

The paraphrase of an abstract of the November 1st, 1703 will of a James Moore Sr., reads as follows:

"Moore gives his wife, Margaret, his plantation, called 'Wassanissah' (Wassamassaw), also some slaves and two Indian men, during her natural life or as long as she remain a widow and no longer, and upon her death or marriage to his children."¹

Moore's term as Governor of South Carolina had run from 1701 to 1703.² He died less than three years and five days after the date of his will of a "distemper" — perchance, yellow fever.³ Later (in a letter date of May 21st, 1715) we hear of "an Indian to whom Captain Barker's father-in-law, the late famous Colonel Moore, had given his freedom; and in whom we" (the English colonists in South Carolina) "trusted entirely."⁴ A letter of August 6th, 1715, gives his name as "Waterree Jack."⁵ The Commissioners of the Indian Trade considered, on May 9th, 1717, the case of "The Indian slaves that run away from hence" — from Charleston — " .. two of which slaves, being Waterree women, they" (the Catawba Indians) "do claim as belonging to them."⁶ Somewhere around sixty-five years later, an eyewitness identified the Indian man spoken of in the letter of May 21st, 1715, as "an Indian named Waterree Jack who, pretending friendship, allured the white people into a snare."⁷

In Conclusion: South Carolina's Governor Moore had "two Indian men" among his slaves on the 1st of November 1703.⁸ And sometime before his death three years later he freed one of his slaves, an Indian man called "Waterree Jack", who continued to live among the English.⁹ When Moore died, his estate included (as we

An inset from "COLONEL BARNWELL'S COURSE IN 1711", by himself, and drawn by him onto a manuscript map $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide by 2 feet, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, that he seems to have worked on and added to for years, indeed for as long as he lived.

He himself had led an army through the Indians called Wateres, Sygaws and Waxaws. He, as Commander in Chief of an army marching cross-country, had seen the "Good Land" and "Large Timber" along the path from the Waxhaw Indians to the Indian nations on Great Pee Dee river and known as Sarraw and Pedee. At the Peedee Indian Nation, as many days prior to January 18th, 1712 New Style as it would later take his army to march from Cape Fear river to Neuse river, he mailed a letter by courier. He crossed the "Savanos", or natural treeless grassy plains, at Little Pee Dee river; and so on.

river, being a very bad road full of great swamps. Often, pulling our horses out by main strength and ropes"; a "60 miles march¹.." through "Low Level Pine Land full of Swamps", not like the "Good Land, large Timber" all along the path from the Waxhaw Indian town to the Saraw Indian town.²

As Barnwell tells us, "We spent two days passing the" Cape Fear "river on bark logs and rafts .."¹ The army saw nought but "Poor Pine Land" between Cape Fear river and an Indian town made up of the Saxapahaw or Sissipahaw people (a part of the Shoccorie Indians) on Neuse river.² General Barnwell tells us furthermore that " .. the night before I crossed Neuse river I numbered my men and found it thus:" an army 483 strong, including "30 white men" other than "Captain Bull, Major Mackay" (and) "myself"; together with 450 Indian warriors divided into three companies, as in the table, below.¹

the YAMASSE COMPANY, or "Yamasses"

158 men, including 87 Yamasee (members of an Indian group whose members had moved en masse into lower South Carolina from coastal Georgia 30 years before). 10 "Hog Logees" (probably Muskogi-speakers; their town — called Tohogalea, Hogologa, Hogoleege' — far up the South Carolina side of the Yawwhoyawran, Isundiga or Savannah river). 56 Apalachee (a nation forcibly imported to Savannah river by the South Carolina colonists in 1704, from the present Tallahassee). And 5 Ettowan, Kussoo, Edisto, Chyawhaw, Escamacu or Coosa Indians

