

Edisto

the lesser trouble come aboard me to trade" (p. 64). Later (p. 66), Sandford mentions that a beach was near where the vessel anchored. He thus was probably at the Point of Pines, which is the only beach of the North Edisto for eight or more miles beyond Ocella Creek and which is about four or five miles inland or near where Sandford first saw the Indians from the Edisto village.

When Wee were here a Capt. of the Nation named Shadoo (one of them wch. Hilton had carryed to Barbados) was very earnest with some of our Company to goe with him and lye a night att their Towne wch. hee told us was but a smale distance thence. I being equally desirous to knowe the forme manner and populousnesse of the place as alsoe what state the Casique held (fame in all theire things preferring this place to all the rest of the Coast, and foure of my Company (vizt.) Lt: Harvey, Lt: Woory, Mr. Thomas Giles and mr. Henry Woodward forwardly offring themselves to the service haveing alsoe some Indians aboard mee who constantly resided there night & day I permitted them to goe with this Shadoo they retorned to mee the next morning wth. great Comendacons of their Entertainment but especially of the goodness of the land they marcht through and the delightfull situation of the Towne. Telling mee withall that the Cassique himselfe appeared not (pretending some indisposition, but that his state was supplied by a Female who received them with gladnes and Courtesy placing my Lt: Harvey on the seat by her their relation gave myselfe a Curiosity (they alsoe assureing mee that it was not above foure Miles off) to goe and see that Towne and takeing with mee Capt George Cary and a file of men I marched thither ward followed by a long traine of Indians of whome some or other always presented himselfe to carry mee on his shoulders over any the branches of Creekes or plashy corners of Marshes in our Way. This walke though it tend to the Southward of the West and consequently leads neere alongst the Sea Coast [64-65]

At this point Sandford has supplied enough information to determine the approximate location of the chief village of the Edisto. He set out from at or near the Point of Pines and travelled along a path in roughly a WSW direction for about four miles. This would put him at or just beyond

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the site of the present junction of Edisto, South Carolina, which is on the headwaters of Store Creek and is near the center of Edisto Island. From the Point of Pines, the northern edge of two strips of marsh form nearly a straight line running in a WSW direction; he seems to have closely followed its "plashy corners." Although the Indians he first encountered said their village "was wthin on the Westerne shoare somewhat lower down towards the Sea" (p. 62), their village could not have been on the South Edisto. This part of Edisto Island is eight to ten miles across, so Sandford had to be near its middle. The Indians must have meant that the only access to it "within" by water was from the west side of the Island. When Sandford finally got through to the west side and on the South Edisto River met members of the village again (p. 68), he says they had "come from the Town by Land" (emphasis added) indicating that the town was some distance inland.

Being entered the Towne wee were conducted into a large house of a Circular forme (their generall house of State) right against the entrance way a high seate of sufficient breadth for half a dozen persons on which sate the Cassique himselfe (vouchsafeing mee that favour) wch. his wife on his right hand (shee who had received those whome I had sent the evening before) hee was an old man of a large stature and bone. Round the house from each side the throne quite to the Entrance were lower benches filled with the whole rabble of men Women and children in the center of this house is kept a constant fire mounted on a great heape of Ashes and surrounded with little lowe foormes Capt: Cary and my selfe were placed on the higher seate on each side the Cassique and presented with skinns accompanied with their Ceremonyes of Welcome and freindshipp (by stroaking our shoulders with their palmes and sucking in their breath the whilst) The Towne is scituate on the side or rather in the skirts of a faire forrest in wch. at severall distances are diverse feilds of Maiz with many little houses straglingly amongst them for the habitations of the particular families. On the East side and part of the South It hath a large prospect over meadows very spacious and delightfull, before the Doore of their Statehouse is a spacious walke rowed wth. trees on both sides tall & full branched, not much unlike to Elms wch. serves for the Exercise and recreation of the men who by Couples

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runn after a marble bowle troled out alternately by themselves with six foote staves in their hands wch. they tosse after the bowle in their race and according to the laying of their staves wine or loose the beeds they contend for an Exercise approveable enough in the winter but some what too violent (mee thought) for that season and noone time of the day from this walke is another lesse aside from the round house for the children to sport in.. After a few houres stay I returned to my Vessell wth. a greate troope of Indians att my heeles. The old Cassique himselfe in the number, who lay aboard mee that night without the society of any of his people, some scores of wch. lay in boothes of their own imediate ereccon on the beach....

[Sandford next went through by Dawhoo River to the South Edisto River and then down to the breakers at its entrance.] I putt into the [S. Edisto] River againe and being anchored went a shoare on the East point of the Entrance where I found Shadoo (The Capt: of Edistow that had beene with Hilton att Barbados) And severall other Indians come from the Towne by Land to see for our comeing forth) of whome I asked whether this was the River wch. Hilton was in, they told me noe but itt was the next River. [Hilton had been in St. Helena Sound and gave its latitude as approx. 32 30N (p. 23), which is correct for its northern edge; Sandford later (p. 70) gives the latitude of the mouth of the South Edisto as approx. 32 25N, or about five minutes farther south, but this also is correct for the entrance to the South Edisto beyond its breakers.] This assured mee that Jordan was yett further and that Hilton had noe knowledge of this River and soe could not lay it downe I demanded the name of this River They told mee Edistowe still & pointed all to be Edistowe quite home to the side of Jordan, by which I was instructed that the Indians assigne not their names to the Rivers but to the Countryes and people.

