1. Irene A. Wright, "Spanish Policy toward Virginia, 1606-1612; Jamestown, Esija, and John Clark of the Mayflower", American Historical Review, Volume 28 published in 1920, page 463:

As translated from the Spanish on page 460, "... the governor dispatched to the said Captain Esija in a pinnace with twenty-five sailors and soldiers and an Indian woman, a native of those provinces and having their language, as married to a Spanish soldier, and some hoes and other things of iron which he gave him to obtain the good will of the Indians..

*52 Esija was captain of one of the two companies of soldiers maintained at St. Augustine, had been there thirty years, and was a man of about sixty-five; so it appears from depositions... concerning a certain Alonzo Sanchez Sanchez de Mercado and his wife...

*53 Maria de Miranda, wife of Juan d'Espinosa."

Gonzalo Leon (previously mentioned in page 29’s footnote 2), working, in this instance, alone, found a pertinent phrase on page 36 of the Library of Congress transcription of a certain work numbered, in transcription, from page 31 to page 110. The phrase, as he translated it: "Maria de Miranda a native of Santa Elena married to Juan d'Espinosa a Spanish soldier."

The name of the work: "Orden del Gobernador D. Pedro de Ybarra (de S. Agustin de la Florida) a el Capitan Francisco Fernandez de Esija para reconozer las costas del norte de aquella Provincia, y Relacion de este viaje llevado a cabo por el mismo Capitan." Or in English,

"ORDER of the Governor, Diego Pedro de Ybarra (of Saint Augustine in Florida) to the Captain, Francisco Fernandez de Esija, to reconnoiter the coast to the north of this province; & the RELATION of this voyage conducted by the said Captain."
A continuation of footnote 1 on page 30

Ecoja’s small sailship set out from St. Augustine on June 24th, 1609; reached the Bay of Jacon (pronounced Haw-kawn, and called Chesapeake Bay, Virginia by the English colonists who had settled there a couple of years earlier) on July 24th, 1609. Once there, Ecoja turned right around and immediately set sail back south, reaching St. Augustine again on September 24th, 1609; and his "Relacion" ends on the 27th of September 1609. The original is in:


In South Carolina, copies of the Library-of-Congress transcription are in Charleston (in the South Carolina Historical Society’s Fireproof Building) and in Columbia (on paper in the South Caroliniana Library, and on microfilm buried in the State Archives).

Gene Waddell, in his Indians Of The South Carolina LowCountry 1562-1751 (Southern Studies Program / Spartanburg Reprint Company, 1980), conclusively clinched the same thing that Dr. Swanton of the Smithsonian had spoken of in print in 1922: The Spanish after 1576, and the English until 1707 and 1721, often spoke of the Escamou nation of Indians as "native to Sante Elena" (keeping in mind that they had fled to St. Helena island and Parrís island in the latter half of 1576) or as the St. Helena Indians. The English spoke of them in the present tense for fifty years, 1671-1721, as the St. Helena Indians and not once in writ- ing by their own name for themselves, that of Usamou or Escamou.

2. Pages 56-58 of the Library of Congress transcription of Ecoja’s "Relacion" of his three-month voyage that took up the entire summer of 1609. This trans- cRIPTION and "Relacion" described in full, or possibly even somewhat more in de-
"y morte que seçoontaron 25 del dicho mes vinieron a ver a el dicho Capitán 4 caciques y muchas y das principales y muchas mugeres y niños a quínes Regala el dicho Capitán lendedas a los caciques a los 3 que eran (Gatí) y al de (Gaondul) y al de (Gustori) y el (De Gatí) a todos hachas y a las demás principales cudasillos y guantes, y a las mugeres y niños que vinieron y después havorlas dado de comer y beber, estando muy contentos. Trató el dicho Capitán con ellas por la dicha maría de miranda lenguas y al menudor algunas cosas y formándose de todo los que pudo y enseñó. Se fueron muy contentos."
A continuation of footnote 2 on page 50

See also: Dr. John Reed Swanton, "Some information from Spanish sources regarding the Siouan tribes of the East", Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, Volume 6 (published in 1916), pages 311 (the paragraph beginning and ending on that page) and 312 (the first, eighth and ninth of the dozen sentences of text entirely on that page).

