

THE MAP ON PAGE 96

Today (1981) at the Public Record Office in London, England, there sits a map, unsigned, undated, measuring 22 inches by 15 inches. It shows many American Indian nations and towns; among them, the "Waxsaws", including 100 men in the region called The Waxhaws (from Twelve Mile creek to Waxhaw creek on Catawba river's east side, in the present Lancaster county, South Carolina). And the "Waterrees", including 40 men in their single village on, it looks like, the northern or adjacent eastern bank of the same river — renamed Waterree river — between Beaver creek and White Oak creek, in the present Kershaw county, S.C. — And finally, the "Congeres", including 30 men, on the north or northeastern side of upper Congaree river, around Gills creek and Mill creek on the southern outskirts of the present incorporated limits of what is now the city of Columbia, S.C., in Richland county, S.C. — A body of soldiers (organized under military discipline, "assigned to a special service" and making up only one detached part of a larger army) seems on the map as if about ready to attack the Congaree Indian nation, under the map label of "A English Corp" (usually spelled "corps" but always pronounced kōr; from the French).¹

The map as a whole describes a situation that existed between A) the 17 year-long occupation by a small part of the Shaawanwa or "Shawnee" Indian nation of a town of their own, called Saluda, far up Saluda river, beginning in 1695 with their arrival from lower South Carolina, and ending in 1712 when they all went to Pennsylvania;²

B) at "jn^o: Herrn's", the killing of John Herne in the parish of St. Johns Berkeley on the 14th of May 1715, by some of a group of three or four hundred Catawba, Saraw, Waterree and other Indians, mostly warriors, adult males;³

C) the destruction on May 17th, 1715, by that same group of

three or four hundred Catawba, Saraw, Wateree and other Indians, of a body of 90 white men and 12 black men on 102 horses "ordered up to the Congerees (a small nation of our Northern Indians) either to compel them or force them to join us;" a military move that the colony of South Carolina obviously at least thought about trying to pull off again;¹

D) the changing on the map that we are talking about now, of three map labels all describing American Indian nations on the South Carolina side of Savannah river, to three corresponding labels on a map drawn later, in 1720 and 1721, by General John Barrwell:

<u>earlier map</u>	<u>later map</u>
"Tohogaleas, 30 men"	"Hogologas, deserted 1715"
"Appelathas, 150 men"	"Apalaches, Deserted 1715" (Apalachee)
"Pollachuculaw, 100 men"	"Palachucola Indians removed 1715 to Chatahooke River" (Apalachicola) ²

and finally, E) the destruction, by the Catawba Nation in war, of "the major part of" the Waxhaw Indians, the rest of whom fled, well before the 6th of August 1716, to the Saraw Indians³ living probably at the present Cheraw, S.C., on Great Pee Dee river;⁴ and then far away to St. Augustine, Florida, where the 25 surviving warriors of the Waxhaw nation of Indians lived in 1719.⁵

Thus the map may date from sometime well after the 17th of May 1715, but well before the end of 1715. On page 96 of the present report we have, in the original manuscript copy of the present report, the best photocopy possible of a full-size photograph of the upper right one-quarter of the very faint original of the map.

In the summer or fall of 1715, then, the Wateree Indian nation lived at least 30 miles pretty well due south of the Waxhaw Indians, and 35 or 40 miles north-east of the Congaree Indians ——— the Waterrees' nearest human neighbors up the path and down the path. Comparing that to the year 1701, the Wateree lived about the same distance up from the Congaree Indians, but ten times further down from the Waxhaw or Flathead Indians. The Waxhaws had not seemed as if they liked the Waterrees very much even in 1701.¹

