

Escamacu

the principal cacique [cf. Coçapoy] has forty of them, and that they tell and advise the Indians not to trust us; that they will help them, and die among them. I sent to tell those same Frenchmen that they should escape, that I would send to get them, but they answer that they do not want to, because the Indians would hang them at once. This has troubled me, owing to the evil seed they will sow among those Indians; for as to the rest, they will grow weary of going among savages, and will come in search of me; and even the very Indians will not trust them and will kill them. I should much like to break the spirit of those Indians, because, although they have greatly felt the strength of Santa Helena, yet they are much on their mettle, as they see that I have not enough men to go and hunt for them in their houses. And even though it be but for one year, I intend to drive them from their lands, burn their villages, and teach them that we are going after them; this would put a curb on them for their entire lives. Your Majesty will order to be done that which may most please you.

Arrived at Santa Elena, I remained there a few days, for, as it was already summer time, ["when"] they are in the habit of coming forth to lie in ambush, they came many times to the island; but, although I set some ambushes and ["one word illegible"], never did they dare show themselves. At last a few showed themselves. When I went after them, however, they took to the woods, for they are like deer.

- 1578 (October; Flores: 173) On inspecting San Marcos, Flores said "...the Indians are always approaching thereabouts, and coming as near as an arquebus shot."
1579 (Aug.; Martínez Carvajal: 249)

At the end of the month of July of this year, Pedro Menendez Marques set out from the fort of St. Augustine to go to the fort of Santa Elena in order to pay the soldiers of the garrison, and this he did on the eighth of August. Then he set out with about 65 soldiers against the province of Oristan, which had risen in rebellion, to treat of peace and friendship; and while he was doing it, the Indians of the said province, with as many as 300 bowmen, fell upon Pedro Menendez. They wounded about ten Spaniards, but at the end they were

Escamacu

routed by Pedro Menendez, and some Indians were slain. And seeing that the said Indians in no way wished for peace, the said Pedro Menendez returned to the fort.

Cf. the next entry; immediately afterwards, Menéndez Márques set out against Coçapoy (q. v.).
1579 (Aug.; Menéndez Márques 1580A: 253)

I went to Santa Helena to distribute the pay to the soldiers who live there, and, as the Indians would not come to talk with me, I sent a boat with twelve men to seek information from them. The men spoke to them from the boat, and the Indians answered that they did not desire friendship, and began to shoot arrows at them. The boat returned, and when I heard this, I sent a boat a second time, with twenty men, notifying them to make peace; and they were so rebellious that the soldiers grew angry, and ["the Indians"] wounded five men. When I heard this, I went there with sixty men, and landed; and they waited with great courage, so much so that I marvelled, and they wounded fourteen of my men, but no one was killed. I worked a trick on them as well as I knew how, in such wise that many Indians were slain, and they all fled, and quit the country. I returned to the fort, which was fifteen leagues from there... [and then attacked Coçapoy (q. v.)].

This account is too vague to be certain which if any village was attacked. It is included here as part of the narrative of the Escamacu War.

These Indians could have been Escamacu. Oré (1617-1620: 34) says their village was north of San Felipe by 1576 so already they had moved from their 1562 location to the south. Martínez (cf. 1576) refers to "Old Uscamacu" eight leagues or about twenty-six miles from the Fort, implying that there was now a "new" Escamacu. This would be yet another location for them by the distance given (about fifty miles), but they may have moved more northerly to get away from the Guale, who had turned on them (cf. the previous entry).

1580 (Menéndez Márques, B: 283)

After I had given your Majesty an account, in the month of January last past, of what news there was, and how I had worked justice on the French, I came later to

Escamacu

this province [Oristan], as I heard that there remained alive among the Indians, a captain and other Frenchmen; and here I learned from the Indians that there were more Frenchmen, and so I tried by all the ways possible to me to get them into my power. The Indians, because of the fear they have, offered to deliver them to me, and so they went to seek them, and brought me the captain, who was on the other side of the mountain ridge, one hundred and twenty leagues [360 mi. approx.] from here, with three other Frenchmen, young boys....I have news that there remain three others, whom the Indians say they will deliver to me within a very brief space. I suspect that there must be more. I shall do my utmost so that none shall remain.

All the Indians are peaceful, those of this province as well as those of the others, as far as St. Augustine. I hope in our Lord that satisfactory results will be obtained among them.

This village is being very well built, and because of the method which is being followed, any of the houses appears fortified to Indians, for they are all constructed of wood and mud, covered with lime inside and out, and with their flat roofs of lime. And as we have begun to make lime from oyster-shells, we are building the houses in such manner that the Indians have lost their mettle. There are more than sixty houses here, whereof thirty are of the sort I am telling your Majesty.

Which tribe travelled west of the Appalachians is uncertain, but since the Edisto seem to have moved north shortly after the War (cf. 1586) and to have left the Escamacu as the principal tribe of the Santa Elena area, the Escamacu may have performed this mission.
1588 (Oré 1617-1620: 44) The Vincente Gonzales expedition left St. Augustine in late May.