Page 51

1. The same as footnote 2 on page 30

2. The South Carolina Historical Society has, on deposit in its Fireproof Building at the corner of Meeting and cobblestoned Chalmers in Charleston, S.C., a manuscript by Wes White, numbered up to page 295 but soon to admit of some little expansion, and containing:

First, a chronological clarification of our record of the Sewee (one of the only two Indian nations not only allegedly but also actually brought to a permanent end as a separate people in the Yamasee War), 1664, 1665, 1609, 1670-1716; from a historian's point of view. Told interwoven with an account of the birth and progress of the English colony named South Carolina, 1670-1716, from an anthropologist's point of view.

Second, a chronological clarification of our record of the Santee (the other of the only two Indian nations actually bustled up for good as a distinct people by the Yamasee War), 1609, 1671-1717; from a historian's point of view.

Third and last, the customs, manners and handmade goods of the Sewee.
and Santee Indians, 1664-1717, compared for similarities and differences to those of many other American Indian peoples, early 1600's-1975. (Up-dated in footnotes to 1981, and also accompanied by color photographs of split-ane basketry, an art found only in southeastern North America and northeastern South America — the range of Arundinaria cane, the native equivalent, roughly, of the imported bamboo.)

God willing (and Lord knows there are more important things in the world), we will publish this Sewee/Santee manuscript as a book (offset printing).

5. Of the two Cheyawah ("Kiawah") Indian men who stood and answered questions for the Españoles in St. Augustine, Florida, on the 24th of September 1606, one (Panto, father of the other one's wife) served as mandador mayor (the major order giver) of a town at Cheyawah called Hati (pronounced Aw-ta). During that interview "the Indians", the two of them, "... said that the Indians that came from inland to their lands" (their lands at Cheyawah, meaning the banks of Charleston harbor and lower Ashley river) "to rescue fish and salt and shellfish, they brought many nose rings of copper and of white silver." Or in the original Spanish: The two Cheyawah men "... dijeron que los indios que tienen de la tierra adentro a sus tierras a rescatar pescado y sal y marisco trayan muchas chagualas de cobre y la plata blanca."

Earlier that month or sometime in August the Spaniards had heard that same sort of thing while among the Sewee or "Bolay" Indians, the Indian nation at the delta of the "rio Jordan", which we know today as the Santee river:

"From there he" (Roije) "travelled up the coast to the entrance of the rio Jordan at the height of 35 degrees 11 minutes."

"After entering the mouth of the river, located the chiefs. And came aboard
A continuation of footnote 3 on page 31

the Chief of the Hogue, who is the one who rules all the land." Later, after some negotiations between the Spaniards and the Seewee Indians about three cast-
away Frenchmen, "... he" (Rojo, the highest-ranking Spaniard there at the time) "asked the chiefs and Indians if they had news of other ships ... they" (the Spanish voyagers) "asked the chiefs if they knew or had any news that there was any" (white) "people on the coast living.

"... And seeing that the river Jordan a very large river of sweet water that comes very far into the ocean, they asked the Indians if the river went very far inland, and if they knew what was far inland — gold, or silver and other met-
als.

"And they answered him, that the river came from far inland. And that the In-
dians came down by way of it in canoes, to 'rescue' fish and salt. And they
brought them from far inland animal-hide-clothing and many other things. And
that the Indians from inland brought much copper and other metals (made into
nose rings very yellow) that they had gotten from rivers that were inland. In
a town by the name Xoada — that is next to a very lofty mountain range. And
that inland there was a lot of food — of corn, and beans, and nuts, and
grapes — and much hunting of deer, and bear, and rabbit, and birds."

Thus spake the Seewee Indians in their own country in the summer of 1605 to the
Captain of the handful of Spanish voyagers briefly among the Seewee Indians as
guests. I notice now that later on, on September 24th in the city of St. Augus-
tine, the two Chsyawhaw Indian men briefly among the Spaniards there as guests,
said immediately of the "many nose rings of copper and of white silver", de ore-
bré y la plate blanze, that "... these were gotten out of big rivers and there

190
were lots of them", of these metals (silver and copper): "y que la sacaban de
tiros grandes y que aera muucha cantidad."

The foregoing quotes come from pages 12-13 (Sewee) and 16 (Chyathwew) of the
Library of Congress transcription of the "Testimony of the trip made by Captain
Francisco Fernandez de Hclija on his visit to the coast line north of this col-
ony, A.D. 1605." (For a full description of this source, see page 27's foot-
note 1.)

