

Edisto

said he had obtained in trade with the Indians. [120]  
1565 (Laudonnière: 338-339) When the French returned to  
Florida a second time, Laudonnière

sent Captaine Vasseur to discover along the coast lying toward the North, and commanded him to saile unto a river, the king whereof was called Audusta, which was lord of that place, where those of the year 1562 in habited. I sent him two sutes of apparell, with certaine hatchets, knives, and other small trifles, the better to insinuate my self into his friendship. And the better to win him, I sent in the barke with captaine Vasseur a souldier called Aimon, which was one of them which returned hom in the first voyage, hoping that king Audusta might remember him. But before they were imbarked I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, which remained alone in those parts when Nicolas Masson and those of the first voyage unbarked themselves to returne into France. They understood at their arriuall there, that a barke passing that way had caried away the same souldier: and afterward I knew for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had caried him to Hauana. The king Audusta sent me back my barke full of mill, with a certaine quantity of beanes, two stags, some skinnes painted after their maner, and certain pearles of small value, because they were burnt: and sent me word that if I would dwel in his quarters he would give me a great countrey: and that after he had gathered his mill, he would spare me as much as I would have.

1565 (LeMoyne A: 36) Jacques le Moyne de Morgues' two depictions of the Port Royal Region were engraved by DeBry in 1591 (5-6). Their value is questionable because LeMoyne did not accompany Ribaut's 1562 expedition, and there is no record of his having visited Port Royal during Laudonnière's 1564-1565 expedition. However, it is likely that LeMoyne did visity Port Royal. He had the opportunity when Laudonnière sent Vasseur there early in 1565 (cf. the previous entry). He seems to have taken advantage of the opportunity because (1) he states at the beginning of his narrative that his "special duty when we reached the Indies would be to map the seacoast and harbors, indicate the position of towns, plot the depth and course of the rivers.

## Edisto

In addition, I was to portray the dwellings of the natives and anything else in the land that was worthy of observation. All this I performed to the best of my ability...." (2) While he could have learned about the South Atlantic Coast and about the Port Royal Region from his companions, the knowledge demonstrated by his map and depictions argues in favor of his having taken every opportunity to fulfill his responsibilities.

LeMoyne's map of the Southeast has "Adusta" shown approx. 12 m. inland (by its accompanying scale). This would place it in the vicinity of Chechessee Bluff (32 22N 80 50W). This distance must be fairly accurate because LeMoyne represented all of the independently known distances accurately: Laudonnière says Stalame was fifteen leagues north of Charlesfort and that Ouade was twenty-five leagues to the south (1562: 314 & 316); Ribaut says the first Indians encountered in 1562 were ten or twelve miles inland (91). Of course, the interior of the present State of Georgia and of the remainder of the State of South Carolina is guesswork, but the regions LeMoyne is known to have been able to visit are well represented for the period.

When LeMoyne's Plates 1-5 are laid out and supplemented with the distances given in the text, the result is respectably similar to the coast line shown on his map of the Southeast and to the actual distance between St. Augustine and Port Royal. These plates are, then, really decorated maps rather than landscapes. Although they are highly conventionalized, the geography is nevertheless better represented than on any map for over a century (cf. Cumming 1962: pls. 15-48).

The one feature of this region which seems to be incorrectly shown is the location of Charlesfort. Rojas had burned it in 1564 (122) so the Vasseur expedition must not have found its site. If LeMoyne's map had been based on the observations of others, then, the location would more probably be correctly shown.

The actual location was on Parris, not Port Royal Island. The archaeological evidence found by Osterhout (1936) conclusively establishes that the earthworks near the southern tip of the Island (32 18N 80 41W) are the remains of Charlesfort, subsequent attacks (Salley 1927) and more recent studies notwithstanding (Cumming 1963). Rivers deserves credit for previously establishing this identity (1856: 25).

DeBry may have misrepresented LeMoyne's originals, but

## Edisto

seems not to have. Swanton (1922: 345) says these pictures "contain so many errors that LeMoyne must have intrusted the execution to some one entirely unfamiliar with his subject, or else extreme liberties must have been taken with the originals." DeBry's engravings can be trusted, however, because John White's surviving originals are essentially identical to the engravings of them. DeBry sometimes combined pictures, but he did not misrepresent details; he was extremely accurate except in drawing more skillfully than White.

The impression is easily gained that LeMoyne's Plate 8 depicts a scene in South Carolina. The title and sequence are misleading, but the caption and text clearly indicate that this scene depicts the south Florida chief Athore and some of his tribe worshipping the first column Ribaut had set up, not the second at Port Royal (Rutledge 1949: 110 & Fig. 46; Bilodeau et al. 1970; & cf. Fundaburk 1958: 97).

