*. (London, Printed for J. Almon, 1730).

³⁸⁴ Reid, *A Law of Blood*.

³⁸⁵ Kawashima, “Forest Diplomats.”

ship was laden with the gifts they received. They were right in suspecting the rest of the Aniyvwiya would not like this new agreement, all the Aniyvwiya understood that land was not for sale by any one person or by any group, land belonged to Unetlanvhi. They would be allies of the Great Father, and his enemies would be their enemies, but only as long as the English acted honestly and stood by their side against Aniyvwiya enemies.

Ian McGibney of North Carolina State University wrongly calls Sir Alexander Cuming a “confident man.”³⁸⁶ The claim made by the article on Cuming in the North Carolina State Encyclopedia is based on two documents that historians have held fast, an article in a London newspaper and a case where Cuming had signed “fraudulent Promissory Notes.” Cummings’ journal from the trip to Cherokee territory did not survive but in 1730 the Daily London Journal printed portions of the journal. In this report Cumming himself denies being an official agent of the crown.³⁸⁷ However, he was skilled in the art of remaining in favor of the King like all men of his status. The records show he spent a great deal of his own money along with investors on the expedition and that he was a victim of an earlier scheme that depleted his funds. He did not receive the accolades he thought he deserved as Ian David Chambers implies in his study.³⁸⁸ He would later put in several requests for payment and though eventually a small portion was agreed to be paid, he did not receive the elevation or the wealth he was owed.³⁸⁹ The end of Cuming’s life could also account for the way historians have viewed his contribution to the Aniyvwiya

³⁸⁶ Ian MacGibney, “Alexander Cuming,” in *NCpedia*, 2013, <https://www.ncpedia.org/cuming-sir-alexander>.

³⁸⁷ “London Daily Journal Newspaper Archives, Oct 8, 1730, p. 1,” *London Daily Journal*, October 8, 1730, <https://newspaperarchive.com/london-daily-journal-oct-08-1730-p-1/>.

³⁸⁸ Ian David Chambers, “Alexander Cumming - King or Pawn? An Englishman on the Colonial Chessboard of the Eighteenth-Century American Southeast,” *Journal of Backcountry Studies* 9, no. 1 (April 29, 2014).

³⁸⁹ Great Britain. Treaties, “Sept. 20, 1730, Treaty of Alliance and Commerce between Great Britain and the Nation of the Cherokees in America”; “Journal, September 1730: Journal Book G.G in Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations,” n.d.; “William Henry Lyttelton Papers 1730-1806,” n.d.

relationship with the Royal Colony of Carolina. He was arrested for debts in Charles Town and spent years in Fleet prison, dying soon after his release.³⁹⁰

Chapter Five: Where Loyalists Lie

There was a surge in the demand for deerskins, which in turn led to a significant boost in sales following the return of the Cherokee delegation. To put this into context, prior to 1725, only 52,000 white-tailed deer skins were exported annually. However, by 1730, this number had skyrocketed to over 255,000, highlighting a drastic increase in demand. This led to the emergence of more merchants and shipping companies who specialized in the deerskin trade, as well as the Pinckney family and other affluent families who invested in more land and took advantage of the opportunity presented to them. For example, Charles, who represented the Christ Church parish in the assembly for the first time, and his brother William, who focused on running his own practice and storefront, were among those who benefited from the deerskin surge. Despite the Township Act of 1730, which only permitted four townships to survive, the parishes established in each county exerted a much greater influence. Overall, the increase in deerskin demand had significant impacts on the economy and society of the region during this time, highlighting the importance of this industry to the local community.³⁹¹ Over time, the city of Charles Town experienced significant expansion, encompassing a total of fourteen parishes scattered across four different counties. This growth was facilitated by the Yamasee people, who helped to establish a mutually beneficial trade alliance with the Cherokee tribe. Thanks to these

³⁹⁰ Samuel Gardner Drake, *Early History of Georgia, Embracing the Embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming to the Country of the Cherokees, in the Year 1730. A Paper Read in Substance before the New-England Historic, Genealogical Society, February 1872* (Boston, Printed by D. Clapp & son, 1872).

³⁹¹ South Carolina, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*.

partnerships and alliances, Charles Town overcame many challenges and obstacles, thriving and evolving into a bustling metropolis.

In 1732 the Kings Highway was underway and would be complete within three years. The first newspaper in Charles Town to succeed was the *South Carolina Gazette* also in 1732.³⁹² The papers consisted of minutes of meetings of the parish assemblies and Church news, society gatherings, wedding, birth, and death announcements, along with world news. Most interesting to the historian is the description of daily (weekly) activity with an account of war, politics, shipping/economy, and agricultural developments. The pages team with advertisements of new ownership of businesses and details on the newly imported goods for sale and who was selling them. Advertisements by agents/attorneys representing the deceased or those departing for another town or country, selling their goods, or collecting debts on their behalf. The advertisements for the sale of slaves come from those of the deceased or departed during this period. Announcements for runaways (enslaved or indentured, and even some runaway wives) offering a reward of the returned (usually ten £) or the prosecution of anyone aiding in their escape.³⁹³

Thomas II was a man of great business acumen who ran a thriving shipping enterprise alongside his brothers, William, and Charles. Their wharf was quite extensive, and it was compulsory to collect money from it in compliance with the law. However, the responsibility of declaring the cargo's contents to the customs officer rested with the captain or a crew member. Tragically, Thomas passed away while at sea near Jamaica in 1733 and was buried on the island in a cemetery that overlooked the vast Atlantic on East Bay. To honor his brother, Charles had a

³⁹² "The South-Carolina Gazette," *The South-Carolina Gazette*, March 10, 1732.

³⁹³ "The South-Carolina Gazette."

headstone erected for him. The two surviving sons of Thomas Pinckney, the first of that name in Charles Town, were actively engaged in politics, trade, agriculture, and law. Despite the prosperity that they enjoyed; their lives were far from peaceful. Banking was just one of their many activities, as evidenced by a ten-pound note endorsed by William Pinckney and others. In the year 1735, the Pinckney brothers, William, and Charles, made history by establishing the Friendly Insurance Company. The birth of this company marked the first-ever insurance firm in the United States. The Pinckney brothers were known for their immense contributions to society during their time, as they owned several thousand acres of land across two parishes and various town properties. Charles Town was a bustling place, with various events occurring between Chota and Charles Town. Charles was a brilliant lawyer who had a thriving law practice, and his plantation, Belmont, was quite successful. He started his political career as an assembly member for the Christ Church parish but later became a delegate representing the St. Phillips parish in 1733. Charles's political career soared when he was elected as Speaker of the House in 1736.

Also in 1736 Christian Gottlieb Priber, thought to be a Frenchman but was a German immigrant, came to live with the Cherokee and tried to make a commonwealth among them, he functioned as the Secretary of State to Moytoy (Ama Matai) the chief named Emperor.³⁹⁴ Priber, a visionary leader, had a remarkable idea for a Utopian society where runaway slaves could seek refuge and the indigenous people could coexist in harmony. To achieve this, he proposed a strategy like the English, where tribes could be pitted against each other to strengthen their position. Only Priber believed that if the Cherokee had played the French, Spanish, and English against each other, they could have bolstered their position. This idea, however, was seen as a

³⁹⁴ Knox Mellon Jr, "Christian Priber and the Jesuit Myth," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 61, no. 2 (April 1960).

threat by the English, who offered a reward for his capture. Unfortunately, Priber was caught by the Creeks near New Orleans and turned over to the authorities. He was subsequently imprisoned in Georgia's Fredricks prison. The trouble did not end there for the Aniyvwiya, as they continued to face oppression and injustice at the hands of the English. Despite Priber's noble efforts to promote harmony and unity, his vision was not realized due to external political pressures and conflicts.

During the year 1738, a slave ship carrying the infectious and deadly smallpox disease arrived in Charles Town, striking fear, and concern amongst the Cherokee community. The traditional healers of the tribe were unable to combat the outbreak, leaving many vulnerable to its devastating effects. Among those who fell ill was Attakullakulla, although he eventually recovered, he was left with disfiguring scars on his face, a constant reminder of the deadly disease. In the aftermath of the outbreak, political maneuverings continued to unfold. French emissaries arrived shortly after the pandemic, seeking to secure a trade deal with the Aniyvwiya people. Attakullakulla was entrusted with the challenging task of convincing the Chiefs, including the Red Chief of War and Trade, Oconostota, to reject the French proposal. However, with the tribe still reeling from the effects of smallpox, Attakullakulla faced an uphill battle in persuading his peers to stand against the French.³⁹⁵

The problem for the deerskin trade was that there were two kinds of traders, the merchant of Charles Town, and the trader who lived amongst the Indians. James Adair was one such trader, he would attempt to control the deerskin trade within the interior and secure trade alliances with the Choctaw, he claimed that he entered the deerskin business in 1735, but the

³⁹⁵ Adair: John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers, The Story of the Cherokee Indians Form Earliest Times to the Removal to the West, 1838, 1938*; William R. Reynolds Jr, *The Cherokee Struggle to Maintain Identity in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (McFarland, 2015).