After they made the journey along the coast, the party came to Santa Elena and found the Indians at peace; the same was true at the port of Cayagua, which they judged to be a good port. Then they followed the coast, having passed the cape of San Román. They spoke with the Indians but the interpreters whom they had brought along did not understand their language. They continued their journey....

Escamacu

This can be interpreted in at least two ways: (1) They encountered one or more groups of Indians north of San Román who spoke a different language from the Indians at Santa Elena and Cayagua, or (2) the Indians of Santa Elena and Cayagua spoke a language different from their interpreters. 1598 (Geiger 1937: 105-109; cf. Lopez 1931: II, 15)

At the same time he [Governor Canzo] sent the alférez, Ecija, in a launch to Santa Elena, to enlist the services of the cacique of Escamacu ["The text reads Camaqu."] in behalf of Father Ávila [who was being held prisoner in Guale. The Indians of Guale had joined the Yemassee in revolt. Cf. Johnson 1923B: 51.]. Ecija gave the cacique many gifts at the expense of the royal treasury and the latter promised Ecija to return from the interior within sixty days and make a report on his findings....

The alférez, Ecija, with soldiers and ammunition sailed from the port of St. Augustine in two launches, on May 23, 1598 bound for Escamacu, as he had stipulated with the friendly cacique fifty-four days previous....

At Santa Elena, Ecija met the cacique of Escamacu who handed him four scalps, trophies of a war he had undertaken against the Gualean Indians. Moreover, he stated that the cacique of Cayaque [Kiawah], who accompanied him, brought back three more scalps.

1600 (Ecija: 153-154) Ecija relates how the "cacique de el Camacu" started the Escamacu War in 1576 (cf. Serrano y Sanz 1912: 146-147).

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

1663 (Hilton: 20-21) At this point, Hilton has just retreated from Edisto (q. v.) Island. A description of an Indian town follows immediately and it seems at first that he must be describing what he saw on Edisto. He has not said that he went to the Edisto village, only that he went to pick up some Englishmen from the Edisto Indians. Osterhout (1936: 29) believes that Hilton suddenly switched to describing what his men had seen when they went in a long-boat to St. Ellens (cf. 1706). The context argues in favor of Edisto, but the account at this point is confused. Osterhout is probably correct; otherwise, there seems to be no explanation for the fort which Hilton mentions after describing the town. Since its ruins were larger than a

Escamacu

half acre, it could not have been Charlesfort, which was only about half that size (Laudonnière 1600: 313). Hilton admits he was uncertain. It probably was the remains of San Felipe, and the sentinel house and lumber were probably the remains of San Marcos (Osterhout notes the similiarity of the description by Flores in 1578, particularly the ten foot high platform.) No Spanish or French fort ever seems to have been built on Edisto Island with one possible exception; Estrozi's men built one about a half-acre in size near Edisto in 1577, but Menéndez Márques destroyed it completely (1578: 89; cf. also Carroll 1836: xxxvi, for a description of a fort on Eddings Is., now Edisto Beach [Mills 1825], and Ross 1923: 257-258). In addition, Sandford mentions both statehouses were alike, but the one at St. Helena had a cross before it.

Wherever Hilton was is important historically, but it makes little difference ethnologically because Sandford (1666: 74) says that both structures were similiar "in every respect."

That which we noted there, was a fair house builded in the shape of a Dove-house, round, two hundred foot at least, compleatly covered with Palmeta-leaves, the wal-plate being twelve foot high, or thereabouts, & within lodging rooms and forms; two pillars at the entrance of a high Seat above all the rest; Also another house like a Sentinel-house, floored ten foot high with planks, fastened with Spikes and Nayls, standing upon Substantial Posts, with several other small houses round about. Also we saw many planks, to the quantity of three thousand foot or thereabouts, with other Timber squared, and a Cross before the great house. Likewise we saw the Ruines of an old Fort, compassing more than half an acre of land within the Trenches, which we supposed to be Charls's Fort, built, and so called by the French in 1562 & c. On Monday September 21, one English youth was brought from St. Ellens aboard us by an-Indian, who informed us that there were four more of their company at St. Ellens, but he could not tell whether the Indians would let them come to us: For saith he, Our Men told me, that they had lately seen a Frier and two Spanyards more at St. Ellens, who told them they would send Soldiers suddenly to fetch them away. This day we sayled up the River with our Ship to go through to St. Ellens. On Tuesday the 22 instant three Indians came

Escamacu

on board; one of them we sent with a Letter to the English Prisoners there. On Wednesday the 23d., we sent our Boat and Men to sound the Channel, and finde out the most likely way to St. Ellens with our Ship by Combeheh.

The great house and the sentinel-house must have been destroyed by the Westo (cf. Kiawah, Apr. 1670).

While waiting for his men to find the best way for the ship to go inland to St. Ellens, there

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 [cf. the following entry]: We detained two of the chiefest Indians one of them being the Kings Son of St. Ellens [cf. Sandford 1666: 75 for Wommony]....

Not trusting the Spanish and fearful that the Indians might attack to get their men back, Hilton left the coast without personally visiting St. Ellens and took his hostages to Barbados, where they must have been well treated before being returned home (cf. 1666: 75-78).