The testimony of the Sewee in 1605 about trade relations between them and the
interior, in the original Spanish:

"... y lo reespondieron que el río tenia mucho la tierra adentro y que los
yndios baxaban por en el canoes a respetar pasacodo y sal y que las trayan
de la tierra adentro huepiles y otras muchas cosas y que los yndios de
la tierra adentro trayan mucho cobre y otros metales hechos cheguelas muy
amarillo que los celeaben de rios que aiva en la tierra adentro en un
pueblo que llamaba Xoada que esta junto a una sierra muy alta y que en
de la tierra adentro aiva mucha comida de maiz y frissel y otras frutas de
castañas y ubes y mucha carga de benedes y osos y conexos y otras aves."

4. same as footnote 1 on page 29

*translation by
Gonzalo Leon;
see footnote 2
on page 28*
1. The Discoveries Of John Lederer -- Collected and Translated out of Latin from his Discourse and Writings, By Sir William Talbot (London, 1672), most particularly the frontispiece map ("A Map Of The Whole Territory Traversed By John Lederer In His Three Marches"), and pages 28 and 29.

2. The Discoveries Of John Lederer -- (London, Printed by J.C. for Samuel Heyrick, at Grey's Inn gate in Holborn. 1672.), pages 22 and 26
Also, concerning Lederer's birth, childhood and adult residence in Hamburg, Germany, see footnote 1 to page 36 of this present report.
See also footnote 6, below.

3. Bill Autry, or William O. Autry Jr., "The Eno: An Ethnohistorical Glimpse Of A Central North Carolina Tribe In The Late Seventeenth Century" (Vanderbilt University, Fall 1975: preliminary version of a paper prepared for the American Society for Ethnohistory 1975 Annual Meeting, Gainesville, Florida), numbered up to page 18. (I see no connection with the Weanoe Indians in Virginia.)

4. I would consider the following names as those of branch villages of the Indian nation whose members appear in our records (from, arguably, 1621 to 1733) under the name variously spelled Chocorav (pronounced Chăk̓t̓əraw in Spanish in the 1820's), Casorav, Shaktor, Shoocorav, Shalo or (the final Anglicization, in 1723) Shaco:
The Hayneke (so called in 1654), Semock (1670), Aeno (1673), Enom (1701 to 1730 and 1742) or Eno (1743).
The Sissipahaw or Saxapahaw, variously spelled (1701 to 1721 or '24).
I could set forth my argument in full only in a paper the length of this pre-
sent paper on the history of the Waterau. However, since Bill Autry (see above, footnote 3) did not have the 1739 and 1742 references to the Enos, let me give those now in case I never have the opportunity to write a full scale-treatment of the history of the Shawori and their branch villages:

Public Documents issued by John Hammerton, Secretary of the Province of South Carolina 1732-1762; documents issued 1732-1742, a list of them numbered up through page 55, and inexplicably bound into the front of Book II, Inventories, South Carolina Archives.

Page 29 —— "June 6th, 1739, To a Commission under the Great Seal for King Osato, John Harris, Eno Jimmy Warrior, Captain Tom .......... $56". Those four men (respectively, Osato of the Catawba Indians, Chuppepaw or "John Harris" of the Sarraw or Charraw, Charraw Indians, "Eno Jimmy Warrior" of the Eno or "Saxippaha" Indians, and Magee or "Captain Tom" of the Waterau Indians) all lived in the Catawba Nation. See pages 110 and 133 of the present report.

Page 49 of Hammerton —— "March 6th, 1742, To" (A Special Commission for) "Eno Jimmy Warrior of Charraw in the Catawba .......... $1.10"

5. Information from Richard Kimmel, an archeologist with the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He gave me the information in the course of explaining the insupportable outrageous inaccuracies in: Monte Bagall, "Bulldozed Indian village tapped for historic list", The News and Observer (Raleigh, N.C.), Friday, November 28th, 1980, the top of page 37, continued on page 38. I found the place on the Highway Department map of Durham county, North Carolina.
Bill Autry, in a letter to me dated January 31st, 1977, says: "... I am now certain that the site designated Dh'7-87 is Knottown and was occupied from approximately 1660 (?) through about (at least) 1672 when Virginia traders placed the Ena at the 1670 location described by John Ledbetter.

'Adahusheer, the 1701 village described by John Lawson, is not on Eno River, but probably was located on Ellerbe Creek in/near present-day Durham, N.C. or to the south of it. My next problem is to locate Adahusheer exactly — and I have some good clues as to its location."
6. Steven G. Baker, Cotitachequ: Fair Province of Carolina (Master's thesis published in a limited edition of 20 copies, History Department, University of South Carolina, 1974), appendix III, page 4:

"... the published Lederer account was translated and edited from his unpublished papers (which were written in seventeenth century scholastic Latin) by an individual of unknown scholastic expertise and fidelity" (Sir William Talbot, Secretary of the Province of Maryland).