[65-68]

The remainder of Sandford's voyage is considered in the sections on Escamacu and Kiawah. He mentions later (p. 79) that one Indian had gone with him from Edisto to St. Helena. He concludes his relation of the events there by stating that "the three principall Indians of this Country, (vizt.) Those of Keywaha Eddistowe and Port Royall" were each

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"jealous of the other though all be allyed...." This indicates that each of these tribes was politically separate.

1670 (Mar.; Carteret: 166-168) At Sewee (q. v.) the Indians told the arriving English colonists that the "Westoes" had "ruinated" "St. Hellena" and "had come as far as Kayawah doeing the like there...." The Westo probably burned the Edisto great house which Sandford mentioned in 1666; there is no further mention of it. They probably also substantially reduced the local population.

1670 (20 May; Mathews: 169-171) The Three Brothers were visited by a canoe

coming of ye shoare toward us, which proved to be of 4 Indians they with signes of friendship came aboard. We Entertained them courteously, they told us the place right Ashoare from thence Odistash & as we understood them told us there were English at Keyawah, they further told us of a Capten. Sheedou, & made signe that he would speak with us upon this we detained ye Cheifest of them & sent one a shoare to that prsone. they spoke of, with a Letter to desire him to come A board without much Company ye three Indians that went with our messenger A shoare promised to returne after sun set. A bout twilight they returned with our messenger & Capt. Sheedou, & one Capt. Alush (who were at Barbadoes [with Hilton in 1663: 20 & 22]) & many more, this Sheedou told us that ye English with two Shipps had been at Port royall & were now at Keyawah he further promised us on ye morrow to carry us thither, About 9 of ye clock came another Cannow but we sent them after a little stay away being all too numerous--ye next morning we came to saile for Keyawah where we found ye Barmudian sloupe going out a fishing who pilated us into Keyawah river.

1670 (10 Sept.; Woodward: 187) The Spanish "threatened to destroy ye Indians of Edistowe yt. are our friends." Cf. ^(Sewee) St. Helena, 1670. Saunders (1886: 208-209) reads "of Edistare," but this is so unlike Woodward's 1674 form and all other known forms that it is probably a misreading.

1670 (15 Sept.; Owen: 199) Spanish encamped on the coast near Kiawah (Charleston Harbor) "...hindered our correspondence with our friends of Edistah...."

1671 (Mathews: 334) The "Edista" are listed north of the Wimbee and south of the Stono, are called "our friends,"

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- and are said to have peaceful relations with the sixteen other Carolina tribes listed (cf. Kussoe, 1671).
- 1672 (Ogilby-Moxon) "Edisto" written off the bar at Edisto Island (here "Locke Iland" as it was briefly called [cf. Cheves 1897: 439, 441, & 443]).
- 1674 (23 May; Shaftesbury B: 445) The Earl instructed Henry Woodward "to treat with the Indians of Edisto for the Island and buy it of them and make a Friendship with them." Presumably Woodward did not. In 1686, Mathews was granted land for having negotiated a cession with the Edisto in 1684; cf. entries for those years.
- 1674 (10 Oct.-6 Nov.; Woodward: 458) On his journey to the Westo, Woodward crossed "Ædistaw River...being then twenty miles or something more distant from were divideing himselfe he makes ye pleasant plantn. of Ædistawe." Later he mentions "Ædistaw River" three more times (458, 460, & 461).
- 1680 (Mathews: 154-155) "Edistack river" mentioned four times.
- 1682 (Ferguson: 14) "And those upon Edisto to southward [of the Stono], they seldom or never exceed ten Bowmen. But the Cusso's to the southward of them..." Estimating three non-combatants for every one combatant, their population would have been approx. forty. Cf. Escamacu.
- 1682 (Gascoyne) "Edisto I." and "Edisto R."
- 1683 (19 Dec.; Salley & Olsberg 1973: 327-328) "Maurice Mathews Surveyr. Genll: of this Province Did this day record in the secretaries Office and it is hereby recorded, That Edistoh River (vizt=) with both its Entrys of each side Edisto Island as well as that part that Runeth up by the Towne of Pan Pan, and all other Part or parts of it Whatsoever being all taken together is called Colleton river and soe for ever to be called."
- "Forever" turned out to be about a decade. The name "Colleton" had earlier been applied to the Ashepoo R. It is "Ashpow als Colleton R." on Ogilby-Moxon c. 1672; "Colleton R." on Gascoyne 1682; but "Ashepoo R." on Mathews c. 1685 map. Presumably it, like Ashley R., turned out to be less suitable than first "suspected" to insure the immortality of a Proprietor, so the name was simply transferred this time. Mathews used both "Edisto or Colliton R." (c. 1685), but by c. 1695 (Thornton-Mordon), "Edistow" was again being used exclusively.
- 1684 (13 Feb. 1683/4; Anon. 1682-1690: 103-104) Cession to the Lords Proprietors by the "Queen of Edistoh" (seven times repeated) of "All that Tract or Parcell of Land

