

CONFLICT, COEXISTENCE, AND COMMUNITY

Settlement Politics and the Emergence of a Social Network  
in Proprietary South Carolina, 1670 – 1700

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A Thesis

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Master of Arts

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by

Paul Philip Musselwhite

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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of

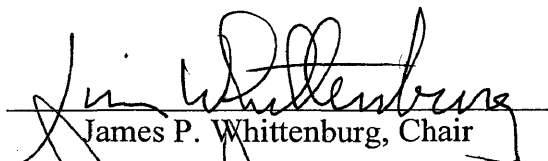
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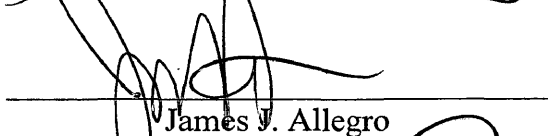
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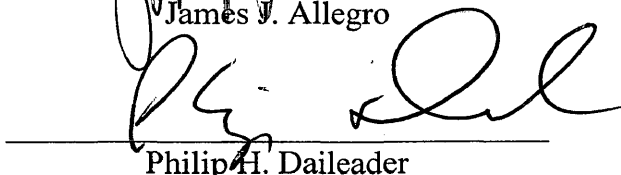
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the origins of colonial community in South Carolina. It hopes to address how social groups were formed amongst the disparate settlers who arrived in the colony's early years and how these communal ties of friendship and association influenced the political scene. To this end the thesis explores the probate records of the early colony for signs of social relationships between the colonists in their wills and deeds. It also employs the techniques of Social Network Analysis to analyse these associations, mapping out all the colony's recognisable friendships as a social network and quantifying the level of integration and sociability that developed.

This work confronts previous scholarship that has painted a picture of factional division, disunity, and disorganisation in the earliest years of South Carolina's settlement. By focusing upon the developing social network of the colony, this thesis tells a very different story. It suggests that political factionalism in the early Carolina, although clearly present, did not perfectly correlate with the different groups of colonists who arrived. Instead, it argues that the first thirty years of settlement saw a momentous process of social integration in which colonists from England, Scotland, Ireland, Barbados, and France were all drawn into a colony-wide community. Although political factionalism was a problem for the young colony it was not the result of a polarised community of subcultures and clichés, but rather a product of the struggle to control an increasingly coherent society and direct its productive energies.

Although this thesis attempts to reinterpret the early colonial development of South Carolina, it also seeks to draw historians' attentions to the methodology of Social Network Analysis more generally. It attempts to demonstrate how a knowledge of the social network at a particular historical moment can be gleaned and how it can help to explain how larger historical events and processes were played out on the basic level of friendships and sociability.

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## INTRODUCTION

“The Seed from Madagascar,” as Duncan Clinch Heyward would later call it, has often been portrayed as the saviour of the South Carolina colony. Rice seeds, along with a multitude of slaves, were brought from Africa in the early eighteenth century to provide the adolescent colony with the tools to grow into a stable and prosperous state. Felicitous indeed was their arrival, for the common picture of South Carolina’s early years is filled with rapacious factionalism and rambunctious personalities. If this proprietary colony had reached adolescence by 1700, many historians would suggest that it was living a riotous youth and that its future prospects were far from glorious. But to the men and women who walked Charles Town’s streets the scene would have appeared far less fatalistic; although the colony had not yet achieved the heady wealth and status that it later would enjoy, the political arguments and religious disagreements had not paralysed the busy realities of daily life, nor had it crushed the vibrant and heterogeneous society that was developing in this Atlantic port city.<sup>1</sup>

Merchants, farmers, and urban artisans who came from a variety of different cultural and social backgrounds were forced together in the young and vulnerable colony of South Carolina. There were English dissenters, aspiring young merchants from Barbados, and even Huguenot refugees from France; each arrived with a different vision

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<sup>1</sup> Duncan Clinch Heyward, *Seed from Madagascar* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1993). For the general political narrative of early South Carolina, see Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: UNC Press, 1966).

of what the new colony should be. In such circumstances it is less than surprising that political consensus could not be found instantaneously, nor competition for resources settled wholly amicably. Nonetheless, the need for survival and safety made social interactions unavoidable. Social networks were already cutting across ethnic, religious, and political boundaries within the colony. Beyond the political and religious bickering of the proprietary period, its truly remarkable characteristic is the integration and cooperation of such a disparate population.

The complex web of political factionalism has itself been recently reinterpreted by historian Louis Roper. He suggests that the vicious in-fighting was not the product of one rebellious group of colonists fighting the Proprietors and their allies, as was previously asserted; rather, the South Carolina colonists were constructing a political nexus of factions all equally opposed to excessive proprietary control. This political system was analogous to English parliamentary politics. For Roper the periphery was imitating the centre, not simply opposing it. If he is correct, then the social basis of these political factions is even more pertinent, because historians investigating politics in Restoration London have found that social networks had a significant impact upon decision making and power in the empire's capital. If the young colony was developing a political system like that of England, then it follows that those involved were conscious of the significance of social as well as political relationships. Understanding the remarkable ability of early South Carolinians to find social consensus may help to uncover much about the factious politics in which they became entwined.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Louis H. Roper, *Conceiving Carolina: Proprietors, Planters, and Plots, 1662-1729* (New York: Palgrave, 2004); David Allen "Political Clubs in Restoration London," *The Historical Journal*, 19, no. 3 (1976) 561-580.

To understand the processes of social interaction and how political factions may have influenced personal relationships, it is necessary to consider the day-to-day realities of life in the newly formed colony. When walking along the streets of Charles Town, who would stop and talk to whom? Where would these early colonists go when they wanted to share the tribulations of their lives with a friend? On a more important level, whom would they consider a good nuptial match for their son or daughter? These are the kinds of questions that underlie the social network of the early colony. They are obviously difficult, nigh on impossible, to answer. Glimpses into the social world of early South Carolina are severely limited by the paucity of data. Yet, as the work of historians Richard Waterhouse, Aaron Shatzman, and Meaghan Duff has shown, valuable social insights can be drawn from the colony's surviving probate and land records. Many of these brief legal documents have been abstracted and organised by dedicated archivists, but in this form they convey a dry and formulaic picture of social relations far from the vibrant and personal realities of life. By necessity the historian must reach for methods and tools of analysis that will make these sources come alive and offer clues about the daily interactions which underscored the colony's much-analysed political narrative.<sup>3</sup>

Here the primary focus will be upon the surviving probate records for the colony's first thirty years. Hundreds of wills were recorded during this initial period, but a significant number of these enlightening documents were lost, presumably burnt, in Charles Town or Columbia during the Civil War. Those that do survive were copied in a

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<sup>3</sup> Richard Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670-1770* (New York: Garland Publications, 1989); Aaron M. Shatzman, *Servants into Planters: The Origins of an American Image: Land Acquisition and Status Mobility in Seventeenth Century South Carolina* (New York: Garland Publications, 1989); Meaghan N. Duff, "Creating a Plantation Province: Proprietary Land Policies and Settlement Patterns," in *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society*, ed. Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001).

number of different sources, and various attempts have been made to draw their contents together during the twentieth century. A very recent publication by Susan Baldwin Bates and Harriott Cheves Leland has abstracted all of the surviving records of the colonial secretary's office for the years 1675-1695 in the most thorough form to date, and an earlier collection of colonial wills abstracted by Caroline Moore and Agatha Aimar Simmons supplements this collection with records drawn from other official sources; these texts have therefore become the basis for this systematic analysis of South Carolina's social network.<sup>4</sup>

Probate records cannot provide the historian with information about who ate dinner with whom and how colonists felt about their peers. Nonetheless, they can tell us whom colonists entrusted with one of the greatest responsibilities of their lives, their wills. Those who left a will had friends they trusted to witness it, and those they trusted most were appointed executors to ensure their money got distributed as planned. Given the colony's high mortality rates, such provisions were even more important, because these men and women were likely to leave young dependents who needed the assistance of trustworthy executors. Therefore, although the wills that survive are relatively few and brief, they can tell us much about whom South Carolinians counted as friends. Each will, however, constitutes only a single set of social interactions. To gain a fully rounded picture of social life in the early colony, these interactions must be combined to form a social network. Using the mathematical-sociological tools of the UCINET program and the methodology of social network analysis, it is possible not only to combine and map

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<sup>4</sup> Probate records can be found in published form in Caroline T. Moore and Agatha A Simar, eds., *Abstracts of the Wills of the State of South Carolina*, vol. 1 (Charles Town: 1960); Susan B. Bates and Harriott C. Leland, eds., *Proprietary Records of South Carolina, 1670-1721*, vol. 1 (Charles Town: History Press, 2005).

these interactions in proprietary South Carolina but also to measure them and isolate different cliques and factions within the community.<sup>5</sup>

The tables, diagrams, and mathematics that follow may seem very different from the initial image of an isolated and inhospitable colony in the late-seventeenth-century Atlantic world. Yet in fact they offer the best chance of fully elucidating the personal day-to-day interactions that took place there. These figures, though, cannot stand out of context. First it is necessary to outline the many different men and women who came to South Carolina in its early years and the factionalism in which they became embroiled. The task of the opening two chapters will be to consider the diversity of South Carolina's early colonial society and analyse how it impacted the pragmatic realities of political factionalism.

Into this scene of turmoil and trouble the final chapter will insert the new probate data and the results of the social network analysis. The resulting conclusions challenge the way in which historians judge South Carolina's early failure as a colony. They suggest that political factionalism in the proprietary period was not simply rooted in ethnic divergence and social unrest. There can be no simple correlation between a colonist's place of origin and his political affiliations. It seems unjustified, therefore, to view this young colony as an inevitably troubled, divided, and disastrous venture. These new methods actually point to a rapidly developing community in the colony even in the perilous early years of settlement. Social Network Analysis draws our attention to the coalescing social world of the colony that was somewhat removed from the divisive influence of politics. Yet, as important as these conclusions are for the study of early

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<sup>5</sup> S. P. Borgatti, M. G. Everett and L. C. Freeman, *Ucinet for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis* (Harvard, Mass.: Analytic Technologies, 2002). A useful guide to this technology is Robert Hanneman, *Introduction to Social Network Methods*, <http://faculty.ucr.edu/~hanneman/nettext/>.

South Carolina, the broader aim of this project is also to draw attention to the methods of mathematical sociology and to suggest outline some of the ways in which it can assist the historian in the quest to uncover the daily realities of life in the past.

## CHAPTER 1

### A COLONY OF DIVISIONS

When Sir John Colleton and the Duke of Albemarle began dreaming of the Carolina colony in the early days of the Restoration monarchy, they imperceptibly but dramatically revolutionised the ideal of British settlement in America. They believed that this new colonial venture, a bulwark against the threat of the Spanish Empire in North America, could be settled cheaply, quickly, and easily by luring men and women not from England, or even Europe generally, but rather from other parts of the New World, most specifically the island of Barbados. Although the Proprietors of Carolina, chartered into existence in 1663, were paralysed by bureaucracy and disorganisation for nearly ten years, these initial intentions were highly significant. The vision of a new society peopled by diverse settlers encouraged and facilitated numerous separate efforts at colonising Carolina, bringing the greatest diversity yet known to an Anglo-American colony. Such an accolade undoubtedly hinted at new opportunities in the growing Atlantic world of the late seventeenth century, but it also contributed to the crises and contests that were to plague the nascent colony. This chapter will seek to outline the ethnic diversity of early Carolina and will then survey the political and religious diversity which developed in its wake. From the very outset, the project that was destined to become South Carolina had to struggle with this burden of heterogeneity placed upon it by Colleton's dream.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, chap. 1.

It is not difficult to understand the inspiration for this new vision of intra-continental colonisation. Sir John Colleton was himself a Caribbean planter who had experienced life on the periphery of the English world and who was familiar with the trading networks of the Atlantic world. He was also acutely aware, along with many of his fellow Barbadians, that by the 1660s large-scale sugar production had induced what has since been termed an “agricultural revolution” in the West Indian colonial world.<sup>7</sup> A number of leading planters had acquired many of the smaller farms from the settlement era and merged them into major sugar-producing enterprises, particularly in Barbados, and this aggregation, along with the increased importation of slave labour for these farms, pushed many lesser white colonists to the margins. In short, this agricultural revolution created a large population surplus that Colleton intended to tap for cheap immigrants. The Proprietors proved slow in developing the means to direct this migration from the Caribbean, though, and a group called the Adventurers of Barbados proved unsuccessful in settling the Cape Fear of Carolina region in the mid-1660s. Nonetheless, the Proprietor remained aware that these small sugar islands offered a potentially large supply of willing colonists. Unsurprisingly, when the South Carolina colony was successfully established in the 1670s, the single most significant component of the diverse community was the group of settlers from Barbados.

It has been these Barbadian men and women, peppered as they were with a full measure of colourful characters, who have attracted the closest historical scrutiny in recent scholarship. Peter Wood’s famous study of the development of slavery in South Carolina coined the talismanic phrase “the colony of a colony” to emphasise the strength of the link between the two English settlements. Even more specifically, historians have

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<sup>7</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 4

become accustomed to speaking of the “Goose Creek Men,” named because of the concentration of like-minded Barbadians who settled around Goose Creek, just off the Cooper River, north of Charles Town.<sup>8</sup> Although such generalisations are increasingly viewed as deceptive and can in fact cloud our appreciation of the colonial community that was developing in this Proprietary era, it is important to note that in the early 1670s these men and women constituted nearly half the young colony’s population. Just over a year after the initial settlement, in the summer of 1671, some observers were already speaking specifically of a “Barbados Party” led by Sir John Yeamans, the highly influential and well-connected new arrival who had brought with him an extra fifty of his fellow islanders. However difficult it is to generalise about the Barbadian influence on South Carolina, it is clear that in this diverse colony, these migrants with the unique perspectives, culture, and associations, played a distinctive part.<sup>9</sup>

These ambitious Caribbean arrivals brought a number of attitudes and agendas to the fields of colonial politics, economics, and culture that are worth outlining. Among their number were those who saw close ties between the future economics of South Carolina and Barbados. They envisaged a system in which their agricultural pursuits in the new colony would provide their former home with “food for the [slave] labor force, wood for the cane-boiling fires, and staves for the shipments of molasses sugar.” Caribbean colonists also introduced race-based slavery to South Carolina’s economy. This added up to a distinctly Barbadian plan, influenced by the experiences of one portion of South Carolina’s new colonizing population. The Proprietors even became concerned that the Barbadian faction’s economic interests would lead simply to

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<sup>8</sup> Goose Creek is used as a nomenclature in Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*.

<sup>9</sup> Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 34; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 28.

subservience “in provisions and timber to the interest of Barbados.” Of course, enterprising colonists who arrived from anywhere in the Atlantic world were more than equipped to take advantage of the growing market in exports to the Caribbean, and many subsequently did so. However, the close link between one section of the new society and this particular economic niche demonstrated that South Carolina’s many settlers did not all arrive with a unified purpose in mind.<sup>10</sup>

In many ways the economic bent of the Barbadian settlers was paralleled by an equally unique political and cultural outlook. The so called “Goose Creek Men” were highly active in attempting to wrest political power from Governor Joseph West during the 1670s, and they continued to be involved in colonial politics throughout the next thirty years of Proprietary rule. Eugene Sirmans has asserted that the Barbadian contingent in the early colonising venture was made up of “occasionally unscrupulous men” particularly uninterested in implementing the Proprietors’ grand governmental designs, as laid out in Lord Ashley’s Fundamental Constitution of Carolina.<sup>11</sup> These men pursued a pragmatic authority under their own leadership. Although this interpretation of a specific Caribbean anti-proprietary faction has been questioned by recent scholarship, it is clear that Barbadians brought a particular style and considerable prior experience in colonial politics with them when they crossed to mainland North America. Unlike many of the European colonists who arrived in Carolina with the Proprietors’ complex plans of government in hand, many Barbadians came with the day-to-day knowledge of a distinctly different system. They even brought with them a Caribbean material culture that was gradually reshaped and refined by the effects of a distinctly different

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<sup>10</sup> Alexander S. Salley Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 184.

<sup>11</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 27.

environment.<sup>12</sup> Historians have debated whether this Caribbean contingent in South Carolina constituted a stable and distinct political faction, and the conclusion increasingly seems to be that they did not, but this does not mean that their political and material culture was indistinguishable from the many other groups who made up the early colonial population. Barbadians' prior political and cultural experience did set them apart when they first arrived in Carolina.<sup>13</sup>

Although these men and women were becoming part of a unique new colonial community in South Carolina, there is no doubt that their particular origins remained clear to fellow colonists for many years. For one thing, many Barbadians continued to have personal and business links with the island that were openly acknowledged in the new society. In the record books of the colonial secretary, numerous wills and delegations of power of attorney highlight the continued associations with Barbados. When Carolina merchant Richard Fowell died in the winter of 1678, his fellow colonists would surely have been unsurprised to find in his will a provision of "1000 pounds of muscavado sugar" for his Barbadian friend John Stround "to buy a ring."<sup>14</sup> Robert Gibbes, a former Barbadian, now a resident of Carolina and later to become a controversial short-term governor of the colony, was also called upon to act on behalf of his old friends when in 1682 Joseph Harbin, still resident on the island, appointed him "his attorney to collect debts and transact affairs in the province."<sup>15</sup> Such individual friendships do not equal a Barbadian political agenda or a Caribbean coup d'état over

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<sup>12</sup> Teresa C. Farris, "Lowcountry Beginnings, 1670-1700: Recovering the Material Culture of First-Generation Carolinians (South Carolina)" (master's thesis, University of Alabama in Huntsville, 2000).

<sup>13</sup> Various opinions on this topic can be found in Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, Wood, *Black Majority*, and Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*.

<sup>14</sup> Bates and Leland, *Proprietary Records*, 38.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

South Carolina society, but they do remind the historian that many of the English and other European colonists who came to Carolina in the early years settled alongside men and women from a distinctly different quarter of the Atlantic world.

For these Caribbean colonists, the many other groups who arrived in South Carolina represented an alien element in their midst. Sirmans claims that the Barbadians held those “who had come from England in contempt, regarding them as inexperienced men who were unfit to manage a colony.”<sup>16</sup> Regardless of whether the English settlers were capable of facing the realities of colonial life, they certainly saw the project differently than the Barbadians because of their previous direct interactions with the Lord Proprietors in London, particularly with the senior colonial architect, Lord Ashley. The arrival of waves of new English colonists pre-conditioned by the latest Proprietary thinking from London continued to instigate problems in Carolina throughout the first thirty years of settlement. These problems were partially the result of the promotional literature distributed in England as well as of the Proprietors telling potential groups of colonists what they wanted to hear. Once colonists arrived from England, some maintained their links with English interests through a provision in Lord Ashley’s constitution that allowed each Proprietor to appoint a deputy in the colony to represent his interests with the governor. Associations were maintained on a less official level as well, as is suggested by the 1684 will of John Monke, a Carolina planter, who left his children in the care of three executors, two in the colony, and a third back in Kingstree in Hampshire, England. Monke also detailed a complex system whereby the children would be allowed to determine whether to stay in the province or sell up and return to possess the

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<sup>16</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 27.

assets he retained in that English county.<sup>17</sup> The new arrivals from England were even more diverse than their counterparts from Barbados, and some, like the influential Maurice Matthews, became closely associated with the Barbadian community upon arrival. However, English versus Barbadian origins, with all the differences in experience and outlook that this contrast brought, constituted the first major division within the colonial community.