Plate 5 may be the only surviving representation of a Lower Coastal Indian. The Proprietor's Great Seal seems to have been adopted in 1663 (Cheves 1897: 9). Hilton (1663) could perhaps have gotten in a representation in time for it to be used, but the man's war bonnet suggests that it is copied from pictures of Virginia Indians (cf. Cumming 1958: pl. 44 with Fundaburk 1958: 83). An Indian with a similar pose, headdress, and kilt-like costume on the Childsbury map (Child 1707) probably derives from the Seal.

Ogilby's c. 1672 map has two dissimilar groups of Indians (cf. Cumming 1958: pl. 37). The ones in the bottom left are poor derivations from LeMoyne (cf. Fundaburk 1958: 14 and Cumming 1958: pl. 26). The ones in the top right stand before a northern house type (Driver 1969: Map 15).

Gascoyne's 1682 map has two individualized Indians, but their clothing looks more Greek than Indian, and the presence of a billy goat makes the whole highly suspicious (cf. Cumming 1958: pl. 39). The Van Keulen map of c. 1682 seems to be derived from the same classical tradition (ibid.: pl. 40).

- 1565 (White 1585) "Adusta" shown in the Port Royal Region just S of the Broad R., but NW of "Maion." This is an incorrect conjecture (cf. the two previous entries).
- 1566 (Apr.; Merás 1567: 169-177) Account of the first attempted settlement by the Spanish in the Port Royal/Santa Elena Region:

## Edisto

...the Adelantado [Menéndez] did not think that the cacique [Guale] had reason for the cruel war he was making on Orista, since they were all of one same country, and the wrongs which had been done were hardly worth the wipping of one subject.... [169]

The Casique of Guale was eager for peace because "...the Indians of Santa Elena were more powerful than they..." (171). He had two relatives of Orista and released them into the Adelantado's custody to be returned to their home if peace could be arranged. The Spanish

arrived at Santa Elena the next day in the afternoon, for the 3 Indians they brought knew the harbor very well: they entered it at the place to which the Indians guided them, for they were skilful pilots, being accustomed to going there fishing in their canoes. Having entered the harbor and gone a league up the river [c. 3 m. or to Parris I. Spit], the Indians ordered that the large vessel should anchor, as she could not go farther, and they should embark in the brigantines and go to the village: the Adelantado did this, and embarked in the brigantines, and took with him Estébano de las Alas and about one hundred persons. He arrived at the pueblo of the Indians, which was 2 leagues from there [or c. 10 m. from the entrance; this is approx. where LeMoynes map shows the village of Audusta], and found it burned, and ["the inhabitants"] beginning to build a few houses again. A few Indians appeared, much disturbed, with their bows and arrows and ready for war: the two Indians the Adelantado had with him, told him that those others thought that he and his men were some of the false Christians, who had captured them in the war, while helping Guale; that they would land and tell them we were very good, and enemies of those people, and the reason we came. The Adelantado let them go, and within half an hour he landed with all his people, leaving 10 in each brigantine to guard it; and the Indians immediately came to the Adelantado without bows and arrows, with great humility and making great demonstrations of respect, and many ran off, some by one trail, others by another: this was to notify the pueblo, the caciques and captains, that they should come to see the Adelantado: then they built a great fire, and brought a quantity of shell-fish, and [end 173] the Adelantado and his men took supper.

## Edisto

Many Indians came running, all of them to speak with and pay their respects to the Adelantado, for the love and joy these Indians showed him was something to see. That night came three caciques, subjects of Orista, and told him that he should go to a village one league distant from there, as Orista and others of his captains and caciques would come there to eat: next day the Adelantado did this: Orista came and 2 other caciques and captains: great was the delight of all on seeing Guillermo, the interpreter, to whom Orista had given a daughter of his for wife, at the time he first came there. [174]

Clearly this passage establishes that Audusta, Usta, and Orista are the same (cf. 1564; Guillaume Rouffi was there<sup>n</sup> at Usta. Rojas took him prisoner and now he is returning for the first time in nearly two years). Audusta is nearly identical in sound to Edisto, and other reasons for identifying the two will be presented further on (cf. 1576-1579 & 1586). The "r" in Orista may be because the Spanish first seem to have learned of them through a Siouan-speaking source (Swanton 1922: 38). In addition, the Spanish "r" is unrelated to the English "r" and tends instead to resemble a trilled "t" (and thus "d") sound; this alone perhaps is a sufficient explanation for the consistent difference in spelling.