Governor of South Carolina employed him to try and get the Chickasaw to relocate to a village near Fort Moore on the Savannah River. Like Charles Town, it was an important buffer zone for the Spanish still holding St. Augustine. The problem was that the French did not care whether the Cherokee or any other tribe had an English agreement. They were still doing all they could to align with the natives against the English.³⁹⁶ But by this time Charles Town had grown immensely and the settlers had spread everywhere, beyond the proposed boundaries and further reducing the Aniyvwiya land.

The *Wolf* Clan especially was hot for war, from what we know of this clan, in times of peace they were practicing or hunting, being idle was not a strong suit for the Wolf Clan. The lack of a hunting ground made for too much time on their hands. They knew that if they began trading with the French it would surely result in war with the English. The young warriors were becoming increasingly aware of the Old Beloved Men giving away the land they had always enjoyed.³⁹⁷ But Attakullakulla is able to continue the trade agreement with the English and the others agree to not make deals with the French. But 1740 was a terribly busy year. Attakullakulla is captured by Ottawa and taken to Canada. Canadian agriculture was failing and on top of this the Austrian Succession had caused the Seven Years War to land on the North American continent. France and Great Britain would be at war with the help of Indian allies on each side. While Attakullakulla is held prisoner he is treated with respect and the wooing continues.³⁹⁸ This causes the chief Kanagatoga to act in his place, he is neither a White Chief nor a Red Chief, he is a council member who steps in while Attakullakulla is held in Canada. Many changes occur

³⁹⁶ Adair.

³⁹⁷ Edward Cave et al., *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for the Year ...* (London: Printed by Edw. Cave, 1736-, 1736).

³⁹⁸ Arthur Dobbs and Samuel Wharton, *An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay, in the North-West Part of America ...* (London: Printed for J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion in Ludgate-Street, 1744).

while Attakullakulla is in the north. Despite making friends with Chief Pontiac, he remains loyal to the English crown and refuses to make a separate deal though he sees the benefits. He instead travels to Virginia and attempts to renew the peace and trade, though the Charles Town traders misconstrue this. The peace and prosperity that once existed between the South Carolina merchants could not resist the overpowering force of instigators and interior land grabs.³⁹⁹

Meanwhile in Charles Town, a spark is in the air and Attakullakulla will not be the only one with major problems. A fire began at the corner of Broad and Church streets, a small spark ignited at the business of a horse saddler and quickly spread on the northern wind coming off the bay.⁴⁰⁰ When one embarks on a visit to Charles Town, it is imperative to consider the gusty winds that often sweep through the area, creating an experience akin to residing on an island. While many of the town's edifices were constructed from brick, the wooden structures proved to be especially susceptible to fire damage. During this calamity, Lieutenant Governor William Bull issued a stirring call to action, urging all residents, regardless of their social status as slaves or servants, to aid in extinguishing the blaze. He underscored that his actions were conducted under the auspices of His Majesty's Council and implored the populace to contribute to the efforts. Unfortunately, as is often the case with such uprisings, certain individuals took advantage of the chaos to engage in pillaging. To prevent such occurrences, troops from the Royal Navy ships docked in the harbor, including the *Phoenix*, *Tartar*, and *Spence*, patrolled the thoroughfares and even assisted with demolition efforts to contain the conflagration. This initiative-taking approach

³⁹⁹ Grose, *Military Antiquities Respecting a History of the English Army, from the Conquest to the Present Time*.

⁴⁰⁰ "The South-Carolina Gazette," *The South-Carolina Gazette*, 1740.

helped to minimize the damage and prevent further loss of life, underscoring the importance of decisive action in the face of adversity.⁴⁰¹

The brothers had investors, but the damage that occurred was devastating and exceeded £200,000 worth of sterling silver. The wharves was in such a bad state that for two weeks, a "no sailing" and "no shipping" order was issued, which had an enormous impact not only on the Pinckney brothers' business and wharf but also on the entire town. Bankruptcy was inevitable, but thankfully, several laws or Acts were created to prevent such an event from happening again. The town was able to manage all the problems that followed this event. It was necessary to announce that no tradesman should be able to raise their prices for ten years during the town's rebuilding. This was put in place to prevent opportunistic bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths from using the tragedy to price gouge. The Commissary General was responsible for assessing the damage and collecting claims from each victim to ensure fair compensation.

The event's aftermath was felt by the Pinckney brothers and the entire town. The impact of the "no sailing" and "no shipping" orders had a ripple effect that was felt by everyone. It was a challenging time, but the town was able to pull through thanks to the measures put in place to prevent any further damage. The Acts were a testament to the town's resilience and ability to adapt to demanding situations.⁴⁰² William carried a heavy weight of responsibility on his shoulders, knowing that his dear friends were forced to seek support from charities due to the extensive damages caused by the fire. Despite his financial inability to pay for the damages, he lent them his ears with compassion and understanding, ready to assist in any way he could. As a

⁴⁰¹ Kenneth Scott, "Sufferers in the Charleston Fire of 1740," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 64, no. 4 (1963): 203–11.

⁴⁰² Jones, "The Pinckneys of Ashpoo."

devout Christian, William had been ingrained with the values of empathy and generosity by the Reverend Gardner of St. Phillips church, who taught him to always be there for the ones in need. Even though the fire had left a trail of destruction, William found solace in knowing that he could direct his friends toward the assistance provided for poverty-stricken families and alleviate some of their suffering. His kindness and willingness to help shone like a beacon of hope during the darkest times, illuminating the path toward a better future.⁴⁰³

The newspapers were full of advertisements for stores that moved, rental units available, and homes open for “daughters who are in need of instruction,” as well as an ad for Mary Bedon, (possibly a relative of Thomas Pinckney’s first wife Grace Bedon) an Innkeeper who “took the house where Mr. Carr lately kept tavern, where all gentlemen that will be so kind as to be her customers shall meet with the best reception and entertainment in her power.”⁴⁰⁴ Charles and William will have to file bankruptcy, not personally, but as owners of the Friendly Insurance Company. This has been wrongly attributed to William’s poor finances and linked to his own bad health. However, he still has his properties and will remain in the Assembly and be Commissary-General. Charles and William were not sole proprietors of the Insurance company therefore the loss was spread out and did not rest only on William. The fire of 1740 had burned most of the town’s homes and businesses, but thankfully the plantations were not affected. Quite the contrary, there would be much material needed for the rebuilding.

A trip to the Boone plantation today provides an opportunity to witness the arduous process of hand-rubbing each brick that was once utilized during the Seventeenth century, however, that plantation and the Horlbock brother’s brickyard came later in 1817. Still, there

⁴⁰³ South Carolina Council, “Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina.”

⁴⁰⁴ “The South-Carolina Gazette,” *The South-Carolina Gazette*, December 13, 1740.

were plenty of other brickyards. From 1740 to 1860, a minimum of seventy-nine brickmakers were established around Charles Town and many were along the Wando River, making the transportation of bricks, crafted from the red clay and sandy earth of Carolina and hand-rubbed by enslaved children, more readily available in Charles Town. The newly implemented regulations allowed for building buildings with brick or stone only, and there were still shipping restrictions. Ironically, the destructive fire that threatened numerous lives ended up generating an economic advantage for those brickmakers. Regulations also required wooden roofs to be replaced after a certain period. The rebuilding oddly played a crucial role in keeping the economy afloat until shipping resumed. These developments in construction and production brought significant changes to the plantation economy and the region's wider economy. Those individuals with standing timber had the potential to make a significant amount of money during this time of crisis, though regulations would quickly be put in place.⁴⁰⁵

Following the devastating fire, a committee was promptly assembled to investigate the incident and to develop measures aimed at preventing future occurrences of such disasters. The committee further made a request for assistance from the crown, which was granted in 1742 when the King approved the allocation of a sum of £20,000 sterling to aid the affected parties. However, the distribution of these funds was not without limitations. Those who had previously filed insurance claims were not eligible to receive financial aid. As a result, the allocated funds were distributed among the affected parties in varying amounts, with Charles Pinckney receiving approximately £350 and William Pinckney receiving about £400. Other recipients received amounts ranging from £17 to £5000. Despite the limitations, the financial aid proved to be

⁴⁰⁵ Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

crucial in aiding the affected parties to recover from the aftermath of the fire.⁴⁰⁶ Even with new regulations to prevent future devastating fires, this will not be Charles Town's last. In 1796 a fire threatened St. Philip's Church and the slave of a vestry risked his life by climbing to the top and tearing off burning shingles, throwing them to the ground. The slave known only as Will was given a deed of manumission (his freedom) for his act of heroism.⁴⁰⁷

Fortunately, plantation life was beginning to explode, the once-necessary deerskin trade was taking a backseat to rice, and planters were encouraged to grow other crops. A sign of a good plantation owner is one who has a finger on the pulse of their buyers, one who was also in the shipping business and was especially keen on what that product would be. A few years before the fire, in 1737, a politician, planter, and military man from Barbuda, purchased the property upon the Wappoo, along with a home in the St. Andrew's parish. No sooner than he moves his family in, and his father passes away leaving yet another piece of property in his hands. George Lucas had brought his sickly wife and two young daughters to Charles Town in the hopes of staying and enjoying life on the riverbank with a live oak tree for shade, sipping tea with a cool breeze blowing all his thoughts of war far out of his mind. However, being a Royal Navy man, he would soon be called back to duty with war about to break out in the Caribbean.⁴⁰⁸

He was a man who did not believe in the frivolity of society matrons and would see to it that his daughter Eliza was educated just as her brothers, though she would be homeschooled. Young Eliza was an intelligent girl beyond her years, when her father brought their family to live

⁴⁰⁶ Scott, "Sufferers in the Charleston Fire of 1740."