Beyond this simple dichotomy, the large merchant community that came to settle in South Carolina also brought a diversity of experiences, attitudes, and heritage to the new settlement. Throughout the colony's record books, men are frequently referred to as sailors, merchants, traders, and mariners. Among these references there are bills of sale and records of business dealings relating to England, the Caribbean, and all of British America. For example, in 1676 the colonial secretary was informed that one Dorothy Lyster from Lancaster County, Virginia, had inherited from her late husband a significant but indeterminate legacy of cattle and slaves in South Carolina, but she was now selling whatever could be discovered to William Thomas. Clearly, at least this one Virginia merchant (Lyster's husband) had taken part in the initial settlement efforts in the new colony without sacrificing his home and family back in the Chesapeake region.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, recent historical study has identified a dramatic new wave of merchant immigrants in the colony at the close of the seventeenth century. Products of the commercialisation of rice and naval store production in the colony during this period, these new men, agents for large London merchants, constituted a powerful new social force in the heterogeneous community. They pushed aside the established families in

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<sup>17</sup> Bates and Leland, *Proprietary Records*, 82.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

asserting their control over the colony's trade, and they eventually challenged them in the political arena too.<sup>19</sup>

Among the other new arrivals in the 1680s and 1690s were various groups of religious dissenters intent on forging their own communities in large tracts of available Carolina land. In 1684 one of the largest of these contingents arrived under the guidance of Lord Cardross. Largely Scottish in origin and radically opposed to the worsening politico-religious situation in England, these men received assurances of safety and toleration from the Proprietors, and these promises were backed up by a number of controversial amendments to the Fundamental Constitution that they tried to enforce upon their arrival in Carolina. However, their presence in the colony introduced yet another potentially disruptive division, both because the Cardross settlers sought to establish themselves in a semi-autonomous manner in the Port Royal region, a significant distance south of Charles Town, and also because, despite this geographical separation, their presence offered potential support to the minority of dissenters such as the Axtell, Blake, and Morton families who were already active in South Carolina politics by that time. Ultimately, these Scottish settlers were the victims of circumstance and the political plotting of the "Goose Creek" faction in Charles Town, and they eventually returned to their homeland after the Glorious Revolution made it safe once more for such ardent religious dissenters. However, their story of failed settlement and unrealised reforms represents only the most visible example of the increasing burden of social, cultural, religious, political, and economic diversification that the young colony was forced to bear.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry*, chap. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, chap. 6.

Many other less-ambitious migrations of dissenting groups and families did succeed where Cardross and his followers had failed. For example, in the late 1690s 158 Congregationalists arrived from Dorchester, Massachusetts, to “settell the gospel” in Carolina. They eventually established themselves in a settlement north-west of Charles Town, named after their New England home. Despite being welcomed and entertained extensively by the leading dissenters in the colony, these New Englanders were keen to found a distinct settlement, and when they had identified their location, one of their elders, William Pratt, describes in his diary how “the church and others that wer concernd did draw loots” and then they all met together “to stak out and mark ther loots in the trading town.” Such procedures strikingly resemble the pattern of New England town settlement with which these men would have been familiar and differ notably from the large-scale land claiming that was prevalent in much of the rest of South Carolina.<sup>21</sup> Some of these distinctive Dorchester settlers would become extremely active as dissenting voices in colonial politics; they were completely embedded in Carolina society by the early eighteenth century. Nonetheless, their story demonstrates that even among the broad spectrum of colonists that historians have been tempted to label as “dissenters,” there were not only crucial theological differences but also cultural divergences and profoundly different premigration experiences.<sup>22</sup>

French Huguenot refugees constituted the most distinctive group of free colonists in the early settlement of the Carolina colony, and they made their impact long before the Dorchester settlers even contemplated setting out for Carolina. In the wake of the

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<sup>21</sup> Survey and analysis of seventeenth-century New England towns can be found in a number of studies; see, for example, Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York: Norton Press, 1970); the characterisation of a dissenting faction in Carolina politics has its origins in Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*.

<sup>22</sup> “The Journal of Elder William Pratt, 1695-1701,” in Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, 191-200.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, a mass exodus of French Protestants began, and the promotional literature of the Carolina Proprietors lured many of the young and ambitious members of the migration to journey beyond their initial destination of England and the Netherlands, in favour of the economic opportunities of the nascent colony. By 1700 there were 400-500 Huguenot migrants in South Carolina, who made up fifteen percent of the population. These men and women have attracted a disproportionately large amount of recent scholarly attention, as historians have sought to establish what cultural, economic, and political influence they had on the colony.<sup>23</sup> What is clear is that they brought with them a number of distinctive artisanal skills that were unique in the frontier world of Carolina. They also arrived in the colony with a religion that was not easily typecast as either dissenting or Anglican, and so they generated even greater plurality in the young colony's religious landscape; this status also meant that Huguenots came to occupy a difficult middle ground when tension erupted between these two politico-religious camps in the early eighteenth century. Just like any other group, these French immigrants were fractured by internal divergences once they began to settle in this corner of British America, but their presence further complicated the unification of this new colonial enterprise. Huguenots are perhaps the most extreme example of the immigrant diversity that characterised South Carolina. This diversity was partly accidental but largely a function of Colleton's grand plan, and it was a heterogeneity more complex than any previous British American venture had known.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Scholarship on the Huguenots in America, and particularly in South Carolina, is extensive, including: Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in a New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983); Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

<sup>24</sup> Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, "The Huguenots of Proprietary South Carolina: Patterns of Migration and Integration," in Greene, Brana-Shute, and Sparks, *Money, Trade, and Power*.

Migration to Carolina was stiflingly slow in the first thirty years of the colony's existence, but it was certainly multifaceted and multicultural. It created a society that looked little like the previous British colonial ventures in New England, Virginia, and the West Indies. But it was not simply the diversity of settlement that contributed to the divisions within the early colony. South Carolina also became enmeshed in myriad political and religious divisions that further complicated its social and cultural heterogeneity. Historians have become fascinated by trying to strictly define the factions within the colony, utilizing the scanty sources to put individual characters in one group or another and then demonstrating how these groups evolved, split, reformed, leaned one way, and then veered the other. Doubtless there is merit in trying to establish the political structure of this fast-developing polity, but it eventually begins to seem as futile as reorganizing a bucket of sand according to the size of its grains. Here it seems sufficient to note the basic factional building blocks on which this scholarship has been built and, for the purposes of this study, to emphasize the degree of division, dissention, and disagreement that this basic political framework gave to a colony still struggling with infancy.<sup>25</sup>

The predominant political division within proprietary South Carolina has traditionally been drawn between pro- and anti-proprietary camps. Initially this political division was thought to have been tied closely to the colonists' place of origin, with many Englishmen being in favour of proprietary control and the majority of Barbadians resisting it. Recent scholarship has concluded that such a straightforward political-

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<sup>25</sup> The most recent political history of Carolina that concentrates on identifying factional loyalties is Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic: Studies of Early Carolina and Georgia* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1975)

cultural link is difficult to prove, but certainly both cultural and political divisions existed independently of each other.

The political fissures were visible in the colony's parliament almost from the outset and were often heightened when an appointed governor was unavailable and local leaders had to select someone from within their ranks to fill this high-profile post. Of those early Carolina governors who were promoted from within the colony rather than being sent from England, four men (Joseph West, Joseph Morton, Thomas Smith, and Joseph Blake) have been seen as firm adherents to the pro-proprietary party, whilst three (Sir John Yeamans, Robert Quarry, and James Moore) are generally considered politically averse to the Proprietors' aims. However, a cursory glance down the list of seventeenth-century governors, attributing factional positions in the process, cannot tell the whole story of the balance of factions in the colony, because of both the changing political circumstances in which factionalism was fought out, and the opposing influence of the parliament, which could check the governor's power. For example, although Joseph Morton (governor from 1682-1684 and 1685-1686) was a staunch supporter of proprietary measures, a dissenter in religion, and of English origin, the parliament he faced was controlled by the anti-proprietary party, and he could not break their resistance.

Throughout this period the control of the colony's parliament proved a crucial factor in the fortunes of these loosely defined factions. One historian, Clarence Ver Steeg, has suggested that parliamentary members were so aware of their pro- and anti-proprietary party structure and their respective power bases in Colleton and Berkeley Counties that they continually debated the number of seats granted to each county in the parliament in a desperate effort to maintain the grip of one faction or the other over the

colony. In fact, most historians have identified a two-party division in all of South Carolina's political institutions.<sup>26</sup>

Recent revisionist work by historian Louis Roper has challenged the whole idea of the bipartite division between pro- and anti-proprietary factions in early Carolina. He asserts that the stereotype of the "Goose Creek Men" as an anti-proprietary interest group belies "the perpetually cynical behaviour of this faction."<sup>27</sup> The picture that Roper goes on to paint suggests that factionalism has been portrayed as more organised and simplistic than it actually was, and he successfully compares the disputes, feuds, plotting, and treachery of early Carolina politics with the intrigues of the court in Restoration London. For Roper, no one in Carolina was actually concerned about the status of the colony's constitution or the authority of the Proprietors, except when it suited their own personal political ends to take up one opinion or the other. South Carolina, then, was a colony endowed with more than its fair share of power-hungry, ambitious, and often-unprincipled men. This reinterpretation offers an interesting new perspective on colonial politics in this developing society, but ultimately the principled factional divisions previously discussed and the excess of naked personal ambition that Roper has suggested both point to "a deeply divided Carolina." The process of community building faced not only the challenge posed by the colonists' diverse cultural heritages but also the bitterly fragmented political sphere.<sup>28</sup>

Also entangled in the mire of political factionalism in early Carolina were the complex religious divisions of the colony, initially born of the Lord Proprietors' desire to create a colony of religious toleration. It is tempting to closely associate Anglicanism and

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<sup>26</sup> Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic*, chap. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, 7.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

dissent with the anti- and pro-proprietary factions respectively, especially during the debates over the establishment of the Church of England in the colony at the dawn of the eighteenth century. However, the difficulty with such a strict correlation between politics and religion is obvious from the actions of men like Edward Marston, the Anglican vicar of Charles Town, who actively opposed much of the politico-religious agenda of the anti-proprietary faction.

Moreover such a simple division between establishment and dissent does not take account of the diversity of ideas encapsulated in the term “dissenter.” Therefore, although the politicization of religious divisions in early Carolina makes the differences all the more visible, it masks the true religious diversity of the colony and its social consequences. In reality, the dissenting faction consisted of at least three strands of religious thought, the Presbyterianism brought by radicals from England and Scotland, the Congregationalist tradition of Puritan New England, and a significant population of Quakers who arrived from different locations throughout the Atlantic world.

Unsurprisingly, the Quakers seem to have been the most loyal to their own particular creed; in a number of the wills recorded by the colony’s secretary, the testator specified that money was to be left to “the Assembly of people called Quakers,” clearly trusting that these men and women would be easily identifiable within the colony, which probably confirms that they held regular meetings of some sort.<sup>29</sup> One wonders if these men, who had gone to such trouble to highlight their religious affiliations, would appreciate being remembered by posterity under the catchall term “dissenter.” The social implications of such diversity among dissenters are also dramatic. The separate meetings of different nonconformist congregations presumably encouraged the development of a number of

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<sup>29</sup> Bates and Leland, *Proprietary Records*, 67.

separate social spheres. Members of the same congregation probably shared Sunday morning conversations, discussed social and business affairs, and maybe even encouraged their children to wed each other. Studies of the Huguenot population in early South Carolina have identified precisely this kind of social function for the French churches which developed in the early colonial period.<sup>30</sup>

It was not only nonconformist churches that demonstrated the diversity within the colony. Within the Anglican Church, the various parishes had drastically different characters and levels of development, as the agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) noted when they arrived in the early eighteenth century. These missionaries were drawn to Carolina because of its woefully small number of clergymen before 1710, and this also suggests divergence in the Anglican faith, because many of the rural planters who considered themselves members of the Church of England probably did not even have a local minister or regular services and experienced a social and religious life that differed sharply from their coreligionists in the Charles Town parish. Among the voluntary immigrants who made up the first generations of South Carolinians, these numerous religious differences were yet another divisive influence in their truly heterogeneous society.

The opening years of settlement in this new colony of Carolina were, then, years of diversity. An array of people arrived in the colony from across the Atlantic world, each with distinctive cultures and aspirations. These new settlers developed a factious and divided political sphere and brought a number of distinctive religious traditions as well. This was not the ideal basis from which to build a colonial community. Many historical

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<sup>30</sup> Ruymbeke, "The Huguenots of Proprietary South Carolina."

studies have taken it for granted that this heterogeneity impeded the development of a unified polity, simply suggesting that it was an almost-impossible challenge for the young colony to overcome. Such a conclusion has allowed most writers to turn their attention toward the inevitable fall of the Proprietors' government and the failure of their utopian dream, but from a social rather than a political perspective it remains to be seen just how the colony coped with the difficult hand it had been dealt. Aside from the business of the parliament in Charles Town, how did these diverse colonists of Carolina begin to build a society and community for themselves?

## CHAPTER 2

### A COLONY OF DISAGREEMENTS

In 1712 William Rhett was commissioned receiver general of quitrents in Carolina; he accepted the office for its financial remuneration, but his immediate reaction was to proclaim, “This is but a Lords proprietors Government and I wou’d wipe my Arse with the Commission.”<sup>31</sup> Such a confrontational response captures something of the volatile political climate of the early colony. The period was rife with bitter disagreement and debate, conflict and crisis. Historians have suggested that the uncommonly high level of political instability, a direct result of the divergent settlement patterns, discouraged voluntary migration to Carolina and thereby made widespread slave ownership a practical necessity by the early eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Of course there are other reasons behind the colony’s low rate of immigration, but there is ample evidence that early Carolina was a fundamentally troubled society.

In surveying the colony’s political narrative during these difficult years, scholars have tended to narrate forlornly the seemingly endless undulations of crises and fortunes until the Yamassee War, the end of proprietary rule, and the rise of plantation agriculture ended the disarray. To present here yet another chronological march through these details with yet another spin would be tiresome; however, any effort to understand how society and community were being created in Carolina during this formative period cannot ignore

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<sup>31</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 105.

<sup>32</sup> Variations on this traditional political narrative of Carolina include: Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*; Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic*; Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*.

these conflicts. This chapter will explore the social implications of the unsettled political, religious, and economic spheres in the early proprietary colony. To address this question without being drawn into a chronological narrative, it will discuss the various types of conflicts that shook the region, looking at what was at stake and considering the members of the warring sides on each issue. It will become clear, however, that despite the bitterness and disagreement that characterised this period, many of the conflicting groups had a fluid composition; this inconsistency was possible because the colony's crises operated almost entirely on a political level within the parliament and the corridors of power, rather than throughout the day-to-day life of the community at large. South Carolina was certainly a colony *with* conflict, but not a community *in* conflict with itself.

The most persistent and disruptive conflict in early Carolina society revolved around the very constitution of the colony itself. Before the Proprietors had successfully settled a permanent base in the region, they had already been persuaded by Lord Ashley to approve a thorough set of governmental principles entitled *The Fundamental Constitution of Carolina*. The system that this document envisaged was a quasi-feudal hierarchy that featured different ranks of landed aristocrats (Landgraves and Cassiques), the institution of serfdom, manorial (private estate) courts, and a complex array of proprietary deputies and officials. Although it drew upon many medieval precedents and thoroughly reflected English historical experience, it was a strange mix of the traditional and the innovative, and it was certainly unlike any previously envisaged colonial constitution. This complexity and originality became Carolina's first major problem, because the Fundamental Constitution was impossible to implement among a tiny initial population in the struggling colonial beachhead. The failure to establish the constitution

immediately spawned intense debate about when, or even if, Lord Ashley's new utopian plan would officially take effect. Countless new drafts of the constitution were sent from London along with orders for action and implementation, but the colonists fought over the details of the plans, and many aspects were simply ignored or initiated in name only. Many colonists claimed that only the unimplemented 1669 version of the constitution was valid, and they used this argument to block the practical application of later revised versions during the colony's first thirty years. Constitutional wrangling was the consistent theme of conflict throughout Carolina's early settlement period.

Colonists' differing attitudes to the Fundamental Constitution have played a major role in the scholarly hypothesis of pro- and anti-proprietary factions. Eugene Sirmans sees opposition to the revision and implementation of the Constitution as the best indicator of the colonist's opposition to proprietary government in general. However, terms like anti-proprietary and anti-constitutional have a tendency to make the colonists' political positions seem more ideological and consistent than they actually were. Both sides in the long debate over the Fundamental Constitution had personal interests that influenced their opinions.<sup>33</sup>

Ulterior motives were most noticeable amongst those who opposed the constitution because of the limits the document placed upon their freedom of action and accrual of land and power in the young colony. Obeying the strict hierarchical structure that Lord Ashley had laid down would mean subjecting their own interests to those of an artificial colonial aristocracy nominated by the Proprietors in London and given huge notional grants of land on which to base their authority. Lord Ashley's plan also laid down a network of complex political offices, which could have posed a serious threat to

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 40-41.

those already in control of the young parliamentary system that had developed in the first decade of settlement. For many Carolinians, opposing the Fundamental Constitution was vital to the promotion of their own interests, which were the whole basis for their risky resettlement in this new colony.

Among the leading men who supported the revision and application of the Constitution, including Joseph Morton, John Stewart, and Thomas Smith, the motivation was primarily religious; as dissenters, they feared that without the Constitution's guarantee of religious toleration the freedom and safety they had sought out in Carolina could be threatened. One group of dissenters, the Scottish settlers who arrived under the leadership of Lord Cardross in 1684, was even influential in formulating some of the revisions to the document. Their offer to settle the colony had come with the condition that the Constitution be revised, and the Proprietors acknowledged that the resulting changes had been "hinted to us." The result was that the new 1682 version of the document no longer referred to Anglicanism as the "only true and orthodox" religion, preferring instead to recognise it as "the Religion of the Government of England." This version also streamlined other aspects of the governmental process to the benefit of newcomers, limiting further the power of the Council, which was made up of more established colonists, and reducing the control of established justices and officials over the selection of juries. Ultimately, though, these changes, just like many other proprietary propositions, failed to win ratification in the colony itself, where colonists proclaimed that a constitution so subject to the Proprietors' sudden changes of heart was "contrary to the nature of a fundamentall sacred and unalterable law." Although these 1682 revisions were just one episode in the long story of the Fundamental Constitution, they do capture

the essence of the intense struggles over it, and the personal motives and private interests that were at stake. The conflict over the Constitution, which plagued the colony throughout its early life, was not an ideological struggle but rather a clash of short-term private interests that was constantly adapting to the changing circumstances of the colony.<sup>34</sup>

Crucially, these debates over the Constitution and the short-term shifting agendas that propelled them were not simply reflected in the social networks of the colony. One straightforward example will demonstrate the complexity of the relationship between private interests, constitutional conflict, and sociability. The networks of relationships between three of the leading dissenting families in the colony, the Blakes, Mortons, and Smiths, dated back to the arrival of these families from England in the early 1680s. Yet, in the dramatic conflict that ensued over the revised Fundamental Constitution in the late 1680s, Joseph Morton and Joseph Blake were eventually persuaded to oppose the reforms despite their previous support for the Cardross settlers who had proposed the changes. Thomas Smith, by contrast, remained firmly in favour of changes and supported Governor Colleton's attempts to implement them; he successfully petitioned the governor to declare martial law in the colony in 1690. However, there is no evidence that the close personal friendship between these families broke down during these years, nor is there any evidence of a religious conversion for Blake or Morton, meaning that the families probably all remained members of the same church community. Joseph Blake, who became governor of the colony in 1694, switched sides once again when he attempted to push through another version of the Fundamental Constitution in 1698, much to the anger of those typecast as fiercely anti-proprietary. This example of three families caught up in

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<sup>34</sup> Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, 73-74; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 44.

early Carolina's most enduring conflict demonstrates how this huge political issue was driven by personal short-term interests and was perceived on an individual basis as largely unrelated to the strong social relationships that were being developed in the nascent colony.<sup>35</sup>

A second significant dispute that arose in the 1690s revolved around the issue of representation in the colony's parliament. The initial colony had been made up of three counties, Berkeley, Colleton, and Craven, and parliamentary representation had originally consisted, fairly evenly, of seven, seven, and six delegates respectively. In 1694, under the guidance of Thomas Smith and Joseph Blake, these rules were changed dramatically to increase the number of Colleton County's delegates and to completely erase all of Craven County's representation and to subsume it within Berkeley County. This position challenged the Proprietors' previous preference for even rather than proportional representation, but many of the men who supported the change in the colony were the same men who backed the Proprietors in debates over the Constitution. Because these men attracted much of their support from the relatively populous but rural Colleton County, it served their short-term interests to maximise this area's influence. Their plan did not last long, however, because a new governor in 1695 developed another set of rules that saw Colleton represented by ten delegates and Berkeley and Craven combined to provide twenty. This measure of electoral reform completely reversed the opinions on the issue, since it offered the men of Berkeley County an upper hand and significantly undermined the interests of Colleton County. Soon the Colleton men were complaining about the system of representation, especially the decision to enfranchise the Huguenot community in Craven County.