(Nations anciently distinct from each other and native to the South Carolina Low Country, whom Barnwell and a Captain Nairne insisted on calling by a new name coined by those two men — "Corsaboys"— a usage never adopted by the rest of the English). Total, 158 men from tribes then living from Cooper river to the other side of Savannah river in lower South Carolina and adjacent parts of Georgia.¹

ESSAW CAPTAIN JACK'S COMPANY, called simply the "Essaws":

155 men, including 13 "Congree and Santee" Indians (out of a total of 125 Congaree — anciently Cofitachiqui — and Santee Indians Barnwell counted in the three villages left in those two nations, with whose members the Spaniards dealt as early as 1540 and 1605, respectively). 28 "Watterees", and 27 "Waxaws"; and 20 "Sagarees" (Catawba Indians from Su Gar^o, a Catawba town at the head or source of Su-gar creek in North Carolina, who had settled in a little town of their own next to the Waxhaw village). 27 "Suterees" and 40 "Catabas" (both also Catawbas, with the former group still living at the original Su Gar or Suchah Town). Total, 155 Indian men from Santee river and the two rivers (Congaree river, the Catawba/Wateree river) which join flow to form Santee river.¹

and the third and final company, CAPTAIN BULL'S COMPANY:

by revised addition, 137 men; including, first of all, those who didn't desert during the army's crossing of Cape Fear river: 18 Peedee Indian men, 24 Winia, 11 Cape Fear Indians, 9 "Wareperes" (Woccon Indians, called Wac-

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camaws, from their Yupwaureremau Town); and 11 "Hoopengs" (Wocoon Indians from their Tooptatmeer Town). — To which add, 42 Saraw men and 22 Saxapahaw men. Total, possibly 137 Indian warriors from the Black, Great Pee Dee, Cape Fear and Neuse rivers in upper South Carolina and lower North Carolina.

Barnwell writes, "I crossed Neuse river the 28th of January at night .. The 29th I marched hard all day and most of the night" towards a hostile Tuscarora Indian town called Nursurooka, variously spelled, on a branch of Neuse river's Contentnea creek. "Though this be called a town, it is only a plantation here and there scattered about the country, nowhere 5 houses together, and then $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile such another; and so on for several miles, so it is impossible to surprize many before the alarm takes. They" (the Tuscaroras) "have lately built small forts at about a miles distance from one another .. none of them a month old, and some not quite finished .. where the" (Tuscarora) "men sleep all night; and the women and children" (sleep) "mostly in the woods ..

"My next work was to take one of the forts. And while I was preparing .. to do the same orderly, some of my Yamasees were so meddlesome as to advise to force it by assault .. I immediately ordered the attack.

"The Indians were first up. But dropping, they began to cool, when my too few valiant white men reinforced them and broke into the fort in three places .. to

our great surprize, within the fert were two houses stronger than the fort. Which did puzzle us and do the most damage. But now it was too late to look back; we forced them" (the two houses) — "But the enemy were so desperate, the very women shooting arrows .. they did not yield until most of them were put to the sword .. And there were several" (Tuscarora) "women killed. I saw ten.

"The" (invasion force) "Indians, when they saw the Britains" (the Englishmen) "enter, they judging the business was over, crowded in on all hands to plunder. "Which proved the destruction of several. And when we forced the log houses — while we were putting the" (Tuscarora) "men to the sword — our Indians got all the slaves and plunder, only one girl we got .. Besides those of white men, we made about thirty slaves" — Tuscarora prisoners-of-war.

" .. We were not half-an-hour in taking this, their strongest fort in this part of the country, with the loss of 7 killed and 52 wounded.^A That is:

"January 30th in taking the fort of Narhontes, head town of the Tuscaruros:

Yamases Company — Peterba King killed, 9 Yamases wounded; Waterkee King killed, 2 Apalachees wounded, Cunaba Tom killed." (total,) "3 killed, 11 wounded.

of Captain Bull's Company — 1 Sattack" (Saxapahaw? Sarraw?) "killed, King Robin^{*} wound, 1 Saxapahaw and 4 Wattaw" (Waccamaws) "wound. In all, 1 killed and 6 wounded.