⁴⁰⁷ "1796 (June 13) Fire | Halsey Map Preservation Society of Charleston," accessed July 26, 2023, <http://www.halseymap.com/flash/window.asp?HMID=46>.

⁴⁰⁸ Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762*.

in Charles Town, or rather to one of three plantations.⁴⁰⁹ Her father would soon be recalled to Antigua with the start of the War of Jenkins Ear and Eliza must not only care for her mother and young sister, but she will also have to run three plantations. Eliza Lucas Pinckney's collection of household accounts, journals, and letter writing from 1737-1796 shows her wherewithal to discuss the current events of her time and not just frivolity, which gives historians a most valuable depiction of the times. Historians have quoted her words hundreds if not thousands of times since her words were first published by her granddaughter Harriot Horry Ravenel in 1896. Eliza not only writes about plantation life and agricultural production, but she also writes about the Indian raids, the politics of the day, the Stamp Act, and the tax on crops. George Washington visited with her during his stay in Charles Town and was a pallbearer at her funeral in Pennsylvania. She is a Pinckney that stands the test of time, perhaps because she left her own words, preserved, and protected for all to read.

Eliza gives a great account of life on a Low Country plantation. She tells of her successes as well as failures with the cash crop indigo. Having the run of three plantations and her father counting on her, she would become the most successful producer of Indigo in Carolina. Of course, there would be an overseer for each, Eliza shows the fortitude it took to make those plantations successful, far exceeding any male-dominated plantation. Eliza has two brothers and though they are in London being educated, her father must have thought her capable or he would have sent for one or the other. Though her father's attention would remain in the Caribbean, the letters that survive tell a story of a devoted father with the utmost confidence in his daughter.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹ Smith, "Charleston and Charleston Neck;" Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality*.

⁴¹⁰ John Adams, *A General Treatise of Naval Trade and Commerce: As Founded on the Laws and Statutes of This Realm ... In Two Volumes* ([London]: Printed by H. Lintot ... for J. Brotherton ..., 1753); Adams, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels*; Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675*; Great Britain, A. S. Salley, and William Noel Sainsbury, *Records in the British Public*

Eliza would be left in full charge of the running of all three plantations. She diligently recorded her daily activities as well as the accounts. At one point she discusses learning the letters of law so that she may assist her neighbors in drawing up contracts.⁴¹¹ She says that to contract a bill of sale one would have to travel into Charles Town and hire an attorney, all of which was costly, she hoped to save her neighbor's time and money by learning these "letters." The property she lives at is near the Belmont plantation and so she becomes friends with Elizabeth Pinkney and her husband Judge Charles Cotesworth Pinkney, Attorney General. Family rumor says that Elizabeth, having been ill for some time, gave permission to Charles to marry Eliza upon her death. Whether this is true or not, Elizabeth died in January of 1744 and Eliza married Charles in May of that same year.⁴¹² The holdings of the Charles Pinckney family just tripled. However, Eliza would be credited with bringing the Indigo seed to proper production prior to her wedding, though she is not the only successful Indigo grower, she does perfect the dye and later once married, she will continue running these operations while her husband is busy with his own properties, being a judge, an assemblyman and having a large interest in shipping (importing and exporting).

Indigo was a difficult plant to maintain but also to turn it into the beautiful dye that would be used in all fashions of the day, including a dress made for the monarch, took a master. Eliza's father first sent Indigo seeds to Eliza and along with the help of an overseer, the first few productions would not be good. Eliza then fires that "master" and hires someone who was

Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1663-16[90] (Atlanta, Ga.: Printed for the Historical commission of South Carolina by Foote & Davies company, 1928).

⁴¹¹ "Pinckney Papers Project."

⁴¹² Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*; Powell, *Back Over Home*; Marvin R. Zahniser, *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney: Founding Father* (UNC Press Books, 2014); Mabel L. Webber, "The Thomas Pinckney Family of South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 39, no. 1 (1938): 15–35.

recommended to her by Charles.⁴¹³ Together, the new expert and Eliza worked side by side, she was very direct, and this third production yielded exactly what they needed. A part of the process was to place urinal buckets under the slaves' quarters to collect their urine, a necessary ingredient in making the dye. In any case, up until this time, the main commodities of South Carolina were deer skins, timber, and a bit of rice. The only rice production that could be truly profitable was from the lowlands near water and though it would be a big commodity, at this time it was still struggling to make a profit. Soon though agricultural production will supersede that of deerskin and the only purpose of friendship with the natives will be in a military aspect.⁴¹⁴

After Attakullakulla was released and returned to the Aniyvwiya village of Chota, Charles Town had been steadily rebuilding and spreading inward. Attakullakulla found that not only were the young warriors pressing for war, but the South Carolina traders were also cheating the Cherokee, they were giving shotty products for quality deerskins and the prices had gone up. Kanagatoga (Old Hop) was speaking on behalf of the Aniyvwiya, but Ammouskossittee was the “headman.”⁴¹⁵ As earlier explained, each village lived completely autonomously, but they shared laws and gathered with councils from each village to discuss “worldly issues.” Everyone had a voice, but Attakullakulla became an advisor to Kanagatoga, and the younger generation wanted their land back. Attakullakulla was not pro-French, he was very much loyal to the

⁴¹³ James Glen, *A Description of South Carolina; Containing, Many Curious and Interesting Particulars Relating to the Civil, Natural and Commercial History of That Colony, Viz. the Succession of European Settlers There; Grants of English Charters; Boundaries; Constitution of the Government; Taxes; Number of Inhabitants, and of the Neighbouring Indian Nations. &c. The Nature of the Climate; Tabular Accounts of the Altitudes of the Barometer Monthly for Four Years, of the Depths of Rain Monthly for Eleven Years, and of the Winds Direction Daily for One Year, &c. The Culture and Produce of Rice, Indian Corn, and Indigo; the Process of Extracting Tar and Turpentine; and the State of Their Maritime Trade in the Years 1710, 1723, 1740 and 1748, with the Number or Tonnage of Shipping Employed, and the Species, Quantities and Values of Their Produce Exported in One Year, &c. To Which Is Added, a Very Particular Account of Their Rice-Trade for Twenty Years, with Their Exports of Raw Silk and Imports of British Silk Manufactures for Twenty-Five Years* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall., 1761).

⁴¹⁴ Seavoy, *An Economic History of the United States*.

⁴¹⁵ Conley, *The Cherokee Nation*.

English crown, though because of the cheating by the Carolina traders, he was beginning to see other possibilities that would satisfy the people without going to war.⁴¹⁶

His next steps are reported as having journeyed to the Ohio region and met with the Shawnee, he then traveled to New York and met with the Senecas to discuss trade alliances, however, these dates coincide with the French and Indian wars that began with King George's War.⁴¹⁷ If Attakullakulla did travel to Ohio first then to New York it would have been as a warrior prisoner for the French/Ottawa. He is reported as not returning to Chota until 1748, the end of the war. Either way, historians claim he was merely on a fact-finding mission and had not made any agreements. This is something the English did not understand, they felt that a man who spoke for other Cherokee was in charge, but no one man was in charge, a concept completely lost on the English. This was repeatedly ignored, had they understood this one particularly important cultural law, many troubles would not even have begun.⁴¹⁸

By now Governor James Glen was instigating a war between the Catawba and Creeks against the Cherokee. This backfired when the Cherokees of the lower villages attacked some settlers. Because of this attack, the South Carolina government-imposed trade embargoes against the Aniyvwiya. Despite these embargoes most of the Aniyvwiya villages agreed to remain loyal to the English and a new trade agreement was met, however, the Lower House expected Attakullakulla himself to come and explain his behavior. To prove his loyalty Attakullakulla attacked a group of French Indians killed eight men and took two men prisoner. This was

⁴¹⁶ Gregory Evans Dowd, *Groundless: Rumors, Legends, and Hoaxes on the Early American Frontier* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015); "Tribal Leaders Directory | Indian Affairs"; Mooney, *Cherokee History, Myths and Sacred Formulas*; Duncan and Arch, *Living Stories of the Cherokee*.

⁴¹⁷ Adair.