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<sup>35</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 46, 73.

This debate over representation raged for a number of years at the close of the seventeenth century, yet each side in the conflict was driven primarily by short-term objectives and interests. Ultimately, the counties did not represent unified political blocs (Berkeley, in particular, being the county in which Charles Town was located, was a hotly contested electoral constituency) or develop separate regional consciousnesses that would have challenged the emerging social fabric of the colony. Just as with the debates over the Fundamental Constitution, these postures on electoral reform and representation were largely a question of degrees rather than an unbridgeable division, and they did not register significantly upon community relations within the colony.<sup>36</sup>

Aside from constitutional issues, the Indian trade spawned the most vitriolic and even violent conflicts. According to the recent historical reinterpretation by Louis Roper, control of the Indian trade was the holy grail of early South Carolina politics and economics, and it lay at the root of much of the ferocious in-fighting in the colony. A number of prominent men, led by Maurice Matthews and later James Moore, took control of the trade and exploited it ruthlessly for considerable personal gain, with little concern for the issue of colonial diplomacy with the surrounding tribes and no respect whatsoever for the Proprietors' instructions. Conflicts arose primarily when this small clique of Indian traders met with competition or correction. The biggest challenge to their authority came from Dr. Henry Woodward, who established strong trading connections with the local Westo Indians, bitter enemies of many of the other local tribes. In 1677, the Lords Proprietors commissioned Woodward as an agent of the Indian trade; they hoped he would build upon his connections with the Westo. However, by dealing with them, Woodward jeopardised Maurice Matthews's strong relations with the other tribes. It was

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<sup>36</sup> Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic*, chap. 2.

in this context that the Westo War began. Woodward was accused of treachery toward the colony for supposedly inciting the Westo to begin this conflict, and the Lords Proprietors' plan for strengthening trade relations was ruined. However, an impressive quantity of circumstantial evidence suggests that in reality the "war stemmed from an intercultural alliance opposed to Woodward and the Westos," led by the interested Maurice Matthews.<sup>37</sup>

The faction that provoked war with the Westo consisted of those who stood to gain by eliminating Woodward's new stake in the Indian trade. Among Matthews's active allies in this case were James Moore, John Godfrey, and John Boone. This episode highlights how short-term economic objectives drove yet another of South Carolina's major political conflicts. A similar pattern reemerged later in the proprietary period in the career of Thomas Smith Jr. As a senior figure in the colony, an ardent dissenter, and a supporter of the Fundamental Constitution, whose father had risen to the rank of governor, he still refused to act to regulate the Indian trade when the Proprietors were pushing for this legislation. This was, of course, because he had a significant financial stake in the trade. Thomas Smith's actions at the height of this colonial crisis were tailored to the personally expedient course and not dictated by set principles.<sup>38</sup>

Social relationships did not reflect factional interests in the Indian trade any more than they followed the lines of political conflict over the constitution. John Godfrey serves as a perfect example of the divergence of political and social relationships. He can be identified during the Westo War as a strong supporter of Matthews and a member of the conspiracy to frame Henry Woodward. However, less than ten years later he

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<sup>37</sup> Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, 65.

<sup>38</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 81.

acknowledged the “children of Dr Henry Woodward by my daughter Mary” in his will.<sup>39</sup> Obviously, the relationship between Woodward and Godfrey’s daughter could have been without Godfrey’s consent, but in that case it seems incongruous that the Woodwards should earn a mention in his will. More likely, both Henry Woodward and John Godfrey maintained a distinction between their interests in the Indian trade and their social relations. Godfrey’s stance alongside Matthews reflected short-term economic and political aims that were not an issue when he gave consent to the marriage of his daughter, and Woodward was not concerned with dragging up past conflicts when he courted his wife.

Conflicts over trade were not limited to the colonists’ dealings with their Native American neighbours. Trade with Caribbean pirates also caused disagreement and debate in Carolina. Attempts to control piracy were so inept in early Carolina that the pirates often used it as a base for their activities throughout the Caribbean; they even “appear’d publicly [in Charles Town] and were not molested in the least.”<sup>40</sup> This benign reception was not something the pirates reciprocated, though; they regularly preyed upon the colony’s coastal settlements and especially upon the ships of local Carolina merchants. Yet some of the colonists were able to make a profit out of deals with pirates, and so they opposed the efforts of the colony’s House of Commons and the Lords Proprietors to deal with the problem. The defence of piracy, like the defence of the Indian trade, therefore, has been portrayed as a serious cause of conflict in the young colony.

Strictly speaking, this characterisation is entirely accurate, but, just as with debate over the Indian trade, any simple narrative of colonial division threatens to minimize how

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<sup>39</sup> Moore and Simmons, *Abstracts of Wills*, 14.

<sup>40</sup> W. J. Fraser Jr. *Charles Town! Charles Town! The History of a Southern City* (Columbia S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1989) 13.

much this issue was decided by individual short-term objectives. Robert Quarry, for example, arrived in the colony as an officer appointed by the Proprietors in their continued efforts to impose control on the colony, but he quickly became embroiled in the trade with pirates and changed his opinions about the Proprietors' efforts to eradicate piracy. Considering the conflict over pirate trading from a social perspective clouds the simple divisions between pro- and anti-pirate colonists. John Boone, a key player in the trade with pirates, had a diverse social network that included a wide variety of people, particularly in Charles Town. He knew Robert Fenwicke, a religious dissenter who had strong connections with the Charles Town merchant community that was most threatened by piracy.<sup>41</sup> It seems possible, therefore, that Boone may have acted as a middleman between the pirates and the colony's traders and tradesmen, though the sources do not explicitly state what he was trading for and in what quantities.

What is clear, however, is that the issue of piracy, although it divided the colony, did not create any impenetrable barriers in the community's social network. In 1693, Thomas Smith rose to the governorship and made a concerted effort to stamp out piracy; Robert Quarry, one of the leading pirate traders, left the colony shortly afterwards. Boone, however, remained important in colonial politics and wide ranging in social interactions after Smith's crusade against piracy. His advocacy of pirate trading had grown out of his short-term interests, and so he was able to maintain his social and political position when circumstances changed.

Although colonists like Boone abandoned their controversial trade with pirates after Smith's successful campaign for law and order, the story of conflict in Carolina, did not radically change. This single issue was swept out of the political arena, but very

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<sup>41</sup> Moore and Simmons, *Abstracts of Wills*, 43. For Fenwicke's associations, see 20, 30, 117.

quickly a new, larger, and more contentious issue came to dominate the colony: religion. 1704 saw the passage of a religious test act that prevented dissenters from holding public office, followed shortly afterwards by an act establishing the Church of England as the official church of the colony. These actions provoked an angry response from nonconformist colonists, who sent John Ash, one of the New Englanders who had settled in Dorchester, to represent their opinion before the Proprietors and the English House of Lords. Although these dissenters' protests failed to win over the Proprietors, they did succeed in convincing the House of Lords to declare the new Carolina laws invalid. Eventually, despite passing a new act officially establishing Anglicanism, Carolinians were forced to permit nonconformists back into the colony's parliament. For the first time bitter tensions within South Carolina had spilled over into the English political scene, and this conflict, which seemed so firmly rooted in the internal heterogeneity of the colony, had forced the imperial metropolis to adjudicate.

This major conflict over the religious status of Carolina initially appears to be the natural result of the previously noted theological diversity of the young society. Given the scale and seriousness of the conflict, historians have been tempted to view it as the culmination of three decades of tensions, growing out of fundamentally irreconcilable differences.<sup>42</sup> However, recent scholarship has proved that the events of the church establishment crisis were not the product of religious conflict seeping into the political arena but rather represented a series of manoeuvres designed to serve the short-term personal agendas of particular colonists. James Moore, George Dearsley, William Rhett, and Job Howes were among the Anglicans who passed the legislation, and they pushed it primarily because many of their political rivals were nonconformists. Many pro-

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<sup>42</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, chap. 5.

establishment men had previously served in parliament under religious dissenters like Joseph Blake, and there is no evidence that they held principled convictions against nonconformists in government; rather, with Nathaniel Johnson, a strong Anglican, as governor and a concurrent debate over the status of religious dissenters in English politics, they astutely perceived an opportunity to work for their own personal political benefit.

The political nature of the establishment movement was confirmed by the fact that the church establishment act was not supported by all the colony's Anglicans. Most significantly and famously, it was opposed by the Church of England's own minister in Charles Town, the Reverend Edward Marston, largely because it included provisions for a colonial ecclesiastical commission that gave its elite members a means of maintaining strict control of the clergy as well as suppressing the dissenting faction. The dissenters held stronger politico-religious conviction on the issue of establishment, but they, too, were undoubtedly concerned with their personal positions in the colonial power structure. Significantly, once the restriction against nonconformists in parliament was lifted, a second bill of church establishment was passed without the same tumultuous consequences as the first. It is, therefore, difficult to trace the origins of this turbulent politico-religious conflict to the deep-seated cultural and religious differences in the colony; the causes of even this dramatic internal rupture lay in the immediate political agendas of early-eighteenth-century Carolina.<sup>43</sup>

With pragmatic concerns driving the debate over church establishment, this potentially violent disagreement was prevented from tearing the developing social fabric, in the same way that the colony's social world had been insulated against previous

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<sup>43</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, chap. 5; Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, chap. 8.

conflict. Because colonial politics in early South Carolina was not driven solely by religious denomination any more than by political creed, the men who fought these intracolony battles, and their families, were still able to take part in the process of community building. A number of the leading Anglicans whose interests were served by pushing through the establishment bill, particularly the former governor James Moore, had been active members of a “clique” around Joseph Blake, one of the colony’s leading dissenters, just a few years earlier.<sup>44</sup> Robert Daniel was another Carolina politician in a similar position. Despite supporting the faction led by Moore and Governor Johnson, he had also cultivated strong links with a wide range of people, including moderate men like Jonathan Amory and Blake’s group of dissenters; he even had social links to the colony’s small Quaker community. None of the men who acted so decisively to crush nonconformity could have avoided all social links with the religious dissenters throughout their community. Questions of religion probably released more passionate responses than most political debates, but they do not appear to have placed a burden upon the infant colony’s social network that it was unable to bear.

It has been common to portray early South Carolina as a fractious and unhappy colony, struggling in a difficult physical and social landscape and eventually succumbing to the joint evils of slavery and hierarchical aristocracy. In many ways this brief survey of the colony’s political troubles has correctly emphasized the extent of the problems. The polity did suffer from debate, division, and conflict. It is too simplistic, however, to look to the heterogeneous nature of the colonial community, which was surveyed in chapter one, and conclude that such a variegated social composition obviously sparked an

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<sup>44</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 72.

inevitable and debilitating series of conflicts. In fact, many of the political debates in the nascent colony pitted pragmatic, ruthless, and power-hungry politicians against each other in distinctly non-ideological disputes. Detached somewhat from the colonists' principles, beliefs, and identities, these grand fissures in politics, which at first glance seem so disastrous for the developing community, did not in fact prevent the growth of a network of relationships between the diverse social groups in Carolina. Vitriolic competition in the colony's parliament became a contest for the control of a recognisable, coalescing community, rather than a symptom of increasingly irreconcilable social divisions. This process of social networking and community building, in the face of such unpromising circumstances, will be the focus of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

### A COLONIAL COMMUNITY

Despite their prominence and position in local politics, the Goose Creek men and the leading dissenters such as the Blakes, Mortons, and Axtells, were certainly not the only colonists in South Carolina. Traditional political history has privileged these characters and so the main focus of this study, thus far, has been to identify important men and their social links within the colony.<sup>45</sup> But this approach is anecdotal at best. It appears that the leading politicians of early Carolina were pragmatic and relaxed in their social interactions; however, this cannot tell us much about the colonial society as a whole. Were political leaders also the must-know socialites of the community, and how factionally divided by ethnicity and religion were the less influential colonists? These questions require a more systematic, holistic, and quantitative analysis of early Carolina society, in which every surviving social interaction is taken into account. They require the reconstruction of the whole social network of proprietary South Carolina.

Reconstructing social networks is a problem most often approached by sociologists concerned with the dynamics of contemporary society. An entire sub-field of social network analysis has developed to address the problems and opportunities of quantifying personal relationships in this way. UCINET is a computer software program, created by sociologists, that incorporates many of these measures and techniques, and it

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<sup>45</sup> A predominant focus upon male political leaders is most noticeable in Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*.

is the source for the calculations which follow.<sup>46</sup> Many of the statistical methods that sociologists employ, though, cannot be used by historians because they assume that data has been gathered from complete sets of records or comprehensive surveys, rather than pieced together from surviving scraps of evidence. However, the more basic measurements of a social network can shed a new light on historical communities, and, in this case, portray the actions of the colonial elite in the context of the whole social world.

At the most basic level, each surviving probate record from proprietary Carolina elucidates a relationship between the person who composed the document and the others whom he or she mentions. These individual sets of relationships often interrelate, sharing a number of similar names and introducing new names. For example, in fig. 1, the three individuals composing wills, persons A, B, and C, each have a number of social links, some of which are mutual associations, thus connecting the actors into one network in which they are all more or less associated with each other. This is the basic way of illustrating a social network, and it is the intersecting relationships observed in all of the surviving documents that form the Carolina network, which can be illustrated in the same way (see fig. 3). From this starting point we can draw conclusions about the patterns of sociability and networking across the whole of South Carolina society, and not just amongst the political elite.

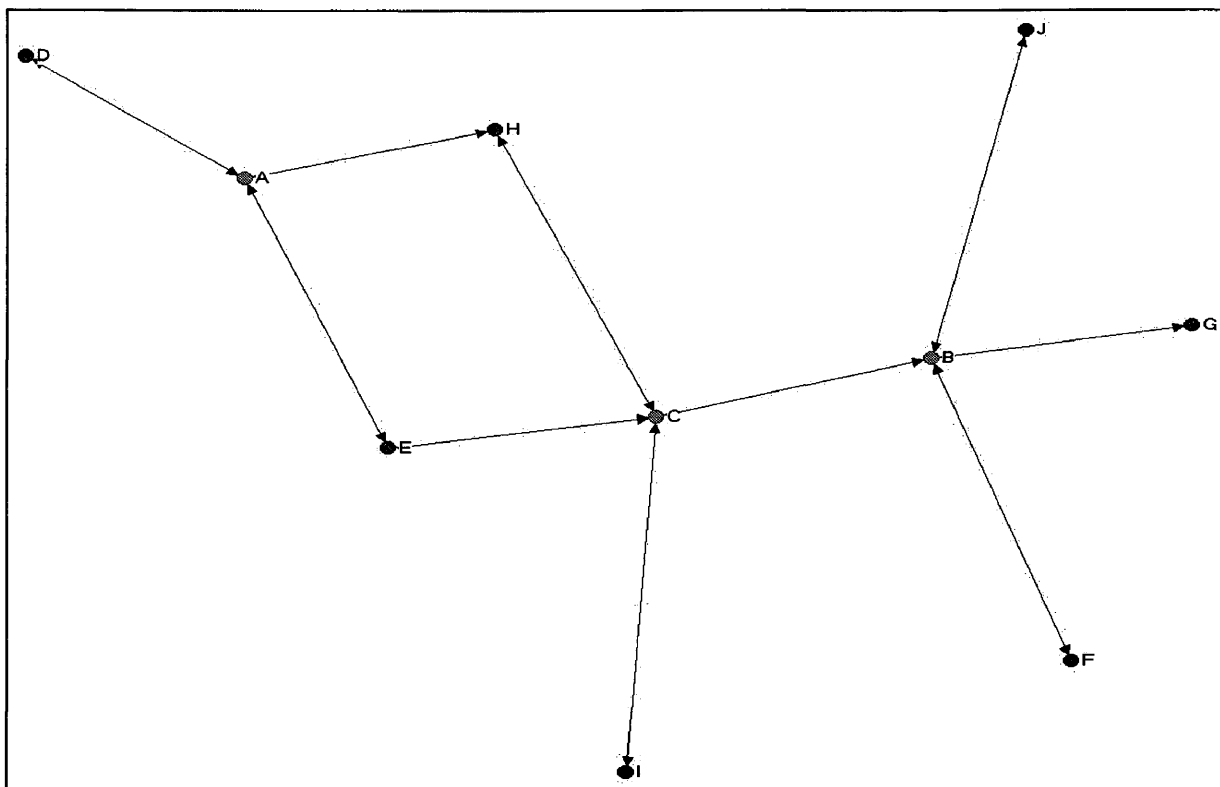
The colony's probate records mention over six hundred individual actors, thus not all sets of interrelationships tie together as neatly as in fig. 1; some probate records detailed relationships among people who cannot be connected to any of the others within

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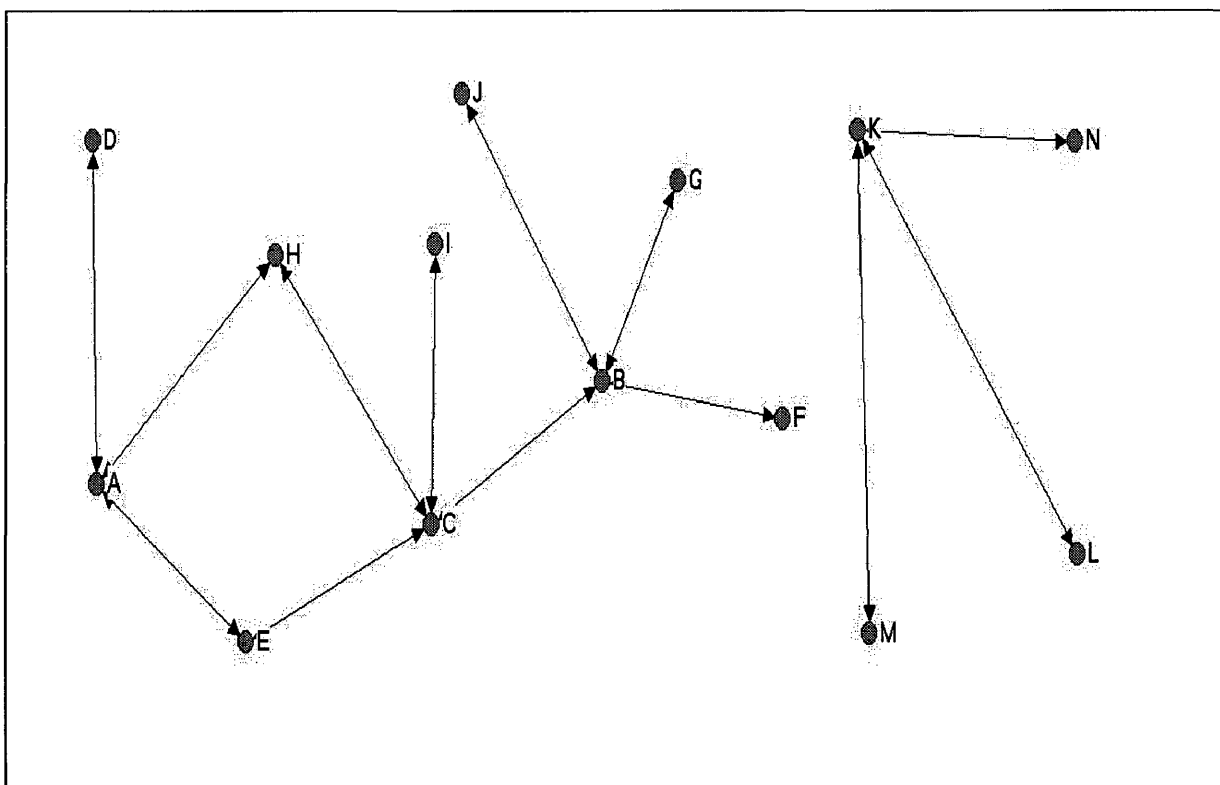
<sup>46</sup> The social network analysis software used is: S.P. Borgatti, M.G. Everett and L.C. Freeman, *Ucinet for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis* (Harvard, Mass.: Analytic Technologies, 2002). A useful guide to this technology is: Robert Hanneman, *Introduction to Social Network Methods*, <http://faculty.ucr.edu/~hanneman/nettext/>.

the data set. For example, in fig. 2 another record has been added to our notional network from fig. 1, but this time person K mentions friends who are not related to any other actors, thus creating a separate, isolated collection of ties. Each interconnected group is referred to as a component of the network; in fig. 2 there are therefore two components, whereas fig. 1 has only a single component. In the early South Carolina network there were eleven components, or separate groups. The most striking fact about these groups, however, is that they did not correspond to the colony's religious or ethnic divisions. There was no separate component of Barbadians or Quakers that had no links to their fellow colonists. Also, among the 636 colonists whose relationships we can attempt to trace, 578 belonged to a single main component of interrelated individuals, and the next-largest component contained only 17 men and women. In sociological terms this fact alone is not particularly striking, as it cannot reveal the closeness of these ties, but as a starting point for historical enquiry it clearly demonstrates that by the beginning of the eighteenth century South Carolina was at the very least a recognisable community. The anomalous outliers, who were not members of the main component, were probably very recent immigrants, or even men and women from England or Barbados who were named in the will of a merchant or sailor who was sojourning in Charles Town when he met his death. Apart from these few unfortunate men, the colonists of early Carolina had access to a large and diverse community.