Baker (1974) deals with the Wateree Indians specifically in appendix III on page 16, and in appendix V at footnote 14 on page 27 (referring to the Natchie Indians in June of 1670). He did not have the precise location of Adushsheer, the single large town of the Eno Indians from, as it would seem, 1654 to 1701 and, perhaps, 1716 — on Flat river on the present Durham county, N.C., from Lake Miche (an artificial lake, not there when Adushsheer was there) downstream 1.1 miles to the bridge over Highway 1004. (All pot-hunters please take note of the curse at the foot of page 32 of the present report, third to fifth lines from the foot of the page.)

page 35

1. I took the January 1st, 1980 revision of the map of "DURHAM COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA (Prepared by The North Carolina Department Of Transportation, Division of Highways—Planning And Research Branch)."

Drawing a line on that map "14 miles west-southwest" of the mile of Flat river between Lake Miche and the bridge over Highway 1004 (archeologically attested to as the location of the "Onnock-Indians" from at least 1654 to 1675, and 1701), I
A continuation of footnote 1 on page 33

land up on blank paper. Or, if I superimpose the Highway Department map of Durham county onto the corresponding map of "ORANGE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA" (January 1st, 1980 revision), I land on Eno river in the northeastern quarter of the present-day city-limits of Hillsborough, North Carolina, at the mouth of a creek the name of which should show up on city maps of Hillsborough. Enos river and Flat river converge to form Neuse river. The "Shakory-Indians" in 1670, then, may have lived on Enos river at the mouth of the aforesaid creek: we'll know for sure when and if the archeologists ever find the village, assuming that they haven't done so already, and don't want to say. Seeing that if the pot-hunters find the site, they'll tear it all to pieces and write down not a word concerning what they found.

To get the map on the following page, I traced the waterways off of the North Carolina Highway Department maps of Orange, Durham and (a little) Granville counties. Notice on the map that New Hope creek flows into Haw river and that Chunky Pipe creek, Panther creek and Kilbar creek flow into Neuse river; Enos river and Flat river converge to form Neuse river, and Little river flows into Enos river. The location given on the map for the Eno Indians seems solid.


196
A continuation of page 33

2. The Discoveries of John Lederer (London, 1672), pages 27-28

3. I took a map of the State Of North Carolina (United States Department Of The Interior Geological Survey, November 1977), and made the rivers stand out on it by tracing over with a red marking pen the faint lines showing their respective courses. A line drawn 40 miles west-southwest from Hillsborough, N.C. took me through Orange, Alamance and Guilford counties, N.C. to the upper edge of Randolph county and a point near the present Level Cross, N.C.

As an aid to the reading of the faint and tiny print on the 1977 map, I used the North Carolina Highway Department maps of the counties just named, using the January 1st, 1980 revision in every case but that of Granville's 1-1-1978.

page 34

1. The Discoveries of John Lederer (London, 1672), page 28

2. See the quote in footnote 6 to page 32 of the present report.

3. See page 36 of the present report, and in particular line twelve on that page.

4. See page 36 of the present report, and especially lines four and five.

5. Taking again the map described in footnote 5 to page 33, I drew a straight line 30 miles due west from the present Level Cross, N.C., over the upper reaches of both Deep river and Uwharrie river and then the middle course of Yadkin river to a point near Davis Crossroads, N.C.
1. same as the footnote immediately preceding this one (footnote 5 on page 34).

2. In *The Discoveries of John Lederer* (London, 1672), the frontispiece map has a label: "A MAP OF THE WHOLE TERRITORY TRAVERSED BY JOHN LEDERER IN HIS THREE MARCHES." I have blown up an inset from that map. The dotted line on that inset refers to what the labelling on the map calls "... his march alone to Ushery."

One might say that the entire map runs to 21 or 22 times the size of the inset that I have cut out from it. The dotted line on the inset runs, in modern terms, from Lake Mistle in Durham county, N.C. (Amock); to Hillsborough, N.C. (Shaker, a misprint, probably, for Shaker); to the Randolph-Guilford county line between Greensboro, N.C. and Asheboro, N.C. (Matary); to the fork of Yadkin and South Yadkin rivers (Sara). As I have interpreted in the text.