⁴¹⁸ "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina."

pleasing to Governor Glen, and when Attakullakulla came to Charles Town, he was seen as a friend. However, Governor Glen was not the friend Attakullakulla thought he was.⁴¹⁹

When Attakullakulla was still held captive in the north by Ottawa, King George's War (1744-48) broke out. James Adair, a prominent figure during this time, played a significant role in attempting to establish an alliance between the Choctaw and the English through a trade agreement. This agreement served two purposes: first, it aimed to undermine the French's relationship with the Choctaw, and second, it allowed the Governor and assemblymen/merchants to profit from the arrangement. Despite Adair's considerable efforts, he failed to secure the alliance. After the war ended, he went to the French fort of Toulouse, which made him look disloyal. However, Adair's intentions were not to ally with the French. Unfortunately, he was quickly arrested after his arrival at the fort, although he managed to escape. With no country to call his own, Adair retired to Indian territory and began writing his histories.⁴²⁰

Adair took the initiative to pen a letter to William Pinckney, who was serving as the Commissary General at that time. This letter's contents contained vital information about the then-current political situation. Additionally, it is thought that Adair may have disclosed details of his attempts at forging an agreement with the Choctaw tribe. Despite the various obstacles that Adair encountered, his writings remain a valuable resource that provides a deeper understanding of the history of that time.⁴²¹ His letter to William and the council states that he had previously written to them, and this was his second attempt to explain his course of action. He says he is not in league with the French, but this was ignored, and charges levied against him.⁴²² He states “I

⁴¹⁹ Glen, *A Description of South Carolina*;

⁴²⁰ Adair.

⁴²¹ Dowd, *Groundless*.

⁴²² Adair.

thought myself blamable to have writ because every Faulty character of Indian was rejected, yet to serve the Country I offered to Captn Francis to prove on oath all that I knew of the affair. If Carol'a designs [not] to stand on the defensive part and willing to give me that encouragement which I possibly might merit as well, in this, I should induce the Chickesaws at Augusta and many brave woodsmen to engage in the Publick Service, and, if I'm not mistaken in myself, with such Brave Wanton fellows I should be somewhat remarkable. I thot I was bound to write so much on sev'l considerations. James Adair”⁴²³

William, by this time, a Justice of the Peace, Commissioner General and one of the Indian Agents, also owned a store and office in Charles Town. William Pinckney was a man of great resilience and fortitude. Despite the devastating fire that ravaged his property in 1740, he was able to recover and rebuild his life. In a letter dated November 3, 1750, George Galphin wrote to William regarding the volatile situation brewing with the local tribes. After brief pleasantries and a discussion on an injury Galphin received he encloses a memorandum of what occurred in the North when he was there to speak with the Creeks and on meeting with the Cusita Indians who were going to war against the Cherokee. He expressed how he tried to discourage this by stating he thought the peace would last. He further details an account that the Cusita told him in which the Cherokee had killed two women and had carried four more away. Other men followed and recaptured the women. He says that the Cusita would go against the Cherokee within a month of this incident and that when the women were recaptured, two Cherokee were killed and one brought in alive, but he could not save him, he too was killed. He continues saying that in the spring the war did occur and that four hundred went against the

⁴²³ James Adair, “James Adair to the Royal Council and Commissioner for Indian Affairs, William Pinckney, May 7, 1751,” May 7, 1751, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/67699/67699-h/67699-h.htm>.

Cherokee killing 30 or 40 and bringing seven in alive to be burnt at the stake. Furthermore, in July three French officers with three or four privates arrived at “Cowetes” and they tried to get him to negotiate a deal with his “king” under the French flag and of course he refused.⁴²⁴

On November 11 Willaim Sludders wrote to Governor Glen, again, expressing over not seeing him due to illness, he discussed the “Tannasay and Tellyco” meeting in their hunting grounds to discuss peace.⁴²⁵ He says he took the “Gun Merchant” and twenty towns’ men and that the natives said if the Lower Creeks and Lower Cherokee wanted to war, they would not have anything to do with it. It also talks about the trouble with the French building forts and that they demanded satisfaction over the death of five of their men. The Choctaw refused to give up the killers and said they would not take just anyone to replace these men, that *“five Doggs belonging to the white People were as good as the Kings and Warriors that had killed his King's People and that the Days was not all gone and since the [y] wanted Blood spilt; they would spill Blood.”*⁴²⁶

Most interesting is a letter Governor Clinton wrote from his post at Fort George, New York, in December 1750, in response to a letter Glen wrote to Clinton on the 25th of September that same year. He first thanked him for informing him of the situation in South Carolina and that they have mutual Indian problems as well as with the Five Nations. He says he agrees that *“on your Sentiments that we should conceal a general comprehensive Plan, to unite together in one Bond of Friendship all the Indians upon the Continent, which are in Alliance with or have any Dependance upon the British Government,”* but that this could never happen unless a meeting of

⁴²⁴ George Galphin, “George Galphin to Commissioner William Pinckney, November 3, 1750,” November 3, 1750.

⁴²⁵ Sludders, “Memo from William Sludders to Comm. Pinckney.”

⁴²⁶ Sludders.

several Governors and the commissioners authorized it. He says he will discuss it further at a meeting in Albany with the Six Nations and several Governors, that he hopes Glen or at least some of South Carolina's commissioners attend. He says, *“I think, be a favourable Juncture for establishing a Peace between the Six Nations and the Catawba and other Southern [Indians] with whom the Six Nations are at y.lar if the Latter can be prevailed to send Deputies to this Meeting which I hope you'l use your Interest to incline them to.”*⁴²⁷ This did not come to fruition, in 1751 the troubles with “northern Indians” continued. A letter was sent from “the white people of the lower towns” concerning one hundred Northern Indians coming down to raid all Middle settlements and going against the Catawba. And by the spring of 1751 another report on the Creeks going against the Cherokee again and that the Cherokee were set against the Uchees. The “Notewas” and the Cherokee set out to attack all the Creeks on the Ogeechee River at a place called the Forks. The Indians were far from peaceful, yet trade continued, and the plantation system was thriving.⁴²⁸

Chapter Six: Peace with Resistance

William’s son Charles studied in London under his uncle Charles, who was now a Judge, and after earning a law degree, he returned to Charles Town. In 1754 “nephew Charles” bought 715 acres from the widow of John Allen and named it Snee Farm. However, tragedy struck again in 1758 when his uncle and his father’s last remaining brother, passed away. Charles Pinckney, the first of that name in Carolina left a legacy. He also left provisions in his Last Will and Testament to care for “nephew Charles” and ensured that William and his family were given

⁴²⁷ Governor Clinton, “Governor Clinton to Governor Glen, Fort George, New York, the 18th of December 1750,” December 18, 1750.

⁴²⁸ George Codogan, “George Codogan to Governor Glen, Fort Moore, 19th March, 1750,” March 19, 1751; Lower Town White Citizens, “The White People from the Lower Towns to the Council in Charles Town, Tanssee, 18th January 1750,” January 1751.

funds for mourning attire. This does not mean William was poor as Harriott Horry Ravenel wrongly assumed. Harriot and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney claim that William's misfortune and ill health were due to the fire, and they further incorrectly state that William gives his eldest son Charles to his brother for reasons of poverty (though they also say correctly that the reason was because Charles had no children of his own), but the fire occurred in 1740, and his son who was not the firstborn, had already been given away in 1736. In any case, William soldiered on despite his setbacks and continued to serve in his various positions.⁴²⁹ However, the 1750s marked the end of the trade alliance and peaceful relationship with the Cherokee.⁴³⁰

The divide became inevitable at Fort Loudon, in “Tanasi” present-day Tennessee. However, the real problem came from the Catawba. The Cherokee were the largest and most powerful tribe by this time and though the Catawba had other enemies, such as the Six Nations and the Shawnee warriors, their greatest threat was the Cherokee alliance with Charles Town. Because of the split in government between North and South Carolina, years before, the Catawba were considered South Carolina natives and relied on the governing body in Charles Town for trade as well as guidance and military support. Governor James Glen of South Carolina forbade the Catawba to “allow” settlers to occupy land within thirty miles of any Indian village. North Carolina did the math and pushed for a smaller boundary. North Carolina also wanted to “claim” the Catawba as on North Carolina land, hence the trade and responsibility would fall upon them. The problem was that there were no set boundary lines between North and South Carolina and this caused confusion for the natives.

⁴²⁹ Andrews, “British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675.”

⁴³⁰ Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution*.