To get a closer look at the dynamics of the network, we can ask a number of more detailed questions. Although the colony's social network seems to be reasonably unified, this fact alone cannot demonstrate how many individual relationships connected all these



*Fig.1 A Typical Network Diagram*



*Fig. 2 A Two-Component Network*

colonists together. For example, any group of seven colonists could be connected by as many as twenty-one relationships or as few as six. One measure of this feature of the network is called density, which divides the number of observed relationships in the network by the total number of possible relationships, giving the percentage of possible relationships that are in fact present. For the whole of the South Carolina network this percentage is 0.44 percent, and for just the main component of 578 interconnected community members the density rises to 0.5 percent.

These low numbers are partly explained by the fact that the data for the colony's network only reflects the relationships of the small number whose wills and probate records survive; the vast majority of the 636 colonists are only mentioned in other people's documents. Also, it would be impossible for every relationship to be recorded in the probate records because this would have made for an extremely unwieldy will! It is important to appreciate that the data probably only scratches the surface of the network of relationships that existed and highlights only the social links that were most important to individual colonists. Nonetheless, these low numbers do suggest that, although most colonists belonged to one connected social group, the community was not a very cohesive society, like a commune, where everyone knew each other personally. The low network density may reflect the dispersed settlement pattern of the colony and the thirty-year time span of the data, which prevented all of Carolina's early colonists from having personal relationships with each other. These mitigating factors do, however, make it all the more noteworthy that so many men and women maintained links to a single large network of relationships which spanned this diverse, diffuse, and divided young colony.<sup>47</sup>

It is logical to imagine a colonial community where most men and women were,

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<sup>47</sup> Hanneman, *Social Network Methods*, Chp. 8.

at the very least, part of the same network. However, even modern personal experience should suggest that being a member of a single friendship network does not prevent smaller, more closely tied groups from developing within this web of connections. These groups can form the primary focus of an individual's sociability and limit his or her interaction with the broader spectrum of society. One such group might be a church where individuals are closely connected and where only a few members have links outside the congregation to the main body of the social network. To establish whether the Carolina social network was "clustered" into groupings with particularly strong ties, we calculate the clustering coefficient of the data. This process computes the density of the network around each individual actor (i.e., whether a person's friends also knew each other) and then finds the average of this number for the whole network. For our early Carolina network, the clustering coefficient is 0.132, or 13 percent, which means that only a small number of each individual's friends are linked together.<sup>48</sup>

This is not overly surprising given the incompleteness of the data. But, given the individual wills that survive, clusters could have been generated by a number of colonists' friendship networks closely overlapping. Generally, this does not seem to have been the case. Rather, the clustering coefficient suggests that individuals were wide-ranging in their associations, with links that connected them to other men and women mentioned in a number of different wills. Tentatively, we can suggest that not only was South Carolina's early society interconnected, it was also not dominated by local clusters that constrained the colonists' social interactions.

This picture is confirmed by another network analysis statistic, called transitivity, which also identifies the importance of close knots of friendship within the broader

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<sup>48</sup> Hanneman, *Social Network Methods*, Chp. 8.

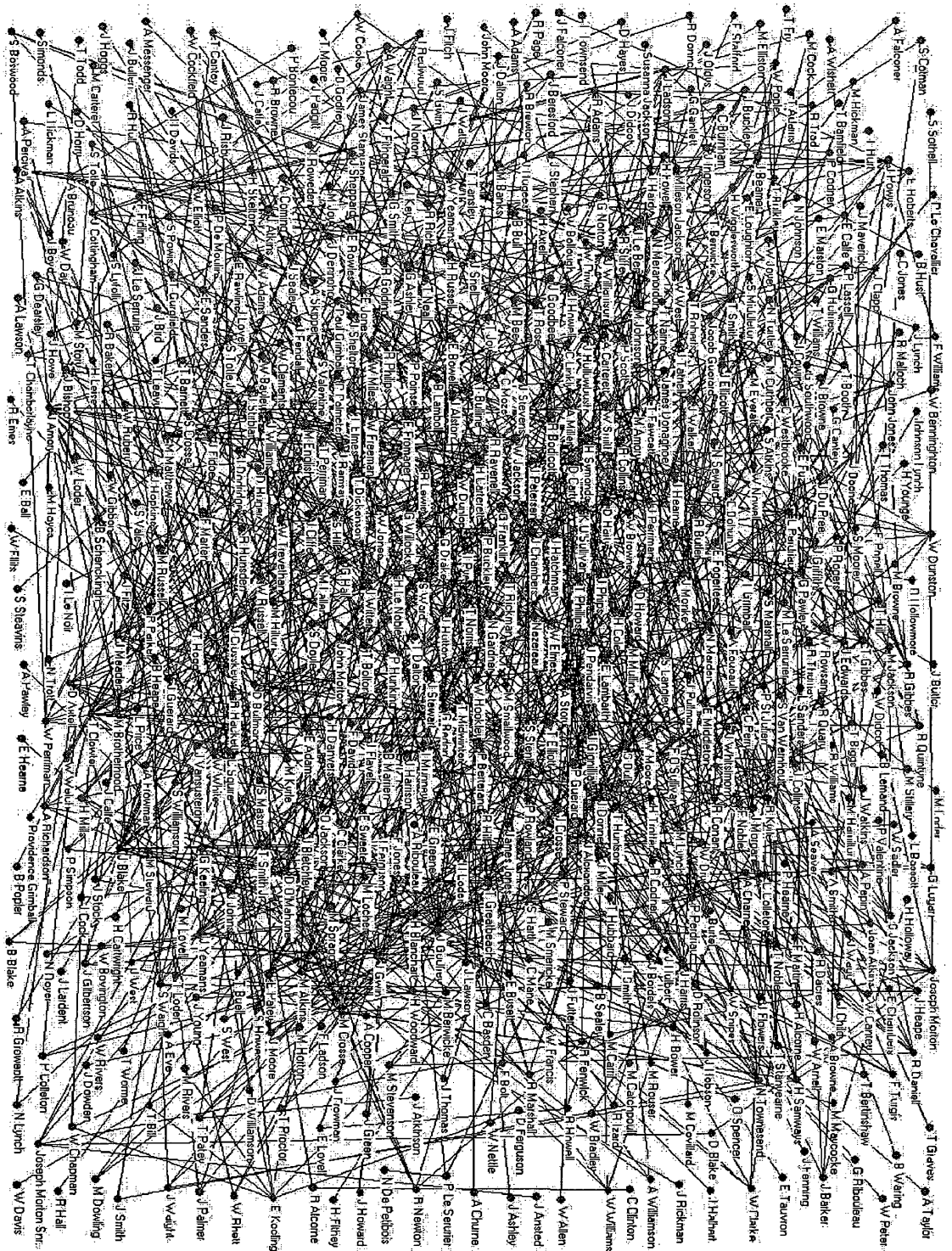


Fig. 3 The Main Component of the South Carolina Network.

framework. Transitivity measures the number of completely interconnected groupings of three individuals (called triads) which are present in the network and compares this to the mathematically possible number of triads in the network, and the number of groupings where two of the three necessary links are present. The second of these calculations is normally considered the most important, because it reflects the extent to which small groups of associations (triads) are bound together by extra friendship links. In the South Carolina network this transitivity of triads stands at 6.44 percent, which further supports the thesis that small clusters of associations did not dominate the society. Despite the consistent problems with the incomplete data from South Carolina, both of the clustering coefficient and the transitivity analysis tend to suggest that strongly tied small groups were not the main influence over the network. In order to understand early Carolinians habits of sociability we must look beyond the small groups divided by ethnicity and religion, to broader associations across the network.

A closer look at the small groups that are evident in the Carolina network can further examine the issue of factionalism and division in the colony. It is possible to identify the cliques that existed within the network. In sociological terms a clique is narrowly defined as a group in which every individual is directly linked to every other group member. This definition is very limiting, especially given the sparse historical data for South Carolina, and therefore a more relaxed definition of small groups can be used to identify closely knit social circles within the colony. One option is a test that identifies clique-like clusters in which all the members are linked to all other members of the group directly or through another friend. These small groups are called 2-Clans. In the main component of the early Carolina social network, there are 225 2-Clans that contain five

individuals or more (obviously many of these individuals appear in a number of different groups). A full list of all 2-Clans present in the main component can be found in Appendix D. The important thing about this analysis, however, is that it highlights the kinds of small groups or social circles in which individual South Carolinians were acting. A number of significant figures in colonial politics are found in subgroups that also contain their political opponents. For example, Thomas Smith, one of the colony's early governors and a staunch English religious dissenter, is identified as part of one 2-Clan with James Moore and Maurice Matthews, his Anglican, Goose Creek rivals.<sup>49</sup> Of course we cannot suggest that 2-Clans represent anything as formal as clubs or even casual tavern associates; in fact these groupings were probably not consciously constructed or maintained at all. However, their diverse memberships suggest that even the bitterest of political opponents in this nascent colonial community shared intimate social ties that formed the bedrock of the friendship network.<sup>50</sup>

It is important to remember, however, how small the clustering coefficient for the whole South Carolina network was. These small groups may be significant in indicating the extent to which political factions were transcended on a social level, but they were not the main conduit through which most South Carolinians interacted with the colony-wide community. If small groups did not dominate the society, then another possibility often considered by social network analysts is that the network was centred around a number of key individuals who each knew many people. In theory the most centralised network would be one in which all individuals were linked to one central figure and not to anyone

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<sup>49</sup> This 2-Clan is no. 96 on the main component 2-Clan analysis (see Appendix D), and it contains: M Stevenson, S Bull, J Godfrey, J Moore, M Matthews, T Hill, J Heape, J West, R Malloch, R Bodicott, T Smith, J Chambers, and A Charne.

<sup>50</sup> Hanneman, *Social Network Methods*, Chp. 11.

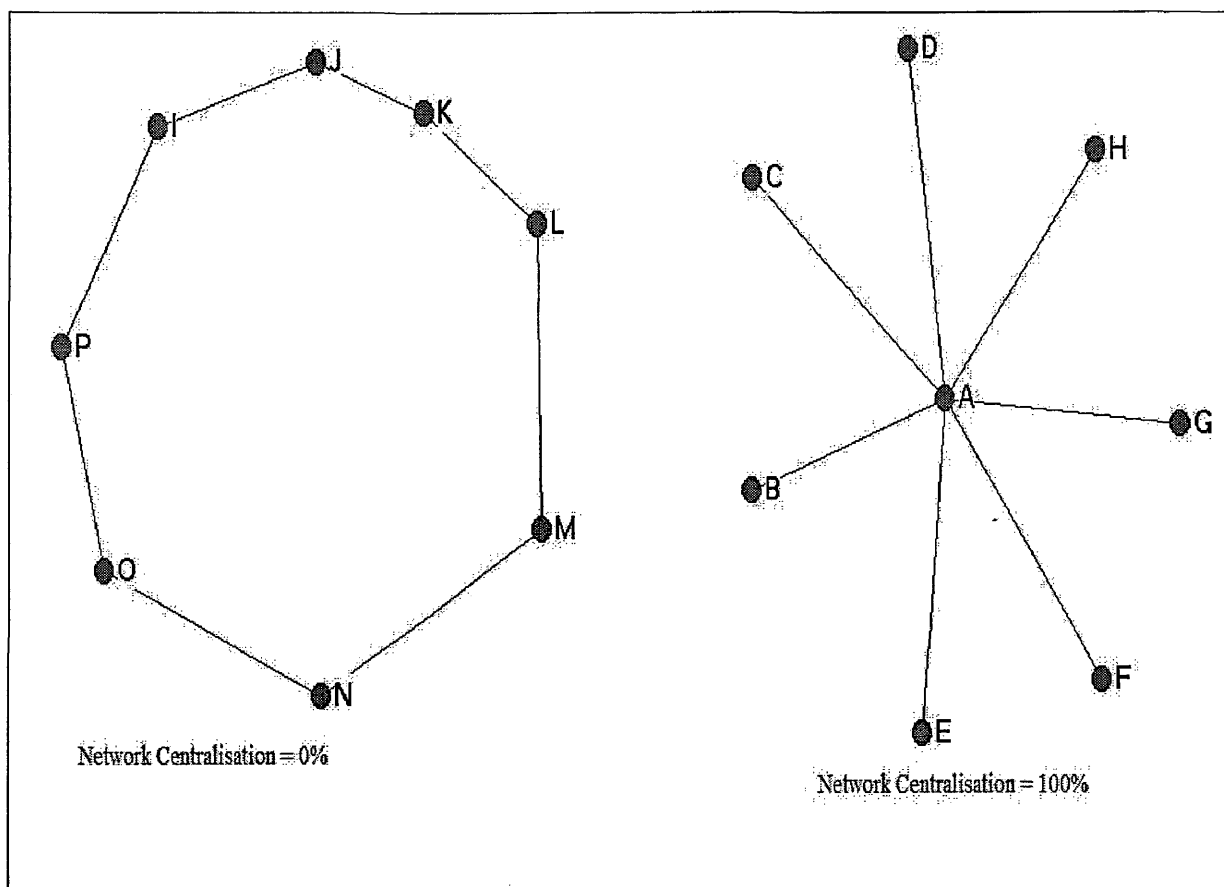
else, producing a social network graph in the shape of a star, as in fig. 4.

There are a number of ways of measuring centrality in a network. First, degree centrality measures the number of links that each individual has, and expresses that as a percentage of all the possible links in the network, in the case of Figure 4 the degree centrality of actor A is 100 percent, whilst the degree centrality of actor H is only 14.3 percent. In the case of the South Carolina network this calculation involves dividing the number of visible links by 635 (which is the total number of nodes minus one). Similar measures are the betweenness centrality, which measures how many relationships in the network rely upon a particular person as a mutual friend, and closeness centrality, which measures how many friends of friends an individual relies upon to link them to every other member of the network. In both of these cases a general centralisation calculation expresses the variation in the centrality of all the actors. These measures all reflect slightly different definitions of what it means to be central to the network, whether it be how many people you know, how many people rely upon you for their social links, or how easily you can relate to the whole community.

Running these tests on the South Carolina network suggests that this community was not very centralised. The highest measure of centrality for the network as a whole was seventeen percent for the closeness centrality.<sup>51</sup> If there was a lack of clustering in the network, there was also little centralisation around key actors. This statistic suggests that unlike early Carolina politics, which was dominated by a number of colourful individuals, early Carolina community relations were not dictated by a small number of men who maintained relationships with a wide spectrum of society.

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<sup>51</sup> The Degree Centrality Index suggests 3.35 percent, the Betweenness Centrality Index suggests fourteen percent, and the Closeness Centrality Index for the main component suggests seventeen percent. For complete centrality rankings see appendices.



*Fig. 4 Network Centralisation Diagrams*

In the same way that the makeup of cliques is important despite the lack of clustering, the identities of the most central individuals within the network is also significant even though the South Carolina network was not very centralised. The various centrality tests generate rankings of the most central characters in the community (which are included in the appendices), from which two interesting observations can be drawn. Unsurprisingly, a number of key political figures do seem to have occupied central positions in the social network. However, Joseph Blake and Thomas Smith, the political leaders who appear most central to early Carolinian sociability, are both from the English dissenter faction in the colony's parliament. Rival Barbadian Goose Creek men such as

Maurice Matthews, James Moore, William Rhett, and Nathaniel Johnson apparently occupied less central positions in the network. This difference could reflect unwillingness on the part of the supposedly anti-proprietary Goose Creek faction to register their wills and social interactions with the formal authorities of the colony, but it seems unlikely that these hard-nosed political pragmatists would have taken any principled opposition to proprietary authority quite so far. It is more realistic to conclude that these aggressive political actors remained slightly more aloof from the centre of colonial sociability and did not cultivate the same range of associations as their rivals.

Though there was some overlap between political and social leadership, it was not a famed political leader who dominated the social network. All measures of centrality for the early South Carolina network highlight the same individual as the most central social figure in the colony. This man was Jonathan Amory, who once served as speaker of the South Carolina parliament and treasurer of the colony. Amory was born in Somerset in 1653 but spent much of his early life in Ireland and made his fortune as a Dublin merchant; he lived briefly in the West Indies before coming to South Carolina in 1685, truly a product of the seventeenth-century Atlantic world. Surprisingly, he receives little attention in the traditional political history of the early colony, despite his senior positions in government, presumably because his factional identification has at most been described as “moderate.”<sup>52</sup> Amory’s heritage did not make him simply a Barbadian, an Englishman, or an Irishman, and his noncommittal political opinions reinforced his position largely outside factional politics. His social ties certainly do not seem to have been constrained by factional labels, and his broad range of connections, which even included a number of French Huguenots, are the reason for his status as the statistically

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<sup>52</sup> Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 52.

most central person in early South Carolina society. In the effort to understand how disparate and divided colonists came together in Carolina to form a community, individuals like Amory may prove vital social links. This case at least demonstrates the reorientation induced by viewing South Carolina as a social network rather than a political entity. This approach highlights men who had considerable significance within the community despite, and possibly because of, their failure to engage in bitter factional conflicts.<sup>53</sup>

Social network analysis, though, can do more than simply rehabilitate Jonathan Amory in the historical record of early South Carolina. It offers a macro perspective on the community-building efforts of this infant colony by drawing together all of the surviving evidence of social ties. Admittedly, there are limitations to the surviving data from proprietary Carolina, which make it impossible to utilise the full range of social network analysis tools. However, with a due sense of caution and an awareness of how the structure of probate records influences the resulting network, these methods can improve our understanding of colonial community construction. The picture that emerges of early South Carolina contrasts starkly the grim tale of factional division, bitter infighting, and the threat of failure that dominates the political narrative of the proprietary colony. There were numerous arguments when the parliament met, but beyond its confrontational atmosphere community was developing as people interacted across ethnic and religious lines and built the single interrelated component that appears in the network analysis. The tools of network analysis also provide statistics which suggest that the early

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<sup>53</sup> "Memoirs of the Family of Amory," *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January 1856, 59-65.