I took an undated (1970's) road map, entitled *North Carolina South Carolina* ("Copyright by Amoco Oil Company"), and drew a rectangle on it encompassing the four places just named. The rectangle ran better than a hundred miles east-west by more than thirty miles north-south.

On a map of the State Of North Carolina (United States Department Of The Interior Geological Survey, November 1977), a rectangle 15 quadrangles (or 105 miles) across by four quadrangles deep (32 miles in that direction) will encompass the same four places. 105 x 32 equals 3,360 square miles.
Concerning the "Reasones", the first-named of the seven Indian nations Ledever acquired a Maryland trading license for in 1672: He had written in Latin that on the 9th of June 1670 he had "... arrived at Sapon, a Village of the Nahoos, about a hundred miles distant from Mahock." (The Discoveries of John Ledever, published in London in 1672, page 22.) He had found them on and around the big bend of Steamton river (called Roanoke river further downstream), not far southwest of the town appearing on modern maps as Charlotte Court House, Virginia. In 1670 the Monahims or Mohican Indians — or those of them in their town called Saponi — had lived at the great bend of Steamton river for at least the past twenty years. See: Christian F. Feist, "Notes On Saponi Settlements In Virginia Prior To 1774", Quarterly Bulletin Virginia Archeological Society, Volume 28 published in 1974, pages 152-155. And in particular, the single sentence taking up lines eleven through fourteen on page 154 of that article: followed chronologically by lines fifteen to seventeen of the text on page 155 of the same article. As compared to the map of Virginia in the Rand McNally Commercial Atlas.

Concerning the second name on the list, that of the "Anameses" or Oceanechi Indians — Ledever.
I took precisely the same four maps as those leading-off the text to the single large footnote to page 41 of this present report, together with a fifth map: Geographical Highway Map Chesterfield County South Carolina · 1873, revised to June 1st, 1880. The upper left-hand corner.

Knowing all five maps to have stemmed from aerial photos, I made a single pagesize map by tracing the following features: off of adjacent sections of the five published maps:

Catawba River and its tributaries (including Twelve Mile creek, Waxhaw creek & Cane creek even, ill-advisedly, down to today's artificial lakes).
-Lynches river and its tributaries (Foleast, Buffalo, Dead Pines, Wildcat and Flat creeks).

The far outer edge of the tributary system (including Richardson creek) feeding into Rocky River (itself a branch of Pee Dee River).

The four South Carolina maps fit together only very poorly at both Catawba River and Lynches River.

SUPERIMPOSED: In the fork of Lynches River and Buffalo Creek, "Easaw" (Indian Town) in 1682? See pages 38-40 of this present report.

1. I remember seeing that several times, I think in William Byrd's writing on the Saponi and the Saraw. Should anyone ever commission me to clarify the record on these and some other tribes, that would flush the references out into the light. But for now, I'd better stick to the Wataug Indian nation and the history of its people. As for the other tribes, all in due time, by me or somebody sometime.
A continuation of the footnotes to page 58

2. I would recommend David Duncan Wallace's History of South Carolina in three heavy volumes of small print, published in 1934.

3. William Patterson Cumming, The Southeast In Early Maps (Princeton University Press, 1956; with an expanded revision in 1962), the essay on pages 159-160 and entitled

(map number) "92. GASCOyne 1682"

Cumming points out from pages 338 and 344 of Volume 1 of The Colonial Records of the State of North Carolina, that South Carolina's "Governor Henry Wilkinson... was instructed by the Lords Proprietors in 1681 to 'be sure, as soon as you can, to send home' " (home meaning England) " 'the map of the country, mended by your own or friends' experience."

And that "... Samuel Wilson, secretary of the Lords Proprietors, in a bill made out to them on May 10th, 1683, itemizes 2/3/—'For a Plate of the map of Carolina, and printing, £2,000,' and 11/ 'to payment, Mr. Gascoyne for the map of Carolina.'" The map's labelling identifies it, the map, as

"done from the latest surveys and best informations, by order of the Lords Proprietors"

and as

"Sold by Joel Gascoyne at the Sign of the Platt near Wapping old Stairs. And by Robert Greene at the Rose and Crown in the middle of Bailey Row. London."

Cumming quotes an old catalogue showing this same map "was published in Michaelmas Term (November) 1682." And he shows that of two small books published in London in 1682, one predates the map and the other book came out later than the map.

202