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- situate Lyeing and being in the Province of Carolina bounding on the East or South East with the Sea, on the North or North=East with Stonoh, Kussoh and other Land uninhabited on the West or North=west with the great Ridge of Mountaines commonly called the Apalathean Mountains, and on the South or south=west with St. Helena Ashepow and other uninhabited Lands...." Signed with the mark of the "Queen of Edistoh." (Cf. Kussah, 1684.)
- 1684 (Anon. 1682-1690, III, 132-137) On 13 Feb. 1683/4 the "Queen of Edistoh" and "ye young Casique of Edistoh" signed a joint cession with the chiefs of "Kussoe Stono...Ashepoo Combahe Kussah St Helena and Wimbee" selling all land between the Stono and Savannah Rivers to the Lords Proprietors. The cession is witnessed by Maurice Mathews and two Indian interpreters, Woonah and Eupetoo (cf. Kussah, 1684 and also Salley 1928: 82-84).
- 1684 Cf. the separate 1684 cessions for Stono (where the "Edistow" are mentioned to the south or southwest) and St. Helena (where they are to the north or northeast-- across St. Helena Sound).
- c. 1685 (Mathews) "Edisto or Colliton R." for the main Edisto (cf. the entry for 1683).
- 1686 (August; Moore: 81-89) A Spanish expedition from St. Augustine raided Edisto Island and leisurely devastated it for several days (cf. Carroll 1836: 348-359, Crane 1928: 30-32, Bolton 1925: 42, n. 1, Grimball 1686, and Moore & Simmons 1960: 80). This expedition is said to have consisted of 153 Spaniards, Indians, and Mulattoes (Salley 1929: 184). They probably killed many of the Edisto, who since 1670 had been English allies. As late as c. 1695 (Thornton-Morden) there were "Edestow Settlements." on the Island, but by 1711 the settlements are not listed and most of the island is covered with the names of colonists. Salley & Olsberg list warrants for more than 1600 a. in the 1690's alone (1973: 458-459, 567-568, 572, 579, 587).
- 1686 (2 Nov.; Salley 1916: 72-73) Maurice Mathews was granted one thousand acres of land for negotiating the 1684 cession with "the Queen or Cheife Governesse of Edestoh" and chiefs of seven other tribes (cf. above and Kussah, 1686; Craven, et al. 1686 has "Edisloh").
- c. 1695 (Thornton-Morden) "Edestow Settlements." are shown on Edisto Island almost exactly where Sandford placed their village in 1666 (cf. reproduction). Although this map is based on Mathews c. 1685 map, Mathews does not show the Edisto settlements. Also shown: "South Edistow River,"

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- "South Entrance of Edistow River," and "The North Entrance of Edistow River"; Colleton has already been dropped (cf. Mathews 1683 and c. 1685).
- 1696 (Cooper 1837: 108-110) Act 128 ratified 16 March 1695/6, provided magistrates to settle Indian controversies and required each hunter of "the nations of...Edistoe" and ten others (cf. Kussah, 1696) to remit one predator's skin annually by 25 November or be flogged. Indians bringing in additional predator's skins received one pound of powder and thirty bullets. From the way the tribes are listed, the Colonists seem to have permitted each one to occupy at least part of the territory it had ceded twelve years before.
- c. 1700 (Anon.) "Edisto R" marked both on the North and on the South Edisto Rivers.
- 1706 (Thornton) "Edestow Settlements" written across the coastal side of Edisto Is. This map reflects the situation and form of the Thornton-Morden map of c. 1695.
- 1707 (5 Jul.; Cooper 1837: 300-301) Act to establish lookouts at four points in South Carolina and others in Georgia, each to be manned by two Englishmen and two "neighboring" Indians (cf. Kussah, 1707). The lookout on "Edistoe Island" was to be manned by "Edistoe Indians" (cf. Cooper 1837: 319), an even more probable indication that some or all were still living on or near the Island.
- 1707 (19 July; Cooper 1837: 309) Act permitting trade with the "Edistoes" and other tribes "commonly called Cusabes" (cf. Kussoe, 1707) without a license.
- 1711 (Crisp) "Edistow Settlements." do not appear; "Edistow Island" appears in the center of Edisto Island and settlers names are in the vicinity where the settlements were indicated on the Thornton-Morden c. 1695 map.
- 1715 (Johnson: 236-239) John Barnwell may be referring to the Edisto as part of the "Corsaboys," who with four other villages would have totaled 295. Cf. Cusabo 1707 & 1717.
- 1715 (1 Dec.; Hasell) Probably some Edisto were among the "about 100. free Indians. of ye small Nations among us that never revolted..." and that formed part of the Colony's two regiments in the Indian War of 1715 (cf. Etiwan).
- 1715 (Moll, inset 2) "Edistow Island"
- c. 1715 (Anon. map) "Edisto" marked on the northeast side of the Edisto River at the site of Pon Pon approx. 7 mi. northwest of New London and about 15 m. inland. This