In the summer and fall of 1715, too, 40 Wateree fighting men in their nation implies a total of 110 Wateree Indians making up their village (as many as three dozen more than 110; up to fifteen or even two dozen less than 110). One gets that by looking at the warrior-total population ratios, in 1712 to 1715, of eight nations of Indians living near the Waterrees, seven of them in the north-eastern half of the present state of South Carolina ——— within 125 miles ——— and the eighth a nation on lower Cape Fear river in what is now southeastern North Carolina, some 150 miles or more east of the Wateree Indian village in 1715. From the highest proportion of warriors to the lowest, the eight nations include the combined Santee and Congaree, the Winia, and the Catawba, Cape Fear, Seawee, Waccamaw and Saraw Indians² ——— making up, in company with the Waxhaw, Wateree, Peedee, Keyauwee, Saxapahaw and barely mentioned "Schovona's" Indians, all of the Indian groups within a very large bloc of territory. Piedmont and swamp. And no other humans there ——— the French and English settlers in association with the Seawee and Winia Indians, having fled to Charleston as temporary refugees.

Whoever drew the 1715 map seems to have known the bends and meanders of the Catawba-Wateree river very well indeed, even as far upstream as to the "150 Men"

• in 1715

of the Indians called "Esaws" (at the present Tega Cay), and, even more surprisingly, as far up as to the "120 Men" of the Indians called "Cuttawbas", a long ways up Big Allison creek to somewhere just north of the present small city of York, South Carolina. That looks like 270 warriors in the two largest of the Catawba villages, something like another 300 warriors living in the five smaller villages. Which the 1715 map does not show.

As faintly improbable as it seems, the riverbends on the 1715 map do seem to match up with modern maps. On Catawba river, the tributaries shown look, for all the world, like Big Allison creek (forked) and then Dutchman creek on the southwest side of the river, both entirely within the present York county, S.C. And then, flowing down to the opposing, north side of the river, Sugar creek (Su gar), running south by a very little east through the present Mecklenburg county, North Carolina to form the boundary between a pair of South Carolina counties (York and Lancaster ——— part of Sugar creek makes up the upper half of the York-Lancaster county line, and part of Catawba river serves as the lower half of it ——— the York-Lancaster county line).

The fourth and final tributary of the Catawba-Waterree river shown on the 1715 map: Big Waterree creek, it looks like ——— at the mouth of which, the Waterree Indians had lived in their single large town in 1712. On the 1715 map (even if not necessarily in the actual year of 1715), the "Waterrees" with their "40 Men" and their ——— something on the order of 46 or 55 to a hundred or more, say 106 women and children, lived some 12 or 13 miles, more or less, due southeast of their 1712 village. This on the 1715 map, marks the furthestest-south spot on which we ever hear that the Waterree Indians have lived as a Nation^x — something like 125 miles southwest of their home as late as the start of summer 1670.

^ooriginally
SOOkiree

^xuntil 1733

6th of August 1716. In a very long letter to government officials in England, from three prominent men in South Carolina (Benjamin Godin, Ralph Izard, and Edward Hyrne), we read, among much else, something in reference to "the Cattawbaws and those other small nations" (Waccamaw or Woccon, Peedee, Cape Fear, Keyauwee, Winia, Wateree) "about them."¹ (The French-speaking settlers at French Santee "took of" the Seawee Indians "two and twenty men, and 40 women and children prisoners" sometime in 1715 between the 17th of May and the 5th of June — but that whole nation had amounted to only one village and 57 "men, women and children" around 1712 or 1713.² Several nations of the "Northern Indians" remained hostile; the Santee, Congaree, and Saraw Indians, the decimated Waxhaws or "Flatheads" recently fled to the Saraws; and the Shakori village called Sissipahaw or Saxapahaw — all still at war with the English — dangerous. At peace with the English: the Catawba, including those of Su garee; the Peedee and Wateree; and "the Waccamaws and those other nations" — Winia, Keyauwee, Cape Fear — "bordering on the sea shore to the northward.")³

Well, concerning those seven (the Catawba, Wateree, Peedee, Winia and bearded Keyauwee, Wacon, and Cape Fear), we read: "They have engaged to deliver up Wateree Jack (who is thought to be the author of most of the mischief they have done us), and" to deliver up also "all of the slaves, goods and horses they have amongst them."¹

Two questions. First off, why did they do that? The three Englishmen answer that question in their long letter:

"As for the Charakees — they have so often promised that they would fall upon our enemies to the Southward (that is, the Creeks, Euchees, and so forth) — and so often dissappointed us, that we

• 500 kiree

can but little depend upon them in that affair. However, they" (the Cherokees) "have done us a signal piece of service, in compelling the Cattawbaws and those other small nations about them" (by the most narrow interpretation, the 'Su garee' and the Peedee and Wateree) "to make peace with us, whom otherwise they threatened to destroy.