.. Captain Jack's Company — 1 Watteree killed, 4 wounded.

1 Watteree killed, 6 Catabas wounded, 1 Congree wounded.

In all, 2 killed and 16 wounded.

"Of the" (Tuscarora) "enemy, Yamasees brought 17 scalps, Captain Jack's Com-

^A or 6 killed & 33 wounded
* the same as the Peedee of
that name 30 & 40 years later???

pany 19 scalps," and "Captain Bull's Company 16." Which adds up to forty-two Tuscaroras, including ten women, dead; besides about thirty Tuscaroras enslaved by the 450 Indian warriors, and one Tuscarora girl enslaved by the 33 white soldiers; total, at least 73 Tuscaroras killed or captured.¹

"Next morning" (the morning of January 31st, 1712) "the Tuscaruro town of Kenta" (another one of the, up until three years past, 15 Tuscarora towns) "came to attack us, but at such a distance I could not come up with them. So I ordered two of Captain Jack's Company" of Catawba, Wateree, Waxhaw, Congaree and Santee tribesmen "to cross a great swamp that lay at the back of us. And" (to) "lie close until they heard our firing; and then, to come on the back or rear of the enemy, if possible, to surround them. Accordingly they did; but being too eager, they did not time" something or another right, apparently (can't read the handwriting). Out of this battle the invaders got out of the Tuscaroras of Kenta "but 9 scalps and 2 prisoners, which I ordered immediately to be burnt alive." Possessed by the devil. "We had two more wounded this day."¹

".. the" Tuscarora "enemy, terrified at the quick work made here" in the taking of the two log houses in the main fort at Nursurooka on January 30th, "quit-ted all their forts, and left a fine country open full of provisions. Our Indians, presently loading themselves with English plunder (of which these" Tuscarora "towns are full) and running away from me: Nothing left for the" 33 "white men but their horses tired and their wounds to comfort them."¹

On the 1st or 2nd of February 1712, "having left a garrison in this fort" (the

one captured from the Tuscaroras on the 30th) "to look after the wounded men, I marched through the five towns of the enemy." Among them, probably Anna Ooka, Contah-nah, Naur-heGH-ne, and Kenta, all, like Nursurooka, on Neuse river and its tributary streams, particularly Contentnea creek; and the names of the first three towns commonly Anglicized to Tonarooka, Catechnah and Tarhuntah, respectively. "Whose country is almost as fine and" something, fertile perhaps, "as Appalachia. I ordered that the fruit trees (which are plenty, both of apples and peaches and" some other kind of apple that he misnamed as "quinces) .. be preserved, but destroyed all the rest." In flames and fire, obviously. The remainder spoken of "being about 374 houses, wherein there could not be less than 2,000 bushels of corn, and everywhere, marks of their" industry in war, or words to that sense, "against the English. In this day's march a scalp was brought to me; taken from a wounded man that was left behind by the enemy." ¹

On the 4th of February 1712, at the captured Tuscarora fort at Nursurooka, the army's general wrote that "From that day"—the day he marched through and torched 5 hostile Tuscarora towns — "to the date hereof, I am confined in this place by rainy weather. The" invasion force "Indians, in the meantime, making excursions and destroying the country; but could meet with no person. I am in want of pilots, so am at a great loss how to steer my course. And much adverse as I am to neglect of North Carolina, the greatest part of our Indians are unwilling to proceed into unknown country, where they may be hemmed-in by a numerous enemy and not know how to extricate themselves." Probably all of them, the up to 26 Wateree warriors and all the rest, felt that way; except that "my brave Yamassees told me they would go wherever I led them. They will live and

die with me, and indeed I have that dependence on them, that I would not refuse to do battle to the whole Nation of the Tuscaruros with them" — with the up to 84 or 87 Yamasee warriors in his army. "The Enemy can't be less than 12 or 14 hundred men" — an overestimate — "which may be easily judged by their large settlements. But extremely cowardly if they have liberty to run. Our Indians outdo the" Tuscarora "Enemy very much either at bush or swamp. But the Enemy are fleeter and has the advantage of knowing the country .. I examined several of the" Tuscarora "prisoners ..," not so much necessarily on February 4th as by then.¹