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- refers to the fort constructed on the Edisto R. during the Yemassee War (cf. c. 1722).
- 1721 (19 Sept.; Cooper 1838: 141) Act exempting the "Edistos" from trade regulations (cf. Etiwan, 1721).
- 1721 (Barnwell: 194) Several "Edistoe" volunteered to accompany John Barnwell to Altamaha in 1721--but did not; Barnwell did not take them along for some reason.
- c. 1722 (Barnwell) "Edisto Fort" marked on the N side of the Edisto R. about 30 m. inland. Cf. c. 1715 & c. 1729.
- 1729 (Moll) "Edistow" marked on the north side of Edisto R. (Ponpon) above New London. This also refers to the fort there (cf. c. 1715 & c. 1722).
- 1731 (Cooper 1838: 327) Act exempting the "Edistoes" from trade restrictions (cf. Kussoe).
- 1733 (22 Sept.; Cooper 1838: 371-372) Act again exempting the "Edistoes" from trade regulations (cf. 1721 & Etiwan, 1733). A similiar act of 1752 simply mentions "neighbouring Indians, living in the settlements..." (Cooper 1838: 763).
- 1739 (Cooper 1838: 517) Act exempting the "Edistoes" and other settlement Indians "or any other Indians incorporated with them..." from trade restrictions (cf. Kussoe).
- 1743 (19 Dec., Bull) Proclamation that the Assembly prohibited trade with all tribes except the "Edistoes" and a few others (cf. Kussoe).
- 1757 (De Brahm) "Edisto Island," "South Edisto River," "North Edisto River," & "Edisto or Ponpon River" (cf. Ponpon).
- 1769 (3 Aug.; Anon. 1789-1790: opp. 326) Plat by Alex. Walker, Depty. Surveyor, of land belonging to Messrs. Thomas Wescoat, John Fitts, and John Burn, which originally was granted by the Lords Proprietors to William Bower, dec'd. This 384 a. on Edisto Island is in the fork of "a large Creek out of North Edisto River" (p. 326), and its north-western corner is marked "Indian landing." This possibly represents the site of an Edisto settlement.
- The land of "Wm. Bowers" is shown on the west side of Edisto Island north of St. Pierre Crk. Judging from the sharp bend in the S. Edisto R. near his place, it was probably on Bailey Island (32 32-32 33N 80 21-80 22W). The plat itself conforms fairly closely with the creeks there today, so the Indian landing was probably on the NW side of Bailey Island along Bailey Creek.
- 1825 (Mills 1825B) "Edisto Island," "South Edisto River," "South Edisto Inlet," "North Edisto River," & "North Edisto Inlet."
- 1962 (C&GS) "North Edisto River" entering the Atlantic Ocean

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at approx. 32 32N 80 09W; "South Edisto River" entering the Atlantic at approx. 32 29N 80 21W; "Edisto Island" 32 29-32 37N 80 11-80 25W; "Little Edisto Island" 32 36-32 38N 80 19-80 23W. The village of "Edisto Island" is 32 34N 80 17W.

Edistoe(s), var. Edisto

Edistoh, var. Edisto

Edistos, var. Edisto

Edistow(e), var. Edisto

Eescamacu, var. Escamacu

Eescamaqu, var. Escamacu

Ehegging, var. Ahagan

Esaw, var. Woosah

Escamacu (Camacu, 1600; Camaqu, 1598, 1605, 1609; Eescamacu, 1605; Eescamaqu, 1605; Escamacu, 1570*, 1576, 1671; Escamaqu, 1576; Helena's, 1682; Maccou, 1562; Maceav, c. 1565; Mactcou, c. 1565; Portroyal, 1683; Port Royal, 1666; St. Ellens, 1663; St. Helena, 1671, 1672, 1679, 1682, 1684 [3], 1698, 1703, 1707, 1711; St. Helenas, 1707, 1721, 1731, 1733, 1739, 1743; St. Helens, 1670; St. Helina, 1702; St. Hellena, 1670, c. 1685, 1686, 1706; St. Hellina, 1670; Santa Elena, 1686; Sante Helena, 1696; Uscamacu, 1566, 1576)

Cassique (1562, 1565, 1570, 1598, 1605, 1609) of the tribe in the Port Royal/Santa Elena Region.

Village or tribe (1565, 1566, 1570, 1576 [3], 1663 [2], 1666, 1670 [3], 1671 [2], 1672, 1679, 1682, 1683, 1684 [3], c. 1685, 1686, 1696, 1706, 1707 [2], 1721, 1731, 1733, 1739, 1743) of the Port Royal/St. Helena Region; cf. the introductory section for a summary of their locations.

Province (1576 [2]); "Escamacu" was briefly used by the Spanish instead of Orista to designate the region; earlier and later it was usually called Santa Elena.

Island (1698, 1702, 1703, 1711) still called by the same name (32 17-32 28N 80 27-80 39W).