Santa Elena (St. Ellens, St. Helena, etc.) was applied first to the eastern end of St. Helena Is. in 1525 when it was noted by Jordan, a pilot of Ayllon's, on St. Helen's day (Ross 1925: 352, n. 2). The Franciscans within a decade or so after 1600 created the Province of St. Helena, and the Indians seem to have accepted the name for themselves (Shea 1855: 71).

1663 (Arguiles: 25-26 & 28) While Hilton (cf. the previous entry) was exploring St. Helena Sound and adjacent waterways, he received two letters from the Spanish captain. The first says "I am come to this Town of Infidel Indians, to seek some English.. ." (p. 25). He writes at the end of the second letter "From St. Ellens...", and he says in the letter:

My Governour and Capt. General, as soon as he had News that a Ship, by Nation English, was lost in that Port in which you now are, sent me with Soldiers of the Garison of St. Augustine in Florida, as they have at other times done, to free them from death: for which cause I came to this Port of St. Ellens, where I found

Escamacu

all these Indians in a fright, fearing that you would do them some mischief: So having found four men of those that were lost, I thought good to advise you, that you might carry them in your Company, giving some gifts to those Indians which they desire: which is, four Spades, four Axes, some Knives, and some Beads. This they desire not as payment, but only as an acknowledgment of a kindness for having saved their lives; which they have always done as Naturals who have given their obedience to the King our Master. And they do also desire you to let go those four Indians which are there: you may send a Boat when you discover the Points of St. Ellens; may hoist an Ancient two or three times and I will do the same.

This implies that the Indian town of St. Ellens was visible from the entrance to Port Royal Harbor. Sandford (1666) locates it on the southwest side of the Harbor, which is visible from its mouth.

1666 (Sandford: 74-80) Sandford visited the chief village of the Port Royal Region, gives its location with precision and describes what he saw there. Hilton called the same village "St. Ellens" in the previous entry; Sandford calls it Port Royal (cf. c. 1685 and 1706).

Sandford entered Port Royal Harbor on 3 July and anchored "a little above the Entrance into Brayne sound or the passage [near the entrance the only passage through is Beaufort River] wch. goes through to Yeamans Harbour [St. Helena Sound; Sandford gives the correct latitude for its northern edge on p. 70.] so called from Ens: Brayne who twice sailed itt" (p. 74). Sandford also says 75) that to the west "opposite to where the vessel rode" in Port Royal Sound, it was possible to go through to "a great Southern River." The only passages to any southern river are Mackey and Skull Creeks, the one forming the northern and the other the southern boundary of Pinckney Island. These two references, that he is a little above the mouth of Beaufort River and that he is opposite Pinckney Island, establish his position as in the Broad River opposite Parris Island.

The next morning, he "removed opposite to the principall Indian Town" on an island which was bordered by Port Royal, Beaufort River (the passage which went through to St. Helena), and a creek which ran from one to the other (Ballast Creek since this creek was "about a mile

Escamacu

above where we landed," p. 75). The principal village of the Escamacu at this time was, then, on the southwestern side of Parris Island about a mile south of Ballast Creek (32 19N 80 42W; cf. 1 Aug. 1671 for the identity of the St. Helena and the Escamacu).

Anchored "opposite to the principall Indian Towne,"

...I had not ridd long ere the Cassique himselfe came aboard me wth. a Canoa full of Indians presenting mee with skinns and bidding mee welcome after their manner, I went a shoare with him to see their Town wch. stood in sight of our Vessell [note that the village was near the shore], Found as to the forme of building in every respect like that of Eddistowe with a plaine place before the great round house for their bowling recreation at th' end of wch. stood a faire wooden Crosse of the Spaniards ereccon. But I could not observe that the Indians performed any adoracon before itt, All round the Towne for a great space are several fields of Maiz of a very large growth The soyle nothing inferiour to the best wee had seene at Eddistowe....[74]

[Two days earlier, Ensign Brayne had come] through to Port Royall and acquainted himselfe with Wommony the Cassiques sonne (who had also beene att Barbados [This proves that Hilton's "St. Ellens" is identical to Sandford's "Port Royall."]) whome hee easily prevailed wth. to beare him Company from place to place into severall Creekes and branches between this and Yeamans harbour, soe becomeing both his Guide and proteccion that hee had by this meanes a large leasure and oportunity of veiwing all that part of the Country.... [75]

Sandford spent nearly a week in the Port Royal Region. As he was preparing to leave

...the Cassique of Port Royall came aboard and brought with him a propper young fellowe whome hee made mee understand to bee his Sister's sonne, Hee demanded of mee when I would retorne thither, & shewing mee the moone asked whether within three times of her compleating her orbe [presumably the length of time Wommony was away], I told him noe, but in tenn monthes I would, hee seemed troubled att the length of time and as it were begged mee to come in five, But I continued my first given