" .. Also the Waccamaws and those other nations" (Keyauwee; Winia, Cape Fear) "bordering on the sea-shore to the northward [the Saraws excepted] have made peace with us, fearing the Cherokees."¹ The Winia had done so before the 7th of March 1716; the Waccamaw had negotiated their peace in the 20th to the 23rd of April 1716; and the others well before the 10th of July 1716.² And yet on the 6th of August following, the three prominent Englishmen claim that "The conditions of peace agreed upon with them" (the Keyauwee; Winia, Waccamaw, and Cape Fear) "is that they shall deliver up all belonging to the white people, and that they shall use their endeavors to destroy the Sarraws."¹ May be.

The Ani Yun'wiya ——— the Principle People in translation, called "Cherokee" by the English, and living in what we now call eastern Tennessee; extreme western North Carolina, and the north-westernmost of the 46 counties making up South Carolina;³ could credibly "threaten .. to destroy" the tribes they supposedly threatened. Between 1712 and 1715, English census-takers came up with an estimate of 11,210 Cherokee in their towns; as con-

trasted with the 106 Winia, 206 Cape Fear; 610 Waccamaw, and about 1,470 Catawba. The four thousand Cherokee warriors could have given the three dozen Winia warriors; the forty Wateree warriors; the 76 Cape Fear warriors; the 210 Waccamaw warriors, and the 570 Catawba warriors — a hard time.¹ The same thing goes for the other two tribes, the Peedee and the Keyauwee: In 1716 the Commissioners of the Indian Trade spoke of "the Wackamaws, a people of greater consequence than the Pedees"; and in the very next sentence, of "the Wackamaws, the most populous of those two nations .."² And in 1709 an English writer who had visited the Keyauwee in 1701 and thereafter, published an estimate to the effect that they, the Shakori and three groups whom we now recognize as linguistically classic Siouian (the Tutelo, and two groups having the same customs, language and clans, and known as the Saponi and the Occaneechi) — might amount altogether to 750 men, women and children — the entire membership of five groups — the bearded Keyauwee, and four others.³

Second question: Can we credit with accuracy the assertion made 27 or 28 years later in the Commons House of Assembly? Indeed we can. And here it is:

"Upon the best information which your Committee could receive, during the Indian War the Wateree Indians (who were then settled between Santee and Wateree

ivers), did remove from their old settlements. And went further up; and were incorporated with the Catawba Nation."¹

It would seem misleading to leave it at that, though — for a dozen years later (and very possibly also in 1716), the English colonists who visited the Catawba Indians thought of that Nation's towns as lying dispersed along "twenty miles" of Catawba river.² And therein lies the catch.

The name of the Wateree Indian nation means something in the Catawba Indian language. Now about that name — the Españoles had spelled it 'Guateri' or 'Guatari', pronunciations spelled "Wautāyrēe" and "Wautaurēe" in English — one might say. (Certainly pronounced only one way per spelling in Spanish.) Spanish-language records speak of them in 1567 and in 1605, that we know of.

In 1670 the German explorer, visiting them, spelled their name 'Watary' in, one might say, Latin. Depends on how you look at it.