The Adelantado ordered him to tell Orista to gather his principal Indians, because he wished to speak to them: this was done: the Adelantado commanded Guillermo, who was the interpreter, to tell them (the 3 Indians being present whom the Adelantado had brought with him) all that had passed in Guale concerning the making of peace. Orista said that he would reply presently, and he spoke with his Indians more than half an hour, discussing the subject, without their wanting Guillermo to be there, so that he should not understand what they were treating of; and then they called the interpreter, to whom they talked a very long time, and afterward the interpreter told the Adelantado, on behalf of Orista, that it would please him much to make peace, as the Adelantado ordered him to do; and he would be even more pleased to become a true Christian, with his people, as those of Guale wanted to be, for those people were not to be

## Edisto

better than they; that his Indians, whom the Adelantado had brought from Guale, had told them who God was and how good it was to be Christians; that they wished very much to have the Adelantado live in that land and to take him for an elder brother, in order to do what he should command them; and that they would hold the false Christians as enemies, since they were those of the Adelantado. He replied to them, showing there was great joy in his heart, that he loved them much, but did not think he could live in that land, because it was bad, and his own was better; and that if Orista's Indians killed his Chris- [174] tians, and if they did any harm, the Adelantado would at once kill him who did it, because the Christians he brought would not hurt the Indians; that he would like to live there solely in order that they might learn to become Christians, so that when they died they might go to heaven. He told them the power and goodness of God, and all that he told the other caciques, that they might become Christians: they showed great satisfaction at hearing him, and repeated\* ["The passage from here to the next asterisk, is supplied from Barcia's Ensayo Cronologico."] that they wished to become Christians, praying him to leave them someone to teach them: they begged for this with so much earnestness that the Adelantado offered to leave a man; but ["said"] that if Orista or his people killed him, he would return to make war on them, and cut off the heads of all of them.

Then came many Indian women, carrying maize, fish boiled and roasted, oysters and many acorns; and the Adelantado ordered biscuit, honey and wine to be brought, and divided it among the Indians, who drank the wine well, but ate the biscuit dipped in honey-water, better because they are very fond of sweets. When the meal was over, during which there was great merriment and rejoicing, they seated the Adelantado in the seat of the cacique, and with various ceremonies Orista came to him and took his hands: afterward the rest of the caciques and Indians did the same: the mother and the relatives of the two slaves he had brought from Guale, caressed him very much and wept for joy: then they began to sing and dance, the caciques and several principal Indians remaining with the Adelantado, and the festivities and demonstrations lasted until about midnight, when they withdrew. The next day, the Indians issued

## Edisto

many proclamations in the village, in order that no one should do any harm to the Christians, and the Adelantado said to the cacique that he was going in search of a good site where he could make a settlement for his Spaniards, for it was not right that they should live among the Indians, and quarrel afterward. The cacique told him of one, near the place where the vessel was anchored, and he embarked, without any suspicion whatever, with his wife and 12 Indians, in the Adelantado's brigantines; and they all [175] went very gaily together as far as the spot where they were to land. There the Adelantado gave the Indians their midday meal, and the Spaniards landed to go to Orista's village, where they were very well entertained that night. Next morning the cacique took the Adelantado to a very large house, and seated him in his seat, going through the same ceremony with him as he had in the previous pueblo, and ordering the same proclamations to be made. They spent the following day in reconnoitring the site to begin the settlement, and it appeared to all of them very good and pleasant; and without losing time, the Adelantado, Estéban de las Alas and other captains marked out the fort....A fort was built of stakes, earth and fascines, and the Adelantado called it San Felipe....

He sent some Indians inland to tell the caciques that very good Christians were there; that they did no evil or harm to the natives, but much good, giving them presents; and that Orista and others had taken him for their elder brother, to defend them from their enemies, whereat all the Indians were very much pleased and desired to be Christians; that if those others wished to do the same and to see him, he was waiting for them to give them some of the things he had brought. Within 15 days, the time he tarried there, many caciques came to visit him, [176] and he paid them many attentions, so that they took him for their elder brother, to command them at his will: they told him they wanted to be Christians and he should give them a cross, and some of his men, to teach them in their country.

The Adelantado did so, giving to each cacique 1 or 2 Christians, and tools for erecting a cross in each village, admonishing them that every day, morning and evening, they should repeat the Christian doctrine and worship the Holy Cross, in order that the Indians might

## Edisto

learn it and imitate them. To all the caciques he gave presents, and a hatchet to each one, with which they were much delighted, and they gave him well tanned deerskins and some pearls, of which there are many in that country, although they are of little value because they are burned.

Taking his leave of Cacique Orista, who was very joyful at having Spaniards["left with him"], the Adelantado set out for Guale, taking 20 soldiers, 2 of Orista's principal Indians to negotiate the peace, and Guillermo the interpreter. In Santa Elena\* ["The manuscript continues from here."] remained Estéban de las Alas, and the men who were with him, who were pleased because there appeared to be a very good beginning of turning the Indians into Christians, which, next to driving the Lutherans out of the land, was all that they desired; but they had great fear of lack of food, for they had very little remaining, and much work to do in finishing their fort...Even if the Indians had been willing to give food to Estéban de las Alas and his men, they had none, for it had not rained for many months. [177]

1566 (June; Merás 1567: 210) "...about 20 of Estéban de las Alas's soldiers had deserted him and gone inland: he had about 25 in the fort when Juan Pardo arrived, and no food other than that which the Indians sent him."