Escamacu

number, att length hee gave mee this young fellowe told mee hee should goe and retorne with mee and that I must clothe him & then hee asked mee when I would sayle I told him presently that night but hee very much importuned mee to stay until the next day that hee might prepare mee some venison and made signes as hee parted that if in the morning hee should not see mee hee should Crye and soe hee left mee and the Indian with mee I was somewhat pleased wth. the adventure, haveing before I came on the Discovery wished that if I liked the Country I might prevaile with the Indians to lett one of their Nacon goe with mee, I leaveing an Englishman in their roome for the mutuall learning their language, And to that purpose one of my Company mr. Henry Woodward a Chirurgeon had before I sett out assured mee his resolucon to stay with the Indians if I should thinke convenient wherefore I resolved to stay till the morning to see if the Indians would re- [end 78] maine constant in this Intencon according to wch. I proposed to treat further with them on the morrow therefore I went a shoare to their Towne tooke Woodward and the Indian with me and in the presence of all the Inhabitants of the place and of the fellows relacons asked if they approved of his goeing along with mee, they all with one voyce consented after some pause I called the Cassique & another old man (His second in Authority) and their wives And in sight and heareing of the whole Towne, delivered Woodward into their charge, telling them that when I returned I would require him att their hands, They received him with such high Testimonyes of Joy and thankfullnes as hughely confirmed to mee their great desire of our friendshipp & society, The Cassique placed Woodward by him uppon the Throne and after lead him forth and shewed him a large feild of Maiz wch. hee told him should bee his, then hee brought him the Sister of the Indian that I had with me telling him that shee should tend him & dresse his victualls and be careful of him that soe her Brother might be the better used amongst us--I stayed a while being wouderous civilly treated after their manner and giveing Woodward formall possession of the whole Country to hold as Tennant att Will of the right Honoble. the Lords Proprietors, I returned aboard & imediately weighed and fell downe.

An Indian that came wth. mee from Eddistowe wth.

Escamacu

Intencon to goe noe further then Port Royall seing this kindnes & mutuall obligation betweene us & the people of this place that his Nacon or tribe might bee wthin. the League voluntarily offered himselfe to stay with mee alsoe and would not bee denyed, [important evidence that the Edisto and Escamacu were not in league], And thinking that soe hee should be the more acceptable hee caused himselfe to be shoaren on the Crowne after ye manner of the Port Royall Indians, a fashion wch. I guesse they have taken from the Spanish Fryers, Thereby to ingratiate themselves wth. that Nation and indeed all along I observed a kinde of Emulacon amongst the three principall Indians of this Country (vizt.) Those of Keywaha Eddistowe and Port Royall concerning us and our Friendshipp, Each contending to assure it to themselves and jealous of the other though all be allyed [but in no way subordinate] and this Notwithstanding. that they knewe wee were in actuall warre with the Natives att Clarendon and had killed and sent away many of them, ffor they frequently discoursed with us concerning the warre, told us that the Natives were noughts they land Sandy and barren, their Country sickly, [end 79] but if wee would come amongst them Wee should finde the Contrary to all their Evills, and never any occasion of discharging our Gunns but in merrymt and for pastime.

From Port Royal, Sandford proceeded north along the coast with the intention of stopping at Kiawah (q. v.). 1667 (25 Sept.; Prado; trans. by Childs 1936)

...In this Presidio I found an Englishman called Henrrique [Henry Woodward], native of London, his age about twenty. He was brought by an English ship in the month of October of the year sixty-five [July 1666], & about 70 leagues [c. 231 m.] north of this Presidio, they put him ashore & left him among the heathen giving him trade goods of the kind the Indians use to please them & support himself among them in order that he might learn their language & that the following year they would return. He was expecting them, & seeing that they delayed, he wrote a paper in Latin (in which he excels) to a missionary... in a province called Guale which was 30 leagues from the place where the Englishman was, telling him that he was a Catholic and a surgeon & that they might take him from where he had been for more than a year. The Governor,

Escamacu

learning of this sent an officer ["cavo"] with ten men in December of last year & he arrived here in January [1667], & it appeared that he is not a Christian. And, in view of the above circumstances, he should be questioned to learn his designs....

This is unquestionably Woodward from the name, occupation, location, and approximate date. He was supposed to wait ten months for Sandford to return (cf. the previous entry). Why he waited only six months and then lied about having been there longer is uncertain, but he must have had good reason. Since he volunteered for the mission and was filling the place of the probable heir apparent of the Escamacu, he must have wanted to stay among the Indians and he must have been treated well by them. His reason for leaving may have been to spy at St. Augustine (as Prado seems to have suspected) because he got away from there too as soon as he could and then refused to reveal or even to put into writing secrets he wanted to communicate directly to the Proprietors. His desire to leave the newly founded Colony as soon as possible to go to England and his secret mission to Virginia when the Colony needed him are perhaps related, as perhaps is Shaftesbury's later plan to divide the Indian trade with the Spanish.

Woodward was interested in more than learning languages, but his mastery of Latin shows his gift for them so he may well have learned a good deal during only six months (cf. Lawson 1701). His later usefulness as an interpreter indicates that he applied himself with some enthusiasm. 1670 (Mar.; Carteret: 166-168) At "Sowee" (cf. Sewee), the Indians informed Carteret that the "Westoes" had "ruinated" "St. Hellena" and "had come as far as Kayawah doeing the like there...." The Westo probably burned the great house mentioned by Hilton (1663) and Sandford (1666); it is not afterwards mentioned. They probably also substantially reduced the local population.