Sound (1702, 1711), St. Helena, still so designated (32 25-

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32 30N 80 20-80 29W).

1562 (Laudonnière 1600: 315-318) The Indians of Port Royal supplied the French as long as they could and then advised them to ask for help from more southerly tribes (cf. Edisto). "Therefore they [the French] made request unto king Maccou, that it would please him to give them one of his subjects to guide thẽ the right way thither: whereupon he condescended very willingly, knowing that without his favour they should have much ado to bring their interprize to pass." The food secured from the south was shortly destroyed by fire, however, and the French were again without food.

...the next day betimes in the morning the King Audusta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing of the misfortune, were very sorry for it. And then they uttered to their subjects the speedy diligence which they were to use in building another house, showing unto them that the Frenchmen were their loving friends, & that they had made it evident unto them by the gifts and presents which they had received: protesting that whosoever put not his helping hand unto the worke with all his might, should be esteemed as unprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Savages feare above all things. This was the occasion that every man began to endeavour himself in such sort, that in lesse then 12 houres, they had begun and finished a house which was very neere as great as the former. [316]

The Indians to the south helped again, but when these supplies ran low and aid from France had not come, the Frenchmen decided to build a boat to sail across the Atlantic.

As they were in these perplexities, king Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and shewed the king in what need of cordage they stood: who promised them to returne within two dayes, and to bring so much as should suffice to furnish the Pinnesse with tacking...Within a few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tacking of the small Pinnesse.

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Note that both kings exhorted their men to help rebuild the house; if one had been subject to the other it seems likely that the greater one would have done all of the talking. Cf. Edisto for the context of these selections. Audusta told Albert that "being his friend and allie, he should have the amitie of foure other kings ...": Mayon, Hoya, Touppa, and Stalame (Laudonnière 1600: 314); since Maccou is mentioned later and separately, he seems to have been an entirely independent cassique.

- c. 1565 (LeMoyne 1591B) "Mactcou" is shown approx. 12 m. SE of Charles fort, across Broad R., and S of Adusta (cf. Edisto, 1562-1565, for a discussion of Port Royal locations). It also is shown about 8 m. inland, which would place it in the vicinity of Bluffton. However, since it is about three-fourths of the way between the Broad (Port Royal) R. and the Savannah (Magnum) R., a somewhat more southerly location is probable, both for this reason and because in 1566 it is said to be on an island. The location may therefore have been south of Bluffton on the large island formed by the marshes of the May and New Rivers (32 09-32 13N 80 53-80 57W; cf. SCSHD 1959A). Another strong possibility is the north side of nearby Bull Island on which are late and extensive shell works (in addition to the early ring on the southwest side).
- c. 1565 (White 1585) "Maceav" is shown at the headwaters of the R. Bell instead of north of the R. Grande (Magnum) as on LeMoyne's c. 1565 map. White's location is a completely incorrect conjecture (cf. Edisto, c. 1565).
- 1566 (Vandera 1569: 230) Pardo "left St. Elena...and the day he started he slept at a town called Uscamacu. It is an island this, surrounded by rivers; soil sandy, and of very good clay for pots, tiles, and other necessary things. There is in this country good pieces of land for maize, and many grape vines.
- "From Uscamacu he proceeded right to another place called Ahoya...." (Placenames spelled as in Ruidiaz 1894: 481) The proximity of Escamacu conforms well with LeMoyne's placement (1565). Pardo must have first travelled south since Ahoya (q.v., c. 1595) was also to the south.
- 1570 (Rogel: 328-329; cf. Edisto) Rogel mentions a festival at "Escamacu," which was attended by "three or four Caciques, among them Escamacu Orista, and Hoya." The Spanish ordered these caciques to quarter troops and they "revolted immediately," but were soon pacified for half-a-dozen more years. (See footnote 401 herein.)

Escamacu

1576 The next five accounts describe the outbreak of the Escamacu War (1576-1579). The Escamacu reprisal against additional quartering of Spanish troops started this war, and the combined strength of all the tribes of Santa Elena and Guale forced the Spanish to evacuate the South Carolina and Georgia coast in 1576. Menéndez Márques retook it in 1577.

1576 (Velasco 1577: 3-4)

What has happened since Fernando de Miranda's arrival is that the city and fort of Santa Helena have been lost, together with the district of the southern region for thirty leagues of coast and the land inland for more than two hundred; and of the northern region all that which was overrun by Juan Pardo, your Majesty's captain. The reason for this was a change in the system and custom which the adelantado and I exercised in the treatment of the Indians, for it was always the custom to regale them with good treatment and gifts of things which they value. When Fernando de Miranda departed from Santa Helena where he left me in prison, he left as governor Captain Alonso de Solis and gave orders that if the Indians did not act quite to the taste of the governor and Spaniards, he should kill them. The said captain, after receiving this order, on going to visit the Indians of the southern region which they call Guale, found among them certain quarrels because some of them had killed a cacique, who was a Christian, although he was half in revolt. He hanged those who had done it and punished others with a lighter punishment and killed a brother of a cacique for his much talking--which is quite a usual thing among them. With this new justice he returned to Santa Helena, whence in a few days he sent his alferes, Fernando Moyomo, to the northern region to a village called Escamaqu--six leagues from Santa Helena [Martinez (1577) says eight or about 26 miles, and he had explored the region]--and treated them in such wise that, with the news which they had of what had been done to those of Guale, without the loss of a single Indian, they killed the said alferes and twenty soldiers. Only one escaped, who brought the news. And when those who killed them returned, those of Guale knew them and were so greatly emboldened that when the royal officials of those provinces and certain soldiers went by boat toward the fort of Santa Helena by way of the rivers,