1567 (May; Merás 1567: 237) As Menéndez de Avilés was about to leave Santa Elena for the last time, Pardo told him "that the caciques of the coast and their Indians of the coast and their Indians of that province were just as friendly [as those inland], and that all desired greatly to behold him and turn Christian." (See footnote 401 herein.)

1570 (Rogel: 327-330; see also footnote 402 herein.)

Having settled at Sancta Elena, as soon as the vice-provincial [Juan Bautista de Segura] ordered me, I went to reside with Orista, going with much joy from the desire and great hopes I had that we should accomplish much. At first my hopes were greatly increased on perceiving that their customs and manner of living were so much better than those of Carlos [identified as "The Caloosas" by Brinton; cf. also Cumming 1962: Pl. 19 for "B de Carlos"]. When I found each Indian married to only one wife, assisting in the tillage of the fields, maintaining and ruling their children and households with much [end 327] care, not addicted to the crime



## Edisto

against nature, neither incestuous, nor cruel, nor thieves, dealing among themselves with great justice, truth, and gentleness, I gave God thanks; for it seemed that the delay would be rather in my learning their language in order to declare to them the mysteries of our Holy Faith, than in any hesitation on their part to accept it and become Christians. Therefore I and three others who were with me applied ourselves diligently to its study, and with such success that in six months I was able to speak and preach in it.

At first they seemed to listen with some attention, and asked questions, although very silly ones, such as, whether God had a wife, and such like. At this season they were congregated together, but when the acorns ripened, they left me quite alone, all going to the forests, each one to his own quarter, and only met together for certain festivals, which occurred every two months, and this not always in the same spot, but now in one place, now in another. I attempted to attend these festivals and meetings to see if I could not proceed in my work; but instead of improving, they grew worse and worse, jesting at what I told them. Nevertheless I persevered, thinking to persuade them in the spring, at the time of planting maize, to put in sufficient to last them so that the subjects of one cacique could remain in the same place for the whole year. To win them to this the more certainly, I offered to furnish them iron spades to dig with, and as much maize as they wanted to sow, and proposed that they should sow it at the place where we were, as farming land there was abundant and very good for that country, which is very sterile. For this purpose I brought eight spades, and Esteban de las Alas gave me five more, and there were twenty houses already built there [Orista]. I published this throughout the tribe. But the result was, that after having promised me many times to come and plant, the inhabitants of these twenty houses scattered themselves in twelve or thirteen different villages, some twenty leagues, some ten, some six, and some four. Only two families remained.

[After eight months] ...I thought I had obtained their good will, I commenced to tell them that to become sons of God, they must become enemies of the Demon, for he is evil and loves all evil things, but God is good and loves all good things. When I began to speak thus,

## Edisto

they became greatly displeased, and so bitter was the hatred that they conceived against me, that they refused to see or hear me any more, and told those who were with me that they were very much offended, and disbelieved every word I said, since I had spoken evil of the Demon, for the Demon was so good that there was nothing better than he. Soon these two families left, and on being asked why they were going, they replied, because I spoke evil of the Demon.

After they had departed, I made a journey to the other caciques, promising them that if they would be Christians and receive me among them, I would live with them where they were, and teach them the law of God; but if they would not, I had made up my mind to return to Spain. But none of them responded to me. And at a general meeting of most of the subjects of Orista on the Rio Dulze ["The Fresh Water River. Does he refer to the Savannah?"], I repeated these words. They all commenced to look sorrowful and to say to me: Since you tell us that you love us so much, yet do you wish to go from among us? so that truly I thought to have lost my life. Seeing how the matter stood, I changed my discourse, and managing them like children, escaped in safety back to my post. There I determined to remain till the Vice Provincial should arrive and signify what he wished me to do.

This was already at the end of June, and it happened that just at this time the ensign Juan de la Bandera, lieutenant-governor of your Highness at Sancta Elena, went to a festival at Escamacu, and compelled by necessity ordered three or four caciques, among them Escamacu [328], Orista, and Hoya ["In these chiefs we recognize the Audusta, Maccou, and Hoya of Ribaut's first voyage (1562). See the 'Histoire Notable,' pp. 41, 42, 50, 55."]. to bring some canoe loads of maize to Sancta Elena on a certain day. About the same time I learned from the ensign, that not having enough to eat, he would be obliged to send forty soldiers among the Indians, to be maintained until a ship should arrive. Now, as I knew very well that if I was among the Indians they would apply to me to rid them of this vexation; and as I also knew that I could be of no avail, as the Christians were forced to this measure by necessity; and as, on the other hand, I saw no prospect nor hope of their conversion, and that to remain there was idle and useless, and knowing that