At Port Royal ...we were two dayes at Anchor ere we could speake with an Indian. when we did they confirmed what heard at Sowee. we weighed from Port royall riuer & ran in between St. Hellena & Combohe [probably Parris Island (1666) and Ladies Island (cf. Combahee, 1698 & c. 1700)] where we lay at Anchor all ye time we staide neare ye Place where ye distressed

Escamacu

Indian sojourned, who were glad & crying Hiddy doddy Comorado Angles Westoe Skorrye (which is as much to say) English verry good friends Westoes are nought, they hoped by our Arriuall to be protected from ye Westoes, often making signes they would ingage them with their bowes & arrows, & wee should with our guns they often brought us veneson & some deare skins wch. wee bought of them for beads...here is also wild turke which ye Indian brought but is not soe pleasant to eate of as ye tame, but verry fleshy & farr bigger.

1670 (10 Sept.; Woodward: 187) "Ye Indians of St. Helens" warned the English that Spaniards were coming north "to worke us what mischeife they could." The Spanish unsuccessfully attempted to prevent supplies from reaching Charles Town. After failing, the Spanish "threatened to destroy ye Indians of St. Helens, of Combohee & of Edistowe yt. are our friends."

1670 (15 Sept.; Owen: 198-199) Although the English greatly impressed the St. Helena by taking some Indians for a tour of Barbados and Virginia, the Spanish still had friars "strictly corresponding with ye Indians att St. Hellina by whose means he [the Spanish] gets Intelligence of our affairs, and is of yt. restlesse temper yt. he promotes all ye mischeife he is able to defeate this design [to plant an English colony] he hath latelie sent to St. Hellina to tamper with ye Indians for frendpp. and alarmd. us with 10 periagoes of Indians of his country and among whom were seu'all Spaniards ye Indians here made us sign yt. they had 2 fryers amongst them and that they intended to distroye us our Indians tould us yt. they had a shipp at sea wch. would come into ye riuier and that the Indians would come and attack us by land..."

1671 (26 Jul.; Pancheco A; trans. by Childs 1936)

Yesterday, the twenty-third of this month of July there arrived in this place [Santa Catalina, Guale] nine Indians of Santa Elena called Chiluques [the Muskogean name for all Indians who do not speak Muskogean] & speaking through the Atiquies they were examined to learn the news they gave of the English. They replied that they had no communication with those people & that the Cacica of Olusta ["sic"] sent them to tell how the English are making ready for war....

I told them that I had been informed that English launches had been with them in Santa Elena.

Escamacu

They replied that they had not seen any, neither were they having friendly relations with the enemy.

I told them that if they were our friends they must go to San Augustin to give the information to your Lordship, that they would be entertained ["regalado"]. They answered that young men would go & the old men stay in my company. I granted this request, seeing the difficulty of marching by the track. I am sending the Antiqui [the interpreter Joseph] of this nation, a Christian & married in this place, and a Cacique of this place....

"Olista" (Orista or Edisto) is a slip; more than a score of other references all refer instead to the Cacica of "Ospo" or "Yspo" (cf. Ashepoo, 1671).

1671 (1 Aug.; Cendoya A; trans. by Childs 1936) Cf. the previous entry; Gov. Cendoya received Pancheco's 26 July letter and the five Indians from Santa Elena. He ordered the Indians to be examined through "an interpreter..., Antonio Camuñas [who] is such for the tongue of the Province of Guale...."

1671 (1 Aug.; Bluacacay; trans. by Childs 1936) Gov. Cendoya ordered "an Indian called Joseph, native of the village of Santa Catalina, as interpreter which he said he was of the tongue of the Province of Sta. Elena..." to interrogate one of the five Indians he had accompanied from Guale. Thus two interpreters were required to interrogate these Indians from Santa Elena: Camuñas, who spoke Spanish and Guale, and Joseph, who spoke Guale and the language of Santa Elena, but no Spanish (cf. Cendoya 1671C under Ashepoo). This proves that Guale and the language(s) of Santa Elena were mutually unintelligible.

He [Joseph] was asked to examine a heathen Indian who said that he was a Cacique & that in his native tongue he was called Bluacacay, of whom it was asked by the said high Governor where he was born, whence he came & for what purpose.

He said that he was a native of the Province of Escamacu in the district of Santa Elena eighty leagues [c. 265 m.] north of this Presidio, a little more or less, and that he came from his said district to the Province of Guale (which is thirty leagues distance from the Presidio...) to report to the Corporal on duty with the soldiers there the tidings he had had

Escamacu

of the English who have settled in the said Province of Santa Elena, & he said he was sent by the Cacica of Ospo which is near the English to inform the Lord Governor that the settlement grows...and that they were now making ready ships; that they knew not whether these would come to San Augustin or to the Province of Guale ...; on which news came nine Indians, four of whom being old remained in the said Province of Guale and the other five have arrived in this City of San Augustin....