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they killed them all in the villages, which ["were"] designated for the quartering of the soldiers when there was a lack of food in the supplies. They were wont to do this better than in Spain and with a very great good will. With the innovation of this justice, the Indians employed this method in their treatment of the Spaniards. On account of this victory, the Indians took courage to such an extent that they went twenty leagues to the island of Santa Helena, to try to drive the Spaniards therefrom. Fernando de Miranda, who was there, sent Captain Alonso de Solis to overrun the island, and within an hour after he left the fort came news that the Indians had killed him and all those who went with him. In these encounters, the Indians left so few men and he ["i. e., Fernando de Miranda"] had taken so few supplies to the fort, that he abandoned it and came to St. Augustine. On that account, the Indians have become so emboldened that I understand that he is not considered a man of courage unless he is an enemy of the Spaniard.

1576 (Martinez 1577: 239 & cf. 245-247) When Fernando de Miranda, in charge of Santa Elena, left for Havana,

He appointed in his place, as his lieutenant at Santa Elena, a captain previously called Alonso de Solis, who, on seeing himself without a superior in the government, did so much injury to the Indians that they could not endure him, for after he had killed a cacique by the name of Humalo (who had been to that town of Madrid), without any more reason than because he wanted to do it; and after he had slain another in Guale, he hanged another still at Santa Elena; they being very important Indians, much thought of in that land, and therefore when the Indians saw a new governor, and so much cruelty, they decided to rise in rebellion, and they did so. The province of Guale joined with the provinces of Uscamacu and Oristan, and finally, with all Florida, against the Spaniards; and on the seventeenth of June, seventy-six, Ensign Hernando Moyano having gone with twenty-one soldiers to a pueblo called Old Uscamacu [Oristan by Gomes and Martin, but Martinez was in a better position to know], they killed him with twenty soldiers, one only escaping, called Andres Calderon, who swam eight leagues to the fort to give

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tidings thereof. And not stopping at this, when Hernando de Miranda returned from Havana, arrived at the fort of Santa Elena and sent Captain Solis about the island to see if there were Indians, the said captain fell into an ambush wherein he was slain, and eight soldiers with him, on the twenty-second of the month of July of the said year; and at that time it was held for certain that in Guale they killed five men who were among the Indians...[and nine others later].

1576 (Gomes 1577: 194-199) On 17 June

...Ensign Moyano, with twenty-one soldiers, had gone to a pueblo of Indians they call Oristan [incorrect; Gomes had only recently arrived. Martinez (1576) was undoubtedly correct that the town was "Old Uscamacu"], to seek food; and within two or three days of the arrival of the said boat, this witness saw how a soldier whom they call Calderon, of those who had gone with the said Ensign Moyano, came to the said fort and told the people therein, who might have numbered thirty men, without counting the women and children, how the said Ensign Moyano had asked Cacique Oristan and other caciques, who were in ["the midst of"] a certain feast they hold, that they give him some food for his soldiers. They answered that they had none to give him, and then the said Ensign had drawn his sword, and gone to where the said Indians had their kettles and victuals, and had taken them from them; seeing which, the said Indians had gathered their women and children and gone to the woods; and when the soldiers warned the Ensign that they should return to the fort, that it did not appear safe to them that the said Indians had gone to the woods, the said Ensign replied that they should be silent; that he had to remain there; he jeered at them, and stayed there with the said soldiers, with the fuses of their arquebuses lighted. After this came an old cacique who spoke with the said Ensign, asking him what he did there, whether he wished to make war on the Indians, and for what reason he made them go to the woods; and the said Ensign had answered him that he did not come to make war, but to lodge himself with them and ask them for food: that they themselves had chosen to go to the woods; and the said cacique had replied to him: "Then, why dost thou keep the fuses lighted, ["if"] thou wishest

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them to return? Put out the fuses!" So the said Ensign had ordered that the fuses should be extinguished; and when the cacique saw that they were out, he gave a shout, and then the said Indians came forth and slew them all, and that he [Calderon] had fled out of the way. Two or three days after this occurred, this witness saw them come to attack the island; and when a soldier went to attend to some hogs, he never came back again. ... more than five hundred Indians came to attack the fort, to take by surprise those who were therein; whereupon the General of the said Florida, whom they call Hernando de Miranda, who had been to Havana to arrange for the pay for the people of the said forts, and was ["then"] in the said fort of Santa Elena, ordered the master of the boat on which was this witness to go to the said fort of St. Augustine, to give news of what was happening. And so he went, and gave tidings of what had occurred at Santa Elena, and afterward they returned to the said fort of Santa Elena, which they found up in arms because of the attacks that the said Indians had made upon it. And thereupon the said General, seeing that the said fort was propped up, ready to fall, and that the soldiers had no munitions, ordered that they abandon it, and that all his company should get into three boats which were there, with the vessel which had brought the money; and so immediately all their belongings were put on board, and after them all the people of the said fort embarked, likewise the said General, and they went to the fort of St. Augustine....As soon as the said General and the people from the said fort had embarked, and crossed the bar, they were delayed two or three days, awaiting favorable weather; and they saw many Indians set upon the said fort, and burn all the houses thereof, and they saw them burning.