## Edisto

unless I favored the natives they would molest me, it being obvious that when so many soldiers came among them they would mutiny, and wreak their rage upon me, which they could very safely do; and as in addition to this the Vice Provincial had ordered me to return to Sancta Elena on the first appearance of danger; considering all these things, and having commended it to God, and celebrated some masses, I determined with great grief of heart to pull down my house and church some eight or ten days before the arrival of the soldiers, and to set out with my little pack to Sancta Elena, repeating, however, to the Indians, that if they wished to be Christians, that they should send for me, that I would return, that they should build me another house, and that I would live among them. Thus I took leave of them on the thirteenth day of July, of the present year, 1570. A few days afterwards the ensign sent the soldiers, and every thing turned out precisely as we had foreseen. For Escamacu, and Orista, and all those Indians revolted immediately, and continued to make trouble, till the Captain Pedro Melendez Marques and Estaban de las Alas succeeded in pacifying them with gifts and toys [August 1570; Lowery 1905: 357]. After I had departed Orista came to visit me. I told him that I had left because they would not become Christians, but if they would be such, I was ready to set out that very day and return with him. But he did not tear my cassock in his anxiety for me to go.

Your Highness may learn from this my way of action with the Indians, as well as the scanty return, and little likelihood of their becoming Christians unless God our Lord miraculously interposes. The main reason for this is, that for nine out of the twelve months they wander about without any fixed abode. Even then, if they only went together, there would be some hope that, going with them, by ceaseless iteration one might make some impression, like drops of water on a hard stone. But each one takes his own road. Thus have I experienced the opposite of the persuasion your Highness has so much at heart, namely, that the Gospel will readily take root in this land. It is my opinion that to win any of the blind and wretched souls of these provinces, it is first requisite that the Indians be collected together in towns, and cultivate the land sufficiently to provide themselves with food for the whole year, and when once

## Edisto

firmly fixed, then let preaching be introduced. Unless this be done, missionaries may labor among them for fifty years, and will never achieve any thing more than we have these four years that we have been at work, which is merely nothing at all, not even a hope or a semblance of success. And let your Highness understand that to congregate them together thus is a work of time and difficulty, as it must be done in a lawful manner, and as God our Lord commands it, not by compulsion nor an armed hand. This for two reasons: First, because they have been accustomed to this kind of life for thousands of years, and it would almost kill them to tear them rudely from it; and secondly, if they were willing, the nature of the soil would not permit it, as it is poor and barren and easily wears out; and they themselves say that it is for this reason that they live so scattered and wander so much....

I have been out fourteen months, and I assure your Highness that almost did God our Lord work miracles visibly, so that these wretched souls came to me in their afflictions to beg that I would pray God to spare them; yet with all this they were so hardhearted, and had such an aversion to our teaching, that it annoyed them for us to learn their tongue, and after I had commenced to disclose to them who the Demon was, rarely or never would they answer correctly any thing I asked them concerning the language. The same thing was also told to me by the fathers who labored in Guale. [Spellings of Indian names as in Ruidiaz 1894: 301-305.]

1571 (Lowery 1905: 372) Menéndez de Avilés on 22 July 1571 found the natives around Santa Elena "'humble and obedient,' but engaged in war with 'the Indians friendly to the French.'" Lowery notes: "It does not appear what Avilés means by this expression, unless he attributed the continuance of the Indian war to French influence. 'For the Indians, as a rule,' he observes, 'are better friends of the French, who leave them to live in freedom, than to my people and the Teatines (monks), who restrict their way of living; and the French can accomplish more in one day than I in a year.' To increase the attachment of the natives to his interest he sent to Campeche for supplies to distribute among them." Cf. Lowery MSS.

1575 (Velasco: 143)

I wish to tell your Majesty of the mood in which the

## Edisto

Indians are, because it is the best they have been up to now [late August 1575], as their friendship is great and they have rid themselves of their blindness; for a few days after the Adelantado died [17 Sept. 1574], the cacique of Guale was baptized in Santa Elena, with his wife and other Indians. This [cacique] is the second person of that territory, which covers more leagues than all those there are in this country. And the other Indians greatly desire to become Christians, but they lack the best [meanes], which is some one to catechise them....

c. 1575 (Fontenada: 14) "...the river and land of Santa Elena. Seven leagues to the north of these is a town, which, instead of pronouncing it Orizta, they [Ayllon and others from Santo Domingo] who went there called it Chicora." The historian Herrera repeats the same assertion that "Orizta they called Chicora, because the Christians never failed to distort the words somewhat" (quoted in Ross 1925: 352, n. 2). Both Fontenada and Herrera are incorrect; Audusta (Orizta) and Chicora were unrelated as the account of Laudonnière (1562: 311) and the map of LeMoyne (c. 1565) prove. Fontenada seems to be correct only in placing the Orizta on Edisto Island, where they relocated about this time or as a result of the Escamacu War.

1576-1579 After a decade of ill treatment by the Spanish, the Indians of the Provinces of Orista and Guale destroyed San Felipe and forced the Spanish to evacuate the South Carolina and Georgia coast for a year. The first action was taken by the Escamacu (q. v.), who killed the Spanish soldiers quartered in their village. They were quickly joined by the Orista and the Guale, but for convenience this conflict is referred to herein as the Escamacu War.