From at least 1682 forward, the Wateree Indians lived, for the first time, comparatively very near to the Catawba Indians; and the English colonists up to 130 miles to the southeast of the Wateree Indians spelled their name 'Watere', later doubling one letter or another to get Barrwell's Watteree; and Waterree; and, most popularly, the standard Wateree. After 1716, we see 'Waterie' once in passing, and find a trader (an individual who ought, above all others whose testimony we have, to have known) who consistently gave it an accent — in turn, Waterrée, Waterrée, Waterree'. Another trader, remembering back 25 years or more, perhaps, offers 'Wataree'. I would pronounce and spell it WataREE (not "wadûree" — the ultimate Anglicization). Compare that to the Catawba words, below on page 149.

In the city of Charleston on the 9th of May 1717, five men, Commissioners of the Indian Trade (for the English colony called South Carolina), met according to schedule. Their first business of the day:

"Upon information that Eleazer Wiggan" (an Englishman well-known as a licensed trader among the Indian tribes allied with South Carolina) "was returned and so forth, the said Wiggan was sent for. Who appearing and being discoursed, says ' .. the Catabaw Chief is come down with (me), to inquire into, and receive information about, the rumor lately spread among the people of his Nation, by Young Kelley; having promised to be home with them" — the from 400 to 570 warriors, plus women and children, then making up the Catawba Nation — "in 30 days:" " ¹ The Catawba Chief — probably the valiant Wikmanata⁷si, whose name means The Dog On Hot Ground ² — continued to wait in another room while Wiggan tried to explain matters:

" .. The Catabaws were much disturbed at the said rumor .. All the towns thereabouts are gathered together, building and erecting forts to defend themselves; being about 700 men." " ¹ The seven Catawba-speaking towns — Nauvasa⁶ and the smaller ones — had amounted to 570 Catawba men and about 900 women and children when Colonel John Barnwell counted them sometime between 1711 and 1713. ³ Forty to sixty Catawba, Saraw, Wateree and, probably to a much lesser extent, other Indian warriors lost their lives in a battle of the Yamasee War on the 13th of June 1715. ⁴ And the Catawbas, having found themselves "obliged .. to fall on" the Waxhaws and to kill "the major part of them", sustained a "loss of many warriors" — many Catawba warriors — when they did that. ⁵ All in all, this about the seven hundred men doesn't sound right.

⁶ *Nauvasaw, Eswa, nec SWA?*

At the meeting with the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, Wiggan continued:
 " ' And will neither settle at the Congarees"; the Catawbas refuse to go to the trading post^x at the headwaters of Congaree river, on Congaree creek below the present-day city of Cayce, S.C. — "nor allow the Virginians to trade with them .. The Indian slaves that run away from hence" (from Charleston) "with Kelley, are among the said Catabaws.

" ' Two of which slaves, being Wateree women, they do claim as belonging to them", as belonging to the Catawbas. " ' The said women were of good service to (me) at the Catabaws, in speaking in behalf of the English against the false reports of the said Kelley. ' "

While Wiggan and the two escaped Waterrees were among the Catawba people, things in that place ran along about like this: " ' When (I) was among the Catabaws, the Charikees sent a painted stick to give them notice (thereby) to join their forces in the latter end of July next against the Creeks ..' " That's Wiggan talking again. And he hand-delivered to the Commissioners a letter he'd written .. on April 23rd, 1717. In it he writes in reference to 20 Catawbas he'd tried to send to Charleston, that " ' .. (I) dispatched .. 20 burdeners with skins, on account of the trade .. They returned back with the same to (me), after they had come down into the settlements" — the white people lived entirely south of Santee river, except for the very few whites living right around the present Georgetown, S.C. — " ' upon meeting with Young Kelley, who overpersuaded them that the English had a design to destroy them. ' " 1

Now, on account of the two Wateree Indian women recently escaped from a life as slaves of the English, debunking the lies spread against the English by a white

^x the proposed
trading post

companion who had gone with them when they and some other Indians escaped — on account of that, Wiggan had delivered 1,080 deerskins to Charleston. And more than that, he had gotten the Catawba Chief^o down to Charleston to see for himself that war wasn't in the cards. (The Chief did appear before the five Commissioners before the meeting broke up. He and Wiggan got four packhorses loaded with "a supply of goods for the said Catabaws.")¹

From here on out to the end of our narrative, much of which we have no record nevertheless did get written down — in South Carolina's Indian Books, which we find missing from the 12th of September 1718 forward, for the next 32 years.