Meanwhile, the Overhill Cherokee had been promised a fort but instead in 1753 Fort Prince George was built in the Lower Cherokee region to strengthen trade relations. The French continued to vie for a trade agreement with the Cherokee, and this fort would hope to have multiple benefits to its location in relation to Charles Town and the success of trade for South Carolina. Unfortunately, in 1754 the half-constructed Virginian fort was seized by the French and when completed named Fort Duquesne. In 1755 the Cherokee surrendered more land, and the hunting grounds further diminished their livelihood. This begins to plague the younger generation of Cherokee, warriors like Attakullakulla's son Dragging Canoe will not sit idly by. In Tellico, the rumors of a French alliance and pressure to turn against the English began to spread. Attakullakulla had his work cut out for him when he stood against Oconostota and won the promise to abandon the idea.⁴³¹

The relationship between the Cherokee and the Carolina settlers began to deteriorate with the absence of the Most Beloved Man, the White Chief of Peace, Attakullakulla. In 1758 he would be highly respected by the English though Kanagatoga (Old Hop) would be the Cherokee leader. When Attakullakulla met with the Virginians on earlier expeditions, three Cherokee had killed a couple of Virginia settlers. The Governor of South Carolina, William Lyttleton, quickly imposed more trade embargoes on the Cherokee and demanded that the culprits be apprehended. In 1759 Attakullakulla again went on the war path with an expedition of Illinois settlers against the French, at this time, Oconostota, the Red Chief of War went to Charles Town to ask that the trade embargos be lifted. Governor Lyttleton was not in the mood to listen and had the Cherokee men surrounded. This was an aggressive act of war; the prisoners had not acted against the town and the earlier killing of the Virginia traders deserved to be explained. When Attakullakulla

⁴³¹ "William Henry Lyttelton Papers 1730-1806."

returned from Illinois and heard of what Governor Lyttleton had done, he went straight to Fort Prince George carrying a British flag out in front for all to see. He convinced the Governor to release Oconostota, saying that he could not convince the other Cherokee without the help of their beloved man.⁴³²

But Oconostota was still upset from the treatment he received, after his release he lured the commander of Fort Prince George out of the gate and once exposed the Indians fired upon the Fort. A stupid move for a warrior with other prisoners inside the fort. The soldiers inside instantly killed all the prisoners. Oconostota would lead a raiding party against Fort Loudon while another case of smallpox raged. Major Archibald Montgomery was called to the Fort and Attakullakulla to try at a peaceful resolution. However, when Montgomery arrived, he was ambushed, and one hundred and forty men were killed. Fort Loudon remained surrounded despite Montgomery's claim of a successful mission. Finally, Captain Demere surrendered the fort, but the Cherokee found it without guns or ammunition.⁴³³ The agreed terms of surrender said there would be provisions left in the garrison, when this was discovered to be false the Cherokee attacked once again. John Stuart would be taken captive, but Attakullakulla would save him from his Indian brothers. Oconostota saw this as a betrayal, but Attakullakulla remained on the side of the English as long as he could.⁴³⁴ The map below by Thomas Kitchen depicts the first recording of the village of Chota, created around 1760 when the lands of the Aniyvwiya had already severely diminished.⁴³⁵

⁴³² Duane H. King and Danny E. Olinger, "Oconastota," *American Antiquity* 37, no. 2 (1972): 222–28, <https://doi.org/10.2307/278208>.

⁴³³ Richard G. Stone, "Captain Paul Demere at Fort Loudoun, 1757-1760," *The East Tennessee Historical Society Publications*, no. 41 (1969): 17–32.

⁴³⁴ "Letter from Oconostota," n.d., accessed July 30, 2023.

⁴³⁵ Kitchen, "A New Map of the Cherokee Nation."

Fort Prince George and although Attakullakulla successfully negotiated the release of three of the chiefs, this did not satisfy the Cherokee warriors who continued to raid.⁴³⁶

Colonel Archibald Montgomery arrived in Charles Town on April 1, 1760, with over one thousand British regulars (Royal troops) along with forty Catawba and other Indian scouts. Eliza Lucas Pinckney writes “*Our Indian affairs are in a poor way. Col Montgomerie (Colonel Archibald Montgomery) at the head of sixteen hundred men including rangers marched into the middle Cherokee Towns and destroyed five towns, which raised the spirits of people much.*”⁴³⁷

She goes on to describe how they expected him to march towards Fort Loudon but came towards Charles Town to meet up with General Amherst. She says that the Governor was called upon by the assembly to continue and says “we” await his answer and that “they” believe the Creeks will join the Cherokee. All throughout her work, she speaks as if she has first-hand knowledge of the workings of government. Though her husband has passed she remained in correspondence with the other men of the assembly, being the daughter of a military man and given her self-motivation to be taught in law and letters it is clear why she would be a trusted confidant.⁴³⁸

Many women of this period in Charles Town were far from the “mealy-mouthed” characters depicted in *Gone with the Wind*, though some were, this generation of women in Charles Town were active not only in social circles, but they were also closeted politicians, avid readers, and the wind beneath the wings of their husbands.⁴³⁹ They raised children as their number one job in life and were happy to do so, however silent their outward appearances were, in the privacy of

⁴³⁶ “Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Concluded by His Excellency William-Henry Lyttelton, Esq, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of His Majesty’s Province of South-Carolina, with Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter ...;” “William Henry Lyttelton Papers 1730-1806.”

⁴³⁷ Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762*.

⁴³⁸ Glover, *Eliza Lucas Pinckney*.

⁴³⁹ Margaret Mitchell, “Gone with the Wind,” in *Gone with the Wind* (the Macmillan company, 1937), 117, http://archive.org/details/gonewithwind0000marg_s9r9.

their homes they were quite vocal, most of the time being sounding boards or voices of reason within their husband's heads. Most women were married young to older men, men died in battle of natural causes at early ages, while women who did not die in childbirth tended to outlive multiple husbands, giving them experience and knowledge of whatever positions those men held.

During the expedition of 1761, the provincials' militia led by Colonel Thomas Middleton and Colonel Henry Laurens, along with Colonel James Grant of the Regulars went on three marches through lower and middle Cherokee towns. This was all in retaliation for the massacre at Fort Loudon. The British, whom the Cherokee had been loyal to, sent out a force from Charles Town against the Cherokee of the lower towns. At Fort Prince George, Colonel James Grant met with Attakullakulla but even the great orator was no match for the anger of the British officer. His final assault destroyed fifteen Cherokee villages and burned acres of corn. Thousands of Cherokees fled to the mountain villages.⁴⁴⁰ Grant again met with Attakullakulla; he demanded that the Cherokee responsible be turned over for execution. After deliberation between the chiefs, Attakullakulla met with Governor William Bull (neither would suspect, but in the twentieth century they will share an eighth great-granddaughter) and agreed to hand over four Cherokee.⁴⁴¹ In the meantime, Ukah Ulah passed away and Attakullakulla was made an official Chief of Peace. He asked that John Stuart be made an Indian Agent, however, this would not happen for another year.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ "William Henry Lyttelton Papers 1730-1806."

⁴⁴¹ David Theod Hines, *The Life, Adventures and Opinions of David Theo. Hines: Of South Carolina;-- Master of Arts, and, Sometimes, Doctor of Medicine;-- Alias, Dr. Hamilton, Col. Hamilton, Dr. Haynes, Col. Hayne, Dr. Porcher, Col. Singleton, Rev. Mr. Beman, Rev. Dr. Baker, Col. Allston, Maj. Parker, Col. Benton, Maj. Middleton, Lieut. Pringle, Capt. Rutledge, Col. Pinckney, Dr. Brandreth, Major Moore, &c. &c. &c. : In a Series of Letters to His Friends* (New York (State): Bradley & Clark., 1840).

⁴⁴² Brown, *Old Frontiers, The Story of the Cherokee Indians Form Earliest Times to the Removal to the West*, 1838.

These expeditions were costly, it was the job of the Commissary General to supply such endeavors. William Pinckney was not only the Commissary General at this time, but he was also an Indian Agent, town merchant, and plantation owner. He approved all the provisions necessary to end the fighting for what he thought would be the last time. In July the Cherokee were left with little to bargain with, they negotiated a surrender of sorts. They met at Bee's Ferry on the Ashley River and signed the Treaty of Charles Town.⁴⁴³ Attakullakulla had been held captive and the treaty agreed to exchange hostages and promised to end all trade with the French as well as rid the territory of their posts. They created a new boundary line that once again minimized the hunting grounds. The Cherokee were clearly losing their worth. The agriculture production, the exportation of products and the importation of African Americans had superseded the deerskin trade but still needed them as a military alliance being on the eve of a revolution. Peace was on the horizon with the French and the Spanish, and the citizens of South Carolina were looking to end ties with the British crown. However, William Pinckney would remain loyal to the crown. The Cherokee were not so inclined to help the Patriot cause since the King and his agents set a boundary and allowed them to push settlers off who encroached by any means necessary. However, the problems for the Cherokee ran deeper than diminishing numbers, their economy had been suffering with the plantations in full swing.