Carolina community was neither overly impeded by local clusters nor dominated by a coterie of social directors whom everyone knew. However, amongst the actors who do stand out as particularly well connected, some, like Jonathan Amory, further confirm the importance of pragmatism and compromise in this colonial society. Although the quantification methods of social network analysis seem more distant from the realities of early colonial life in Carolina than the anecdotes that marked the previous chapters, they identify a more universal patterns of colonial sociability and highlight the importance of men and women who may be overlooked by the political narrative.

## CONCLUSIONS

When William Rhett took guardianship over Jonathan Amory's orphaned children in 1699, his act of friendship and duty was as important to the development of the Carolina community as his often-noted political wrangling and abusive statements.<sup>54</sup> Rhett, the man who so coarsely upset the governor by telling him that he would not "wipe his arse" with the Lords Proprietors' commission, was more than happy to offer help and support to a dying man who did not necessarily share his vitriolic opinions on matters of colonial politics. This apparent dichotomy serves as a vivid reminder that politics does not always constrain and define community building, and this was particularly true in early South Carolina.

Despite the stream of diverse immigrants arriving in the colony, the tremendous potential for disunity, and the seemingly endless string of political crises, a closer look at the politics of early Carolina reveals that this troubled history was not the result of numerous groups of settlers that each arrived with a different and intractable vision of the colony's future. Proprietary South Carolina was in fact dominated by pragmatic politicians who frequently changed their allegiances and did not allow their opinions to interfere with the business of building social connections, friendships, kinship ties, and community. Readjusting the traditional understanding of early Carolina politics in this way makes it easier to comprehend how seemingly divergent patterns of political upheaval and community development could coexist.

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<sup>54</sup> Moore and Simmons, eds., *Abstracts of Wills*, 19

The tools of social network analysis reach beyond these key colonial leaders and uncover the dynamics of this wider social process. Early Carolina appears to have developed a measure of cohesion by the turn of the eighteenth century. Small cliques reminiscent of the patterns of immigration were not a significant factor, and one large interconnected component seems to have dominated the social network. Men who have previously been overlooked by political narratives, such as Jonathan Amory, were important links in the colony's diverse community of dissenters, Barbadians, and French Huguenots. It cannot be assumed, given the paucity of the probate data from early South Carolina, that the statistics of social network analysis precisely reflect the colony's social world, but they do seem to point to growing unification, the breakdown of ethnic and religious barriers, and the emergence of something resembling a community in South Carolina long before the heyday of large lowcountry plantations and growing political stability in the mid-eighteenth century.

Unfortunately, the tools of social network analysis cannot easily explain *why* early Carolina immigrants began to coalesce into a community by 1700. Perhaps the powerful external threat of the nearby Spanish colonial power in St. Augustine necessitated some form of communal bonding. This explanation is problematic, however, because another serious threat from outside, in the form of powerful regional Indian tribes, only served to divide the population over the politics of trade. The efforts of Lord Ashley and the other Proprietors to institute a quasi-feudal, face-to-face social structure through the Fundamental Constitution might have been a factor in drawing new colonists together and creating personal bonds amongst disparate peoples. Yet the most infamous characteristic of Ashley's Fundamental Constitution was its complete failure to be

enacted meaningfully in Carolina, which likely minimised its effects on the colony's community. One further possibility is that the development of Charles Town as a significant settlement and trading centre for the young colony may have catalyzed social interactions and the development of a community hub that connected many different groups of colonists. The probate records contain a particularly large number of urban merchants, and many of the colony's early wills refer to plots of land in Charles Town. It is impossible to identify urban/rural dynamics in the social network of the colony using network analysis techniques, but the growth of Charles Town as a unifying centre for the young Carolina colony seems to offer a potential explanation for the data in the probate records and the resulting network statistics.

Regardless of the utility of urbanisation as a theory for explaining Carolina community development, the information gleaned from social network analysis can stand alone. The evidence presented here, suggesting a process of social unification, significantly recasts the colony's early history. It cannot pretend to completely overturn the political narrative that views Carolina as a troubled colonial pipedream in the seventeenth century, but it can point to the notably contrasting way in which colonial settlement forced distinctly different men and women together into a single society. It was this single Carolina community that the likes of Maurice Matthews, Thomas Smith, and Nathaniel Johnson fought so bitterly to control.

## APPENDIX A

## CLOSENESS CENTRALITY RANKINGS

	Farness	nCloseness
N Lynch	3057	18.8747139
B Schenckinh	2540	22.71653557
T Midwinter	2706	21.3229866
W Dry	2622	22.00610161
J Ladson	2393	24.11199379
J Fitz	3189	18.09344673
W Clements	3012	19.15670586
J Meader	2482	23.24738121
R Marshall	3034	19.01779747
M Smyth	3142	18.3640995
A Percivall	2963	19.47350693
R Gibbes	2653	21.74896431
M Stevenson	2598	22.20939255
S Bull	2248	25.66725922
R Daniell	2293	25.16354179
W Yeamans	2780	20.75539589
J Dalton	2818	20.47551537
J Godfrey	2280	25.30701828
R Skelton	3475	16.60431671
R Trad	2901	19.88969231
M Smallwood	4051	14.24339676
M Jackson	2940	19.62585068
L Bassett	3516	16.41069412
H Smith	3516	16.41069412
S Jackson	3068	18.80704117
A Wishett	3516	16.41069412
J Norton	2937	19.64589691
Milleson Jackson	2537	22.74339867
R Fowell	3335	17.30134964
E Middleton	2864	20.14664841
D O'Mahone	3299	17.49014854
E Lovell	3907	14.76836491
T Cantey	3600	16.02777863
M Smericke	4176	13.81704998
C Mane	4176	13.81704998
J Stock	4174	13.82367039
J Dennoho	4174	13.82367039
R Rich	3713	15.53999424

T Norris	4289	13.45301914
T Hurt	4289	13.45301914
S Boswood	3145	18.34658241
J Hugees	4289	13.45301914
W Snipes	3604	16.00998878
G Cantey	4174	13.82367039
T Biggs	2812	20.51920319
J Moore	2253	25.61029816
S West	3182	18.13324928
J Maverick	3388	17.03069687
M Banks	3034	19.01779747
J Lynch	3542	16.2902317
J Alston	3435	16.79767036
James Jones	4011	14.38543987
J Howard	4011	14.38543987
J Palmer	3020	19.10596085
F Williams	3256	17.72113037
J Miller	2839	20.32405853
J Cottingham	2660	21.69172859
T Rose	2587	22.30382729
M Matthews	2262	25.50839996
T Hill	2670	21.61048698
M English	2731	21.12779236
M Horton	3039	18.98650932
W Chapman	2847	20.26694679
J Snell	2838	20.33121872
P Lassell	2648	21.79002953
J Guerard	2832	20.37429428
W Smith	2430	23.74485588
A Waight	2748	20.99708939
J Cattle	3324	17.35860443
J Fidoe	3324	17.35860443
T Leavy	3324	17.35860443
J Heape	2534	22.7703228
J Lawson	2895	19.93091583
G Bedon	2454	23.51263237
H Cartwright	3394	17.00058937
T Worme	3394	17.00058937
N Turtley	2820	20.46099281
J West	2626	21.97258186
T Gibbes	2789	20.68841934
J Beresford	2946	19.58587837
T Clowter	2462	23.43623161

J Sealey	3037	18.99901199
S Cotman	3121	18.48766327
W Clarke	2855	20.21015739
J Collins	3302	17.47425842
R Donne	3165	18.23064804
J Calfe	2968	19.44070053
E Mayo	2588	22.29520798
J Hatchman	3506	16.45750237
F Bolt	4082	14.13522816
F Jones	2936	19.65258789
J Boone	2429	23.75463104
R Malloch	2822	20.44649124
H Fithey	3398	16.98057747
T Stanyearne	2960	19.49324417
M Everatt	3536	16.317873
N Seward	3536	16.317873
J Dodridge	3536	16.317873
T Noble	2411	23.93197823
W Pople	2382	24.22334099
R Hull	2488	23.19131851
J Browne	3292	17.52733994
W Jones	2796	20.63662338
E Fogertee	3516	16.41069412
A Bruneau	3438	16.7830143
Jacob Guerard	3028	19.05548286
P Bontecou	4014	14.37468815
M Benson	2792	20.66618919
R Williams	3368	17.13182831
J Cliffe	2821	20.45373917
J Williamson	2726	21.16654396
J Gwin	2384	24.2030201
J Beamer	2554	22.59201241
J Crosse	2410	23.94190788
F O'Sullivan	2559	22.54787064
D Hayes	3110	18.55305481
P Steward	2598	22.20939255
J Munney	2986	19.32350922
R Bodicott	2694	21.41796494
D Axtell	2671	21.60239601
H Danvers	3247	17.77025032
W Bennington	3247	17.77025032
A Cooper	3247	17.77025032
M Catchpoull	3247	17.77025032

S Hill	3247	17.77025032
R Lewis	3875	14.89032269
M Hayes	3875	14.89032269
G Norton	3875	14.89032269
M Lovell	3875	14.89032269
T Roberts	3231	17.85824776
W Jackson	2689	21.45779037
M Steward	3003	19.21411896
W Joye	3126	18.45809364
J Hopkins	3265	17.67228127
W Rubery	3265	17.67228127
E Lambarth	3265	17.67228127
J Hutton	3265	17.67228127
T Patey	2652	21.757164
J Atkinson	3228	17.8748455
J Williams	2421	23.83312607
M Rouser	4080	14.1421566
O Spencer	4656	12.3926115
H Symonds	2204	26.17967415
S Crosse	2644	21.82299614
J Clapp	2564	22.50390053
J Monke	2471	23.35087013
M Loder	3047	18.93665886
A Miller	3047	18.93665886
H Loder	3047	18.93665886
T Loder	3047	18.93665886
W Loder	3047	18.93665886
A Messenger	3047	18.93665886
T Barnett	2878	20.04864502
W White	2531	22.79731369
W Arnell	3047	18.93665886
S Atkins	3047	18.93665886
G Pawley	2747	21.00473213
M Elliston	3044	18.95532227
R Kyrle	2803	20.58508682
J Bullen	3012	19.15670586
M Kyrle	2841	20.3097496
G Willocks	3417	16.88615799
J Fendall	3417	16.88615799
A Atkins	2560	22.5390625
J Atkins	3136	18.39923477
T Smith	2187	26.38317299
T Berwicke	3136	18.39923477

R Stiffe	3136	18.39923477
M Berwicke	3136	18.39923477
D Howard	2783	20.73302269
I Roweden	3359	17.17773056
P Rowland	3359	17.17773056
J Chambers	2812	20.51920319
A Frowman	3344	17.25478554
E Chambers	3388	17.03069687
M Brotherhood	3388	17.03069687
W Nettle	3388	17.03069687
W Trevethan	3388	17.03069687
R Hollowmore	3388	17.03069687
F Davids	3220	17.9192543
P De Moulin	3117	18.51138878
W Francis	2918	19.77381706
H Mills	2632	21.92249298
C Burnham	2538	22.73443604
T Neall	3208	17.98628426
F Ladson	3208	17.98628426
J Oldys	3208	17.98628426
S Middleton	2812	20.51920319
J Walker	3028	19.05548286
N Townesend	2483	23.23801804
S Tottle	2486	23.2099762
J Bird	2979	19.36891556
W Perriman	2753	20.95895386
J Perriman	3062	18.84389305
S Tottle Jr	2795	20.64400673
N Marden	2576	22.39906883
T Hogg	3371	17.11658287
J Waight	2487	23.20064354
H Samways	2406	23.98171234
J Pendarvis	2252	25.62166977
M Atkins	2484	23.2286644
G Drake	3060	18.8562088
T Rickman	3060	18.8562088
J Rickman	3060	18.8562088
M Locher	3060	18.8562088
C Perry	3060	18.8562088
E Sweete	3060	18.8562088
A Seaver	3060	18.8562088
E Adams	3060	18.8562088
J Donne	3060	18.8562088

Joan Atkins	2674	21.57815933
J Gilbertson	2812	20.51920319
R Brewton	2666	21.64291
John Jones	2577	22.39037704
F Noble	2796	20.63662338
J Harris	2457	23.48392296
H Blanchart	3431	16.81725502
C Clarke	2491	23.1633873
J Ferguson	3723	15.49825382
G Gordon	3147	18.33492279
G Holmes	3031	19.03662109
K O'Sullivan	3098	18.62491989
T Phillips	3607	15.99667358
S Doyle	3607	15.99667358
R Quintyne	2765	20.8679924
M Cock	2763	20.8830986
T Napper	4244	13.59566402
J Witter	3670	15.72207069
P Hearne	4820	11.97095394
C Westbrooke	2737	21.08147621
P Hunking	2839	20.32405853
F Fidling	2483	23.23801804
J Blake	2268	25.44091797
J Ellicott	2749	20.98945045
G Ashley	2497	23.10772896
J Griffith	2706	21.3229866
S Williamson	3307	17.44783783
W Rowsam	3244	17.78668404
H Russell	3820	15.10471249
P Colleton	3112	18.54113197
C Colleton	3688	15.64533615
R Quarry	3688	15.64533615
C Moze	3404	16.95064545
N Meran	3980	14.49748707
I Le Noir	3980	14.49748707
P Le Serurier	2923	19.73999405
N De Petibois	3499	16.49042511
J Shelton	2726	21.16654396
Joseph Morton	2518	22.91501236
John Morton	2708	21.30723763
B Blake	2790	20.68100357
W Dunlop	2790	20.68100357
A Pepin	2852	20.2314167

E Fromager	3428	16.83197212
A Foucault	3428	16.83197212
N Royer	3328	17.33773994
J Alexander	2371	24.33572388
E Calfe	3302	17.47425842
S Van Wernhout	2763	20.8830986
P Codner	2924	19.73324203
T Bolton	2405	23.99168396
James Stanyarne	2433	23.71557808
A Skipper	2782	20.7404747
E Greene	3011	19.16306877
R Iazard	3182	18.13324928
J Ashley	3073	18.77643967
Joseph Morton Snr.	3086	18.69734192
D Blake	3090	18.67313957
E Bowell	3662	15.75641727
J Bletchley	3662	15.75641727
J Ansted	3662	15.75641727
A Charne	2780	20.75539589
J Frowman	2940	19.62585068
J Wagg	3356	17.19308662
E Patey	2452	23.53181076
J Powys	2730	21.13553047
C Basden	2326	24.80653572
M Lynch	3730	15.46916866
Johnson Lynch	4306	13.39990711
J Watkins	2768	20.84537506
P Rogers	3344	17.25478554
D Bullman	3059	18.86237335
M Bee	2584	22.32972145
J Buckley	2601	22.18377495
T Dickenson	2691	21.44184303
T Williams	3267	17.66146278
T Dalton	3267	17.66146278
E Rowles	3267	17.66146278
J Amory	2121	27.20414925
B Bull	2924	19.73324203
J Pye	2676	21.5620327
E Loughton	3252	17.74292755
H Bower	2831	20.38149071
J Futter	2772	20.81529617
M Russell	2841	20.3097496
M Johnson	3365	17.14710236

J Goodbee	3365	17.14710236
R Golding	3365	17.14710236
S Vale	3365	17.14710236
N Johnson	2510	22.98804855
J Sheppard	2818	20.47551537
W Moore	3384	17.05082703
T Elliott	3004	19.20772362
W Elliott	3004	19.20772362
T Booth	3578	16.12632751
W Cooke	3578	16.12632751
I Key	3723	15.49825382
T Perriman	3723	15.49825382
S Waight	2466	23.39821625
John Moore	3453	16.7101078
J Hardy	2877	20.05561256
S Howes	3453	16.7101078
M Carril	3453	16.7101078
T Greatbeach	3098	18.62491989
R Collins	3674	15.70495415
P Simpson	3670	15.72207069
S Ward	4246	13.5892601
T Joy	4246	13.5892601
A Browne	2540	22.71653557
J Lovell	2611	22.0988121
W Cockfield	2807	20.55575371
W Russell	3383	17.05586815
B Godfrey	2856	20.20308113
S Gwin	2548	22.64521217
G Smith	2780	20.75539589
G Dearsley	2464	23.41720772
R Alcorne	3630	15.89531708
C Clinton	4206	13.71849728
F Marten	3056	18.88088989
P St Julien	2700	21.37037086
H Le Noble	3195	18.05946732
R Ravenell	3266	17.66687012
P Parker	3177	18.16178703
I Redwood	2896	19.92403221
T Elmes	3548	16.26268387
A Falconer	3753	15.37436676
R Browne	2856	20.20308113
H Woodward	2838	20.33121872
M Browne	2856	20.20308113

W Davis	2856	20.20308113
T Fawcett	2856	20.20308113
H Leise	2856	20.20308113
G Franklin	2368	24.36655426
B Heape	3042	18.96778488
J Harrison	2860	20.17482567
J Green	3436	16.79278183
R Thomas	3436	16.79278183
J Fitch	2982	19.34943008
A Taylor	2982	19.34943008
T Townsend	2982	19.34943008
W Dunston	2445	23.59918213
M Hilton	3021	19.09963608
J Bordels	2965	19.46037102
M Crosse	2230	25.87443924
M Joy	3021	19.09963608
S Sothell	3021	19.09963608
H Alcorne	3240	17.80864143
F Martin	3816	15.12054539
J Morgan	3052	18.90563583
W Nowell	3328	17.33773994
S Hartly	2411	23.93197823
P Valentine	2987	19.3170414
W Bovington	2987	19.3170414
J Hobson	2617	22.0481472
P Buckley	3038	18.9927578
B Sealey	3038	18.9927578
T Bulline	3038	18.9927578
P Guerard	2522	22.87866783
M Stillery	3038	18.9927578
P Palmeter	3038	18.9927578
P Scott	3038	18.9927578
B Popler	3038	18.9927578
M Laller	3038	18.9927578
J Petersen	3038	18.9927578
J Thomas	2691	21.44184303
J Dedcott	3038	18.9927578
L Price	3038	18.9927578
E Roberts	3507	16.45280838
O Jackson	3510	16.4387455
W West	4083	14.13176632
J Falconer	4083	14.13176632
J Yeamans	3338	17.28579903

R Hackett	3914	14.74195194
M Maycocke	3914	14.74195194
S Moorey	3914	14.74195194
W Browne	3914	14.74195194
T Bamfield	3914	14.74195194
M Carteret	3914	14.74195194
M Dowling	3108	18.5649929
A Smith	3516	16.41069412
R Howell	3333	17.31173134
J Howell	3909	14.76080799
T Hunt	4289	13.45301914
James Donaghoe	3684	15.66232395
T Proctor	3174	18.17895317
G Hall	3414	16.90099525
J Dowden	3414	16.90099525
W Bayley	2423	23.81345367
E Rawlins	2350	24.55319214
J Flavell	2775	20.79279327
W Rhett	2533	22.77931213
Simonds	2806	20.56307983
M Story	2806	20.56307983
A Pawley	2806	20.56307983
E Hearne	2806	20.56307983
M Amory	2674	21.57815933
J Crosskeys	2621	22.01449776
A Lawson	2697	21.39414215
A Williamson	2547	22.65410233
T Todd	2697	21.39414215
G Logan	2457	23.48392296
J Hearne	2697	21.39414215
R Dacres	3250	17.75384521
N Trott	3250	17.75384521
Susanna Jackson	3250	17.75384521
J Cock	2712	21.27581215
W Welch	2926	19.71975327
J Howe	2926	19.71975327
R Fenwick	2765	20.8679924
A Adams	2947	19.57923317
A Eve	2947	19.57923317
W Sadler	2947	19.57923317
A Coming	3051	18.91183281
E Ball	3627	15.90846443
J Child	3402	16.96061134