^oWikmanata'si

An Englishman named Francis Nicholson left the city of Charleston, S.C. by sail sometime between the 15th and 27th of May, 1725, to return to England permanently.

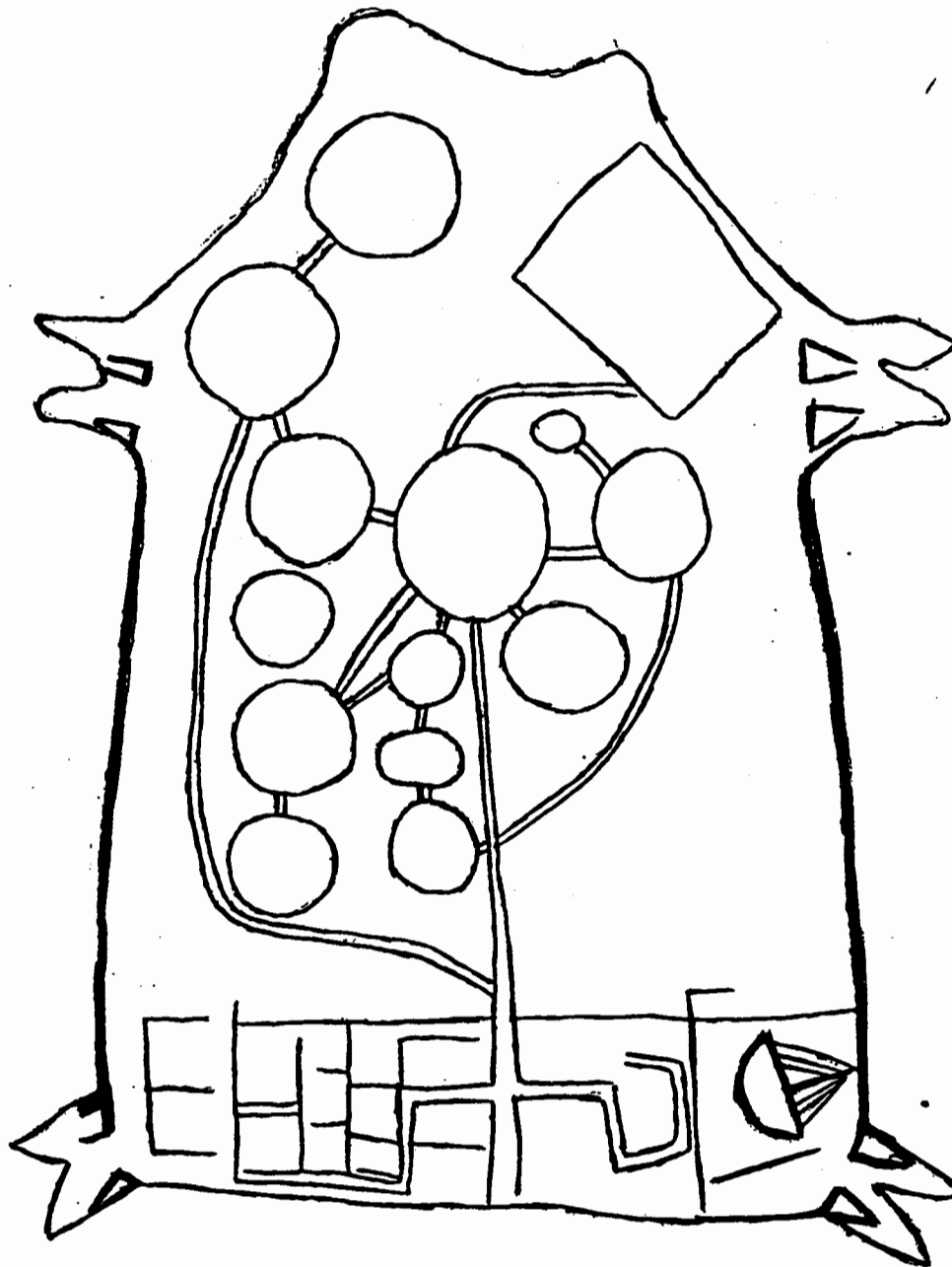
His term as Governor had begun on the 30th of May 1721, and had ended on the 7th of May 1725.¹