Here it need only be mentioned that Martinez (cf. 1576) refers to the province of "Oristan" for the first time. Gomes (cf. 1576) refers to "a pueblo of Indians they call Oristan" and to "Cacique Oristan," but he was incorrect; he should have referred to Escamacu. Martínez Carvajal (cf. 1579) also refers to "the province of Oristan."

Menéndez Márques probably devastated the entire Lower Coast just as he burned all the villages of Guale. He expresses the intention and the two villages he is known to have attacked (cf. Escamacu & Coçapoy), he destroyed completely. Likely the Orista's village was destroyed too

## Edisto

because they next are found on Edisto Island. They seem to have moved by 1586 (q. v.), when St. Helena Sound is referred to as the "bay of Orista."

1586 (20 Aug.; Menéndez Márques) The "...tenth of July the corsair reappeared with all his fleet near the harbor of Orista five leagues from Santa Elena." St. Helena Sound is about seventeen miles north of Santa Elena (Fort San Marcos, not yet abandoned on Parris Is.), indicating that the Orista (Edisto) had by now moved north and were probably living on Edisto Island.

They probably moved because of the devastation during the Escamacu War (1576-1579). The villages most closely allied with them (Mayon, Hoya, Touppa, and Stalame) are not definitely mentioned after c. 1565 and so may have incorporated and moved north with them. Cf. the next entry.

1586 (Bartólome de Arguelles in Swanton 1922: 60) "...the bay of Orista is said to be beyond that of Santa Elena to the north, 5 leagues" (ref.: "Lowery and Brooks, MSS., Lib. Cong.") As Swanton concludes, by this date the Edisto, "Probably the main body, had become settled upon the stream which still bears their name...."

1604 (26-27 Nov.; Garcia de la Vera: 186-192; cf. Geiger 1937: 175-176 & Swanton 1922: 59-60, 81-83, & pl. 1.) Gov. Ibarra found the Cassique of "Orista" on St. Simons Island, where he was "staying" along with the Cassique of Ufalague. Both caciques had deserted the overlordship of Aluete and joined Asao.

This could refer to the Edisto, but they are not known earlier or later to have been subject to any other tribe. The situation seems to be that Orista himself was heir to the leadership of a Guale tribe, probably because his mother was its chief's sister (cf. the section on Organization). Otherwise these tribes, speaking different languages, would probably have had no more in common than England with Hanover in George I's time. Geiger's translation summarizes the original somewhat, but gives the relevant details and correct spellings:

Ybarra directed his course next to the Island of Guale [St. Catherines]. When he arrived there on November 24, he was greeted by Bartolomé, the mico of Guale and other notables. From the landing-place Ybarra and the soldiers in regular military formation marched to the town of Guale over half a league in the interior. Special quarters were given to the governor and the soldiers, and gifts were distributed to the

## Edisto

Indians. Ybarra set the date of the conference for the 26th and ordered that the micos of Oya and Aluste, as well as the neighboring chiefs, should attend. The parley opened on schedule time. Besides Bartolomé, the micos of Guale, and Yoa, the caciques of Aluete, Otax, Uculegue, Culapala, Otapalas, Unallapa, Ahopo and the brother of the cacique of Otax, the aliagueta of Ahopo, the chief mandadores of Guale and "Pedro Sánchez and many other important persons, many of whom were Christians and vassals of the said Don Bartolomé, mico."

Here, as at San Pedro, Ybarra was called on to settle a matter of jurisdiction. The cacique of Aluete declared that the caciques of Talapo, Ufalague and Orista, who were his vassals, had shaken off their allegiance and had gone over to Asao, where the last two of them were staying [St. Simons; Swanton 1922: pl. 1] . Then Ybarra gave Aluete the assurance that on his return journey to St. Augustine he would admonish the recalcitrant chieftains to return to the subjection of Aluete. Seizing on this event to impress upon the Indians the necessity of maintaining their political organization and relationships, Ybarra told the Indians that it was the desire of the king of Spain that the lesser Indian chiefs obey and respect their overlords, and said that he as governor would see to it that this order would be carried out. On the other hand he asked that the subject chiefs be given fair treatment and proper care. With the distribution of gifts, Ybarra terminated his impressive northern voyage and mission of peace.

That same day the governor returned south and at nightfall came to Asao. There the caciques of Ytohulo, Ufalague, Utalapatoque, Orista and his mandadores proffered the Spaniards their welcome. Ybarra ordered them as well as the absent cacique of Talapo and the mico of Asao to appear for a conference on the 28th. Calling aside Ufalague, Talapo and Orista apart, Ybarra asked them if they were vassals of the cacique of Aluete. They replied that they were. Why then had they left him? They answered "that they did not obey him and departed from him because he was a bad Indian with an evil heart; and that he spoke to them in a very evil way." They explained that they went over to the cacique of Orista who was the heir to the caciquedom of Aluete and who possessed a better disposi-

## Edisto

tion. Nevertheless, Ybarra commanded them to subject themselves once more to Aluete, otherwise he would have to punish them. On the other hand, should Aluete mistreat them in any way, Ybarra promised he would be their protector and use whatever means at his disposal to insure them their right to fair dealing. With this fair decision the caciques promised to carry out the governor's orders.