Later on that same day (February 4th, 1712, New Style) — after he had sent the lines quoted above, off in a letter to the Governor of South Carolina — the General and his army "marched from the Fort of Narhante's" (Nursurooka) " — which I demolished — for King Hancock's Town with my whole forces; passing through Kenta." It must have stopped raining so hard. "And came to a town called Tona-rooka, seated on a branch of Neuse river. When, finding no canoes, we were passing by same upon logs" — the whole army of up to twenty-six Wateree Indian men and up to 450 other men, slowly crossing Neuse river on floating logs. "When a (Santee?) Indian, Tom Gils by name, straggled — without his gun — to plunder; and was met with by three skulking Tuscaruros and shot through the body. Of which, he will hardly recover."²

"I sent parties out on all hands to intercept the skulking dogs. And in an hour's time, one of my Yamasees brought me one of them alive. Which was an acceptable present, for I wanted intelligence, and pilots" — guides, or a guide.

"BUT — this took us up so much time, that not above a third," or 158, "of my men were over" the river "before night. Which gave an opportunity to Captain

Bull's Indians — all every soul to a man — to desert me" in company "with Captain Jack's men, except himself and 23 more. So I had only the Yamassees Company with me. As soon as I perceived it," the mass desertion, "I did all I could by fair words and threats to stop them; but in vain. Only, they promised" that "when they had secured their plunder (which was very considerable) and their slaves, they would return with a greater number. They likewise carried away 10 bags of spare bullets they had in charge; which I could not find or recover, the confusion was so great."¹

Now, the Wateree tribe's contingent had had a larger proportion of their number (24%) killed or wounded in the one battle that took place, than had that of any other tribe. The Waccamaws had, it looks like, had 20% wounded, and none killed. In contrast to that, the other tribal contingents had had anywhere from 10% on down to 0% of their number killed or wounded in that battle.

And not only that, military intelligence sometime before August of 1716 would credit the Wateree Indian Nation with a fighting force of only "40 Men." And then they go and send 28 of those men off with General Barnwell's army some 185 miles into unfamiliar regions.

The Wateree Indians lent Barnwell's army 28 of their 40 or so warriors (70%); or at least, it looks that way. And it also looks like this: The Winia tribe lent Barnwell's army 24 of their 36 warriors (67%). The Saraw Indians lent 42 of their 140 warriors (30%) to Barnwell's army. The Waxhaw (Flathead) tribe lent 27 of their 100 warriors (27%) to Barnwell's army. The intermingled Santee and Congaree Indians lent 13 of their 65 warriors (20%) to Barnwell's army. The Catawba Nation, including both the town near the source of Sugar^o creek; its branch living right next to the Flatheads; and the other Catawba towns, lent 87

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of their 570 warriors (15%) to Barnwell's army. The five villages of American Indians on Cape Fear river and, at least formerly, the Northeast Cape Fear river, lent 11 of their 76 warriors (14%) to General Barnwell's army. The Waccamaws lent 20 of their 210 warriors (9 $\frac{1}{2}$ %) to Barnwell's army — 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ % of the warrior strength of their towns Yupwaureremau called Wa re pe re and Tooptatmeer called Hoopeng. And imperfect memory finally forcing a look at the books, we see that:

The Yamasee Indians lent 87 of their 413 warriors (21%) to Barnwell's army. And the part of the Apalachee Nation that South Carolina had deported from the homeland of those Indians eight years ago, lent 56 of the 275 Apalachee warriors in South Carolina (20%) to Barnwell's army.