He said that in the beginning when the said English adversary came into that Province to settle, they went & returned and that for more than a year there have not gone nor do there go any people of his district because of the fear that they may kill them for the English say this deponent & his people are friends to the Spanish, and only goes & returns anymore the said Cacica (who made a deposition with some Indians of her people) for this, his district is a day & a half (which makes twelve leagues [c. 48 m., which is almost exactly the distance from Charleston Harbor to the n. end of St. Helena Island; this proves the identity of the Escamacu and St. Helena]) away from the said settlement by the southern shore, & that the going of the aforementioned Cacica to the said Province is to give news to the Spanish of the doings and designs of the English as she agreed to give them to Captain Antonio de Arquelles, Captain of Infantry in this Presidio for his Majesty, at the time in the past year of seventy that he went to the said Province of Guale with troops....

Next followed depositions by Barchoamini, Ynna, Sthiaco, & Huannucase (cf. Combahee, 1671).

1671 (30 Aug.; Mathews: 334) The "St. Helena ye Southernmost" of Carolina tribes are called "our friends" and are said to have peaceful relations with the other sixteen Carolina tribes listed (cf. Kussoe, 1671). The previous entry proves that the English had not yet won the Escamacu from the Spanish, but the Indians were probably trying to placate both.

1672 Cf. Kussoe, 1672, for the accounts of Pancheco, Cendoya, and Diacan. Diacan was a native of St. Helena, and he had to be interrogated by two interpreters, one who spoke Spanish and Guale and the other Guale and the language of St. Helena. The languages of Guale and St. Helena are thus again proven mutually unintelligible.

Escamacu

- Diacan had been to Charles Town in late January or early February 1672 (cf. Ashepoo). When he returned to St. Helena, he "found that the cacique of St. Helena and other chieftans had died. Therefore, the others were advised not to come along." Childs (Pancheco 1672B) notes "The idea seems to be that the Cacique being dead, his successors were less friendly to Spanish."
- 1679 (Jibe: 136) Under Spanish interrogation, Jibe "was asked if he had heard who killed a soldier from this fort [St. Augustine] on sentry duty with some Indians in the port of St. Catherine....He said he understood that the Indians of St. Helena had killed a soldier and had taken away his arms because he had heard about it in the said province of Carolina."
- 1682 (Ferguson: 14) "Then there's the Helena's, and they are a Nation, yet more southerly [than the Kussoe], that border upon the Banks of the Navigable River, St. Helena; under conduct of a Warrawansaw. And these warriors by computation are but thirty Bowmen, and no more." Estimating three non-combatants for each combatant, their population would have been approximately one hundred twenty.
- "Warrawansaw" is an Algonquian word which in England had become a convenient term for all chiefs (cf. O. E. D. for "werowance."). Ferguson calls the Tuscarora chief a Sagamore, which is likewise an Algonquian term and the Tuscarora were Iroquoian, so the use of "warrawansaw" here also seems without linguistic significance.
- Earlier (cf. Kussah), Ferguson says "...the Native Indians inhabiting in & near to the present settlements have only Cockawases....," without excepting the St. Helena. His "Omissions and Errata's" section on p. 36 corrects this to "Cockarouses," but despite the trouble with the spelling, this too is an Algonquian word (cf. O. E. D. for "cockarouse"). His mention of the Santee, Etiwan, Kiawah, Stono, Edisto, and Kussah afterwards probably does not mean that these tribes called their chiefs cockarouses. Perhaps he makes the distinction because a warrawansaw was generally considered more powerful than a cockarouse. At any rate, for reasons given in the chapter on language, none of these tribes seems to have spoken Algonquian.
- 1683 (Crafford: 6-7)

Portroyal lyeth in Latitude 32 degrees 5 minutes...
[correct for the South Channel].

Escamacu

We travelled in our Boats several...[?].Rivers; and Country six hands in each Boatt, we...[stayed?] in the dwellings belonging to the heads of the people with whom we frequently conversed and several Nights lay by them, without fear; We gave them several Commodities, as Knives Beads and Glasses and in lieu thereof, they killed Deer and Turkies, and brought them aboard us; there is not above 8 score of these Natives in all this Country; for we made it a part of our work to know the Number, Humours and way of living; We find them a faint hearted people, yet the most Laborious of all the Natives, for they have pretty good Houses, and plenty of Corn; and Pease, with Peaches, and Tobacco; they seem to be most desirous of our Neighbourhood; they have great kindness for the English, but not for the Spaniards, and for their Religion I judge they are Pagens, but some judge them to be of the Captive Isralites, by their faces, Colour of Hayr, worshiping the new Moon, and some other Ceremonies resembling it....

...We stayed at Portroyal about a month....