Initially, Attakullakulla showed his support for the British, but later altered his allegiance and fought for the Patriots in Florida. Although a time of peace persisted for fifty years, it ended unfortunately. While the first and second generations of Pinckneys in South Carolina displayed their loyalty to the Crown, the third generation went ahead with the displacement of the

⁴⁴³ Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Concluded by His Excellency William-Henry Lyttelton, Esq, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of His Majesty's Province of South-Carolina, with Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, 1760

indigenous population from their homelands and forced their westward migration.⁴⁴⁴ In 1765, Attakullakulla, a highly esteemed Cherokee nation member, undertook a challenging expedition to Virginia, all hoping to establish lasting peace. The driving force behind this decision was the merciless killing of several Cherokee by Virginians, which had led the White Chief of Peace to demand compensation. Even though the Virginians did agree to supply reparations, the process of securing them was a tedious and grueling one, marked by numerous obstacles and setbacks.⁴⁴⁵ If only they would send him and Oconostota to England, he could stop the war. John Stuart would reject this plan but did agree to fight with the Cherokee against the Iroquois. Attakullakulla and Oconostota traveled to New York to forge a peace deal with the Iroquois and stayed at Johnson Hall in Mohawk territory to settle the terms.⁴⁴⁶ During this time William Pinckney passed away but it will not end the Pinckney influence. Soon Attakullakulla and Oconostota were on a mission to solidify the peace with a Wabash River tribe and by 1769 peace was on the horizon. A deal made with James Robertson would lease more land to North Carolina and for eight years settlers would develop the land that once belonged to the Watauga. The deeds being done will lead to the words of the Potawatomi chief, Simon Pokagon, that the white man would not be satisfied until he owned the sky.⁴⁴⁷

In 1770 Attakullakulla would go to Lochaber and be a part of the headmen who ceded the Cherokee lands east of Long Island to the Kanawha River in Ohio. Again in 1774, he would negotiate with Richard Henderson for the sale of the lands that fell between the mountains and

⁴⁴⁴ Town, "131 Memorandum from George Galphin to Commissioner Pinckney"; George Galphin, "South Carolina Indian Affairs Documents, 1750-1752, Memo from George Galphin to Wm Pinckney" (Silver Bluff, November 1750).

⁴⁴⁵ "Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade."

⁴⁴⁶ "'Some Account of the Cherokees (1762)' in 'The Publications of James Edward Oglethorpe' on University of Georgia Press Digital Publishing."

⁴⁴⁷ Pokagon, *The Red Man's Rebuke*.

the Cumberland River.⁴⁴⁸ Though the Cherokee would receive about \$10,000 for this sale in the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals in 1775, which would amount to each Cherokee receiving less than he would make in a year of hunting these same lands. The English were cutting out the Indians from the deerskin market and forcing them into poverty. By June of 1776, the White Chief of Peace could no longer thwart the anger of the young warriors, especially his own son, born to the Wolf Clan, Dragging Canoe.

In 1775 the Liberty Boys of Charles Town threatened to kill John Stuart who was now Indian Agent and accused of using his influence with the Cherokee against the revolutionaries. Alexander Cameron, who had been an emissary for John Stuart and lived with the Cherokee for over ten years, was also accused of leading raids against the settlers of the backcountry. William Henry Drayton sent delegates to try and bribe Alexander Cameron after Stuart fled. When Cameron refused Drayton decided to act and sent men to arrest Cameron, but he had fled to the “Capital” city of Chota for safety with the Overhill Cherokee.⁴⁴⁹ Despite Cameron’s attempts to stop the Cherokee from war, it was a brief reprieve at best. The Continental Congress had quite a bit on their plates but managed to appoint Indian commissioners who did not improve relations. They armed them instead, trying to buy their loyalty with weapons. John Stuart then sent his brother, Henry, to function as an agent in getting the ammunition promised to the Cherokee. Dragging Canoe took eighty warriors on the long journey to meet with the British and Henry Stuart who had taken another route. Together they traveled back to Chota and on the way learned

⁴⁴⁸ I. Kinvin Wroth, *Legal Papers of John Adams*.

⁴⁴⁹ Nadia Dean, *A Demand of Blood: The Cherokee War of 1776* (Cherokee Valley Press, 2013); Timberlake, “The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake.”

of the warrants for Cameron. Dragging Canoe wasted no time, he sent runners from the Deer Clan ahead to Chota, the message was simple and direct, “Prepare for War.”⁴⁵⁰

Attakullakulla traveled to Pensacola to discuss his alliance with the British but to no avail. The rebellious young warriors would continue to raid the settlers of North and South Carolina as well as Virginia and Georgia. Maintaining a faction in the Chickamauga region and constantly attacking. Attakullakulla and Oconostota still held on to the hope of peace and went to the Patriots for a treaty of peace. For years, the skirmishes and peace talks continued. Continued instigation led to the Cherokee declaring war on the Watauga and the Nolichucky white settlements. John Carter wrote letters in the name of British agents and forged their signatures saying that thousands of troops and warriors were about to invade the rebels. These letters made their way to the Continental Congress and Virginia newspapers. This caused Congress to send militia to defend the settlers despite Cameron and Stuarts naming the letters as forged by John Carter. The letters had the same effect as the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, it merely woke a sleeping giant. But whether that was the patriot’s militia or Dragging Canoe and his warriors only time, and war, would tell.⁴⁵¹

Dragging Canoe and one hundred and sixty warriors attacked Virginia militiamen in July of 1776 where he was wounded and people were killed on both sides. It had been British policy to allow the Cherokee to defend if anyone crossed the boundary. This was only the beginning of the Cherokee divisions. Dragging Canoe would openly speak against the elders which included

⁴⁵⁰ Brown, *Old Frontiers, The Story of the Cherokee Indians Form Earliest Times to the Removal to the West, 1838.*

⁴⁵¹ “Tsi’yu-Gunsini - Dragging Canoe, Cherokee Chief, 1738 – March 1, 1792,” accessed August 5, 2023, <https://www.aaanativearts.com/chokeee/dragging-canoe.htm>.

his father. He said they could have the land, but it would be drenched in blood.⁴⁵² In April of 1777 Attakullakulla and Oconostota signed yet another peace and trade alliance with the Treaty of Fort Patrick Henry to which they agreed to remain neutral in the war against the British. Of course, this did not stop the young warriors from continuing to harass settlers. Attakullakulla would continue his desire for peace until he died in 1778. His son Dragging Canoe and the young warrior's cousin Nanye-hi (Nancy Ward), would continue to stand their ground and remain, leaving their future ancestors to survive even after the removal of most Indians to Oklahoma in the trail of tears.⁴⁵³ Nanye-hi though was most influenced by her Uncle Attakullakulla the White Chief of Peace.

Nanye-hi was born to a woman from the Wolf clan of the Overhill Cherokee in the village of Chota in about 1738. It is reported by the federally recognized Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma that when the child was born a white wolf was seen, meaning the child was meant for peace, not war though she became a great warrior and diplomat. Though when born her name was Wild Rose due to the softness and color of her skin. She fought alongside her cousin warriors at the battle of Taliwa between the Creek and her people in 1755. After her "husband" was wounded she continued to fight. It is reported that she would chew on the bullets to make them sharper and more penetrating when hitting their mark. Because of this act, she was named Agi-ga-u-e, (Ghighau), Beloved Woman, and was honored with a seat on the council. Some

⁴⁵² Virginia et al., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts: ... Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond* (Richmond: R.F. Walker, 1875), http://archive.org/details/bub_gb_NDgUAAAAYAAJ; United States Congress, *Congressional Record* (Washington, The Congress, 1873), <http://archive.org/details/congressionalrec122eunit>.

⁴⁵³ Attakullakulla, "Little Carpenter's Talk."

reports say she was head of the “women’s council.” She was of the Wolf clan, which naturally made her a warrior, yet she often showed her desire for peace.⁴⁵⁴

Sometime around 1750 she had joined in “marriage” with an English trader at Fort Loudon. Bryant Ward and his new Indian bride lived with the Cherokee, and she took the name Nancy Ward. In 1757 at the treaty negotiations about the French and Indian War, Attakullakulla spoke about the white man and their lack of confidence in their women. He said, “Since the white man as well as the red one is born of a woman why does not the white man admit women to their councils?”⁴⁵⁵ On two occasions Nancy saved white settlers. She would warn them of impending raids by the Cherokee and even stop two women from being burnt at the stake. Like her uncle, he believed that the only way to gain peace would be to co-exist. In 1781 she was selected to stand for her people in peace talks. She said, “Women are looked upon as nothing, but we are mothers, and you are our sons. Our cry is all for peace, let it continue. This peace must last forever. Let your women’s sons be ours. Let our sons be yours. Let your women hear our words.”⁴⁵⁶ It fell upon deaf ears at the time but has had a lasting and resounding effect.

Ten years after Attakullakulla gave his talk a delegation of esteemed Cherokee leaders embarked on another historic journey to the grand city of London. This momentous occasion was captured in an exquisite engraving from the era that depicts the essence of the delegation, featuring a diverse array of notable figures.⁴⁵⁷ One of the delegates was an interpreter, who

⁴⁵⁴ Annie Walker Burns, *Military and Genealogical Records of the Famous Indian Woman, Nancy Ward* (Washington, D.C.: A.W. Burns, 196AD), <http://archive.org/details/militarygenealog00burn>.

⁴⁵⁵ “Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Concluded by His Excellency William-Henry Lyttelton, Esq, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of His Majesty’s Province of South-Carolina, with Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter ...”

⁴⁵⁶ In *Transatlantic Feminisms in the Age of Revolutions* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 180, http://archive.org/details/isbn_9780199743483.