1576 (Martin 1577: 199-201)

...this witness being in the said fort, a great number of Indians came upon it, and began to shoot many arrows at those within, to which they replied with the artillery and arquebuses. This may have lasted about two hours or more, and because the Indians' arrows gave out, they fled. Two or three days after this happened, the women at the said fort pestered the said General with great weeping and wailing, telling him

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that they were left alone, that their husbands had been killed, that he must take them away from there; and as the said General would not do so, they seized him, took him by force, and put him on board ["one of"] two boats and one vessel which were there.

1576-1578 (Oré 1617-1620: 33-41) From the chapter on the "Rebellion of the Indians of Santa Elena and Guale."

When the adelantado went to Spain, and left the government of the presidios to his son-in-law, Don Diego de Velasco, the Indians of Guale and Escamacu were quiet and peaceful to such an extent that a lone soldier went securely to any of the towns from one district to another and treated with the Indians. Then it happened that one of the principal caciques of the peninsula of Guale together with his wife became Christians. And because one of his vassals refused him respect and obedience, the cacique approached the town. A nephew of the recalcitrant cacique killed the Christian chieftain by an arrow shot. Wherefore the wife of the dead chieftain went to Santa Elena to complain to the governor. Since her husband had become a Christian, she asked the governor to protect her and avenge the murder. To appease her, the governor commanded all the principal chieftains of the province of Guale to be called together, giving them the assurance that he would do them no harm. He ordered them to bring to him the Indian who had killed the Christian cacique. With this assurance they went to Santa Elena with the murderer. Though the governor tried to placate the woman with gifts and cajolery, he was unable to satisfy her in any way. Seeing before her the murderer of her husband, she asked for justice the more insistently, protesting that unless justice were meted out, many more deaths would occur among them. The governor then, to avoid greater evil, sentenced the Indian murderer to be hung. The sentence was put into execution and he was hung in the presence of the other caciques. When they saw that the governor had broken his plighted word, they went to their towns in an angry mood, swearing that they would avenge this affront. [end 33]

Soon the Indians conspired with those of Escamacu, their neighbors who live to the north. They sent them gifts as well as an account of the injury they had

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received. They told them that if they brought any Spaniards to their towns they would kill the same and would not let them return. These Indians of Escamacu are very valiant, feared and esteemed as such.

At this time, certain Indians in the Spanish service fled and took with them the clothing of their overseers. Twenty-two soldiers went out to search for these Indians [cf. Velasco's and Gomes' accounts of the Spanish abuse with Oré's version]. When they arrived at Escamacu, they were well received by the Indians. Since these Indians had already determined to put into execution their wicked designs, they arranged not to have their women and children appear, which is a sign of war. When an ensign inquired why the women did not appear the Indians asked why the Spaniards had on padded armor and appeared with lighted matches.

The ensign not wishing to excite the Indians, commanded the soldiers to disarm and placed a guard at the end of a hut. At dawn when a soldier came forth and went among the thickets to answer a need, he saw a group of Indians attack the hut, with the result that the alarm was given. While the soldiers were lighting their matches, the Indians shot the greater number of them with their arrows. The one who was in the thickets, not being able to obtain his arms, fled whither fortune led him toward Santa Elena. Looking back, he saw Alonso de Lara (the one who was rescued in Jacán) and another soldier coming, both badly wounded. They said that all their companions were dead. The soldier then said to them: "I am well, and you are badly wounded; good-bye, my brothers." For he saw all the Indians coming after them. So he parted from them and plunged into a lake until he saw the Indians return, dancing over their victory, with the heads of Alonso de Lara and his companion.

As it was growing towards night, he came forth from the lake. Without a road he struck out for the south and the next day he found the island of Santa Elena, but he was [end 34] forced to swim across the bay to reach it. Juan de Lara and other boys saw a naked man coming towards them through a swamp. They ran to him in order to assist him, for they knew who he was. His name was Calderón. To them he told the story of the death and sad fate of his companions. Together they went to the city, where the news became known with the

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result that great was the weeping for brothers, sons and husbands who had been killed.