E Bohun	3627	15.90846443
S Marshall	3627	15.90846443
J Fenning	3627	15.90846443
R Baker	3592	16.06347466
W Cantey	4168	13.84356976
J Hulbert	4168	13.84356976
D Williamson	3310	17.432024
J Johns	2734	21.10460854
R Grower	2844	20.28832626
W Freeman	2844	20.28832626
J Watt	2844	20.28832626
N Gardner	2844	20.28832626
W Gibbon	3472	16.61866379
S Valentine	3472	16.61866379
S Lyfolly	3472	16.61866379
T Smith Jr	2654	21.74076843
J Risby	3197	18.04817009
R Page	3197	18.04817009
J Ingerson	3197	18.04817009
E Marston	3197	18.04817009
H Axtell	2907	19.84864044
F Turgis	2888	19.97922516
M Cuthbert	3243	17.79216766
T Graves	3483	16.56617928
B Waring	3483	16.56617928
J Stevens	3483	16.56617928
P Perdriau	3955	14.58912754
Nezereau	4531	12.73449612
M Covillard	4531	12.73449612
D Horry	4531	12.73449612
T Thomas	4531	12.73449612
J Le Ber	4531	12.73449612
D Carty	2536	22.75236511
J Stirblar	3112	18.54113197
H Carterett	2529	22.81534195
A Carterett	3054	18.89325523
T Chamberlayne	2848	20.25983238
A Churne	3105	18.58293152
J Bishop	3343	17.25994682
W Elmes	3919	14.72314358
R Adams	2481	23.25675201
T Hubbard	3193	18.0707798
J Didcot	3644	15.83424854

T Moore	3644	15.83424854
H Davids	3644	15.83424854
W Didcot	3644	15.83424854
B Lemand	3236	17.83065605
S Mason	3236	17.83065605
J Pullman	3236	17.83065605
R Newton	2619	22.03130913
W Day	3195	18.05946732
J Phips	3195	18.05946732
C Squire	3195	18.05946732
E Stafford	3512	16.42938423
R Butler	2779	20.76286507
E Jones	3306	17.45311546
J Hollowbush	3306	17.45311546
J Stephen	3306	17.45311546
B Marrien	3306	17.45311546
W Privit	3624	15.92163372
J Flowers	4200	13.73809528
J Vansusteron	2630	21.93916321
J Du Pree	3206	17.99750519
J Smith	2812	20.51920319
J Lardent	3206	17.99750519
J Edwards	3399	16.97558022
W Miles	3975	14.51572323
W Hookley	3975	14.51572323
H Cole	3975	14.51572323
W Adams	3975	14.51572323
E Sanders	3033	19.02406883
L Sanders	3033	19.02406883
J Hoggs	3033	19.02406883
W Bradley	3033	19.02406883
W Williams	2551	22.61858177
J Tatnell	3130	18.43450546
J Cowin	3130	18.43450546
R Hall	3130	18.43450546
A Richardson	2492	23.15409279
A Story	3068	18.80704117
D Harty	3068	18.80704117
G Southwood	3059	18.86237335
J Stewart	3059	18.86237335
D Rolinson	3038	18.9927578
W Peter	3614	15.96568871
R Philips	3614	15.96568871

J Young	3614	15.96568871
J Gignilliat	4014	14.37468815
J Boyd	4014	14.37468815
J Ramsay	2763	20.8830986
R Conant	2763	20.8830986
S Stent	3401	16.96559906
S Langley	3635	15.87345219
T Tansley	3635	15.87345219
R Emes	3635	15.87345219
W Ellits	3635	15.87345219
L Perdriau	3389	17.02567101
M Le Serrurier	3965	14.55233288
J Le Serrurier	3706	15.56934738
D Huger	3965	14.55233288
Bürtel	2828	20.40311241
W Allen	2828	20.40311241
P Le Chavallier	2786	20.71069717
M Spragg	2893	19.94469452
T Gurgfield	3067	18.81317329
J Whitsimon	3067	18.81317329
J Halbert	3067	18.81317329
H Trotter	3674	15.70495415
W Rivers	3674	15.70495415
B Lamboll	3674	15.70495415
R Hill	3674	15.70495415
H Younge	3674	15.70495415
G Gantlett	3674	15.70495415
H Wigglesworth	3674	15.70495415
R Codner	2780	20.75539589
T Nairne	3341	17.27027893
J Padgitt	3341	17.27027893
G Keeling	2991	19.29120636
T Bill	3265	17.67228127
E Fuz	3567	16.17605782
T Bertinshaw	3567	16.17605782
R Hunsden	3567	16.17605782
E Keeling	2882	20.02081871
M Rivers	3458	16.68594551
E Popell	3458	16.68594551
D Ferguson	3458	16.68594551
T Adams	3057	18.8747139
S Steavins	3057	18.8747139
B Hust	3057	18.8747139

M Hickman	3355	17.19821167
W Bollough	3355	17.19821167
T Buell	3355	17.19821167
J Butler	3355	17.19821167
T Fry	3355	17.19821167
T Fithgerald	3355	17.19821167
L Hickman	3355	17.19821167
P Berterand	3258	17.71025085
A Ribouleau	3834	15.04955673
G Ribouleau	3834	15.04955673
E Tauvron	3834	15.04955673
P Poinset	3834	15.04955673
E Bysett	3834	15.04955673
Paul Grimball	2533	22.77931213
T Grimball	3109	18.5590229
C Linkly	3109	18.5590229
M Hamilton	3109	18.5590229
Providence Grimball	3109	18.5590229
M Mullins	3109	18.5590229
S Powis	2909	19.83499527
J Barker	3067	18.81317329
R Holloway	3643	15.83859444
C Jones	3643	15.83859444
T Bulkley	3643	15.83859444

## APPENDIX B

## FREEMAN'S BETWEENNESS CENTRALITY RANKINGS

	Betweenness	nBetweenness
N Lynch	78.17778015	0.047045168
B Schenckingsh	5551.922363	3.340989113
T Midwinter	1107.196167	0.666279197
W Dry	1924.971436	1.158393264
J Ladson	8126.605957	4.890360832
J Fitz	142.7059021	0.085876361
W Clements	547.7763062	0.329636216
J Meader	4628.639648	2.78538394
R Marshall	4202.972168	2.529229403
M Smyth	161.6378784	0.097269088
A Percivall	902.6325684	0.543178618
R Gibbes	2508.306641	1.509427786
M Stevenson	250.5702209	0.150786042
S Bull	13596.70801	8.182113647
R Daniell	8877.224609	5.34206152
W Yeamans	2653.199219	1.596619964
J Dalton	2005.572144	1.206896305
J Godfrey	18263.36719	10.99037647
R Skelton	576	0.34662044
R Trad	1435.826538	0.8640396
M Smallwood	0	0
M Jackson	4202.96875	2.529227257
L Bassett	0	0
H Smith	0	0
S Jackson	3026.414307	1.821210265
A Wishett	0	0
J Norton	4816.637695	2.898515701
Milleson Jackson	5893.404785	3.546483755
R Fowell	598.4318848	0.360119313
E Middleton	3624.236816	2.180962801
D O'Mahone	3137.804932	1.888241887
E Lovell	0.666666687	4.01181E-04
T Cantey	2009	1.208959222
M Smericke	0	0
C Mane	0	0
J Stock	0.75	4.51329E-04
J Dennoho	0.75	4.51329E-04
R Rich	2298	1.382871151

T Norris	0	0
T Hurt	0	0
S Boswood	2920.131348	1.757252216
J Hugees	0	0
W Snipes	858	0.51632005
G Cantey	0.75	4.51329E-04
T Biggs	1037.755493	0.624491751
J Moore	6810.447266	4.098333836
S West	150.65802	0.090661719
J Maverick	0	0
M Banks	1185.643677	0.713486731
J Lynch	457.184845	0.275120854
J Alston	1297.576904	0.780844986
James Jones	0	0
J Howard	0	0
J Palmer	2912.633545	1.752740145
F Williams	661.9434814	0.398338795
J Miller	2048.464355	1.232707739
J Cottingham	3916.395264	2.356775522
T Rose	2384.295166	1.434801102
M Matthews	8640.171875	5.199409962
T Hill	1769.736084	1.064976931
M English	2701.658203	1.625781298
M Horton	396.0365601	0.238323554
W Chapman	1356.505493	0.816306472
J Snell	0	0
P Lassell	1145.665039	0.689428687
J Guerard	1722	1.03625071
W Smith	3531.306641	2.125040054
A Waight	1823.50769	1.0973351
J Catle	0	0
J Fidoe	0	0
T Leavy	0	0
J Heape	1538.609253	0.92589134
J Lawson	607.4310303	0.365534753
G Bedon	4607.915527	2.772912979
H Cartwright	0	0
T Worme	0	0
N Turtley	0	0
J West	2051.098145	1.234292626
T Gibbes	3552.692139	2.137909174
J Beresford	34.97004318	0.02104398
T Clowter	12926.18359	7.778610229

J Sealey	0	0
S Cotman	304.1463318	0.183026627
W Clarke	1208.710083	0.727367461
J Collins	963.6254883	0.579882443
R Donne	421.0683594	0.253386974
J Calfe	0	0
E Mayo	1654.101929	0.995391607
J Hatchman	1724	1.037454247
F Bolt	0	0
F Jones	3414.551514	2.054780245
J Boone	9026.385742	5.431822777
R Malloch	576	0.34662044
H Fithey	0	0
T Stanyearne	1889.076538	1.13679266
M Everatt	0	0
N Seward	0	0
J Dodridge	0	0
T Noble	2158.248779	1.298772931
W Pople	6857.61377	4.126717091
R Hull	2863.264648	1.723031402
J Browne	1029.84021	0.619728625
W Jones	2733.296875	1.644820452
E Fogertee	156.6595917	0.094273299
A Bruneau	1780.983032	1.071745038
Jacob Guerard	1543.381348	0.928763092
P Bontecou	0	0
M Benson	757.1149292	0.455610275
R Williams	0	0
J Cliffe	237.3401031	0.142824546
J Williamson	1196.804565	0.720203042
J Gwin	9101.577148	5.477070808
J Beamer	3453.608643	2.078283787
J Crosse	4325.391602	2.602897882
F O'Sullivan	6733.682129	4.052138805
D Hayes	321.3738098	0.193393648
P Steward	5978.412598	3.597639084
J Munney	0	0
R Bodicott	128.0677032	0.077067509
D Axtell	4266.246094	2.567305803
H Danvers	0	0
W Bennington	0	0
A Cooper	0	0
M Catchpoull	0	0

S Hill	0	0
R Lewis	0	0
M Hayes	0	0
G Norton	0	0
M Lovell	0	0
T Roberts	943.8626099	0.567989767
W Jackson	5390.693359	3.243966341
M Steward	0	0
W Joye	735.6340942	0.442683697
J Hopkins	0	0
W Rubery	0	0
E Lambarth	0	0
J Hutton	0	0
T Patey	2254.275391	1.356558919
J Atkinson	0	0
J Williams	4618.112793	2.779049158
M Rouser	576	0.34662044
O Spencer	0	0
H Symonds	12238.24121	7.364625931
S Crosse	1884.729858	1.13417697
J Clapp	2541.258057	1.52925694
J Monke	10557.41406	6.353151798
M Loder	0	0
A Miller	0	0
H Loder	0	0
T Loder	0	0
W Loder	0	0
A Messenger	0	0
T Barnett	226.6169434	0.136371642
W White	3592.474365	2.161849022
W Arnell	0	0
S Atkins	0	0
G Pawley	1014.299927	0.610376894
M Elliston	200.5913544	0.120710179
R Kyrle	732.1008301	0.44055751
J Bullen	85.95348358	0.051724367
M Kyrle	1267.206665	0.76256901
G Willocks	0	0
J Fendall	0	0
A Atkins	2598.666504	1.563803673
J Atkins	0	0
T Smith	17689.58203	10.6450882
T Berwicke	0	0

R Stiffe	0	0
M Berwicke	0	0
D Howard	1522.401245	0.916137874
I Roweden	0	0
P Rowland	0	0
J Chambers	3129.847168	1.883453131
A Frowman	21	0.012637204
E Chambers	0	0
M Brotherhood	0	0
W Nettle	0	0
W Trevethan	0	0
R Hollowmore	0	0
F Davids	0	0
P De Moulin	91.27864075	0.054928895
W Francis	888.0487671	0.534402549
H Mills	5107.197266	3.073366404
C Burnham	6076.154297	3.656457186
T Neall	0	0
F Ladson	0	0
J Oldys	0	0
S Middleton	935.9359131	0.563219666
J Walker	179.3275146	0.107914209
N Townesend	4170.083984	2.509438276
S Totle	4946.314941	2.976551771
J Bird	58.22840118	0.0350402
W Perriman	5337.814453	3.212145329
J Perriman	0	0
S Totle Jr	2399.462402	1.443928361
N Marden	12487.37109	7.514545441
T Hogg	0	0
J Waight	1760.069092	1.059159636
H Samways	7539.415039	4.537005901
J Pendarvis	15683.49609	9.437882423
M Atkins	5924.748535	3.565345526
G Drake	0	0
T Rickman	0	0
J Rickman	0	0
M Locher	0	0
C Perry	0	0
E Sweete	0	0
A Seaver	0	0
E Adams	0	0
J Donne	0	0

Joan Atkins	448.8651733	0.270114303
J Gilbertson	123.113678	0.074086316
R Brewton	2765.548096	1.66422832
John Jones	3783.741699	2.276948452
F Noble	247.070816	0.148680195
J Harris	7731.408691	4.652542591
H Blanchart	0	0
C Clarke	4720.5625	2.840700626
J Ferguson	0	0
G Gordon	1785.131348	1.0742414
G Holmes	1259.578613	0.757978678
K O'Sullivan	180.0773621	0.108365439
T Phillips	0	0
S Doyle	0	0
R Quintyne	3484.7854	2.097044945
M Cock	834.4295044	0.502135992
T Napper	576	0.34662044
J Witter	1150	0.692037344
P Hearne	0	0
C Westbrooke	278.0385437	0.167315707
P Hunking	779.2024536	0.468901932
F Fidling	4571.179199	2.750806093
J Blake	17926.08398	10.78740788
J Ellicott	28.62662315	0.017226689
G Ashley	6641.941406	3.99693203
J Griffith	229.8987579	0.138346538
S Williamson	0	0
W Rowsam	576	0.34662044
H Russell	0	0
P Colleton	1151	0.692639112
C Colleton	0	0
R Quarry	0	0
C Moze	1151	0.692639112
N Meran	0	0
I Le Noir	0	0
P Le Sérurier	711.2990723	0.428039581
N De Petibois	0	0
J Shelton	1063.728638	0.640121698
Joseph Morton	3488.593994	2.099336863
John Morton	711.6899414	0.42827481
B Blake	0	0
W Dunlop	0	0
A Pepin	3728.117676	2.243475437

E Fromager	0	0
A Foucault	0	0
N Royer	1916.047607	1.153023124
J Alexander	9897.054688	5.955766678
E Calfe	0	0
S Van Wernhout	0	0
P Codner	0	0
T Bolton	3797.756836	2.285382271
James Stanyarne	5334.834473	3.210351944
A Skipper	256.9048157	0.154598013
E Greene	214.7590332	0.129235893
R Iazard	98.40668488	0.059218351
J Ashley	0	0
Joseph Morton Snr.	1725.5	1.0383569
D Blake	0	0
E Bowell	0	0
J Bletchley	0	0
J Ansted	0	0
A Charne	1147.726318	0.690669119
J Frowman	221.2720642	0.133155242
J Wagg	0	0
E Patey	5952.557617	3.582080364
J Powys	4568.827637	2.749390841
C Basden	4245.869141	2.555043459
M Lynch	677.8103638	0.407887042
Johnson Lynch	0	0
J Watkins	2291.594727	1.379016638
P Rogers	0	0
D Bullman	3132.40918	1.884994864
M Bee	771.6279297	0.464343786
J Buckley	457.0119019	0.275016785
T Dickenson	1725	1.038056016
T Williams	0	0
T Dalton	0	0
E Rowles	0	0
J Amory	29451.46094	17.72305298
B Bull	0	0
J Pye	4000.714111	2.407516241
E Loughton	0	0
H Bower	2860	1.721066833
J Futter	0	0
M Russell	0	0
M Johnson	0	0

J Goodbee	0	0
R Golding	0	0
S Vale	0	0
N Johnson	273.1994019	0.164403632
J Sheppard	3358.462646	2.021027565
W Moore	0	0
T Elliott	574	0.345416903
W Elliott	574	0.345416903
T Booth	0	0
W Cooke	0	0
I Key	0	0
T Perriman	0	0
S Waight	3657.724609	2.201114893
John Moore	0	0
J Hardy	1940.918457	1.167989612
S Howes	0	0
M Carril	0	0
T Greatbeach	8450.141602	5.085055828
R Collins	0	0
P Simpson	1151	0.692639112
S Ward	0	0
T Joy	0	0
A Browne	1790.865845	1.07769227
J Lovell	184.09729	0.110784523
W Cockfield	2073.336426	1.247675061
W Russell	0	0
B Godfrey	0	0
S Gwin	1537.469604	0.925205588
G Smith	555.9609375	0.334561497
G Dearsley	666.6116333	0.401147962
R Alcorne	576	0.34662044
C Clinton	0	0
F Marten	1506.81604	0.906759143
P St Julien	4672.880859	2.812007189
H Le Noble	2376.636719	1.43019259
R Ravenell	799.6015625	0.481177539
P Parker	1229.953247	0.740150988
I Redwood	2678.258301	1.6116997
T Elmes	198.0805206	0.119199231
A Falconer	0	0
R Browne	0	0
H Woodward	2868.780029	1.726350427
M Browne	0	0

W Davis	0	0
T Fawcett	0	0
H Leise	0	0
G Franklin	4017.547852	2.41764617
B Heape	0	0
J Harrison	2477.341797	1.490794063
J Green	0	0
R Thomas	0	0
J Fitch	0	0
A Taylor	0	0
T Townsend	0	0
W Dunston	3834.590332	2.307547569
M Hilton	0	0
J Bordels	477.7823486	0.287515849
M Crosse	10410.0957	6.264500141
M Joy	0	0
S Sothell	0	0
H Alcorne	576	0.34662044
F Martin	0	0
J Morgan	109.4717941	0.06587702
W Nowell	0	0
S Hartly	8472.072266	5.098252296
P Valentine	0	0
W Bovington	0	0
J Hobson	2938.625732	1.768381596
P Buckley	0	0
B Sealey	0	0
T Bulline	0	0
P Guerard	5086.437988	3.060873985
M Stillery	0	0
P Palmeter	0	0
P Scott	0	0
B Popler	0	0
M Laller	0	0
J Petersen	0	0
J Thomas	751.7694092	0.452393472
J Dedcott	0	0
L Price	0	0
E Roberts	1211.760986	0.729203343
O Jackson	134.9024963	0.081180491
W West	0	0
J Falconer	0	0
J Yeamans	3451.5	2.077014685

R Hackett	0	0
M Maycocke	0	0
S Moorey	0	0
W Browne	0	0
T Bamfield	0	0
M Carteret	0	0
M Dowling	1049.848511	0.631769001
A Smith	0	0
R Howell	1174.431885	0.706739783
J Howell	0	0
T Hunt	0	0
James Donaghoe	0	0
T Proctor	0	0
G Hall	0	0
J Dowden	0	0
W Bayley	1303.797363	0.784588277
E Rawlins	4446.48584	2.675768852
J Flavell	70.78041077	0.042593643
W Rhett	197.2184296	0.118680455
Simonds	0	0
M Story	0	0
A Pawley	0	0
E Hearne	0	0
M Amory	1728	1.039861321
J Crosskeys	2543.111328	1.530372262
A Lawson	0	0
A Williamson	2147.900635	1.292545557
T Todd	0	0
G Logan	2289.863525	1.377974868
J Hearne	0	0
R Dacres	0	0
N Trott	0	0
Susanna Jackson	0	0
J Cock	262.7954407	0.158142835
W Welch	0	0
J Howe	0	0
R Fenwick	384.6164856	0.231451288
A Adams	0	0
A Eve	0	0
W Sadler	0	0
A Coming	3239.616455	1.949509263
E Ball	0	0
J Child	982.3312988	0.591139078