⁴⁵⁷ Timberlake, “The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake.”

unfortunately met a tragic fate as he was poisoned during the journey. Another renowned figure was Outacite, a valiant warrior who was known for his ferocious war cry and for carrying a sacred peace pipe. Also in attendance was Uschesees, a skilled hunter who was known for his collection of many scalps. While Timberlake says that the delegates were Ostenaco, Oconostota, and Pidgeon, what is certain is that Ostenaco was a respected war chief who fought alongside the English during the Seven Years' War. Unfortunately, his warriors were abandoned by British troops and later attacked by Virginians, sparking a period of devastating raids between the Cherokee and the colonists. To restore peace, the Cherokee captured Fort Loudon but had to seek peace due to the rampant destruction of their lands by colonial armies. In a less momentous move than the first envoy, Ostenaco, alongside distinguished figures Stalking Turkey and Pouting Pigeon, embarked on a diplomatic visit to King George III in London. Accompanying them were Lt. Henry Timberlake and interpreter William Shorey, who, tragically, did not survive the journey.⁴⁵⁸ This visit was a crucial step towards setting up diplomatic relations between the Cherokee and the new British crown, and it highlighted the Cherokee people's resilience and determination to secure peace and prosperity for themselves and their future generations.⁴⁵⁹

The following picture originally had the caption “Original caption: “The Three Cherokees came over from the head of the River Savanna to London, 1762. 1: Their Interpreter that was Poisoned. 2: Outacite or Man-killer, who Sets up the War Whoop, as, (Woach Woach ha ha hoch Waoch) with his Wampum. 3: Austenaco or King, a great Warrior who has his Calumet or Pipe, by taking a Whiff of which, is their most sacred emblem of peace. 4: Uschesees

⁴⁵⁸ Kate Fullagar, “The Warrior-Diplomat: Ostenaco of the Appalachians,” in *The Warrior, the Voyager, and the Artist, Three Lives in an Age of Empire* (Yale University Press, 2020), 11–43, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvt1sgr9.4>.

⁴⁵⁹ Timberlake, “The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake.”

y Great Hunter, or Scalper, as the Character of a Warrior depends on the Number of Scalps, he has them without Number.”⁴⁶⁰



Figure 7 Cherokee Delegation to England, 1762, courtesy Cherokee Registry

Despite the conflicts and disease along with the loss of land, it is important to recognize and acknowledge the fact that not every member of the Cherokee tribe was forcefully removed from their ancestral land and moved to Oklahoma. In fact, a massive part of the population still lives on their original land, despite having experienced the loss of over 80% of their extensive original area, Unetlanvhi, deemed in their care. Dragging Canoe followers migrated to Missouri and took on roles in the United States government as guides, interpreters, store owners, and lodging owners in the south to complete the job of moving the natives playing a huge role in keeping the lands now belonging to the Eastern Band of Cherokee.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶⁰ “Cherokee Visit London in 1730 and 1762 – The Cherokee Registry,” accessed July 29, 2023, <https://cherokeeregistry.com/cherokee-visit-london-in-1730/>.

⁴⁶¹ “Ward, Nancy or Nanye-Hi – (1738-1822),” Social Welfare History Project, November 19, 2015, <https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/eras/colonial-postrev/ward-nancy-or-nanye-hi-1738-1822/>.

Similarly, the city of Charleston, SC has played a significant role in the history of the United States. However, changes in transportation and decreasing exports from plantations caused the city's center of trade to shift over time, leading to new developments and changes in the economic landscape of the region. It is unfortunate and regrettable that despite their display of loyalty to each other and to the crown, the offspring of settlers and land pirates betrayed both the Cherokee people and the Charles Town agents. This act of betrayal serves as a stark reminder of the injustices and inequalities that have been perpetuated throughout the history of the United States and underscores the importance of continued efforts to address and rectify these issues through acts of diplomacy and not aggression.

The Pinckney family's legacy did not end with Major William, however. The new generation of Pinckneys continued to run plantations and played instrumental roles in the coming Revolutionary War and the birth of a Nation. When William had a heart attack and retired to his plantation prior to the American Revolution he died within a few years in 1766, he left a substantial impact even if it is nearly forgotten today. His children each left their own legacy and impact on North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and Missouri. His children: Susannah (1724-1784), Mary (1726-1828), Thomas (1728-1770), Elizabeth (1729-1737), Charles (1731-1782), who was the first owner of Snee Farm, Mary Polly (1733-1749) Sarah (1734-1752), Anne Polly (1736-1771), Rebecca (1739-1774), William Cotesworth (1741-1742), Robert (1743-1749).⁴⁶² Each one that survived to adulthood made a name for themselves as well.

⁴⁶² Powell, *Back Over Home*.

Colonel Charles of the SC Militia, William's son, also known as “nephew Charles,” to Eliza Pinckney, was one of one hundred and sixty Charles Town residents, to pledge an oath to the British Government during the war with England.⁴⁶³ He, along with others, paid heavy fines but eventually was forgiven. Colonel Charles’s son, Charles, was an even more prominent figure in American history. He was not educated in England like his father, but in Charles Town like his grandfather William. Charles' private tutor was a man with new ideals, Dr. David Oliphant. During the Enlightenment period, Oliphant was among the influential scholars who advocated for a political philosophy that viewed the government as a significant social contract between the ruler and the people. This social contract was based on the premise that both parties had specific inalienable rights that needed to be protected by the government. If the government did not fulfill its obligations, the people had the right to institute a new government that would uphold their fundamental rights. This philosophy was instrumental in shaping the modern political system, emphasizing the importance of protecting individual rights and promoting democratic ideals.⁴⁶⁴

This Charles, who was the son of “nephew Charles,” was influenced by Oliphant's ardent zeal for learning, which served as a catalyst for him to become proficient in as many as five different languages. In addition to this, again like his grandfather William, he also built an extensive personal library that consisted of over two thousand books. Furthermore, his scholarly accomplishments earned him an honorary degree from the College of New Jersey, which is now famously known as Princeton University. After completing his academic pursuits under Oliphant’s tutelage, Pinckney went on to pursue a career in law, he was admitted to the bar in

⁴⁶³ Herring, Longacre, and American Academy of the Fine Arts, *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*.

⁴⁶⁴ Marty D. Matthews, *Forgotten Founder: The Life and Times of Charles Pinckney* (Univ of South Carolina Press, 2004).

South Carolina at the age of twenty-one, in the year 1779, however, he would not practice as he was elected to a seat in the South Carolina legislature. Unlike his father and grandfather, he saw no value in the crown. His military career in the American Revolution ended with his capture and release to his property by the British under his own recognizance, but when he refused fealty, they incarcerated him again. He was released in a prisoner exchange and retired from military service to resume his seat in the legislature. He represented South Carolina in the Continental Congress and held that seat for three terms. He felt, as did Dr. Benjamin Rush who so eloquently said in his *Address to the People of the United States* in 1787, "*The American war is over: but this is far from being the case with the American revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed.*"⁴⁶⁵

Governor Charles was a believer in the ideals of Jefferson and Madison and managed the South Carolina sector of Jefferson's Campaign in the famous 1800 election despite his second cousin, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, running in that same election alongside the opposition. In a letter dated October 12, 1800, Charles writes to Thomas Jefferson in regards to his saturating Georgia and North Carolina along with Tennessee with the "Republican Farmer" which includes speeches on "Juries, Judges, Ross's Bill the Intercourse Bill and the Liberty of the press" he says he has sprinkled this from "the mountains to the Ocean" and that he has done everything that was possible despite the abuse from all against them. He concludes his letter by saying that he has only been loyal to his principles. Charles felt disowned by his family for his push for Jefferson's election. He continues in another letter on October 16th to which he says that his "kinsman" ran unopposed before and that the federalists blame him alone for any opposition his "kinsman" and

⁴⁶⁵ "Benjamin_Rush.Pdf," accessed July 30, 2023, https://archive.csac.history.wisc.edu/Benjamin_Rush.pdf.

their party suffer. That he feels will sever ties with both Charles C. and Thomas, sons of Colonel Charles, first of that name. What is most interesting is his reference to the “Intercourse Bill.”⁴⁶⁶

The Intercourse Bill or rather, the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790, was one of the first acts passed by Congress in the newly formed United States that addressed the “Indian Issue.”⁴⁶⁷ The United States felt the indigenous population, more specifically the Shawnee and Cherokee, to be foreign entities, lumping them in with the Spanish, French, and English foreign policies. Jefferson felt the natives could be Americanized through agriculture. He set up trade schools that taught blacksmithing and farming. Favoring efforts to assimilate the native population through American culture. Unlike the North who took on the role of the missionary catholic schools. Charles served as Ambassador to Spain and later won a seat in the House of Representatives. His impressive record is left out of hundreds of documentaries on the Founding Fathers as well as documentaries on “Forgotten Founding Fathers” who have their history repeatedly retold.⁴⁶⁸ The four-time governor of South Carolina was the last owner of Snee Farm.⁴⁶⁹ His brother Miles Brewton Pinckney (1768-1825) was Charles’s secretary for his third

⁴⁶⁶ United States. Congress and Joseph Gales, *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States: With an Appendix Containing Important State Papers and Public Documents, and All the Laws of a Public Nature; with a Copious Index; Compiled from Authentic Materials* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1789), <http://archive.org/details/debatesandproce02galegoog>.