Likewise, at this time, there were in the province of Guale three soldiers who had gone out on a rescuing expedition. An Indian woman warned them that the natives were intent on killing them and that, therefore, they should go to Santa Elena. Accordingly, that night, without the Indians having perceived it, the Spaniards departed. Four leagues from there, there was a strait so narrow that a canoe could hardly pass through it. There, Indians from Escamacu who were carrying to the caciques of Guale twenty heads of dead men as gifts, met them. The Indians apprehended the three soldiers, took them to Guale and killed them. Thus all the land of Guale was in a state of rebellion.... [35]

They [a scouting party] arrived near the fort at night, and because the sea-breeze was contrary, they left the tender in a river and went to the fort by land. But before they arrived at a quarter of a league away, they saw a great number of fires; also a number of Indians dancing, by which they understood that the fort was encompassed. They came to the town and the fort. At the news that the royal officials and those who had gone with them, had perished, there resulted great confusion and weeping which the people made over to them with notable feeling.

The following day, the general sent Captain Solís and nine soldiers to overrun the island, to see what Indians were abroad. The Indians, who were in ambush, sent one of their [end 36] men forward to skirmish with the soldiers; then the rest came out and there killed them. They also came near the fort so that for forty-five days they advanced twice a day to assault it. The general realizing that the Spaniards were being harassed, and that there was a lack of hempen fuses which they made from bed-sheets, determined that all the people who did not belong to the military, should embark and go to St. Augustine. He remained with sixty soldiers and burned the fort. The general made use of a stratagem in this fashion: while he was asleep, the women, as if by force, put him on board ship. (A notary of his land has given testimony of this.) The soldiers were in the parrel apportioning those who were to remain. From the poop the governor said to them that the women had forced him to embark and that all should come on board ship.

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This they did in a hurry, leaving their property to the pillage of their enemies. Hardly had they lifted anchor when a multitude of Indians came running to the fort and began to pillage it on a grand scale, destroying all the artillery in the fort....

...there arrived above the bar of St. Augustine [after the Spanish had retreated there], a French galleon called El Principe. This ship came, damaged by the armada which Don Cristóbal Eraso brought. It remained anchored for three days, half a league from the bar. Knowing that Santa Elena had been depopulated and that artillery had been left there, the sailors went to the bay. A league before coming to the bar, the ship ran into a sand bank where it was destroyed. The mariners were not able to save a thing, not even the food. While the Indians were going hunting, they discovered the men and made an assault upon them [end 37] until they surrendered. The Indians divided them up as slaves among the caciques of Guale and Escamacu....

In the year 1577, His Majesty ordered Pedro Menéndez Marqués, nephew of the Adelantado, to take with him infantry and rebuild the fort of Santa Elena with the title of Governor of Florida and its provinces. Marqués was then admiral of the galleons of the Indies' fleet and accountant of Florida. When the general arrived, he discussed the restoration of the fort of Santa Elena and took one hundred soldiers with him. These had many encounters with the Indians until the fort was built. From Santa Elena as a center, they went forth to burn the Indian villages and to inflict whatever damage they could. In one of these assaults, they killed and captured a hundred and twenty persons, while in the province of Guale [in 1578] they burned all the towns so that when the Indians saw their villages overrun and their people dead or in captivity they submitted, made peace and asked for religious who would instruct them in the things necessary for receiving baptism and embracing Christianity. Thus they went about straightening out matters and subduing the Indians.

1577 (summer; Menéndez Márques: 267) "When the Indians saw us coming [to build a new fort, San Marcos], they surrounded us from all the forests, as was apparent from the smoke they made, in order to see where we would go to

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cut timber for the fort, but they were deceived..." because the Spaniards had brought materials with them.
1577 (Menéndez Márques 1578: 78-83)

When I heard in Santa Helena that the Frenchmen were alive among the Indians, and I knew it likewise by some arquebus shots which I heard one night, I came to this fort [St. Augustine, "so that"] they should not attack it while I was repairing the other; and here I found that all was well, and the Indians of this province were peaceful, and are more so today than ever. I repaired this fort as best I could, but since it is on the point of falling, it is now indispensable to build another, in such manner that it be in good condition for defense, and they do not find us unwary.

After I arrived here, the Indians advised me that those of Guale and Santa Helena had come to treat with them so that they might all attack this fort; that it would be an easy thing for them to take it with the help of the French. And the Indians here were not willing to consent to this, saying that they had peace and quietude with us and did not want any strife; and, although they are barbarians, there are, notwithstanding some among them who inform me of that which is happening. I sent a relative of mine to where this meeting was taking place, that he might negotiate with the Indians of Guale to deliver to me the Frenchmen they had, and I would make peace with them. At the beginning they were inclined to do this, and ["said"] likewise that they would deliver to me the cacique [probably of the Escamacu; cf. Menéndez Márques 1579] who had harmed the Spaniards, and would make war on his subjects; and in accordance with this, they went and slew the cacique and some few Indians, but they did nothing more, and delivered no Frenchman to me. I went to Guale with two launches, and twenty men therein, and tried by friendly means to enter into an agreement with them, but I could accomplish nothing. By hostile methods it is impossible, because of the few men I have; for in case I wished to take as many as fifty men, there would not be left over forty or so in either fort, as there are always sick people, priests, and friars. On this I went to Santa Helena, and on the way I spoke with an Indian who is my friend. He told me that there are a few more than one hundred Frenchmen, that they are divided among the caciques, that