1605 & 1609 Cf. Kiawah for the accounts of the two Ecija expeditions.

1663 (Hilton: 18-28) In St. Helena Sound, Hilton's ship was visited by Indians from "St. Ellens" (Port Royal) and "Edistow." His location is definite because he gives the correct latitude (32 30N); because a good approximation of the width of the sound ("three Leagues wide, or thereabouts"; actually about eight miles instead of ten. He is using Spanish leagues because he says Barbadoes is five hundred fifty leagues away; it is roughly two thousand miles by way of the Gulf Stream.) is given; because he places the sound "four Leagues or thereabouts N. E. from Port Royal, which by the Spaniards is called St. Ellens" (about 15 miles is correct); and because he notes that from his position Port Royal can be reached through inland waterways.

On Saturday the fifth of September, two Indians came on Board us, and said they were of St. Ellens; being very bold and familiar; speaking many Spanish words, as Cappitan, Commarado, and Adeus. They know the use of Guns and are as little startled at the firing of a Piece of Ordnance, as he that hath been used to them many years: they told us the nearest Spaniards were at St. Augustins, and several of them had been there, which as they said was but ten days journey, and that the Spaniards used to come to them at Saint Ellens sometimes in Conoas within Land, at other times in Small Vessels by Sea, which the Indians describe to have but two Masts. They invited us to come to St. Ellens with our Ship, which they told us we might do within Land. Monday the 14. September, our Long-Boat went with twelve hands within Land to St. Ellens. On Wednesday the 16th, came five Indians on board us; one of them pointing to another, said, he was the Grandy Captain of Edistow: whereupon we took especial notice of him, and entertained



him accordingly, giving him several Beads & other trade that pleased him well: He invited us to bring up our Ship into a branch on the N. E. side, [he] told us of one Captain Francisco, and four more English that were in his custody on shoar; whereupon we showed him store of all Trade, as Beads, Hoes, Hatchets and Bills & c. and said, he should have all those things if he would bring the English on board us; wch. he promised should be done the next day. Hereupon we wrote a few lines to the said English, fearing it to be a Spanish delusion to entrap us. In the dark of the same Evening came a Canoa with nine or ten Indians in her with their Bowes and Arrowes, and were close on board before we did discern them: We haled them, but they made us no answer, [end 19] which increased our jealousy. So we commanded them on board, and disarmed them, detaining two of them prisoners, and sending away the rest to fetch the English; which if they brought, they should have theirs again. At length they delivered us a Note written with a coal, which seemed the more to continue our jealousy, because in all this time we had no news of our long boat from St. Ellens, which we feared was surprized by the Indians and Spaniards. But to satisfie us that there were English on shoar, they sent us one man on board about twelve of the clock in the Night who related to us the truth of the matter, and told us they were cast away some four or five leagues to the Northward of the place we then rode, on the 24th of July past, being thirteen persons that came on shoar, whereof three of them were kill'd by the Indians. On Thursday the 17th of September the Long-boat returned from St. Ellens, which presently we sent on shoar to fetch the other English, the Indians delivering us three more; and coming aboard themselves, we delivered them their two men. Then we demanded of the Chief Commander where the rest of our English were: he answered Five were carried to St. Ellens, three were killed by the Stonohs, and the other man we should have within two dayes. We replied to him again, That we would keep him and two more of his chief men [Cf. Sandford 1666: 64 & 68 for Shadoo and Mathews 1670: 170-171 for Sheedou & Alush], till we had our English that were yet living; and promised them their liberty, with Satisfaction for bringing us the English. Now to return to the businesse of our Design; the entertainment

## Edisto

we had at S. Ellens put us in great fear of the Indians treachery; for we observed their continual gathering together, and at last began with stern-look'd countenances to speak roughly to us, and came to search our mens Bandileers and pockets; yet inviting us to stay that night with them: but we made a sudden retreat to our Boat, which caused the Indian King to be in a great rage, speaking loud and angry to his men; the drift of which discourse we understood not. [end p. 20; a description of a great round house follows which was probably at St. Ellens (cf. Escamacu, 1663)]...In the mean time came many Canoas about us with Corn, Pompions, and Venison, Deer-Skins, and a sort of sweet-wood. One of our men looking into an Indian basket, found a piece of Spanish Rusk: it being new, we demanded of the Indian where he had it; who said, of the Spaniards. In the interim, while we were talking, came a Canoa with four Indians from St. Ellens, on standing up, and holding a paper in a cleft stick; they told us they had brought it from the Spanish Captain at St. Ellens. We demanded how many Spaniards were come thither; who said Seven, and one English-man: We received their Letter writ in Spanish, but none of us could read it: We detained two of the chiefest Indians one of them being the Kings Son of St. Ellens, and that kept one of the English prisoners; the other [22] two we sent away with a Letter to the Spaniard, wherein we gave him to understand, that we understood not his letter; and told the Indians when they brought the English, they should have their men again, with satisfaction for their pains. On Thursday, 24 instant, we sayling further up the River to go through, at last came to a place of fresh water, and Anchored there, sending our Boat ashoar with a Guard to get water. Towards night came the first Indian that we sent to St. Ellens with a letter to the English, who brought us another letter from the Spaniards, and an Answer of ours from the English, writ in the Spaniards letter. The Spaniard sent us a quarter of Venison, and a quarter of Pork, with a Complement, That he was sorry he had no more for us at that time. We returned him thanks, and sent him a Jug of Brandy; and withal, that we were sorry we understood not his letter. This night about twelve of the Clock we had a most violent gust of winde, but of no long continuance. On Friday 25 September we weighed, and returned down the River six leagues or