E Bohun	0	0
S Marshall	0	0
J Fenning	0	0
R Baker	1151	0.692639112
W Cantey	0	0
J Hulbert	0	0
D Williamson	0	0
J Johns	715.6906738	0.430682331
R Grower	0	0
W Freeman	0	0
J Watt	0	0
N Gardner	0	0
W Gibbon	0	0
S Valentine	0	0
S Lyfolly	0	0
T Smith Jr	595.2078857	0.358179212
J Risby	0	0
R Page	0	0
J Ingerson	0	0
E Marston	0	0
H Axtell	1967.522583	1.1839993
F Turgis	1932.305908	1.162806869
M Cuthbert	0	0
T Graves	0	0
B Waring	0	0
J Stevens	0	0
P Perdriau	2870	1.727084517
Nezereau	0	0
M Covillard	0	0
D Horry	0	0
T Thomas	0	0
J Le Ber	0	0
D Carty	3395.416016	2.043265104
J Stirblar	0	0
H Carterett	3609.547363	2.172123194
A Carterett	299.9414063	0.180496216
T Chamberlayne	219.1258698	0.131863728
A Churne	0	0
J Bishop	1247.871582	0.750933707
W Elmes	0	0
R Adams	7627.804688	4.590196133
T Hubbard	0	0
J Didcot	0	0

T Moore	0	0
H Davids	0	0
W Didcot	0	0
B Lemand	0	0
S Mason	0	0
J Pullman	0	0
R Newton	1963.774048	1.181743503
W Day	0	0
J Phips	0	0
C Squire	0	0
E Stafford	0	0
R Butler	4868.089844	2.929478168
E Jones	0	0
J Hollowbush	0	0
J Stephen	0	0
B Marrien	0	0
W Privit	799.8916016	0.481352061
J Flowers	0	0
J Vansusteron	1731.46582	1.041947007
J Du Pree	0	0
J Smith	307.6602783	0.185141221
J Lardent	0	0
J Edwards	2298	1.382871151
W Miles	0	0
W Hookley	0	0
H Cole	0	0
W Adams	0	0
E Sanders	0	0
L Sanders	0	0
J Hoggs	0	0
W Bradley	0	0
W Williams	1727.482788	1.039550066
J Tatnell	0	0
J Cowin	0	0
R Hall	0	0
A Richardson	2867.680664	1.725688815
A Story	0	0
D Harty	0	0
G Southwood	0	0
J Stewart	0	0
D Rolinson	1815.233276	1.092355847
W Peter	0	0
R Philips	0	0

J Young	0	0
J Gignilliat	0	0
J Boyd	0	0
J Ramsay	0	0
R Conant	0	0
S Stent	729.543457	0.439018577
S Langley	0	0
T Tansley	0	0
R Emes	0	0
W Ellits	0	0
L Perdriau	5426.794434	3.265691042
M Le Serrurier	0	0
J Le Serrurier	0	0
D Huger	0	0
Burtel	0	0
W Allen	0	0
P Le Chavallier	4842.196289	2.913896084
M Spragg	0	0
T Gurgfield	0	0
J Whitsimon	0	0
J Halbert	0	0
H Trotter	0	0
W Rivers	0	0
B Lamboll	0	0
R Hill	0	0
H Younge	0	0
G Gantlett	0	0
H Wigglesworth	0	0
R Codner	0	0
T Nairne	0	0
J Padgitt	0	0
G Keeling	2328.391602	1.401160002
T Bill	0	0
E Fuz	0	0
T Bertinshaw	0	0
R Hunsden	0	0
E Keeling	3755.494873	2.259950161
M Rivers	0	0
E Popell	0	0
D Ferguson	0	0
T Adams	0	0
S Steavins	0	0
B Hust	0	0

M Hickman	0	0
W Bollough	0	0
T Buell	0	0
J Butler	0	0
T Fry	0	0
T Fithgerald	0	0
L Hickman	0	0
P Berterand	4841.503418	2.913479328
A Ribouleau	0	0
G Ribouleau	0	0
E Tuvron	0	0
P Poinset	0	0
E Bysett	0	0
Paul Grimball	3781.029053	2.275316
T Grimball	0	0
C Linkly	0	0
M Hamilton	0	0
Providence Grimball	0	0
M Mullins	0	0
S Powis	534.0567017	0.321380168
J Barker	1725	1.038056016
R Holloway	0	0
C Jones	0	0
T Bulkey	0	0

## APPENDIX C

## FREEMAN'S DEGREE CENTRALITY RANKINGS

	Degree	Normalised Degree
N Lynch	2	0.34662044
B Schenckingsh	6	1.039861321
T Midwinter	5	0.866551101
W Dry	4	0.693240881
J Ladson	11	1.906412482
J Fitz	2	0.34662044
W Clements	2	0.34662044
J Meader	10	1.733102202
R Marshall	5	0.866551101
M Smyth	2	0.34662044
A Percivall	3	0.519930661
R Gibbes	8	1.386481762
M Stevenson	2	0.34662044
S Bull	12	2.079722643
R Daniell	8	1.386481762
W Yeamans	3	0.519930661
J Dalton	5	0.866551101
J Godfrey	18	3.119584084
R Skelton	2	0.34662044
R Trad	3	0.519930661
M Smallwood	1	0.17331022
M Jackson	8	1.386481762
L Bassett	1	0.17331022
H Smith	1	0.17331022
S Jackson	6	1.039861321
A Wishett	1	0.17331022
J Norton	6	1.039861321
Milleson Jackson	5	0.866551101
R Fowell	3	0.519930661
E Middleton	6	1.039861321
D O'Mahone	8	1.386481762
E Lovell	2	0.34662044
T Cantey	6	1.039861321
M Smericke	1	0.17331022
C Mane	1	0.17331022
J Stock	2	0.34662044
J Dennoho	2	0.34662044
R Rich	5	0.866551101

T Norris	1	0.17331022
T Hurt	1	0.17331022
S Boswood	5	0.866551101
J Huges	1	0.17331022
W Snipes	4	0.693240881
G Cantey	2	0.34662044
T Biggs	3	0.519930661
J Moore	8	1.386481762
S West	2	0.34662044
J Maverick	1	0.17331022
M Banks	3	0.519930661
J Lynch	2	0.34662044
J Alston	4	0.693240881
James Jones	1	0.17331022
J Howard	1	0.17331022
J Palmer	3	0.519930661
F Williams	2	0.34662044
J Miller	3	0.519930661
J Cottingham	9	1.559792042
T Rose	3	0.519930661
M Matthews	10	1.733102202
T Hill	3	0.519930661
M English	8	1.386481762
M Horton	2	0.34662044
W Chapman	3	0.519930661
J Snell	1	0.17331022
P Lassell	3	0.519930661
J Guerard	2	0.34662044
W Smith	7	1.213171601
A Waight	6	1.039861321
J Cattle	1	0.17331022
J Fidoe	1	0.17331022
T Leavy	1	0.17331022
J Heape	5	0.866551101
J Lawson	2	0.34662044
G Bedon	8	1.386481762
H Cartwright	1	0.17331022
T Worme	1	0.17331022
N Turtley	2	0.34662044
J West	4	0.693240881
T Gibbes	8	1.386481762
J Beresford	3	0.519930661
T Clowter	20	3.466204405

J Sealey	2	0.34662044
S Cotman	2	0.34662044
W Clarke	5	0.866551101
J Collins	3	0.519930661
R Donne	2	0.34662044
J Calfe	2	0.34662044
E Mayo	7	1.213171601
J Hatchman	3	0.519930661
F Bolt	1	0.17331022
F Jones	4	0.693240881
J Boone	8	1.386481762
R Malloch	2	0.34662044
H Fithey	1	0.17331022
T Stanyearne	6	1.039861321
M Everatt	1	0.17331022
N Seward	1	0.17331022
J Dodridge	1	0.17331022
T Noble	4	0.693240881
W Pople	6	1.039861321
R Hull	5	0.866551101
J Browne	3	0.519930661
W Jones	4	0.693240881
E Fogertee	2	0.34662044
A Bruneau	5	0.866551101
Jacob Guerard	2	0.34662044
P Bontecou	1	0.17331022
M Benson	3	0.519930661
R Williams	1	0.17331022
J Cliffe	2	0.34662044
J Williamson	5	0.866551101
J Gwin	9	1.559792042
J Beamer	9	1.559792042
J Crosse	8	1.386481762
F O'Sullivan	8	1.386481762
D Hayes	2	0.34662044
P Steward	8	1.386481762
J Munney	1	0.17331022
R Bodicott	2	0.34662044
D Axtell	10	1.733102202
H Danvers	1	0.17331022
W Bennington	1	0.17331022
A Cooper	1	0.17331022
M Catchpoull	1	0.17331022

S Hill	1	0.17331022
R Lewis	1	0.17331022
M Hayes	1	0.17331022
G Norton	1	0.17331022
M Lovell	1	0.17331022
T Roberts	2	0.34662044
W Jackson	10	1.733102202
M Steward	2	0.34662044
W Joye	2	0.34662044
J Hopkins	1	0.17331022
W Rubery	1	0.17331022
E Lambarth	1	0.17331022
J Hutton	1	0.17331022
T Patey	5	0.866551101
J Atkinson	1	0.17331022
J Williams	7	1.213171601
M Rouser	2	0.34662044
O Spencer	1	0.17331022
H Symonds	12	2.079722643
S Crosse	6	1.039861321
J Clapp	5	0.866551101
J Monke	15	2.599653482
M Loder	1	0.17331022
A Miller	1	0.17331022
H Loder	1	0.17331022
T Loder	1	0.17331022
W Loder	1	0.17331022
A Messenger	1	0.17331022
T Barnett	2	0.34662044
W White	5	0.866551101
W Arnell	1	0.17331022
S Atkins	1	0.17331022
G Pawley	4	0.693240881
M Elliston	2	0.34662044
R Kyrle	5	0.866551101
J Bullen	3	0.519930661
M Kyrle	5	0.866551101
G Willocks	1	0.17331022
J Fendall	1	0.17331022
A Atkins	7	1.213171601
J Atkins	1	0.17331022
T Smith	13	2.253032923
T Berwicke	1	0.17331022

R Stiffe	1	0.17331022
M Berwicke	1	0.17331022
D Howard	5	0.866551101
I Roweden	1	0.17331022
P Rowland	1	0.17331022
J Chambers	7	1.213171601
A Frowman	2	0.34662044
E Chambers	1	0.17331022
M Brotherhood	1	0.17331022
W Nettle	1	0.17331022
W Trevethan	1	0.17331022
R Hollowmore	1	0.17331022
F Davids	1	0.17331022
P De Moulin	2	0.34662044
W Francis	3	0.519930661
H Mills	6	1.039861321
C Burnham	4	0.693240881
T Neall	1	0.17331022
F Ladson	1	0.17331022
J Oldys	1	0.17331022
S Middleton	3	0.519930661
J Walker	2	0.34662044
N Townesend	11	1.906412482
S Totle	7	1.213171601
J Bird	2	0.34662044
W Perriman	8	1.386481762
J Perriman	1	0.17331022
S Totle Jr	6	1.039861321
N Marden	8	1.386481762
T Hogg	1	0.17331022
J Waight	4	0.693240881
H Samways	10	1.733102202
J Pendarvis	12	2.079722643
M Atkins	13	2.253032923
G Drake	1	0.17331022
T Rickman	1	0.17331022
J Rickman	1	0.17331022
M Locher	1	0.17331022
C Perry	1	0.17331022
E Sweete	1	0.17331022
A Seaver	1	0.17331022
E Adams	1	0.17331022
J Donne	1	0.17331022

Joan Atkins	3	0.519930661
J Gilbertson	5	0.866551101
R Brewton	5	0.866551101
John Jones	5	0.866551101
F Noble	3	0.519930661
J Harris	11	1.906412482
H Blanchart	1	0.17331022
C Clarke	9	1.559792042
J Ferguson	1	0.17331022
G Gordon	7	1.213171601
G Holmes	5	0.866551101
K O'Sullivan	2	0.34662044
T Phillips	1	0.17331022
S Doyle	1	0.17331022
R Quintyne	6	1.039861321
M Cock	3	0.519930661
T Napper	2	0.34662044
J Witter	2	0.34662044
P Hearne	1	0.17331022
C Westbrooke	2	0.34662044
P Hunking	2	0.34662044
F Fidling	5	0.866551101
J Blake	22	3.812824965
J Ellicott	3	0.519930661
G Ashley	8	1.386481762
J Griffith	2	0.34662044
S Williamson	1	0.17331022
W Rowsam	2	0.34662044
H Russell	1	0.17331022
P Colleton	3	0.519930661
C Colleton	1	0.17331022
R Quarry	1	0.17331022
C Moze	3	0.519930661
N Meran	1	0.17331022
I Le Noir	1	0.17331022
P Le Serurier	3	0.519930661
N De Petibois	1	0.17331022
J Shelton	4	0.693240881
Joseph Morton	9	1.559792042
John Morton	6	1.039861321
B Blake	3	0.519930661
W Dunlop	3	0.519930661
A Pepin	5	0.866551101

E Fromager	1	0.17331022
A Foucault	1	0.17331022
N Royer	2	0.34662044
J Alexander	13	2.253032923
E Calfe	1	0.17331022
S Van Wernhout	1	0.17331022
P Codner	2	0.34662044
T Bolton	9	1.559792042
James Stanyarne	10	1.733102202
A Skipper	2	0.34662044
E Greene	2	0.34662044
R Iazard	2	0.34662044
J Ashley	1	0.17331022
Joseph Morton Snr.	6	1.039861321
D Blake	2	0.34662044
E Bowell	1	0.17331022
J Bletchley	1	0.17331022
J Ansted	1	0.17331022
A Charne	4	0.693240881
J Frowman	2	0.34662044
J Wagg	1	0.17331022
E Patey	8	1.386481762
J Powys	10	1.733102202
C Basden	6	1.039861321
M Lynch	3	0.519930661
Johnson Lynch	1	0.17331022
J Watkins	3	0.519930661
P Rogers	1	0.17331022
D Bullman	8	1.386481762
M Bee	3	0.519930661
J Buckley	4	0.693240881
T Dickenson	4	0.693240881
T Williams	1	0.17331022
T Dalton	1	0.17331022
E Rowles	1	0.17331022
J Amory	24	4.159445286
B Bull	2	0.34662044
J Pye	7	1.213171601
E Loughton	1	0.17331022
H Bower	3	0.519930661
J Futter	2	0.34662044
M Russell	2	0.34662044
M Johnson	1	0.17331022

J Goodbee	1	0.17331022
R Golding	1	0.17331022
S Vale	1	0.17331022
N Johnson	2	0.34662044
J Sheppard	5	0.866551101
W Moore	3	0.519930661
T Elliott	4	0.693240881
W Elliott	4	0.693240881
T Booth	3	0.519930661
W Cooke	3	0.519930661
I Key	1	0.17331022
T Perriman	1	0.17331022
S Waight	8	1.386481762
John Moore	1	0.17331022
J Hardy	6	1.039861321
S Howes	1	0.17331022
M Carril	1	0.17331022
T Greatbeach	12	2.079722643
R Collins	1	0.17331022
P Simpson	3	0.519930661
S Ward	1	0.17331022
T Joy	1	0.17331022
A Browne	2	0.34662044
J Lovell	4	0.693240881
W Cockfield	4	0.693240881
W Russell	1	0.17331022
B Godfrey	1	0.17331022
S Gwin	3	0.519930661
G Smith	2	0.34662044
G Dearsley	5	0.866551101
R Alcorne	2	0.34662044
C Clinton	1	0.17331022
F Marten	3	0.519930661
P St Julien	5	0.866551101
H Le Noble	2	0.34662044
R Ravenell	2	0.34662044
P Parker	4	0.693240881
I Redwood	6	1.039861321
T Elmes	2	0.34662044
A Falconer	1	0.17331022
R Browne	1	0.17331022
H Woodward	4	0.693240881
M Browne	1	0.17331022

W Davis	1	0.17331022
T Fawcett	1	0.17331022
H Leise	1	0.17331022
G Franklin	4	0.693240881
B Heape	1	0.17331022
J Harrison	4	0.693240881
J Green	1	0.17331022
R Thomas	1	0.17331022
J Fitch	1	0.17331022
A Taylor	1	0.17331022
T Townsend	1	0.17331022
W Dunston	8	1.386481762
M Hilton	1	0.17331022
J Bordels	2	0.34662044
M Crosse	16	2.772963524
M Joy	1	0.17331022
S Sothell	1	0.17331022
H Alcorne	2	0.34662044
F Martin	1	0.17331022
J Morgan	3	0.519930661
W Nowell	2	0.34662044
S Hartly	7	1.213171601
P Valentine	1	0.17331022
W Bovington	1	0.17331022
J Hobson	5	0.866551101
P Buckley	1	0.17331022
B Sealey	1	0.17331022
T Bulline	1	0.17331022
P Guerard	4	0.693240881
M Stillery	1	0.17331022
P Palmeter	1	0.17331022
P Scott	1	0.17331022
B Popler	1	0.17331022
M Laller	1	0.17331022
J Petersen	1	0.17331022
J Thomas	2	0.34662044
J Dedcott	1	0.17331022
L Price	1	0.17331022
E Roberts	4	0.693240881
O Jackson	2	0.34662044
W West	1	0.17331022
J Falconer	1	0.17331022
J Yeamans	8	1.386481762

R Hackett	1	0.17331022
M Maycocke	1	0.17331022
S Moorey	1	0.17331022
W Browne	1	0.17331022
T Bamfield	1	0.17331022
M Carteret	1	0.17331022
M Dowling	3	0.519930661
A Smith	1	0.17331022
R Howell	4	0.693240881
J Howell	1	0.17331022
T Hunt	1	0.17331022
James Donaghoe	1	0.17331022
T Proctor	1	0.17331022
G Hall	1	0.17331022
J Dowden	1	0.17331022
W Bayley	5	0.866551101
E Rawlins	11	1.906412482
J Flavell	2	0.34662044
W Rhett	3	0.519930661
Simonds	1	0.17331022
M Story	1	0.17331022
A Pawley	1	0.17331022
E Hearne	1	0.17331022
M Amory	6	1.039861321
J Crosskeys	7	1.213171601
A Lawson	1	0.17331022
A Williamson	3	0.519930661
T Todd	1	0.17331022
G Logan	3	0.519930661
J Hearne	1	0.17331022
R Dacres	1	0.17331022
N Trott	1	0.17331022
Susanna Jackson	1	0.17331022
J Cock	2	0.34662044
W Welch	1	0.17331022
J Howe	1	0.17331022
R Fenwick	2	0.34662044
A Adams	1	0.17331022
A Eve	1	0.17331022
W Sadler	1	0.17331022
A Coming	6	1.039861321
E Ball	1	0.17331022
J Child	3	0.519930661