Even today, twenty-six decades later, one may see a stunningly beautiful basket woven doubled-walled of split native North American Arundinaria cane, up to $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide but a foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ long, with a lid to force into the slightly smaller basket, literally identical to later descriptions of Cherokee split-cane basketry suitcases, and labelled (in part) as follows:

"A large Carolina basket, made by the Indians of split cane .. dyed red .. and black. They will keep anything in them from being wetted by the rain. From Colonel Nicholson, Governor of South Carolina, whence he brought them" (them — probably a "nest" of basketry suitcases like that, each one inside the one next largest, baskets inside of baskets).

The British Museum has it² — see page 247 of the present report for a color photograph of it, sent by a friend in England. The British Museum also has an annotated, full-size (44" X 32") drawing of a "painted .. deerskin .. presented to Francis Nicholson, Esquire, Governor of Carolina .. by an Indian Cacique." A suggested reconstruction of its original appearance, on the following page. England's Public Record Office has another handdrawn full-size copy of this deerskin, together with a full size (57" X 45") drawing of another "painted .. deerskin .. presented to Francis Nicholson, Esquire, Governor of Carolina .."³

(continued on page 111)



" .. drawn and painted upon a deerskin by an Indian Cacique, and presented to Francis Nicholson, Esquire, Governor of South Carolina" — a list of places. From the top down: "Chickisa / Virginie / Cherrickies / Saxippaha / Nustie[✓] / Nasaw[✓] / Succa[✓] / Casuie / Suttire[✓] / Wiapie[✓] / Wasmisa / Youchine / Charra / Waterie / Charlestown". A check by the name of each Catawba village.

3 feet and 8 inches long; 2 feet and 8 inches wide.

"Chickisa"
(Chickasaws at the
present North Aug-
usta, S.C.)

"Virginie"
(the English colony
called Virginia)

"Cherrikies"
(the Lower Chero-
kees in the pres-
ent Oconee coun-
ty, S.C.)

"Nustie"
(a Catawba
town)

"Nasaw"
(Nauvasaw, the
largest Catawba
town)

"Saxip-
pahs"

"Succa"
(a Catawba
town on Su-
gar creek)

"Casuie"

"Suttire"
(a Catawba
town, but
downriver)

"Wasmisa"

"Wiapie"
(a Cataw-
ba town)

"Youchine"

"Waterie"
(the Waterie
Indians)

"Charra"
(the Saraw
or Cheraw
Indians)

by an Indian Cacique." No doubt in a 'talk' made to the Governor and Council by Indian Kings, Captains or Headmen visiting Charleston, and recorded verbatim in the colony's Indian Books (one copy only, and now missing from 1718 to 1750). But more about this second deerskin later.

And now, a word from a 1977 Master of Arts thesis (gloomy, and on the Cherokees in the 1700's), concerning the deerskin pictured above on page 109:

The second map provides a different perspective on the growing split between inter-tribal and inter-societal trade (map 4).⁸ The general projective space of the first map contrasts greatly to the simplified format of the second map, which is largely organized around a single route.⁹ Covering a smaller area corresponding to the present day Carolinas, north Georgia and east Tennessee,* the map portrays a regional subdivision of the trade that was taking form in the period. The map was divided into two chamber-like spaces, one defining Charlestown and its harbor with striking rectilinear lines, the other encircling the Indian tribes with Virginia only appearing as an appendage to the main trunk of the system. A single, umbilical like route connects the two main, self-contained spaces; there is no hint of trade linkages beyond. A pair of figures, labeled "An Indian a' Hunting" clearly identified the map as sketching the territory of the Charlestown trading system. The Charlestown-centered perspective of the

* or rather, South Carolina only

second map clearly prefigured the subdivision of the continental trading system into regional spheres of influence.