⁴⁶⁷ United States. Congress and Gales.

⁴⁶⁸ Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Pinckney’s Treaty: A Study of America’s Advantage from Europe’s Distress, 1783-1800* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1926); Andrew J. Bethea, *The Contribution of Charles Pinckney to the Formation of the American Union* (Richmond, Va: Garrett & Massie, Incorporated, 1937); Holly Cefrey, *The Pinckney Treaty: America Wins the Right to Travel the Mississippi River* (The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc, 2003); Nott, *The Mystery of the Pinckney Draught*; Pinckney, *Proceedings of the State Rights Celebration, at Charleston, S.C., July 1st, 1830. Containing the Speeches of the Hon. Wm. Drayton & Hon. R.Y. Hayne, Who Were the Invited Guests; Also of Langdon Cheves, James Hamilton, Jr., and Robert J. Turnbull, Esqrs., and the Remarks of His Honor the Intendant, H.L. Pinckney, to Which Is Added the Volunteer Toasts given on the Occasion*; Pinckney, *An Oration, Delivered in the Independent, or Congregational Church, Charleston, before the State Rights & Free Trade Party, the State Society of Cincinnati, the Revolution Society, the ’76 Association, and the State Volunteers, on the 4th of July, 1833, Being the 57th Anniversary of American Independence. By Henry L. Pinckney. Published by Request.*

⁴⁶⁹ Robert Bylthe, Emily Kleine, and Steven Moffson, *Charles Pinckney National Historic Site: Historic Resource Study*, 2000.

term in office. William Pinckney's Grandson and two of his brother Charles' sons, Charles C., and Thomas, each had a major influence on the shaping of the United States which could not have occurred without the United States' desire to "deal with the Indian issue" that still plagued the continually encroaching settlers. Just as the English crown had found during their reign, along with the Indian Agents of the proprietorship and royal plantation had discovered, there was no stopping individual settlers from pushing westward.

Thomas Pinckney, the son of Eliza and Colonel Charles (first of that name), is collectively recalled as General Thomas Pinckney, although he was much more than that and made his own spot in Carolina history as well as helping to create the shape of the United States. His own politics had a profound influence on the lives of the Indigenous.⁴⁷⁰ He earned his education in England along with his brother Charles Cotesworth and their cousin "nephew Charles." Thomas continued his education at Westminster, Oxford, and the Temple. He became "captain of the town boys" when he was the first in his class to learn Greek. He loved reading Greek literature.⁴⁷¹ When the revolution began Thomas was appointed a lieutenant in the militia under Isaac Huger. The provincial congress met in June 1775 and called for a "proper state of defense" and after four days of deliberation called to raise 1500 men along with 450 horse rangers to form a total of three regiments. The treasury supplied one million dollars and a Council of Safety was elected. Christopher Gadsden became colonel, Isaac Huger was made lieutenant colonel, and Owen Roberts became a major of the first regiment. William Moultrie was made colonel; Isaac Motte was lieutenant-colonel and Alexander McIntosh was major of the

⁴⁷⁰ Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*.

⁴⁷¹ "Education," in *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*, by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), 22–28.

second regiment. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Francis Marion, and Thomas Pinckney were each made captains among the twenty chosen. Thomas began his career at Bunker Hill.⁴⁷²

The prominent Charles Town families married their daughters to other prominent families. Even though Thomas (first of that name) was not the primogeniture of his family, he believed in that culture that left property to the firstborn and that the firstborn was head of the entire family until his death. This is how the first families of Charles Town held onto their fortunes until the Civil War and the abolishment of slavery. Miles married Lucia Bellinger, daughter of two very influential families who were among Charles Town's first arrivals, Edmund Bellinger, and his wife Mary Bull.⁴⁷³ One of Lucia's grandfathers, Stephen Bull, arrived in South Carolina in 1670 and built a tabby house at Ashley Hall where he raised his family. He was instrumental in setting up a county court, revising land policy, and creating laws to regulate weights and measures and the Charleston Watch. He also served on committees to compile laws, activate public works, and decide on the advisability of attacking St. Augustine in 1702. Stephen Bull was a prominent figure in the Colony of South Carolina, actively involved in diplomatic affairs, trade, and exploration. He successfully negotiated a treaty with the Cape Fear Indians in 1696 and was later sent to negotiate with the Creek Indians in 1701.⁴⁷⁴

Bull was the first resident of Ashley Hall, where he experimented with growing crops. He was one of the first planters to grow rice on a large scale and conducted experiments with

⁴⁷² "Military Life," in *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*, by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), 26–28.

⁴⁷³ South Carolina (Colony) Council, A. S. (Alexander Samuel) Salley, and South Carolina. Archives Dept, *Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C., Printed for the Historical Commission of South Carolina by the State Co., 1907), <http://archive.org/details/journalofgrandco01sout>.

⁴⁷⁴ Henry DeSaussure Bull, "Ashley Hall Plantation," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 53, no. 2 (1952): 61–66; Francis Yonge, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the People of South-Carolina, in the Year 1719: And of the True Causes and Motives That Induced Them to Renounce Their Obedience to the Lords Proprietors, as Their Governors, and to Put Themselves Under the Immediate Government of the Crown* (printed in the year, 1726).

tobacco, ginger, indigo, and potatoes. Before this, he was appointed Surveyor of South Carolina in 1673 and Surveyor General from 1684-1685. He played a significant role in the design of Charles Town and James Town but unfortunately, the original plans no longer exist. Bull held various offices, including Master of Ordinance, Captain, and Engineer of the Charles Town forts from 1671 to 1675. He was also an officer in the provincial forces from 1687-1703. Additionally, he was a member of the Grand Council of South Carolina, the Earl of Shaftesbury's first deputy, Lord Cornbury's first deputy, and deputy for other proprietors. He held other positions such as Assistant Judge, Commissioner of Taxes, Sheriff of Berkeley County, Justice of the Peace, Register of Berkeley County, Register of the Province, member of the Commons House of Assembly, and Judge of the Admiralty.⁴⁷⁵

Lucia's paternal grandfather was Captain Sir Edmund Bellinger, 1st Landgrave. He arrived in 1692, the same year as Thomas Pinckney. He was the Deputy to William Craven (Lord Proprietor of Carolina), Surveyor General and in the year 1698, was appointed a member of the Executive Council for Governor Joseph Blake.⁴⁷⁶ He also aided the Lords Proprietors in creating the final set of Fundamental Constitutions. As a result, he was granted a patent on May 7, 1698, which made him a Landgrave. He acquired a barony of 13,000 acres in the Yemassee lands, which included Tomotley, a savannah or swamp. However, there is no record of when the Tomotley Barony was laid out, and no plats of it can be found. Subsequently, on December 12, 1702, he was granted 6,000 acres of land on the south side of the Ashepoo River, which was referred to as the Ashepoo Barony. When Edmund Bellinger, Sr. passed away, he left a will dated October 10, 1705, in which he bequeathed all his lands to his son Thomas. Upon Thomas's

⁴⁷⁵ Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality*.

⁴⁷⁶ "Bellinger Family of SC - Tribal Tree," accessed July 30, 2023, <https://bellingerofsc.tribalpages.com/>; "Carolina Key People - Landgrave Edmund Bellinger, Sr.," n.d., accessed July 30, 2023.

death, the lands were passed on to his brother, the second Landgrave, Edmund Bellinger, who was Lucia's father and an influential man in his own right. He owned over seventy-seven thousand acres of land which included Ashepoo Barony.⁴⁷⁷

The Aniyvwiya and the Unegas had notable differences but also shared several similarities that helped them persevere despite the Aniyvwiya suffering significant losses in land and population. Thanks to the diplomatic efforts of the Overhill Cherokee Chiefs, the Aniyvwiya survived the constant changes brought on by the Unegas and managed to survive. The Unegas gained independence from English rule and pushed for westward expansion, something Governor Pinckney did not support.

Charleston, South Carolina grew from a vital port city into two thriving States. The quick economic growth and expansion would not have been possible without the sixty years of peace between Attakullakulla and his tribe, and the Men from Durham. The resilience and persistence of the Aniyvwiya and the Unegas were instrumental in their collective survival, and their actions allowed for the Carolina Plantation System to come to fruition. The Aniyvwiya had many differences from the Unegas, but they also shared many similarities that kept them bound despite enduring significant losses in both land and people. Because of the diplomatic efforts of the Overhill Cherokee Chiefs, the Aniyvwiya remained steadfast and today are one of the largest native American tribes. The Unegas achieved liberty and freedom from English rule, which broke the ties that bound them to the Aniyvwiya.⁴⁷⁸ The Carolina Plantation System would not have come to fruition without the peace that existed between them that lasted sixty years.

⁴⁷⁷ “Carolina Key People - Landgrave Edmund Bellinger, Sr.”

⁴⁷⁸ Virginia. General Assembly. House of Burgesses et al., “Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia” (1619).

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