E Bohun	1	0.17331022
S Marshall	1	0.17331022
J Fenning	1	0.17331022
R Baker	3	0.519930661
W Cantey	1	0.17331022
J Hulbert	1	0.17331022
D Williamson	1	0.17331022
J Johns	5	0.866551101
R Grower	1	0.17331022
W Freeman	1	0.17331022
J Watt	1	0.17331022
N Gardner	1	0.17331022
W Gibbon	1	0.17331022
S Valentine	1	0.17331022
S Lyfolly	1	0.17331022
T Smith Jr	2	0.34662044
J Risby	1	0.17331022
R Page	1	0.17331022
J Ingerson	1	0.17331022
E Marston	1	0.17331022
H Axtell	7	1.213171601
F Turgis	4	0.693240881
M Cuthbert	2	0.34662044
T Graves	1	0.17331022
B Waring	1	0.17331022
J Stevens	1	0.17331022
P Perdriau	6	1.039861321
Nezereau	1	0.17331022
M Covillard	1	0.17331022
D Horry	1	0.17331022
T Thomas	1	0.17331022
J Le Ber	1	0.17331022
D Carty	5	0.866551101
J Stirblar	1	0.17331022
H Carterett	7	1.213171601
A Carterett	2	0.34662044
T Chamberlayne	2	0.34662044
A Churne	1	0.17331022
J Bishop	4	0.693240881
W Elmes	1	0.17331022
R Adams	10	1.733102202
T Hubbard	1	0.17331022
J Didcot	1	0.17331022

T Moore	1	0.17331022
H Davids	1	0.17331022
W Didcot	1	0.17331022
B Lemand	1	0.17331022
S Mason	1	0.17331022
J Pullman	1	0.17331022
R Newton	6	1.039861321
W Day	1	0.17331022
J Phips	1	0.17331022
C Squire	1	0.17331022
E Stafford	1	0.17331022
R Butler	9	1.559792042
E Jones	1	0.17331022
J Hollowbush	1	0.17331022
J Stephen	1	0.17331022
B Marrien	1	0.17331022
W Privit	3	0.519930661
J Flowers	1	0.17331022
J Vansusteron	5	0.866551101
J Du Pree	1	0.17331022
J Smith	2	0.34662044
J Lardent	1	0.17331022
J Edwards	5	0.866551101
W Miles	1	0.17331022
W Hookley	1	0.17331022
H Cole	1	0.17331022
W Adams	1	0.17331022
E Sanders	1	0.17331022
L Sanders	1	0.17331022
J Hoggs	1	0.17331022
W Bradley	1	0.17331022
W Williams	4	0.693240881
J Tatnell	1	0.17331022
J Cowin	1	0.17331022
R Hall	1	0.17331022
A Richardson	6	1.039861321
A Story	1	0.17331022
D Harty	1	0.17331022
G Southwood	1	0.17331022
J Stewart	1	0.17331022
D Rolinson	5	0.866551101
W Peter	1	0.17331022
R Philips	1	0.17331022

J Young	1	0.17331022
J Gignilliat	1	0.17331022
J Boyd	1	0.17331022
J Ramsay	1	0.17331022
R Conant	1	0.17331022
S Stent	2	0.34662044
S Langley	1	0.17331022
T Tansley	1	0.17331022
R Emes	1	0.17331022
W Ellits	1	0.17331022
L Perdriau	7	1.213171601
M Le Serrurier	1	0.17331022
J Le Serrurier	2	0.34662044
D Huger	1	0.17331022
Burtel	1	0.17331022
W Allen	1	0.17331022
P Le Chavallier	2	0.34662044
M Spragg	2	0.34662044
T Gurgfield	1	0.17331022
J Whitsimon	1	0.17331022
J Halbert	1	0.17331022
H Trotter	1	0.17331022
W Rivers	1	0.17331022
B Lamboll	1	0.17331022
R Hill	1	0.17331022
H Younge	1	0.17331022
G Gantlett	1	0.17331022
H Wigglesworth	1	0.17331022
R Codner	1	0.17331022
T Nairne	1	0.17331022
J Padgitt	1	0.17331022
G Keeling	6	1.039861321
T Bill	2	0.34662044
E Fuz	1	0.17331022
T Bertinshaw	1	0.17331022
R Hunsden	1	0.17331022
E Keeling	8	1.386481762
M Rivers	1	0.17331022
E Popell	1	0.17331022
D Ferguson	1	0.17331022
T Adams	1	0.17331022
S Steavins	1	0.17331022
B Hust	1	0.17331022

M Hickman	1	0.17331022
W Bollough	1	0.17331022
T Buell	1	0.17331022
J Butler	1	0.17331022
T Fry	1	0.17331022
T Fithgerald	1	0.17331022
L Hickman	1	0.17331022
P Berterand	8	1.386481762
A Ribouleau	1	0.17331022
G Ribouleau	1	0.17331022
E Tauvron	1	0.17331022
P Poinset	1	0.17331022
E Bysett	1	0.17331022
Paul Grimball	8	1.386481762
T Grimball	1	0.17331022
C Linkly	1	0.17331022
M Hamilton	1	0.17331022
Providence Grimball	1	0.17331022
M Mullins	1	0.17331022
S Powis	2	0.34662044
J Barker	4	0.693240881
R Holloway	1	0.17331022
C Jones	1	0.17331022
T Bulkley	1	0.17331022

## APPENDIX D

## LIST OF 2-CLANS PRESENT IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA NETWORK

- 1: R Daniell J Moore T Clowter T Noble J Pendarvis F Fidling T Dickenson J Amory  
N Johnson A Browne G Dearsley W Dunston M Crosse W Rhett M Amory  
J Crosskeys A Lawson A Williamson T Todd G Logan J Hearne R Newton  
J Vansusteron A Richardson Paul Grimball
- 2: J Moore M Matthews J Williams J Amory N Johnson G Dearsley Paul Grimball
- 3: S Bull J Moore M Matthews J Williams S Totle J Amory N Johnson G Dearsley
- 4: S Bull T Biggs J Moore M Matthews J Williams S Crosse S Totle J Amory  
G Dearsley
- 5: J Moore J Williams Joseph Morton J Amory G Dearsley W Dunston Paul Grimball
- 6: M Stevenson S Bull R Daniell J Moore J Amory G Dearsley
- 7: M Stevenson R Daniell M Benson H Symonds C Westbrooke J Amory G Dearsley  
E Rawlins R Butler
- 8: Joseph Morton J Amory G Dearsley W Dunston M Hilton J Bordels M Crosse  
M Joy S Sothell
- 9: J Amory G Dearsley R Fenwick R Newton W Day J Phips C Squire
- 10: T Rose W Pople C Burnham J Waight J Pendarvis J Watkins J Amory J Thomas  
A Williamson H Carterett Burtel W Allen P Le Chavallier
- 11: T Rose J Pendarvis F Fidling J Amory R Adams
- 12: W Chapman J Beresford T Clowter J Sealey Jacob Guerard R Quintyne J Amory  
G Smith P Buckley B Sealey T Bulline P Guerard M Stillery P Palmeter  
P Scott B Popler M Laller J Petersen J Thomas J Dedcott L Price
- 13: J Moore M Matthews P Lassell J Amory N Johnson J Vansusteron
- 14: P Lassell J Amory J Vansusteron J Du Pree J Smith J Lardent
- 15: J Moore M Matthews J Boone J Amory N Johnson A Browne
- 16: T Noble W Pople J Pendarvis J Amory A Williamson A Richardson
- 17: T Noble W Pople R Hull J Amory A Richardson
- 18: T Noble R Hull F Fidling A Skipper J Amory
- 19: J Crosse J Clapp H Samways C Basden J Buckley J Amory G Franklin  
W Dunston M Crosse W Bayley E Rawlins J Flavell W Rhett Simonds  
M Story A Pawley E Hearne
- 20: J Crosse J Waight H Samways J Pendarvis J Amory M Crosse
- 21: J Moore S Crosse J Clapp J Amory M Crosse
- 22: P Hunking F Fidling A Skipper J Amory I Redwood R Adams
- 23: J Alexander J Amory G Logan R Fenwick R Newton
- 24: J Alexander J Amory G Logan J Johns
- 25: R Daniell C Basden J Buckley J Amory W Dunston M Crosse W Bayley  
E Rawlins W Rhett
- 26: R Daniell C Basden J Amory W Dunston M Crosse E Rawlins W Rhett  
A Richardson
- 27: T Noble C Basden J Amory I Redwood A Richardson A Story D Harty
- 28: J Buckley J Amory M Crosse J Flavell G Logan J Johns
- 29: T Dickenson T Williams T Dalton E Rowles J Amory

- 30: T Noble F Fiddling J Amory I Redwood A Richardson  
 31: T Clowter J Pendarvis J Amory J Thomas A Williamson  
 32: J Amory W Rhett M Amory J Crosskeys R Dacres N Trott Susanna Jackson  
 33: J Amory M Amory J Crosskeys T Smith Jr J Risby R Page J Ingerson E Marston  
 34: J Pendarvis J Amory A Williamson G Keeling  
 35: J Williams J Amory Paul Grimball T Grimball C Linkly M Hamilton  
     Providence Grimball M Mullins S Powis  
 36: B Schenckingsh T Midwinter J Meader S Bull W Yeamans J Godfrey N Turtley  
     R Hull H Symonds H Mills H Samways B Godfrey R Browne H Woodward  
     M Browne W Davis T Fawcett H Leise G Franklin  
 37: B Schenckingsh S Bull J Godfrey J Moore M Matthews J West S Totle  
 38: N Lynch B Schenckingsh J Godfrey S Totle S Totle Jr P Colleton P St Julien  
 39: N Lynch B Schenckingsh T Midwinter J Godfrey N Turtley  
 40: B Schenckingsh P Lassell P St Julien H Le Noble R Ravenell P Guerard  
 41: B Schenckingsh M Matthews P Lassell S Totle P St Julien  
 42: B Schenckingsh M Elliston J Bird W Perriman S Totle Jr N Marden T Hogg  
 43: B Schenckingsh J Moore M Matthews J West S Totle J Bird W Perriman  
     J Perriman  
 44: B Schenckingsh S Totle J Bird W Perriman S Totle Jr N Marden  
 45: B Schenckingsh P Colleton C Colleton R Quarry  
 46: N Lynch T Midwinter J Godfrey M Horton N Turtley M Benson  
 47: T Midwinter R Daniell J Godfrey M Benson H Symonds  
 48: T Midwinter M Horton W Chapman  
 49: T Midwinter R Daniell M Benson R Williams  
 50: W Dry D Axtell J Williams T Smith J Gilbertson J Blake J Ellicott G Ashley  
     Joseph Morton John Morton B Blake W Dunlop J Alexander T Bolton  
     James Stanyarne H Bower J Futter M Russell S Gwin R Grower W Freeman  
     J Watt N Gardner  
 51: W Dry J Ladson J Beamer J Blake Joseph Morton T Bolton  
 52: W Dry J Ladson J Fitz E Mayo T Stanyearne  
 53: W Dry J Ladson J Fitz J Blake J Futter  
 54: W Dry J Ladson J Cottingham A Waight G Bedon J Calfe E Mayo T Stanyearne  
     J Beamer J Crosse P Steward S Waight  
 55: J Ladson E Mayo J Beamer J Crosse T Bolton M Crosse W Bayley E Rawlins  
 56: J Ladson E Mayo J Beamer Joseph Morton T Bolton E Rawlins T Chamberlayne  
     J Tatnell J Cowin R Hall  
 57: J Ladson G Bedon E Mayo J Beamer H Carterett T Chamberlayne  
 58: J Ladson J Meader J Dalton G Bedon E Mayo H Symonds N Townesend J Lovell  
     H Carterett  
 59: J Ladson J Miller J Cottingham R Donne E Mayo J Clapp M Cock B Lemand  
     S Mason J Pullman  
 60: J Ladson J Fitz E Mayo T Stanyearne M Everatt N Seward J Dodridge  
 61: J Ladson E Mayo J Gwin J Crosse J Munney J Waight J Shelton M Crosse  
     W Bayley  
 62: J Ladson G Bedon E Mayo J Gwin J Crosse H Symonds  
 63: J Ladson J Cottingham E Mayo J Crosse J Clapp M Crosse

- 64: J Ladson A Waight E Mayo J Crosse J Waight S Waight  
65: J Ladson A Percivall W Smith A Waight J Heape J Waight H Samways S Waight  
B Heape  
66: J Ladson A Waight J Catle J Fidoe T Leavy J Heape S Waight  
67: J Ladson J Meader A Waight J Heape G Bedon S Waight  
68: J Ladson F O'Sullivan D Hayes P Steward W Jackson M Steward G Holmes  
R Quintyne T Proctor  
69: J Ladson J Crosse J Waight H Samways S Waight M Crosse  
70: J Ladson A Waight J Crosse J Waight H Samways S Waight  
71: W Clements J Meader J Godfrey M Banks J Heape G Bedon R Bodicott  
H Symonds R Kyrle M Kyrle J Lovell  
72: W Clements J Meader R Marshall J Godfrey H Mills  
73: W Clements R Marshall T Cantey W Snipes J Miller H Mills  
74: J Meader J Godfrey G Bedon H Symonds W White N Townesend M Bee  
J Lovell G Franklin  
75: J Meader W Yeamans J Dalton J Godfrey G Bedon H Symonds  
76: J Meader R Daniell J Godfrey Milleson Jackson G Bedon J Gwin H Symonds  
W White J Griffith M Bee J Lovell W Williams R Codner  
77: J Meader S Bull J Godfrey J Heape R Bodicott H Symonds  
78: J Meader S Bull J Godfrey J Heape H Symonds H Samways  
79: J Meader J Godfrey R Hull H Symonds R Kyrle M Kyrle  
80: J Meader S Bull J Godfrey J Heape H Samways S Waight  
81: J Meader S West M Banks J Lynch  
82: J Meader S Bull A Waight J Heape H Samways S Waight  
83: J Meader W Clarke S Crosse R Kyrle J Bullen M Kyrle  
84: J Meader R Hull R Kyrle M Kyrle G Willocks J Fendall  
85: R Marshall T Cantey M Smericke C Mane J Stock J Dennoho G Cantey  
86: R Marshall T Cantey J Stock J Dennoho W Snipes G Cantey  
87: R Marshall J Godfrey H Mills C Burnham T Neall F Ladson J Oldys  
88: R Marshall J Miller J Cottingham T Rose  
89: M Smyth R Gibbes J West T Gibbes J Clapp S Middleton C Westbrooke E Patey  
J Hardy  
90: M Smyth A Percivall R Gibbes  
91: M Smyth A Percivall S Waight P Parker  
92: A Percivall P Parker I Redwood T Elmes A Falconer  
93: R Gibbes J West T Gibbes T Roberts E Patey M Johnson J Goodbee R Golding  
S Vale  
94: R Gibbes W Smith T Gibbes C Burnham E Patey J Powys C Basden M Bee  
J Buckley  
95: R Gibbes S Bull J West T Gibbes S Totle  
96: R Gibbes R Daniell C Westbrooke  
97: R Gibbes E Middleton J Boone S Middleton  
98: R Gibbes J Cottingham S Crosse J Clapp P Le Serurier M Crosse  
99: R Gibbes J Boone J Powys John Moore J Hardy S Howes M Carril  
100: R Gibbes J Boone S Middleton E Patey J Powys J Hardy  
101: R Gibbes J Clapp E Patey C Basden J Buckley M Crosse

- 102: W Yeamans J Godfrey H Woodward J Yeamans
- 103: W Yeamans H Woodward J Yeamans R Hackett M Maycocke S Moorey  
W Browne T Bamfield M Carteret
- 104: W Yeamans J Dalton J Lawson G Bedon H Cartwright T Worme
- 105: W Yeamans J Dalton J Godfrey J Yeamans
- 106: J Dalton J Lawson R Adams
- 107: J Godfrey H Symonds J Harris G Franklin W Williams
- 108: M Stevenson S Bull R Daniell J Godfrey H Symonds
- 109: J Godfrey R Hull J Gwin H Symonds M Atkins
- 110: M Stevenson S Bull J Godfrey J Moore M Matthews T Hill J Heape J West  
R Malloch R Bodicott T Smith J Chambers A Charne
- 111: J Godfrey T Noble R Hull M Kyrle M Atkins A Skipper
- 112: S Bull J Godfrey R Hull T Smith M Atkins
- 113: J Godfrey J Heape J Waight H Samways M Cock J Sheppard S Waight J Fitch  
A Taylor T Townsend M Crosse
- 114: J Godfrey N Townesend J Harris G Franklin M Crosse
- 115: J Godfrey H Samways G Franklin M Crosse
- 116: J Godfrey H Woodward J Yeamans G Hall J Dowden
- 117: R Skelton R Trad W Francis R Adams
- 118: R Skelton R Trad M Smallwood
- 119: R Trad T Rose J Lawson N Marden John Jones F Fidling J Hobson R Adams  
T Adams S Steavins B Hust
- 120: R Trad M English W Francis M Cock
- 121: M Jackson L Bassett H Smith S Jackson A Wishett J Norton Milleson Jackson  
O Jackson A Smith
- 122: M Jackson J Norton Milleson Jackson M English F O'Sullivan W Jackson
- 123: M Jackson J Norton D O'Mahone F O'Sullivan D Hayes W Jackson E Roberts
- 124: M Jackson J Norton E Roberts O Jackson
- 125: M Jackson Milleson Jackson M English W Jackson H Symonds J Monke
- 126: M Jackson S Jackson J Pye J Didcot T Moore H Davids W Didcot
- 127: S Jackson R Brewton John Jones J Shelton T Bolton James Stanyarne J Pye  
E Loughton
- 128: J Norton Milleson Jackson W Jones P Steward W Jackson M Steward W Joye  
J Hopkins W Rubery E Lambarth J Hutton
- 129: J Norton Milleson Jackson M English F O'Sullivan P Steward W Jackson
- 130: J Norton M English J Boone F O'Sullivan P Steward T Patey K O'Sullivan  
M Dowling D Carty
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T Roberts R Howell
- 133: J Norton E Roberts O Jackson W West J Falconer
- 134: Milleson Jackson J Palmer W Pople J Gwin T Patey J Monke M Loder A Miller  
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       W Trevethan R Hollowmore  
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 251: S Bull A Frowman A Charne J Frowman J Wagg

- 252: S Crosse P De Moulin J Walker  
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 258: W Perriman S Tottle Jr N Marden P Hunking T Greatbeach J Harrison J Morgan  
 S Hartly R Adams  
 259: N Marden J Witter T Greatbeach R Collins P Simpson S Stent H Trotter  
 W Rivers B Lamboll R Hill H Younge G Gantlett H Wigglesworth  
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R Emes W Ellits
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- 301: P Parker T Elmes J Bishop
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- 305: A Coming J Child J Bishop W Privit
- 306: P Perdriau Nezereau M Covillard D Horry T Thomas J Le Ber L Perdriau
- 307: T Sacheverall M Sacheverall T Bower W Bower D Curtis
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- 309: J Bordels P Guerard D Rolinson W Peter R Philips J Young
- 310: W Dunston J Bordels D Rolinson
- 311: L Perdriau J Le Serrurier P Le Chavallier P Berterand A Ribouveau G Ribouveau  
E Tauvron P Poinset E Bysett
- 312: A Williamson G Keeling T Bill E Fuz T Bertinshaw R Hunsden E Keeling
- 313: G Baudoin L Hourdin E Porcher M Porcher I Porcher C Porcher A Prudhomme  
C Caron I duBose R Piston
- 314: G Baudoin A Prudhomme Prioleau De La Plaine Boisseau J De Gue J Fleury  
E Horry Porcher
- 315: J Coming A Tennant M Blake T Conly J Roussorye E Stewart
- 316: J Pendarvis P Le Chavallier P Berterand

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Paul Philip Musselwhite was born in Swansea in Great Britain on the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 1983. He undertook his secondary education at Bryngwyn Comprehensive School, Llanelli, and Gorseinon College of Further Education, completing his Advanced Level qualifications in June 2001. Paul Musselwhite went on to read Modern History as a scholar at Lady Margaret Hall, a college of Oxford University, where he concentrated on early medieval and colonial American history. He graduated from Lady Margaret Hall with a B.A.(Hons.), First-Class in June 2004.

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