The thesis writer calls the painted deerskin pictured here on page 109, no map but instead an "itinerary .. specifically concerned with particular routes, starting points, and destinations .."

Concerning those destinations: other than for Virginia and the Middle, Vally and Overhill Cherokees, all of them lie within the boundaries of the present-day state of South Carolina. Also — to the Indian who painted the itinerary, the houses of the white people in Virginia and the more familiar Charleston looked full of right angles; the houses of his or her own people, the Indians, came across as rounded, not so jarring. And the Catawba Nation and its towns stood as the center of the Universe, together with those Indian tribes (Saxapahaw or Eno; Wateree, Saraw, Waxhaw) closely associated with the Catawbas, and those slightly more distant peoples (the Lower Cherokees, a Chickasaw offshoot on Savannah river at Horse creek, the Kussoo down the coast on the other side of Charleston) who occasionally intermarried with the Catawbas.

The other, larger of the pair of painted deerskins comes across as much less political and more maplike, and covers from the Cherokees westward.¹ Both deerskins look like another decorated deerskin made by American Indians on the Eastern Seaboard of North America, that had come to England in or before 1656, from Virginia, perhaps from the Pamunkeys, as alleged — the three deerskins look like three examples of the same art tradition. The one from Virginia is still at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, England; see the color photographs below on pages and , sent by a friend in England.²

THE WATEREE INDIANS RE-EMERGE AS A GEOGRAPHICALLY ISOLATED

"SMALL NATION"

Even as late as the 21st of May 1730, the word that one could get on "Watere River" from Englishmen travelling back and forth along the path between the Cherokee Nation and the city of Charleston to trade, included the assertion that "Watere Indians were here settled."¹ Notice the past tense.