- 1684 (13 Feb. 1683/4; Anon. 1675-1705: 200-202) Cession by the Queen of St. Helena for ten pounds and other valuable considerations "all that Tract or parcel of land Situate and being in the Province of Carolin bounded on the East or South East with the Sea on the north or [north] East with Ashepoo Edistoh and other lands uninhabited on the West and north West with the Great Ridge of Mountains commonly called the Apalathean Mountains and on the Southwest with the Kussah and Wimbee Lands and other Lands not inhabited...." Cf. Anon. 1682-1690, III, 135, for a copy filling in the missing word "north" (east). Cf. Kussah for the context.
- 1684 (13 Feb. 1683/4; Anon. 1675-1705: 203-204) On the same day after executing the separate cession in the previous entry, the "Queen of St Helena:" and "a St Helena Capt:" signed a joint cession with two chiefs of "Kussoe Stono Edistoh Ashepoo Combahe Kussah...and Wimbee" selling all land between the Stono and Savannah Rivers to the Lords Proprietors (cf. Kussah, 1684).
- 1684 Cf. the separate 1684 cessions of the Edisto (which mentions the St. Helena as south or southwest), the Kussah (which mentions them as north or northeast), the Wimbee (also north or northeast), and the Watchcaw (again north or northeast).

Escamacu

- c. 1685 (Mathews) "St. Hellena" written across Parris Island. Cf. Sandford (1666) for the location of the village of the Escamacu (St. Helena) there.
- 1686 (Salley 1916: 72-73) On 2 November, Maurice Mathews was granted one thousand acres of land for negotiating the 1684 cession with "the Queen or Chiefe Governesse of St: Hellena" and chiefs of seven other tribes (cf. above and Kussah, 1686).
- 1686 (Arredando 1742: 159) "The Indian Niquesalla, chief of the Yguaja and Colona tribe" was killed by the Spanish when they raided Santa Elena in 1686.

It is true that the Indian Niquesalla sold to the English the territory of Santa Elena, with all the solemnities of documents, and with the ceremonies of pulling, and planting, and moving earth, which are usual in such contracts. But not having solid and true reasons, it is necessary for them to make use of inventions and unsubstantial and false foundations. The truth of the matter is that the Indian mentioned was not even a native of the country, but was a mere youth belonging to the Chicora nation, who lived in the province of this name to the north of Santa Elena. Being of a captious temper and ambition for fame, he had made himself a bandit chief and joined the English. After conducting Captain Henry N. and his companions to Santa Elena, he executed the above-mentioned sale with the formalities stated.

Bolton concluded that this was reference to Woodward's visit to St. Helena with the Cassique of Kiawah in 1664 (1925). Sandford's account (1666) contains no mention of any sale of land, and later records include no cession arranged by Woodward. Arredando and Bolton probably confused Woodward with Mathews, who negotiated the only known cession with the St. Helena in 1684.

Niquesalla probably had nothing to do with this cessions because he claimed to have been a Yemassee (Niquisaya 1685), and he was on friendly terms with the Spanish in 1685.

The Spanish were on their way to attack Charles Towne. A contemporary English letter mentions that the expedition included 153 Spaniards, Indians, and Mulattoes (cf. Salley 1929: 184) and they are known to have devastated Edisto (q. v.) Island. It is likely that when they attacked the

Escamacu

Scots' Settlement at Port Royal they likewise took similiar reprisals against the St. Helena (and some Yemassee), whether or not Niquesalla was involved.

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 Sante Helena..." and ten others (cf. Kussah, 1696) to remit one predator's skin annually by 25 November or be flogged. Another act (p. 109) prohibited supplying the Indians south of the Edisto River with licquor (thus including the St. Helena). 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.

1698 (21 Apr.; Salley & Olsberg 1973: 582) Warrant for John Stewart's 1,000 a. "on ye. Island of St. Helena, being a Neck of land formerly Inhabited by the Pocatagoes [Yemassee], Lying North West of ye. Lands Settled by Mr. Thomas Niern [Nairne]...." (Nairne's earliest warrant is dated 26 June 1702 and is for 500 a., p. 604.)

1702 (16 Jan.; Anon. 1694-1740: 260) Grant of 612 a. to John Stewart "Lying & being on St. Helina Island in Port Royall County Butting to the N: West on John Wats Land to the S: West on Land belonging to the said Stewart to the S: East on St: Helina Sound to the South on Creekes and marshes separateing it from the Sea Beach Islands...."

1703 (4 Feb. 1702/3; Anon. 1711-1715: 203) Note by Edmund Bellinger, Sur. Gen., for a plat of Thomas Nairne's 200 a. "on St. Helena Island in portroyall County and bounding to the North East on St. Helena Sound...."

1706 (Thornton) "St Hellena I./ Elizabeth P: or=/=P. Royall" written across Parris Island. Mathews c. 1685 had only "St. Hellena," corresponding to the Spanish usage and to Sandford's usage (1666); here "P. Royall" corresponds to the French usage and to Hilton's usage (1663). This map also has "St: Hellena" written across Ladies Island and "Indian Settlements" written across what today is designated St. Helena Island; because St. Helena is also written on Parris I., because St. Helena should be written on St. Helena I. (cf. 1711), and because of the identical slant of the lettering, this should almost certainly be read as "St: Hellena Indian Settlements" and interpreted to mean that the St. Helena or Escamacu occupied the southern part of Ladies Island and all of St. Helena I. They cannot