## Edisto

thereabouts, because we perceived the Indians had gathered themselves in a Body from all parts thereabouts, and moved as the Ship did: and being informed by an Indian that the Spaniards would be there the next day; we took in Fire-wood, and continued there that night, at which time one of our Indian Prisoners made his escape by leaping overboard in the dark. On Saturday the 26, we weighed, and stood down to the Harbour's mouth, and stayed there till Monday the 28. In all which time came no one to us, though we stayed in expectation of their coming continually; therefore put out to Sea, concluding their intentions not to be good.... [23] The River Grandy, or as the Indians call it Edistow, lyes six leagues or thereabouts from the River Jordan, and seems to be a very fair opening: but because the chief Indian of that Place was on board us, and the Countrey all in Arms, we not knowing how the winde might crosse us, it was not thought fitt to stay there....

The North Edisto must be intended. It is about fifteen miles north of the middle of St. Helena Sound, which is fairly close to the twenty "or thereabouts," and it is at approximately 32 34N or fairly close to 32 40 "or thereabouts" (p. 24). While the latitude more closely fits Charleston Harbor than the North Edisto, "fresh water at low Tide within two leagues of the Mouth," and the name Hilton gives favor the North Edisto. The probability is increased by Ogilby-Moxon's c. 1672 map which has "R. Grande" for the North Edisto.

The Indians plant in the worst Land because they cannot cut down the Timber in the best, and yet have plenty of Corn, Pompions, Water-Mellons, Musk-mellons: although the Land be over grown with weeds through their lasinesse, yet they have two or three crops of Corn a year, as the Indians themselves inform us.... There are great Marshes, but most as far as we saw little worth, except for a Root that grows in them the Indians make good Bread of.... The Natives are very healthful; we saw many very Aged amongst them. [24]

1666 (Sandford: 62-82) "Being come about foure or five miles within the River I anchored and a canoa with two Indians came presently aboard mee and told mee that was the Country

## Edisto

of Edistoh and that the chief towne or seat of the Casique was wth. in on the Westerne shoare somewhat lower down towards the Sea...." Sandford (p. 62) was up the North Edisto River, but this becomes certain only much later in his voyage. He gives the latitude as 32 03N, but this is clearly a misprint because as he moves farther south he gives the latitude of St. Helena Sound correctly as 32 25N (p. 70). Sandford actually judged the latitude of "Edisto" as 32 30N, which is only three minutes or so off (cf. Locke c. 1671 and Cumming 1962: 78, n. 115, for notes by John Locke which are based on Sandford; his entire voyage can be most easily followed by referring to Locke's map; cf. also the bibliographical note on Locke).

Four or five miles within the River [Sandford was near the mouth of Bohicket Creek, which runs northeasterly]... the land [is] level of an habitable height generally with steepe redbanks here and there appearing over the Marches [still an accurate description of Horse Island], on which in many places Wee could see the fields of Maiz greenly flourishing. The next day being the 23rd June I went with my boate into a Creeke on the East shoare opposite to where the vessell rode a very faire and deepe Creeke or River going North and Easterly to appearance a long way...being gone about a mile up I landed.... I ranged a little on either side this Creeke passed through severall fields of Maiz or Indian Corn and following the guidance of a small path was brought to some of the Indians Habitations [62-63]

Sandford must have put ashore at the site of Rockville on Wadmelow Island. It is the only landing place for several miles along the creek. Cheves (1897: 63, n. 1) states "Landed about Rockville, near Bohicket Indian village." Sandford does not say anything about the habitations other than that he visited them; they may have been habitations of Bohicket Indians since this band lived in at least two or more places along the creek named for them, but no village is mentioned (cf. Bohicket, c. 1685 & 1687 for two locations, both farther inland).

Sandford returned to his vessel, "went some miles up the maine River" (p. 63), and after viewing the country, "wayed and stood downe the River intending a short stay at the landing place nearest to the chief Seate of Edistowe which the Indian had intreated of mee that they might wth.