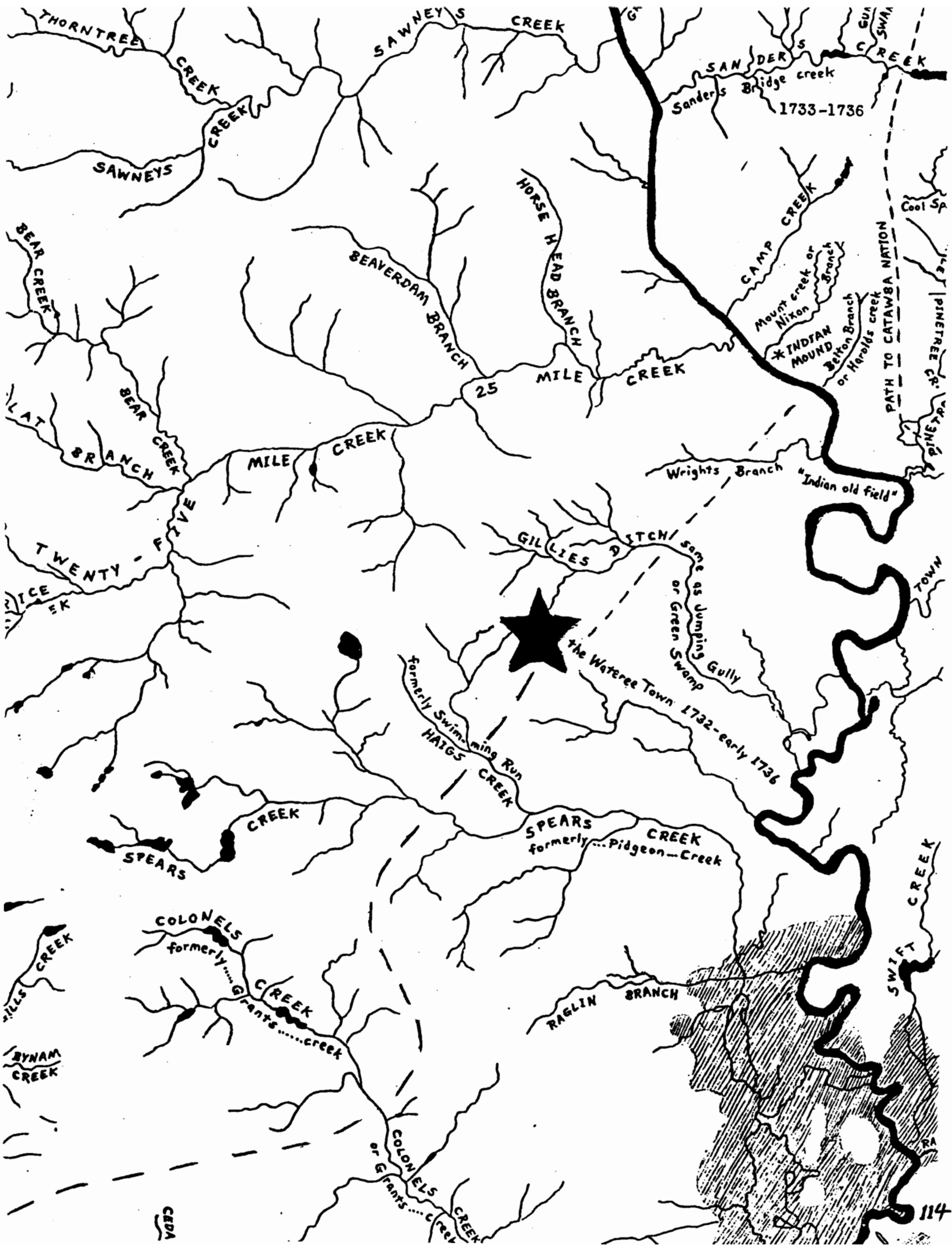
They moved into the locale shown on the page following, in connection with events spoken of in Charleston at the Commons House of Assembly on the 14th of September 1733:

"Mr. Lloyd from the Committee of Conference on Indian Affairs made the following report, that is,

"The Committee of both Houses appointed to consider what should be done to prevent the Cherokee and Catawba Indians from coming within the" (English colonists') "settlements to trade contrary to treaty, report" or rather recommend "that a sufficient force be raised, and sent under the command of the Commissioner of the Indian Trade, to meet the Indians on the frontiers, to support such a talk as he shall be directed to give them, in order to cause them to turn back with their skins."

And further advise "that an Explanatory Bill be brought in to prohibit any of the inhabitants to trade with any foreign Indians under the penalty of £ 500 Proclamation Money."²

A colonist named John Herbert had served as the "Commissioner for Indian Affairs" ever since the last of September 1727, or sometime between then and the



17th of October 1727 (on which day he left Charleston to go to the Cherokee Indians for five months). Herbert had taken over the office from the renowned old warrior, George Chicken, who had died.¹ But he (Herbert) left the office on the 22nd of September 1733, when a Tobias Fitch took it and its duties as his own.²

It would seem that in 1733 the Wateree Indians left the Catawba Nation and settled further south than they ever had before — on what the English already called Wateree river, specifically on the trading path roughly inbetween Pidgeon creek, Swimming Run and Jumping Run, or Jumping Gully. And roughly opposite the mouth of Pinetree creek³ — ~~placing the Wateree Indians in the early 1730's just across the river from the northernmost known settlement site of the former inhabitants of the land, the Congaree or Cofitachique Indians. Until 1701, perhaps even until as late as 1711, the Congarees and their pet whooping cranes had lived in one village of hardly a dozen cabins a ways up Pinetree creek, or somewhere in that vicinity, * and in at least a couple of other villages of their own and scattered up and down the country.~~⁴

In 1733, for the first time, the Wateree Indians lived so far down as to the same latitude as marsh swamps.

* actually, on the west side of Wateree river somewhere