Why did the Wateree send such a large proportion of their warrior strength off to fight for General Barnwell?

Well, for one thing, both the Wateree and all of the other groups that Barnwell referred to by names that each covered speakers of only one Indian language per name, did not yet find themselves "Mixed with the English settlements." The "Corsaboys", so called, sent only 5 of the 95 warriors in the five linguistically diverse Indian nations covered by that newly coined name; and did find themselves "Mixed with the English settlements." Where the English colonists needed them daily to intimidate the black slaves, mainly; and also to catch and return runaway slaves, to scout the wilderness and warn of impending attacks against the colony; & to hunt game for the English for free. Or one might as well say "for free." The Wateree Indian village in 1712, on the other hand, lay roughly a hundred miles as the crow flies (give or

take surely less than fifteen miles) away from the nearest white settlers; who had built their homes no closer to the Wateree town than to the great bend of Santee river — if that far.

Another reason that the Waterrees sent a comparatively large proportion of their fighting men off to make war under General Barnwell's leadership: The Waterrees and all of the other tribes who had warriors in Barnwell's army (except for "the Wachemau and Cape Fear Indians"), had many "traders to encourage and lead them on .. to prosecute the war that we have begun .." Or at least, they had many in comparison to the "only a few" of these traders that the Waccamaw and Cape Fear Indians had among them, buying their deerskins and selling them European trade goods. ¹ And it shows; in that (not counting the settlement Indians, who stayed home for other reasons) the Waccamaws and Cape Fears sent a fraction of their fighting strength smaller than that of all the other tribes involved, off to make war on the Tuscaroras. Look at the percentages on the two pages preceding.

After 11 years to improve trade relations between themselves and the English colony called South Carolina, did the Wateree Indians still often have "no guns, making use of bows and arrows" as a people "very poor in English effects"?

Whether they did or they didn't, or they were or they weren't, they certainly fought in Barnwell's army side by side with many Indians who still fit that description. At Cape Fear river Captain Bull "brought about 200 men, some of which were bowmen" when he met up again with the other, main part of the army after marching separately along the sea shore, apparently;

He and Barnwell split up on setting out from the Peedee Indian village (at the present Pee Dee, northwestern Marion county, S.C.). Thomas Bull then obviously must have marched (in company with only the Peedee warriors) down Great Pee Dee river to Yourheny (one of the four Waccamaw Indian towns, and around the present Yauhannah, S.C.); and from thence to Tapsou at Pole Castle creek (a Waccamaw village?) and to the single village of the Winia Indians in the fork of Great Pee Dee river and Black river. And then along either lower Waccamaw river or the Grand Strand (the ocean beach), or both, around 75 miles to Cape Fear river; then through "his Indians" (the five villages of the Cape Fear Indians, whom he had dared to contact for the first time 17 years ago) to reunite with his commanding officer, General Barnwell, further up the Cape Fear river. A route explained here not so much because it has anything to do (other than very indirectly) with the Wateree Indians; but rather, because no one has ever written it up before.

Later, on February 5th, the morning after the mass desertion of all but 178 (by Barnwell's count) of the Indians in his army, the Yamasee warriors described to him about six things that they saw as bad wrong, so to speak, with the situation from a military point of view. The final point: they found themselves, their army, "now reduced to a few, and many of them bowmen and boys." To the number of at least 84 Yamasee; the 10 Yuchi, 56 Apalachee and 5 Kussoo or whoever; and 24 men belonging to one or more of the following nations: Catawba, Waxhaw, Wateree, Congaree, Santee (including their 'commanding officer', "Captain Essaw Jack", a Catawba).¹

A couple of months later "the headmen of the Winiahs and the headmen of the Sucusphaws" reported that their warriors had "left" General Barnwell

the night of February 4th past and "did not go farther with him .. for want of guns and ammunition." ¹ Of course, some of the Tuscaroras they had already defeated had wielded no guns either, "the very women shooting arrows"; but ...