Escamacu

- have lived on Ladies Island much longer, though, for the whole island seems to have been taken up by 1707 (cf. Combahee).
- 1707 (26 Jun.; Assembly in Salley 1940: 63) "Orderd That Coll George Logan Esqr. Publick Receivr Pay unto Capt. Tho: Neirne for ye use of Shemdadee a St. Helena Indian The Sume of fiue Pound as a gratiuty for having his Brother Killed by an apalachy Indian Slaue...."
- 1707 (Cooper 1837: 309) Act 269, ratified 19 July 1707, permitted trade with the "St. Helenas" and other tribes "commonly called Cusabes" (cf. Cusabo, 1707) without a liscense.
- 1711 (Crisp, C) "St. Helena Island" and "St. Helena Sound," both as 1963.
- 1715 (Johnson: 236-239) John Barnwell may be referring to the St. Helena as part of the "Corsaboys," who with four other villages totaled 295. Cf. Cusabo 1707 & 1715.
- 1715 (1 Dec.; Hasell) Probably some St. Helena 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 and cf. 1721).
- 1721 (19 Sept.; Cooper 1838: 141) Act No. 447 exempted the "St. Helenas" from trade regulations (cf. Etiwan, 1721).
- 1731 (Cooper 1838: 327) Act No. 542 exempted the "St. Helenas" from trade restrictions (cf. Kussoe).
- 1733 (22 Sept.; Cooper 1838: 371-372) Act No. 565 again exempted the "St. Helenas" from trade regulations (cf. 1721 and Etiwan, 1733). A similiar act of 1752 simply mentions "neighbouring Indians, living in the settlements..." (Cooper 1838: 763). The continual residence of the Escamacu in South Carolina precludes their being identical with the Yamacraw (cf. Swanton 1922: 18, n. 5, & 108-109).
- 1739 (Cooper 1838: 517) Act No. 658 exempted the "St. Helenas" 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 "St. Helenas" and a few others (cf. Kussoe).
- 1963 (C&GS) "St. Helena Island" (32 17-32 28N 80 27-80 39W) and "St. Helena Sound" (32 25-32 30N 80 20-80 29W). "Chowan Creek" at the NW corner of St. Helena Island is probably a corruption of Cowen (cf. Anon. 1694-1740: 323 & Thornton-Morden c. 1695) rather than an Indian name.

Etiwan

Escamañu, var. Escamacu

Etavans, var. Etiwan

Etewans, var. Etiwan

Etiwan (Etavans, 1751; Etewans, 1721; Etiwan, 1825; Ettawen, 1672; Ettewan, cf. 1672; Ettowan, 1672*; Hawan, cf. I Hawan; Ihawan, c. 1685; I Hawan, 1682; Itawans, 1682, 1716, 1717, 1721; Itewans, 1750; Ittaan, 1675; Ittavah, 1725; Ittavans, 1707; Ittawan, 1675, 1695, 1717; Ittewan, 1676, 1696, 1726; Ittewans, 1719, 1726, 1733, 1739, 1743; Ittivan, c. 1672; Ittiwan, 1671, 1676, 1680 [2], 1694, 1710, 1712, 1724; Ittiwans, 1715, 1720; Ittowans, 1731; Ittuan, 1715; Ittuwan, 1682; Ittwan, cf. 1675, 1676; Ittywan, cf. 1696; Ituan, 1670, 1671; Itwan, 1696; Itwans, 1715; Mawan, 1706 [X]; Ypaguano, 1609) Tribe (1609, 1670-1672, 1682, c. 1685, 1696, 1707, 1710, 1712, 1715 [3], 1716, 1717, 1719, 1720, 1721 [2], 1724, 1725, 1726 [2], 1731, 1733, 1739, 1743, 1750, 1751) which lived first on the Cooper, later on the Wando, then returned to the Cooper, and still later (1750) settled in St. Andrews Parish (S of the Ashley R.).
River (1671, 1672, 1674, 1675 [2], 1676, 1680, 1696, 1825) renamed Cooper (cf. Kiawah, Sept. 1670), which flows together with the Wando at 32 49N 79 55W.
Creek (1671, 1682) possibly renamed Clouter, flowing into the Cooper R. at 32 51N 79 56W.
Island (1676 [2], 1680, 1694, 1695) Cf. 1694; renamed Thomas, St. Thomas, and finally Daniel Island (32 49-32 54N 79 53-79 56W).
1609 (Ecija) Cf. Kiawah for a reference to the "Ypaguano."
1670 (15 Sept.; Owen: 199) With the Spanish threat "...ye more northerne Indians as those of Wando, Ituan, Seweh and Sehey came to our assistence...." (Cf. Wando, 1670.)
1671 (30 Aug.; Mathews: 334) The "Ituan" are listed north of the Wando and south of the Gt. Pa (cf. Sampa), are called "our friends," and are said to have peaceful relations with the sixteen other Carolina tribes listed (cf. Kussoe, 1671).
1671 (Culpeper) "The opening of Ittiwan River" at the mouth of Wando R. and "Ittiwan Creeke" for Clouter Creek.
Cumming (1962: 149) notes that this map is the source for these names on the Ogilby-Moxon c. 1672 inset. Culpeper confused the Wando and Cooper Rivers, which flow together at this point (cf. Kiawah, Sept. 1670). He may also have confused or invented the creek.